Embody in language (I):
Human, animal and plant expressions

Shelley Ching-yu Hsieh
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About the author

Shelley Ching-yu Hsieh (謝箐玉) is a professor at Department of Foreign Languages and Literature in National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan. She received her PhD in Linguistics from Tübingen University, Germany in 2001. The focus of her research is cross-cultural comparison of the cognitive semantics and sociolinguistics of Mandarin Chinese and German.
Preface

In Lakoff and Turner’s (1989) ‘Great Chain of Being’ metaphor, human beings are ranked at the highest order, followed by other animals, and finally, plants. Lévi-Strauss (1963) noticed that animal and plant names are consistently used as cultural symbols in human society. Expressions that contain human body, animal and plant names, that is, life-form expressions, play important roles in languages. This monograph is a cognitive linguistic exploration of life-form expressions examining human, animal and plant expressions in five languages in sixteen chapters.

The embodiment of human concepts, such as body-part terms (face, hands, etc.), human bodily experiences (physical senses, such as vision, taste; psychological reactions, such as emotions), social activities, animal names and plant names are used widely in languages. However, the role of the vehicles – life-form names – in languages is rarely researched, though there are ample studies on emotion and body-part terms. The comparison between different languages will explore cognitive semantic and pragmatic attributes of the embodiment expressions and explain the different modes of thinking and life perspectives of the different people groups.

The languages that will be examined in this monograph are Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese Southern Min, German, English, and Russian. Some chapters focus on the life-form expressions of one of these five languages, such as chapter 6 on Taiwanese Southern Min, and chapter 10 on Mandarin Chinese. Some other chapters present cross-linguistic comparison, such as chapter 4 on Mandarin Chinese, English and Russian, chapter 7 on Mandarin Chinese and German. Mandarin Chinese refers to the official language in Taiwan (see next paragraph). Taiwanese Southern Min is confined to the Southern-Min dialects in Taiwan which are also collectively referred to as Minnanyu, Hoklohua and Taiwanese Hokkian (Cheng and Cheng 1977, Hsu 1990). German refers to High German, that is, the official language in Germany. Russian is the official language of Russia. English refers to the official languages in Great Britain and the United States. Unless specific research purposes are indicated, dialects are not taken into our examining data.

The official language in the People’s Republic of China is also Mandarin Chinese (hereafter Mandarin, sometimes also Mandarin Chinese to avoid possible confusion), here I concentrate on the Mandarin in Taiwan as it is my mother tongue. There are linguistic differences in the standard Chinese between Taiwan and Mainland China, though there is a large overlapping of the language variants, see for example Qiu (1990), Yao (1992) and Tang (2001). The same is true for British English and American English. The spoken data were mostly observed and gathered from conversations with native speakers over the past three to five years. More detailed information about data collection and the definition of the technical terms, specific data and research frameworks will be given in the introduction to each respective part. Sometimes they will be briefly repeated in some chapters for clarity of discussion. Moreover, specific data, research
frameworks and literature review will be provided in respective chapters.

Hereby we present the basic notion of our research, an embodiment expression or a life-form expression, which we define as an expression with one or more life-form names, such as that of human beings, body parts, emotions, animals, and plants. For example, *ku3kou3po2xin1* 肺口嗜心 means ‘to advise earnestly and kindly,’ where *ku3* involves the bodily experience ‘taste’ and *xin1* ‘heart’ is a body-part term. The Taiwanese plant expression *toa7chang5chhiu7 khaho2im3iaN2* 大樟腳好條影 ‘a big and exuberant tree can block the heat of sun and the rain = a wealthy and powerful person can give shelter to others’ contains the plant name *chhiu7* ‘tree.’ The German expression *Tomaten unter den Augen haben* ‘tomatoes-under-the-eyes-have’ with *Tomaten* ‘tomatoes’ refers to ‘look tired.’ The Russian expression *Кому зима полынь и горький дым к ночлегу* ‘to somebody winter is a wormwood and a bitter smoke of a night’s lodging’ and the English *be like a bear with a sore head* ‘to be in a bad mood which causes one to complain a lot and treat other people badly’ all contain various life-form vehicles.

There are three parts in this monograph. Each part contains five to six chapters with a total of sixteen chapters and at the end a chapter with closing remarks of the monograph. The research goal of each chapter is different and will be stated in the chapters. The first part focuses on human, body, and mind in languages. It will start with the research on body-part expressions, move on to those of human senses, and end at the study of the human self—the speaker ‘I’. The linguistic phenomena such as space is body, body as emotion, mind-as-body, hierarchical distribution, synaesthetic interaction, and social implication will be examined in this part. The second part presents animals and embodiment. This part starts with an overview of various animal vehicles and their semantic functions, then goes on to specific animal categories, such as bird-species, wild animals and mythical animals. This part ends at exploring animal expressions and underlying conceits. Semantic functions, conceptions, and linguistic development are the concerns of this part. The third part of the monograph examines the relations between plants and embodiment. It starts with some plant names, continues with popular plant vehicles, and ends at revealing the analogous cognitive model of plant and animal expressions in languages. Linguistic frame, underlying conceits, semantic development, core meaning, and language and nature will be explored in this last part of the research on embodiment in language.

Various theories will be applied to certain linguistic data in each chapter. For example, the research on body-part terms *face* and *foot* in Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese Southern Min will be analyzed in terms of THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff 1987) and EMOTION IS FORCE (Kövecses 2000) (chapter 2). The study of synaesthetic metaphors in Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English sets the focus on the synaesthetic sense ‘vision’ (e.g., *yan3jian1* 眼尖 ‘eye-sharp = sharp-eyed’ contains “vision” as synaesthetic sense and “touch” as a primary sense) will be presented in the light of Ullmann's (1959) hypothesis of “hierarchical distribution” (chapter 4). In order to compare animal and plant
metaphors to show the semantic autonomy of language and the cognitive level of using these metaphors, we apply lay views vs. scientific theories (Kövecses 2000) and verbal processes (Halliday 1985) (chapter 16) on animal and plant expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German.

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The chapters that have been published in certain journals will be acknowledged the original publications at the beginning of the chapter as a footnote after consulting the journal editors.

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# Table of Contents

About the author............................................................................................................................... ii  
Preface............................................................................................................................................. iii  
Table of Contents ........................................................................................................................... vii  
Tables & Figures ........................................................................................................................... viii  
Conventions ..................................................................................................................................... xi  
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language...................................................................................13
   Chapter 1. Heart Expressions and Mind-as-Body Hypothesis .............................................. .17  
   Chapter 2. Face, Feet and Space as Body ..............................................................................31  
   Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Function ......................................................................49  
   Chapter 4. Human Vision and Hierarchical Distribution .......................................................81  
   Chapter 5. Human Taste and Synaesthetic Expressions .......................................................101  
   Chapter 6. Human Beings: Ego ‘I’ in Taiwanese Southern Min .......................................... 115  
Part II. Animals and Embodiment .................................................................................................131
   Chapter 7. Animal Vehicles and Semantic Functions ..........................................................133  
   Chapter 8. Bird-species and Their Embodiment in Language .............................................149  
   Chapter 9. Wild Animals and Their Embodiment in Language ..........................................169  
   Chapter 10. Mythical Animals and Linguistic Development ............................................... 189  
   Chapter 11. Animal Expressions and Underlying Conceits .................................................199  
Part III. Plants and Embodiment ...................................................................................................209
   Chapter 12. Melon, Tea, Apple and Linguistic Frame ......................................................... 211  
   Chapter 13. Flower, Grass, Root, Fruit and Linguistic Frame ........................................... 227  
   Chapter 14. Woody Plants and Frame Semantics ................................................................245  
   Chapter 15. Plant Fixed Expressions in Taiwanese Southern Min.......................................259  
   Chapter 16. Animal and Plant Expressions: Language and Nature......................................275  
Closing Remarks of the Monograph .............................................................................................287  
Reference List ...............................................................................................................................295  
Index .............................................................................................................................................317  

Tables & Figures

Table 1.1. The classification of the expressions containing xin .............................................21
Table 1.2. The pragmatic discourses of xin-expressions ........................................................23
Table 2.1. Emotions expressed with face and feet ................................................................37
Table 2.2. The main domains of synaesthetic transfers of emotion in our data ....................45
Table 3.1. Emotions expressed in eye and hand expressions in three languages ...............54
Table 3.2. Conceptions of eye and hand expressions in three languages ............................59
Table 3.3. Conceptual metaphors involving eyes and hands in three languages ...............73
Table 3.4. Central conceptual metaphors involving eyes and hands in three languages ......77
Table 4.1. Three main domains of synaesthetic transfers of VSMs in our data ...............87
Table 4.2. The distribution of grammatical models in our data .............................................97
Table 5.1. The domains of synaesthetic transfers of GSMs in Mandarin data ..................105
Table 5.2. The domains of synaesthetic transfers of GSMs in Russian data ......................106
Table 6.1. The frequency of first-person deixis in the recorded Taiwanese data ...............117
Table 6.2. The frequency of the first-person pronoun in four Taiwanese novels ...............124
Table 6.3. The frequency of self-reference in English academic articles ..........................127
Table 6.4. The frequency of the first-person pronoun in Taiwanese academic articles .......128
Table 7.1. Semantic functions of some domestic animal vehicles in Mandarin Chinese....135
Table 7.2. Semantic functions of some wild-animal vehicles in Mandarin Chinese ..........138
Table 7.3. Semantic functions of mythical animal vehicles in Mandarin Chinese ............139
Table 7.4. Semantic functions of domestic-vehicle names in German .............................141
Table 7.5. Semantic functions of wild-animal vehicles in German .................................143
Table 7.6. Concepts of the animal expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German ............144
Table 8.1. Some other bird fixed expressions in German ....................................................164
Table 9.1. Semantic functions of some wild animal vehicles in corpora ...........................180
Table 9.2. The underlying conceits and metaphorical tenors in the corpora ......................183
Table 9.3. Concepts of the wild-animal expressions in the corpora .....................................186
Table 11.1. The underlying conceits and metaphorical tenors in Mandarin corpus.............201
Table 11.2. The underlying conceits and metaphorical tenors in German corpus ..........202
Table 11.3. The evaluation of body-part animal expressions ......................................205
Table 13.1. The top ten plant vehicles in Mandarin and English .................................228
Table 13.2 The core meanings of the favorite plant vehicles in Mandarin and English ...236
Table 13.3. Semantic primes of the top Mandarin and English vehicles ........................238
Table 14.1. Favorite plant vehicles in Mandarin Chinese and English..........................257
Table 16.1. The sum of the metaphors in Mandarin and in German corpora ..............277
Table 16.2. The associations of animal and plant metaphors in two corpora ...............279
Table 16.3. Lay people’s view and scientific view in languages .................................281
Table 16.4. Verbal processes of animal metaphors and plant metaphors in German ....283

Figure 1.1. The semantic structure of Mandarin Chinese “see” ......................................19
Figure 1.2. The semantic structure of Mandarin Chinese “heart”..................................20
Figure 1.3. The radial diagram of the semantic change of xin......................................24
Figure 1.4. The pragmatic discourses of xin-expressions in diagram .............................25
Figure 1.5. Some xin-expressions in Sui to Sung Dynasties (581A.D.-1279A.D.) ..........26
Figure 1.6. Some xin-expressions in Modern Chinese (1911A.D. till now) .................27
Figure 1.7. Some xin-expressions in all dynasties .......................................................29
Figure 2.1. Metaphorical process (Ungerer and Schmid, 2006) ...................................35
Figure 3.1 Dynamic cognitive model of body-part expressions in languages ...............79
Figure 11.1 Schema of animal expressions ..........................................................207
Figure 12.1. The semantic development of Mandarin cha ‘tea’ ..................................214
Figure 12.2. The semantic development of English tea ..............................................215
Figure 12.3. The semantic development of Mandarin gua ‘melon’ .............................217
Figure 12.4. The semantic development of English apple ..........................................219
Figure 13.1. The dynamic cognitive model of plant fixed expressions .........................244
Figure 17.1. The integration of natural supplements, human cognition, language, and society ......294
Conventions

linguistic vehicles  
italicized

e.g., apple cat, face and feet

conceptual metaphors  
capitalized

e.g., EMOTION IS FORCE

semantic features  
+, - signs and brackets

e.g., [+bold], [+strong]
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

Cognitive linguistic studies point out that human minds are embodied. Thought and reasoning are mainly metaphorical and imaginative, that is, molded by bodily experiences (e.g., Gibbs 1994, Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999, Yu 2003b). Linguists explicate the relation between body-part lexemes, expressions and learning; children understand the world on the basis of their bodies and the relation of their bodies to the world, and they build knowledge from the concrete to the abstract by metaphorically extending body relations to new domains (Rosch 1973, Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987).

The cultural experience and knowledge we gain while submerged in our culture inevitably shape our worldview, making our mind enculturated. The role of body-part metaphors and expressions in constructing a nonliteral world is considered particularly important. Human, body and mind in languages are the concern of the first part of this monograph on embodiment in language.

Some terms should be defined for the research goals of the following chapters in Part I. The meaning of a complex expression is a function of the meaning of its parts and of the syntactic rules by which they are combined. This is the principle of compositionality (Hodges 2001, Bonnay 2005: 43). Compositionality is a universal characteristic of language (Brighton 2005: 13, cf. Wittgenstein 1953). Books were compiled for the purpose of clarifying this issue (e.g., Machery, Werning and Schurz 2005). Among linguists, the methodological status of compositionality in semantics has been intensively investigated (e.g., Partee 1984, Janssen 1986, 1997).

A body related expression is defined as an expression that encodes either names of bodyparts (like face and feet in this chapter) with metaphorical meaning, without recourse to a separate definition of metaphor, or of metonymous blending, unless specific research purposes require special definitions in some chapters. That is to say, the linguistic data of our research are fixed expressions (Alexander 1978, Carter 1987, Moon 1998) comprising metaphors, similes, proverbs, sayings, frozen collocations, grammatically ill-formed collocations and routine formulae. They are not ad-hoc terms, or freely generated phrases and contain at least one body or body-part related name (vehicle) that has metaphorical meaning (tenor). Fixed expressions will sometimes be referred to as expressions.

Emotion, a commonly and loosely used term, which is of particular interest for us in chapters 2 and 3, lacks the multidisciplinary recognized definition. Kleinginna and Kleinginna (1981) analyzed
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

92 definitions of emotion and suggested to define emotion as a “complex set of interactions among subjective and objective factors, mediated by neural/hormonal systems, which can: (a). give rise to affective experiences such as feelings of arousal, pleasure/displeasure; (b). generate cognitive processes such as emotionally relevant perceptual effects, appraisals, labeling processes; (c). activate widespread physiological adjustments to the arousing conditions; and (d). lead to behavior that is often, but not always, expressive, goal directed, and adaptive” (Kleinginna and Kleinginna 1981: 355). Therefore, we regard emotion as an effective experience, comprising different feelings, the complete list of which is not worked out. The language representation of expressing emotions, or emotional lexicon, is also not thoroughly developed. Linguists argue which words belong to the emotional lexicon and which not. According to Myagkova (1990: 25), numerous existing descriptions and classifications of the so called emotional lexics cannot be called exhaustive, and the experience of work with different kinds of texts and experimental data demonstrates that many words, being emotive for the language user, are not included into such classifications. We also support the broader version of emotional lexicon.

The written data are collected from dictionaries and literature, including Chinese Mandarin Online Dictionary (Committee of Official Language Promotion 1998), Lin Yutang Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage (Lin 1999), The New Mandarin-Taiwanese Dictionary (Chiu and Chen 2002), Taiwanese-Mandarin Online Dictionary (Cheng and Yang 2007), the German Duden (Band 11), Redewendungen (Alsleben and Scholze-Stubenrecht 2002), Lexikon der Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten (Röhrich 1991), Oxford English Dictionary (OED), Merriam-Webster Online, Oxford Russian Dictionary (Wheeler, Unbegau, Falla, and Thompson, 2000), and Dictionary of Russian slang (Vlabimir 2005). Most of the raw data are collected from corpora, including Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese, Academia Sinica Ancient Chinese Corpus, the German Corpus Search, Management and Analysis System (COSMAS), The British National Corpus and The American National Corpus, and The National Corpus of the Russian Language. Spoken data are gathered from mass media, daily conversations and questionnaires.

The data are then categorized by the human-body related names in alphabetical order in EXCEL to compile our Corpora of Body Related Expressions. Different kinds of data relating to individual expression are recorded in up to fifteen separate fields, including phonetic transcription of the Mandarin Chinese, word-to-word translation, frequency, semantic feature of the metaphorical vehicle, metaphorical tenor (meaning) of the expression, the underlying conceit (the association between vehicles and tenors), etc.

For Mandarin Chinese examples that are given in this monograph, we provide both a phonetic transcription of each Chinese character and a literal meaning as well as a metaphorical meaning. Morpheme-by-morpheme or word-by-word glosses that show the original structure or imagery are provided between single quotes, and idiomatic translations are given after the equal
sign (e.g., shun4 yan3 ‘sequence-eyes = like someone or something’).

For examples of Taiwanese Southern Min, Church Romanization is adopted for the phonetic transcriptions with some minor changes. There are eight tones in Taiwanese. The original tone values are as follows: upper even tone 44, e.g., 萬, lower even tone 24, e.g., 來, rising tone 53, e.g., 火, upper departing tone 21, e.g., 質, lower departing tone 33, e.g., 洞, upper entering tone 32, e.g., 青, and lower entering tone 33, e.g., 滑. The order of the presentation is similar to that of Mandarin Chinese, for example, bin7 oukhi3 面色 = ‘face-black-turned = face turning dark.’ The written characters of Taiwanese are still controversial. We do not change the characters after we collect the data. For instance, tang7 khachhiu2 動腳手 ‘move-feet-hand = to fight.’ We will make notes if there is a necessity.

For German and Russian examples that are given in this monograph, the order of the presentation is similar to that of Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese Southern Min but with no phonetic transcription, for example, ein Nüßknackergesicht machen ‘a-nut-cracker-face-make = make a nut-cracker face; to look disgruntled’ and goloi rukoi ne tron’ ‘with-bare-hand-no-touch = with a bare hand do not touch; do causiously.’ Sometimes the literal meaning of the examples will be omitted in order to avoid repetition. The English examples will just be presented with meaning, for example, easy on the eye ‘pleasant to look at.’
Chapter 1. Heart Expressions and Mind-as-Body Hypothesis

The heart is an important organ in the human body and plays an essential metaphorical role similar to the mind. Xin1 (heart), a common vehicle for many fixed expressions, is not only an important organ that maintains human life, it is also regarded as the center of human thoughts, mind and emotions. Why do people attribute xin1 with such functions? Why can xin1 be used to refer both physical actions and mental activities? How many meanings does the word 'heart' carry in semantic and pragmatic domains? How do people use xin1 diachronically? These questions will be discussed in this chapter.

1.1. Introduction

How do we use the Mandarin lexeme xin1? Xin1 originally refers to the organ of the body ‘heart.’ People misunderstood that the heart was the organ that was engaged in thinking. Therefore there are many expressions about thinking with the lexeme xin1. In this chapter, we will be concerned both with how xin1 is used synchronically, and, how its semantic and pragmatic structure developed diachronically. The theoretical basis of our study is Sweetser’s (1990) mind-as-body hypothesis.

Most of our data of this chapter are collected from Chinese Mandarin Online Dictionary (Committee of Official Language Promotion 1998), Academia Sinica Ancient Chinese Corpus and Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese. This chapter first presents the semantic and pragmatic distributions of the expressions that contain xin1, and then the related diagrams sketching the synchronic perspective of xin1’s domains. To complete this investigation of xin1 in Chinese history, the diachronic development will be examined.

The structure of this chapter is organized as follows: (1) introduction, (2) literature review of this chapter, (3) the synchronic perspective of xin-expressions (4) the pragmatic discourse of xin-expressions, (5) the diachronic perspective of the xin1 discourse, and (6) conclusion.

1.2. Literature Review

The common approach to lexical meaning was to define each word as a bundle of formal semantic features (Katz and Fodor 1963). But when applied to lexical semantics at large, feature semantics
showed obvious limitations (Bolinger 1965). Fillmore (1976, 1977) and Coleman and Kay (1981) have argued for changes in our understanding of the internal structure of word meaning; in particular, the internal structure of word meaning is not autonomous but exists against a background of our general assumptions about the world. Gordon and Lakoff (1971) have proposed that not only lexical items but also syntactic structures achieve pragmatic goals; the syntactic structure partakes in pragmatic mission. Volterra and Antinucci (1979) worked on language acquisition and indicated that even so-called logical concepts, such as causation or negation, are acquired through the child’s social and physical experience. The influential works in the late twentieth century, Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987), state that a concept is a mental faculty that is constituted by concrete (bodily) experiences.

There are treatises that study the Mandarin ‘heart.’ Huang (1982) indicated that 精神 ‘mind’ and 心 ‘heart/mind’ can be interchanged in many contexts, as exemplified by, 瞳不捨 = 神靈不清 ‘insane,’ 留心 = 留神 ‘to be careful/to mind,’ and 留心 = 作心 = 作心 ‘to yearn for.’ He identifies the double role of 心 in ‘cerebration’ and ‘sensation’; 心 is mostly translated as ‘mind-heart’ in English.

According to Liu (1992), the ideal conceptual model of 心 is a complete three-dimensional object. Tsai (1994) found that 心, from its compound and radical, involves three abstract meanings: cognition, emotion, and temperament. Tsao and Liu (1998) discussed 心 from semantic standpoint and concluded that 心 involves cognition (1998: 97) based on its conceptual metaphors HEART IS A SOLID BODY, HEART IS A CONTAINER AND HEART IS A LIFE FORM, etc.

### 1.3. The Synchronic Perspective of Xin-Expressions

Sweetser’s mind-as-body hypothesis (1990) is adopted in this chapter. We first apply it to Mandarin lexemes with the radical 心 and then to 心-expressions in order to reveal the synchronic semantic and pragmatic developments.

**Sweetser’s Mind-as-Body Hypothesis**

Sweetser (1990) suggests that physical-domain verbs frequently come to have speech-act and/or mental-state meanings, and mental-state verbs come to have speech-act meanings, while the opposite directions of change do not occur. These inter-domain connections are cognitively based. Sweetser illustrated the hypothesis with the sense-perception verbs of Indo-European languages. How about sense-perception verbs in Mandarin Chinese? The word coinage of Mandarin Chinese often consists of a radical that represents part of the meaning. For example, in the verb 看 ‘see,’ the use of the radical 眼 ‘eye’ implied that 看 is an activity done with eyes. This Chinese character pictures the gesture of someone who raises his hand above his eyes in order to
see something. The Chinese character of the verb ren3 忍 ‘tolerate’ shows a knife being put on a heart. It seems that Mandarin Chinese echoes Sweetser’s assumption that the objective and intellectual side of our mental life (such as ‘tolerate’) is regularly linked with the physical sense-perception (i.e. the radical “heart”) (1990: 38). In the following sections, we examine our collected data to see if the Mandarin Chinese radicals mu4 ‘eye’ and xin1 ‘heart’ support her finding. An introductory discussion about kan4 ‘see’ is presented before we focus on xin1.

Mandarin Chinese ‘eye’

As mentioned above, kan4 看 ‘see’ combines the physical sense of mu4 ‘eyes’ and physical action of raising hands, as in the common usage wo3 kan4 dao4 yuan3chu4 de hua1 le 我看到遠處的花了 ‘I saw flowers afar (with my hand above my eyes).’ On the other hand, kan4 may refer to one’s acquired knowledge as in the context wo3 kan4, ta1 bu2hui4 lai2 le 我看, 他不會來了 ‘I think he will not come,’ where kan4 means ‘think.’ In another example: kan4 bu4 chu1 lai2 ta1 kao3 de shang4 da4xue2 我看出來他考上了大學 ‘I doubt that he can get the admission to a university.’ the kan4 denotes ‘(mentally) realize.’ The usage of kan4 has shifted to mental vision (see Figure 1.1) and therefore the sense-perception verb kan4 coincides with Sweetser’s observation. In other words, vision is connected with intelllection because it is our primary source of perceiving the world.

Figure 1.1. The semantic structure of Mandarin Chinese “see”

In fact, kan4 gives far more senses in regard to mental vision than “to think” and “to realize.” Kan4 also denotes “to observe,” “to appreciate,” “to evaluate,” “to interview,” “to treat,” “to take care,” “to diagnose” and so on. All these denotations developed from the core meaning “to see.” Academia Sinica Ancient Chinese Corpus and Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese offer rich data about their usages and frequencies in ancient literature and in modern one. We will not look into the detail of kan4 here, but will give a detailed analysis of xin1 now.
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

Semantic Structure of Xin1

We take shu4 ஏ ‘forgive’ and dong3 ᚩ ‘understand’ as examples. They both have the radical ‘heart.’ The shu4 ஏ, with a coinage of a ru2 ڕ ‘similar to, the same as’ and a xin1 ‘heart,’ denotes ‘to think as the other person is thinking.’ The physical sense of xin1 ‘heart’ features the verb shu ‘forgive’ as forgiveness is a physical activity of mind-heart. Also having a heart as the radical, the dong3 ᚩ ‘understand’ is used when one wants to say that he/she has acquired certain knowledge, as in wo3 dong3 我 ວ ‘I see.’ The semantic domain of ‘xin1’ has expanded to mental knowledge as shown in Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2. The semantic structure of Mandarin Chinese “heart”

It is not by chance that the etymological sources of mental-state verbs overlap in certain areas and are distinct in others. As stated above, the lexeme xin1 originally refers to the body part “heart,” not “brain” where one really thinks. Nevertheless, language has a function to express the inherent culture. According to Goddard (1998: 5), Kövecses (2000) and many other linguists, language mostly represents laymen’s understanding of the world rather than one being based on scientific knowledge. For the most part, xin1 still refers to ‘intellect’ pragmatically, as in xin1suan4 心算 ‘mental arithmetic’ and xin1xiang3 心想 ‘think.’ Xin1 is also used in various contexts to express physical actions and mental activities. Table 1.1 shows the classification of the expressions that contain xin1.

Table 1.1 gives two major meanings of xin1—physical action and mental activities. There are words and phrases about ‘the heart’ and medical terms referring to the heart, such as xin1zang4bing4 心脏病 ‘a heart disease.’ People believe that the heart is the most important organ of a human body; xin1 is therefore used to refer to central part of other objects, such as hu2xin1 湖心 ‘center of lake’ and di4xin1 地心 ‘center of earth.’ The zhong1xin1 中心 ‘central part of an object’ has developed from part of a whole to the holistic units “center,” as in shi4mao4zhong1xin1 世贸中心 ‘World Trade Center.’ It has undergone pars pro toto mechanism over time.
Table 1.1. The classification of the expressions containing xin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Physical action</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the heart</td>
<td>xin1zang4 心脏 ‘the heart organ’; xin1tiao4 心跳 ‘palpitation of the heart’; xin1li4bu4zheng3 心律不整 ‘arrhythmia of cordis’; xin1dian4tu2 心电图 ‘cardiogram’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>central part of object</td>
<td>he2xin1 核心 ‘core, nucleus’; di4xin1 地心 ‘center of earth’; hu2xin1 湖心 ‘the center of a lake’; juan3xin1cai4 捲心菜 ‘cabbage’; zhu2xin1 燈心 ‘wick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>center (organization)</td>
<td>shi4mao4zhong1xin1 世贸中心 ‘World Trade Center’; shi4ting1zhong1xin1 視聽中心 ‘Audio Visual Center’; zil1xin4zhong1xin1 資訊中心 ‘Information Center’; zhi2xin4zhong1xin1 驗訓中心 ‘vocational training center’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>dian3xin1 飽心 ‘snack; dessert’; su4xin1lan2 莫心蘭 ‘a kind of orchid with undotted petals’; bei4xin1 背心 ‘vest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B. Mental activity</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the mind, intelligence</td>
<td>lao2xin1 勞心 ‘do mental work’; zhu4xin1 專心 ‘concentrate one’s mind’; jue2xin1 決心 ‘set one’s mind to’; xiao3xin1 小心 ‘careful, take care’; xi4xin1 細心 ‘careful, attentive’; dang1xin1 當心 ‘careful, take care’; liu2xin1 留心 ‘careful, take care’; tie1xin1 貼心 ‘to be thoughtful for’; guan1xin1 關心 ‘to be concerned with’; xin1suan4 心算 ‘mental arithmetic’; xin1zhi4 心智 ‘intelligence, wisdom’; xin1xiang3 心想 ‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mood, thinking</td>
<td>fang4xin1 放心 ‘to feel free, to not to worry’; kai1xin1 開心 ‘feel happy’; xin4xin1 信心 ‘confidence’; liang2xin1 意心 ‘conscience’; xin1gan1 心肝 ‘conscience’; zhong1xin1 忠心 ‘loyal’; gong1de2xin1 懷德心 ‘social conscience’; xiu1chi3xin1 善取心 ‘shame’; ye3xin1 野心 ‘ambition’; xiong2xin1 雄心 ‘ambition’; hui1xin1 悔心 ‘disappointed, give up hope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>states of mind</td>
<td>xin1fan2yi4luan4 心煩意亂 ‘confused and worried’; xin1huang1 心慌 ‘dismayed’; xin1ji2 心急 ‘tense, nervous with worry’; xin1kuang4shen2yi2 心曖神怡 ‘completely relaxed and happy’; xin1xu1 心虛 ‘guilty, afraid of being found out’; xin1qing2 心情 ‘state of mind, how one feels’; xin1shen2bu2ding4 心神不定 ‘distracted, the mind wanders’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tsao and Liu (1998) indicated that in the Western culture the notions of “heart” and “mind” are related to each other, and “mind” rules cerebration. Chinese people also consider “the heart” to be the organ with which we think and feel as shown in Table 1.1 under the category “the mind, intelligence,” such as lao2xin1 努心 ‘do mental work.’ When we say kai1xin1 開心, we mean ‘to feel happy,’ and when we say shang1xin1 傷心, we mean ‘to feel sad.’ The mental activity that xin1 represents can be categorized into four types as shown in the Table. The fourth category “affection, love,” such as xin1ai4deren2 心愛的人 ‘beloved, sweetheart’ concerning interpersonal relationship and social activity, will be discussed below.

1.4. The Pragmatic Discourse of Xin-Expressions

Let us now turn to observe xin-expressions from a different standpoint—the pragmatic discourses, i.e., how we use these expressions in our daily conversation. We may use the same expression in different contexts for different referents and senses. For example, xin1gan1 心肝 stands for different referents in various contexts. When xin1gan1 is used in a discourse between a doctor and a patient, the xin1gan1 literally means ‘heart and liver’. On the other hand, a mother may say, 'ta1 shi4 wo3 de xin1gan1bao3bei4 她是我的心肝寶貝 She is my sweetheart’ to her daughter. Here the xin1gan1 expresses affection and refers to the beloved one.

People use xin-expressions in at least the following four pragmatic discourses: (1) Expressions like zhuan1xin1 習心 ‘concentrate one’s mind’ and xi4xin1 慎心 ‘careful, take care’ describe individual behavior and character (see Table 1.2). The syntactic structure provides a clue. Most [SUBJ + hen/you (yi-ge) + xin-expression] structure or [SUBJ + xin-expression + predicate] fall into this category. For example, wo3 you3 yi2 ge xin1yuan4 我有一個心願 ‘I have a wish’ or ta1 xin1qing2 hen3 hao3 他心情很好 ‘She has a good mood.’ (2) Guan1xin1 關心 ‘to be concerned with’ and xin1xin1xiang1yin4 心心相印 ‘wholehearted response’ are used in interpersonal behavior. Most of the expressions categorized here realized in the syntactic structure [SUBJ + xin-expression + (OBJ)], and the OBJ is usually somebody. For example, ta1 hen3 guan1xin1 ta1 他很關心她 ‘He concerns himself about her.’ (3) Ye3xin1 野心 ‘ambition’ and cun2xin1 存心 ‘with the intention to’ express people’s attitude toward events. In this case the syntactic structure is the same as the second category, [SUBJ + OBJ + xin-expression], but the OBJ is something instead of somebody. For instance, ta1 dui4 nei4 ge zhi2wei4 hen3 you3 ye3xin1 他對...
章 1. 心理表現和心-體假說

He has ambition to that position." (4) Gongide2xin1 公德心 ‘social conscience’ and rong2yu4xin1 荣譽心 ‘honor’ are bound to social circumstance. That is to say, the adjuncts or complements involved should be related to the society or community. Table 1.2 lists xin-expressions distinguished by the pragmatic discourses: individual (personal behavior or character), interpersonal behavior, people and event, and people and the community. Please note that some expressions can be included in two or more pragmatic discourses depend on maxims of conversation (Grice 1989), i.e., the role and relationships of the participants and settings, etc. just as the above example xin1bing4 心病 ‘heart disease or mental disorder’ illustrated. Some, however, are used only in certain pragmatic discourse, for example, gong1de2xin1 公德心 ‘social conscience’ falls in the category ‘people and the community’ for only when one’s behavior is judged by the norms of a community and a society can gong1de2xin1 be valued.

Table 1.2. The pragmatic discourses of xin-expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The pragmatic discourses</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) individual (personal behavior or character)</td>
<td>zhuan1xin1 專心 ‘concentrate one’s mind’; xi4xin1 細心 ‘careful, take care’; xinlyuan4 心願 ‘wish’; xin1qing2 心情 ‘state of mind, how one feels’; xin4xin1 信心 ‘confidence’; xin1zhi4 心智 ‘intelligence, wisdom’; xin1shen2bu2ding4 心神不定 ‘distracted, the mind wanders’; xin1bing4 心病 ‘heart disease, mental disorder’; xin1di4 心地 ‘one’s mind’; xin1ting2 心態 ‘spirit’; xin1si1 心思 ‘thoughts’; xin1sheng1 心聲 ‘aspiration’; xin1yan3 心眼 ‘one’s intention’; xiao3xin1 小心 ‘careful, take care’; kai1xin1 開心 ‘feel happy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) interpersonal behavior</td>
<td>guan1xin1 關心 ‘to be concerned with’; xin1xin1xiang4xin4 心心相印 ‘wholehearted response, their love is reciprocal’; xin1teng2 心疼 ‘to love dearly’; tie1xin1 貼心 ‘to be thoughtful for’; xin1ai4 心愛 ‘darling, sweetheart’; xin1gan1 心肝 ‘sweetheart’; xin1yi2 心儀 ‘to admire in the heart’; xin1zao4bu4xuan1 心照不宣 ‘no need to say how grateful I am’; nai4xin1 耐心 ‘persistent’; re4xin1 慶心 ‘enthusiasm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) people and event</td>
<td>ye3xin1 野心 ‘ambition’; xiong2xin1 雄心 ‘ambition’; cun2xin1 存心 ‘with the intention to’; jue2xin1 決心 ‘set one’s mind to’; zhuan1xin1 專心 ‘concentrate one’s mind’; lao2xin1 勞心 ‘do mental work’; fang4xin1 放心</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feeling</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to feel free, not to worry’; hui1xin1 灰心 ‘disappointed, give up hope’</td>
<td>hui1xin1 灰心 ‘disappointed, give up hope’</td>
<td>hui1xin1 灰心 ‘disappointed, give up hope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘confused and worried’; tong4xin1 痛心 ‘regret, deplore greatly’;</td>
<td>tong4xin1 痛心 ‘regret, deplore greatly’</td>
<td>tong4xin1 痛心 ‘regret, deplore greatly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘completely relaxed and happy’; xin1yi4 心意 ‘intention, purpose’; cheng2xin1 誠心 ‘sincere’;</td>
<td>xin1yi4 心意 ‘intention, purpose’; cheng2xin1 誠心 ‘sincere’;</td>
<td>xin1yi4 心意 ‘intention, purpose’; cheng2xin1 誠心 ‘sincere’;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mental arithmetic’</td>
<td>mental arithmetic</td>
<td>mental arithmetic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (4) people and the community | gong1de2xin1 公德心 ‘social conscience’; zi4zun1xin1 自尊心 ‘pride’; liang2xin1 良心 ‘conscience’; rong2yu4xin1 榮譽心 ‘honor’; xiu1chi3xin1 誠恥心 | gong1de2xin1 公德心 ‘social conscience’; zi4zun1xin1 自尊心 ‘pride’; liang2xin1 良心 ‘conscience’; rong2yu4xin1 榮譽心 ‘honor’; xiu1chi3xin1 誠恥心 |
| | ‘shame’; zhong1xin1 忠心 ‘loyal’ | ‘shame’; zhong1xin1 忠心 ‘loyal’ |

As a consequence, Table 1.1 and Table 1.2 offer us the clues for the semantic expansion of xin1. Xin1, a lexeme for a body part, has developed from physical (heart or brain) domain to mental (personality or feeling) activity. Stated differently, vocabulary of abstract domains tends to be derived from concrete domains. The extension goes from individual behavior to interpersonal behavior, eventually, the extension reaches the interaction between people and their communities. This supports Sweetser’s mind-as-body hypothesis that physical-domain verbs come to have speech-act or mental-state meanings, and mental-state verbs come to have speech-act meanings. These inter-domain connections are cognitively based. We depict a radial diagram as in Figure 1.3.

![Figure 1.3. The radial diagram of the semantic change of xin1](image-url)
Figure 1.3 shows two major extensions of the original *xin1*—physical actions and mental activities, some subsequent units being under each group (cf. Tsao and Liu 1998). There are connections between the two main groups, and they all link to “person” and “personality.” For example, *xin1gan1* 心肝 can mean ‘heart and liver’ or ‘beloved one.’ The organs link to a person’s affection. People consider the heart and the liver to be important organs of human being that should be cherished. In addition, *xin1bing4* 心病 in the group of physical action means heart disease. When one says “*xin1bing4hai2yao4xin1yao4yi1* 心病還要心藥醫 mental treatment is needed for mental disorder,” the *xin1bing4* means mental disorder and refers to someone’s severe anxiety. Hence, *xin1* in *xin1bing4hai2yao4xin1yao4yi1* is not the heart but the state of mind that is generalized and linked to the “personality.”

Likewise, there are some expressions which originally referred to the heart of animals are now also used in the group of mental activities to describe people who have similar qualities. *Lang2xin1* 狼心, for instance, signified only the heart of a wolf. People believe that a wolf is evil and greedy, *lang2xin1* then finds itself marked with pejoration. It refers to a person who shares the same character of a wolf. In this case, *lang2xin1* is a physical object but also has mental activities meaning: personality.

From the above discussion, we see that the pragmatic discourses of *xin*-expressions are used to describe the discourse “individual,” or to explain the attitude one has toward another person or events. The interaction within people and events creates a sense of community, as presented in Figure 1.4. Next section focuses on these discourses by examining the *Academia Sinica Ancient Chinese Corpus* and the *Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese* in order to explore the historical developments of *xin*-expressions.

Figure 1.4. The pragmatic discourses of *xin*-expressions in diagram

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1 Taking the conceptual metaphors of Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Tsao & Liu (1998: 96) presented a radial structure of *xin* in which central parts of object, emotion and thoughts are derived from *xin1*. 

25
1.5. The Diachronic Perspective of The Xin1 Discourse

The corpora provide detailed information about the development of xin1 over time. According to the prominent annotations, we divide the long Chinese history into five periods: (a) from Chou Dynasty (1122 BC) to the end of Han Dynasty (220 AD), (b) from the beginning of Three Kingdoms (220 AD) to the end of Northern Dynasty (618 AD), (c) from Sui Dynasty (618 AD) to Sung Dynasty (1368 AD), (d) from Yuan Dynasty (1368 AD) to Ching Dynasty (1911 AD), and (e) the Modern Chinese period (1911 AD till now).

Here we only present three figures among others sketched during our research as they are sufficient for illustrating the evolution of xin-expressions for our purpose. There are interesting changes during Sui Dynasty to Sung Dynasty (Figure 1.5). Modern Chinese period is also a landmark of language evolution, therefore we present Figure 1.6 At the end, Figure 1.7 provides a combination of all dynasties to show the evolution through times of some expressions.

Figure 1.5. Some xin-expressions in Sui to Sung Dynasties (581 AD-1279AD)

Xin-expressions are used more and more often after Yuan Dynasty, probably because of the increasing genre of plays and novels. We can see from ancient literature that the written language in plays and novels at this stage is close to people’s daily spoken language and this language tends to be freer syntactically than the classical language in poetry or historical records. And as the time goes closer to modern era, the landmark of Modern Chinese—the so-called Wu3si4yun4dong4 四運動 (May Fourth Movement, 1919 AD) encouraged the written language to become closer and closer to spoken language. For this reason, more expressions are found at the last stage.
Figure 1.5 shows a high frequency of liu2xin1 ‘careful, take care.’ It was used twice as often as its synonym xiao3xin1 ‘careful, take care.’ From Sui to Sung Dynasty (618 AD-1368 AD). But then as Figure 1.6 indicates, liu2xin1 drops in Modern Chinese (19 lemmas in the Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese), while xiao3xin1 ‘careful’ demonstrates high frequency (435 lemmas in the same corpus). Xiao3xin1 gradually replaces liu2xin1.

![Figure 1.6. Some xin-expressions in Modern Chinese (1911 AD till now)](image)

The number of expressions used in interpersonal discourse also increased. For example, now people often use guan1xin1 ‘to be concerned with’ to show their concern about someone or something. However, before 1900s, there are only few usages found (compare Figure 1.6 and Figure 1.7). Furthermore, tie1xin1 ‘to be thoughtful for,’ which means very considerate or thoughtful, is found only in Modern Chinese. That might indicate that interpersonal expressions consisting of xin1 develop mostly in modern times.

The meaning change of some expressions is worth mentioning. Ye3xin1 野心 has different meanings in Classical and in Modern Chinese Before Yuan Dynasties (1271 AD), ye3xin1 often denoted ‘a beast’s heart.’ For example, lang2zi3ye3xin1 shi4nai3lang2ye3 ‘He is as greedy as a wolf’ (Chunqiu Zuozhuan, 476 BC). The meaning of lang2zi3ye3xin1 was ‘someone who is as greedy as a wolf.’ However, when one uses ye3xin1 in Modern Chinese, such as zheng4zhi4ye3xin1 政治野心 ‘ambition in politics,’ someone’s ambition is meant. Nowadays, people barely use ye3xin1 to mean a beast’s heart. The pragmatic discourse of ye3xin1 has shifted from “individual (of an animal)” to “people and event” or “people and community.”
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

Kai1xin1 開心 and e4xin1 惡心 have similar developments. Before Yuan, kai1xin1 meant “open-mindedness,” as in cai2 ming2 yong3 lüe4, fei1 ren2 di2 ye3, qie3 kai1 xin1 jian4 cheng2, wu2 suo3 yin3 fu2 才明勇略，非人敵也且開心見誠，無所隱伏 ‘(someone is) intelligent, courageous, of matchless and open-minded, nothing is concealed’ (Vol. 24, Li-chuan, Book of Later Han, 445 AD). Kai1xin1 meant ‘open-minded.’ However, when people use kai1xin1 right now, they always mean ‘to feel happy.’ Kai1xin1 acquires a new acceptation. Another example is e4xin1 惡心. Originally, e4 meant ‘bad,’ and e4xin1 referred to ‘wicked-minded,’ as in zhong1 gong1 ru2 ci3, ben3 wu2 e4xin1 忠功如此，本無惡心 ‘so faithful and feat-shining, (someone is) not wicked-minded’ (Vol. 86, Li-chuan, Book of Later Han, 445 AD). Yet, e4xin1 received another meaning later. E4xin1 was used to mean ‘being sick’ around the time of Rulinwaishi (儒林外史 (The Scholars Satiric Novel, author: Wu Jing-zi, 1701-1754): kou3 li3 zuo4 e4xin1, yue1 chu1 xu3 du1 ching1 tan2 lai2 口裡作惡心，嘔出許多清痰來 ‘sick in month, threw up some sputa’ (Chap. 6). The Chinese character of e4 had not survived in this expression. In Chap. 4, Section 2, LaochanYouji 老殘遊記 (Tramp Doctor’s Travellogue, 1903) already stated: chi1 de na4 yi4 shen1 de yang2 shan1 qi4, wu3 liu4 chi3 wai4, jiu4 jia1 jia1 ren2 zuo4 e3xin1 吃的那一身的羊膻氣，五六尺外，就教人作噁心 ‘The stinking smell after eating mutton makes people feel nauseated afar.’ E3xin1 噁心 replaced e4xin1 惡心 with a radical “mouth” added.

Figure 1.7 gives the diachronic development of xin-expressions. The last expression shown in the figures is xin4xin1 信心 ‘confidence.’ Xin4xin1 is used quite frequently in Modern Chinese. We found 419 lemmas in the Mandarin Chinese corpus, while only 23 lemmas are annotated in the other corpus from Sui to Song Dynasties (see Figure 1.5). Meanwhile, the synonyms of xin4xin1, for instance, zi4xin4 自信 and ba3wo4 把握 also show similar expansion over time. Though xin4xin1 is not an innovative expression in Modern Chinese, the noticeable rise of it and its synonyms imply that people care about being confident more than before. A Chinese society emphasizes holism (see e.g., Mauss 1954, Hsieh 2006) where a group often represents individuals; each individual does not stand out. Confidence has not been stressed as it is in our time. The much higher frequency of xin1qing2 心情 ‘how one feels,’ also a xin-expression used in the “individual” discourse, points out the same trend. The next section concludes this point as well as this chapter.
1.6. Conclusion

The discussion of Mandarin \textit{xin1} ‘heart’ proved that meaning is rooted in human cognitive experience, that is to say, the experience of the physical actions link to mental world, and the pragmatic restructuring of meaning is highly structured with the development from concrete domains to abstract domains. On the other hand, although \textit{xin1} is an organ of the human body, it often refers to the whole person, such as \textit{xin1gan1} \textit{ǹg} ‘heart and liver; beloved one.’ This part for whole mechanism is operative in the historical development of some complex conceptual structures including those involved in Mandarin \textit{xin1}.

Meanwhile, we can conclude that \textit{xin}-expressions changed in their pragmatic discourses in the history. In order to accommodate different social values, some innovations came into being while some are fading out of the vogue. Some shift their domains, for example, \textit{ye3xin1} \textit{ǹg}. \textit{Ye3xin1} has existed for thousands of years, meaning ‘a beast’s heart’ before Yuan Dynasty (1297 AD), but it means “ambition” now and is included in the domain of “people and event.” Likewise, the \textit{xin}-expressions in the pragmatic discourse “community,” such as \textit{gong1de2xin1} \textit{ǹg} ‘social conscience’ and \textit{xiu1chi3xin1} \textit{ǹg} ‘shame,’ reflect the values of a group of people. These expressions came into being for a reason: People live in communities and communities form a Chinese society. People can hardly live out of a community now. Globalization strengthens the
communities in a way that people learn more about the world, pay more attention to their living world, and at the same time know more to get themselves notable.

The *xin*-expressions in the pragmatic discourse “individual,” like *xin4xin1* 信心 ‘confidence’ and *xin1qing2* 心情 ‘mood,’ enjoys high frequency in the Modern Chinese corpus, though only a scant portion is found in the Ancient Chinese corpus. The growth of “individual” terms indicates that the egoism or individualism is permeating into the Chinese society where holism used to play a significant role. It is an effect of Western cultures and/or is a natural development of human society. The change of the social values prepares for joining the tide of globalization.

Mandarin *xin1* proves the statement of Rastier (1999: 134) that “fact actually confirmed by linguistic evolution.” Some linguists of semantics have frequently been eager to separate linguistic meaning from general human cognition and experience, and to keep linguistic “levels” (syntax vs. semantics vs. pragmatics) distinct from one another. We hope to have shown the fact, from the analysis of Mandarin *xin1* “heart-mind” and its expressions, that the virtual interaction between linguistic levels, viz., semantics and pragmatics, is not to be neglected.
Chapter 2. Face, Feet and Space as Body

Face and Feet are important body parts of the human body. They play essential roles in the human mind and in language to express our feelings. When we are upset, we can use expressions that contain body actions to express our emotion instead of directly saying that we are in a bad mood. It seems that our body parts have special connections to human emotions. Why do we express our emotions in such a metaphorical way? How do different body parts, such as “face” and “feet”, stand for our emotion? In this chapter, we look into body-part fixed expressions in Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese Southern Min to see how “face” and “feet” help us to express our feelings.

2.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the expressions containing face and feet in Mandarin Chinese and in Taiwanese Southern Min (hereafter “Taiwanese”, sometimes also “Taiwanese Southern Min” to avoid possible confusion). Theoretical perspective of THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff 1987) and EMOTION IS FORCE (Kövecses 2000) are the research framework. We present evidence in support of the claim that SPACE IS BODY and that metonymy is implemented in the conceptualization of emotion in terms of body parts in the given languages.

The bulk of the chapter is as follows: (1) Introduction, (2) literature review of this chapter, (3) theoretical framework, (4) face and feet expressions in Mandarin and Taiwanese, (5) discussion: emotion expressed with face and feet, (6) closing remarks.

2.2. Literature Review

The mainstream of body-part linguistic research is in the sphere of contrastive studies. Alekseenko and Khordy (1999), Nad (1996), Nad (1997), and Šileikaitė (1997) focus on the problem of equivalency of Russian, Polish, Hungarian, and Lithuanian phraseologisms. Mugu (2002) focuses on structural and semantic analysis of some polysemous body-part words, such as head, heart, arm, hand, leg, foot, eye, ear, and nose, in Russian, German, and the Adug languages. Sakurugi and Fuller (2003) compare the perception of translatability of body-part metaphors in English and Japanese.

Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

(2004) compares anger expressions based on body-part terms in Tunisian Arabic. Ro, Friggel, and Lavie (2007) investigate face. Wang (2005) aims at cognitive analysis of the hand metaphor. He compares hand expressions in Mandarin Chinese and English with Lakoff’s ICM and Johnson’s Image Schema. His conclusions are that (1) people have similar types of cognition of the objective world: object cognition and space cognition; and (2) the metaphorical meanings of hand expressions conform to this regular cognitive pattern in English and Mandarin Chinese.

Li (2007: 712) has studied the body-part terminology in different languages and observes that the transfer of body-part terminology follow some basic principles: (1) form top to down, such as tou1zhong4jiao3qing1 頭重腳輕 ‘head-heavy-foot-light = top-heavy’ rather than jiao3qing tou1zhong4 腳輕頭重 ‘foot-light-head-heavy’; (2) from front to back, such as qian2hou4yi1zhi4 前後一致 ‘front-back-one-manner = coherent’ rather than hou4qian2yi1zhi4 後前一致 ‘back-front-one-manner’; (3) from part to whole, such as shou3 手 ‘hand’ can be used to indicate bi4 臂 ‘arm’. Moreover, the upper parts of human body are usually used to refer to high-level or advanced matters while the lower parts of human body usually refer to low-class or ungraceful events. The body-part terminology can transfer to other body-part terminologies. For example, in Taiwanese Southern Min, chhiu2 手 ‘hand’ and kha 腳 ‘feet’ can represent pi3 臂 ‘arm’ and thui2 腳 ‘leg’ (from part to whole). Da4mu3zhi3 大拇指 ‘thumb’ sometimes can be in place of da4jiao3zhi3 大腳指 ‘the big toe’ but not vice versa (from top to down). Furthermore, the body-part terminology can transfer to the body part’s function, such as tou2 頭 ‘head’ represents zhi4hui4 智慧 ‘intelligence’. However, the transfer can also extend to other knowledge systems or life forms and non-life objects. These transfers base on the similar shape, size, function or position of the body-part terminology. The body-part terminologies are also basic vocabulary (Li 2007: 714) which can’t be replace by other terminologies easily and the use of body-part terminology is usually metaphorical.

Tsao, Tsai and Liu (2001) observing the grammaticalization of body-part metaphors in Mandarin Chinese have detailed discussions. They think that head and face have become suffix through grammaticalization, such as shang4tou2 上頭 ‘up’ and shang4mian4 上面 ‘the higher ups,’ in which head is only focusing on a point, while face has wider distribution. Tsao, Tsai and Liu (2001) at the same time observe that body-part metaphors often evolve into measure words, such as ‘head’ in yi4tou2niu2 一头牛 ‘a cow.’

Hollenbach (1995) studied the body-part nouns face and foot in the Mixtecan family of languages spoken in Mexico and found out an interesting series of semantic extensions and syntactic category shifts from nouns to prepositions. Two words demonstrate a surprising range of uses. Thus, the meanings face include not only the literal body part but also ‘front of,’ ‘top surface of,’’ in front of,’’ ‘on top of,’’ ‘in the measure of,’’ ‘to,’’ ‘in place of,’’ ‘place (where),’ ‘time (when),’ ‘when’ and ‘if.’ The meanings for foot include ‘bottom of,’’ ‘beginning of,’’ ‘basis of,’’ ‘at the foot of,’’ ‘at the beginning of,’’ ‘for the benefit of,’’ ‘on behalf of,’’ ‘about,’’ ‘in exchange of,’’ and ‘because.’
Within a cultural group, the cognitive structure of emotions can be conceptualized as the cognitive representation of differences and similarities between emotion terms (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson and O’Connor 1987). As emotion processes or aspects thereof deemed relevant within a culture are likely to be coded into emotion terms (Levy 1984), they offer access to culture-specific representations of the emotion domain.

Russell (1991) states that emotion terms can provide decisive information about the equivalence or nonequivalence of the associated psychological events. How can emotions be understood in a rationalist philosophy? Church (2005: 39) found that “the spatialized nature of unconscious reasoning is the nature of emotional reasoning.” When turning to nonhuman, that is, animal, reasoning, Church invokes an inherent biological mode of thinking. Supposedly, animal representation is a concrete, spatial kind of reasoning. A human being develops on from this, achieving symbolic representations as well as perceptual representations. Even in early infancy, mother presents the infant’s emotions back to it in a form that is decoupled from the perceptual representation (Gergely and Watson 1996). We see that human body and space are both essential issues in human language based on human bodily experience.

From the study of expressions containing the body-part terms face and foot in Mandarin and in Taiwanese based on the following theoretical framework, this chapter attempts to show that while emotion is a reason for action and, motions in space, human beings can integrate actions into expressions to either reduce or relieve emotion.

### 2.3. Theoretical Framework

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff 1987) and EMOTION IS FORCE (Kövecses 2000) are the theoretical background of this chapter. We review them in turn below.

#### 2.3.1. Body as Emotion

Lakoff (1987) claims that THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (1987: 382). This principle is based on physiological effects of our body. When getting angry, body heat increases and the internal pressure caused by blood pressure and muscular pressure also increases. As a result, the effect agitates and interferes with the body’s ability to accurately perceive the outside world. Lakoff (1987) believes that all these effects—body heat, internal pressure, agitation, and redness in face and neck area—are integrated into languages and bring in a system of metonymies for anger, such as in English:
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

Body heat
- Don’t get hot under the collar.
- Billy’s a hothead.
- They were having a heated argument.
- When the cop gave her a ticket, she got all hot and bothered and started cursing.

Redness in face and neck area
- She was scarlet with rage.
- He got red with anger.
- He was flushed with anger. (Lakoff 1987: 382)

Because increased body heat or blood pressure or both are supposed to cause redness in the face and neck area, such redness can also be a metonymic sign of anger. These data give evidence that emotions are not only feelings devoid of conceptual content; emotions have a complex conceptual structure.

Consequently, Lakoff (1987: 383) claims that “the body is a container for the emotion” as shown in the conceptual metaphor below:

The body is a container for the emotion
- He was filled with anger.
- She couldn’t contain her joy.
- She was brimming with rage.
- Try to get your anger out of your system.

When ANGER IS HEAT, metaphor connects to fluids, that is, combines with the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, and the central metaphor of the system produces:

Anger is the heat or a fluid in a container
- You make my blood boil.
- Simmer down!
- I had reached the boiling point.
- Let him stew.

Metaphors take place when people intent to express abstract concepts. To make these abstract concepts understandable, people usually rely on concrete objects to help clarify the abstract ideas (Lakoff and Johnnson 1980, Goddard 1998). The transfer from the concrete object to the abstract
concept becomes a new interpretation of metaphor. Ungerer and Schmid (2006: 119) introduce a way to explain this metaphorical process:

The target domain is the abstract concept that the speaker wishes to address. The source domain is the concrete object which helps the speaker build the target domain in the metaphorical process. When there are comparable similarities between the target domain and the source domain, the source domain maps onto the target domain can create a interpretation of metaphor. This is a mapping process and the similarity found is the mapping scope.

The central metaphor is productive in both lexical items and mapping from the source domain to the target domain. Take lexical items for example: “the words and fixed expressions of a language can code, that is, be used to express aspects of, a given conceptual metaphor to a greater or lesser extent” (Lakoff 1987: 384). The lexical *simmer* and *stew* above are this kind. *Simmer* refers to a low boil and *stew* has a hot fluid in a container. Both give heat. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) concluded that the mind is embodied in a word in the profound sense that the structure of our thoughts comes from the natural character of the body. Metaphors, a type of fixed expressions, are the foci of some chapters in this monograph.

### 2.3.2. Emotion is Force

The study of human emotion from a linguistic perspective has been well documented. A question that arises from such study is how the role of the body in emotion and the impact of emotion on the body are conceptualized. Talmy (2000a, 2000b) and Kövecses (2000) believe that EMOTION IS FORCE.

Talmy (2000b: 213–221) opined that emotion expressions can be explained through the conceptual domains of motion, change of state, and action correlation. His Force Schema is the primary theoretical background of this statement. Talmy characterizes Force Schema thus:
The primary distinction that language marks here is a role difference between the two entities exerting the forces. One force-exerting entity is singled out for focal attention—the salient issue in the interaction is whether this entity is able to manifest its force tendency or, on the contrary, is overcome. (1988: 53)

That is to say, when two entities (Agonist and Antagonist) exert force, the stronger will prevail, and thus either action or inaction is the result. The factors in the force schema are force entities (Agonist and Antagonist), intrinsic force tendency (toward action and toward rest/inaction), resultant of the force interaction (action and rest/inaction), and balance of strengths (the stronger entity and the weaker entity). Lexical items involved in this way refer not only to physical force interactions but also to psychological and social interactions, conceived in terms of psychosocial pressures (Talmy 2000a: 409).

Kövecses (2000: 61) applied Force Schema and added to EMOTION IS FORCE that the Agonist can be the rational self while the Antagonist can be the emotion. When the force of the Agonist (the rational self) is stronger than that of the Antagonist (the emotion), the rational self attempts not to respond. However, when the Antagonist is stronger, the emotion will cause the self to respond and there will be emotional reaction or behavior.

If EMOTION IS FORCE is a generic-level metaphor, the most studied specific-level emotion metaphor is EMOTION IS PRESSURE INSIDE A CONTAINER. The agonist here is the rational self, the antagonist is the substance with pressure inside the container. When there is very little substance in the container, the pressure is low and thus emotion is at low intensity; when the substance rises, this corresponds to an increase in emotional intensity and the substance going out of the container corresponds to some external behavior by the self (Kövecses 2000: 67-68).

Kövecses suggests two possibilities to refine Talmy’s system. When the container overflows, we get uncontrolled but non-violent emotional responses; when it explodes, we get uncontrolled violent responses. However, this only applies in the typical cases; sometimes a “violent” emotion may be conceptualized as producing nonviolent response (e.g. “He was brimming/overflowing with rage” and a “non-violent emotion may be seen as leading to a relatively violent response (e.g. “She felt like she was going to burst with joy”) (Kövecses 2000: 67-68).

In the study of this chapter, face and feet body-part expressions in Mandarin and Taiwanese will be examined to show that the function of “lexicalized emotion expressions is to underscore the concurrent, interconnected nature of actions and emotions,” as Huang (2002: 179) pointed out.

2.4. Face & Feets Expressions in Mandarin and Taiwanese

The face and feet are external body parts. Encyclopedia Britannica (2007) defines face as “front
part of the head that, in vertebrates, houses the sense organs of vision and smell as well as the mouth and jaws. In humans it extends from the forehead to the chin.” The feet are “the terminal portion of the leg of a mammal, reptile, or amphibian” (Encyclopedia Americana 2007). Both face and feet take the space of the human body and also in languages. Face (lian3 面 and mian4 面 in Mandarin bin7 面 in Taiwanese) and feet (jiao3 腳 and zu2 足 in Mandarin, kha 腳 and chiok 足 in Taiwanese) can express a variety of emotions (Table 2.1).

This table still does not provide a complete list of the emotions shown by the face and feet in both languages. One reason is that the usage of any expression is never exactly the same every time. The meaning of an expression easily varies depending upon the speaker, hearer, situation, topic, or even tone. For example, the Taiwanese pin3bin7 ‘change-face’ can be used to express being angry, ashamed, shocked, and so on, which depends on the speaker’s personal experience, the hearer’s interpretation, and the situation at the time. It is used most frequently to convey anger, and therefore this emotion term is given in Table 2.1 for this expression. In addition, there are regional variations, for example, wo1xin1jiao3 ‘one who cheers other people up’ is used in northern China, but not in Taiwan. In addition to lian3 面 and mian4 面, rong2 容, yan2 顏, and mao4 毛 also refer to face, but they are not as typical and will not be discussed here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body parts</th>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>Taiwanese Southern Min</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>angry, ashamed, calm, cold, cowardly, dreadful, embarrassed, fearful, furious, happy, happy (pretend), hard-hearted, insincerity, insult, irritable, jealous, joy, proud, sad, scared, serious, shameless, shy, terrified, unconcerned, unfeeling, unhappy, upset, worried</td>
<td>agitated, angry, ashamed, bad mood, cheerful, dejected, dismayed, frustrated, good mood, happy, irritable, joyful, melancholic, pain, proud, sad, shameless, shy, terrified, unhappy (bad mood), unhappy, worried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feet</td>
<td>agitated, angry, anxious, ashamed, at ease, carefree, careful, careless, cheerful, confident, excited, frustrated, furious, happy, helpless, hesitated, impatient, irritable, love (sibling), nervous, proud, regrettable, regretted, rough, rush, sad, satisfied, scared, scornful, shy, timid, tired, uneasy, weak, worried</td>
<td>agitated, angry, annoyed, at ease, cheerful, depressed, distain, excited, happy, healthy, hesitated, lazy, melancholic, pain, satisfied, scared, tired, uncomfortable, weak, worried</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.1. Mandarin Chinese

Anger, shame, coldness, happiness, sadness, shamelessness, and shyness are expressed primarily in Mandarin *face*. Some examples are given below in (1). Coldness is a special feeling expressed in Mandarin *face* but not shown in Taiwanese, as in (1c).

(1). Emotions expressed with Mandarin *face*
   a. *fan1lian3bu2ren4ren2* 'turn-face-not-recognize-people = to turn angry suddenly'
   b. *mian4hong2er3chi4* 'face-red-ear-red = to blush up to the ears'
   c. *wan3niang2mian4kong3* 'evening-mother-face-hole/nostril = to show an indifferent, even disdainful, attitude'
   d. *mian3mian44chun1feng1* 'full-face-spring-wind = face radiates happiness'
   e. *lei4liu2mian3mian4* 'tear-run-full-face = tears cover one’s face'
   f. *si3pi2lai4lian3* 'dead-sink-rascally-face = thick-skinned, unashamed'

There are combinations of emotions expressed, for example, anger and happiness are both expressed in *shen1shou3bu4da3xiao4lian3ren2* 'stretch-hand-not-beat-smile-face-person = one will not beat a smiling person,’ because the experiencer must be angry enough to intend to beat up the person causing the feeling (the agent); however, the agent’s smiling face prevents the angry experiencer from realizing the violent intention. A Mandarin speaker who says *lian3du1lü4le4* 'face-all-green-[tense particle]' can show anger, shyness, or fear, and *lian3hong2xin1tiao4* 'face-redden-heart-beat = face blushing and heartbeat increasing’ can show happiness, joy, or shyness. In the last three phrases, facial color assists the expression of emotions. Different facial colors express different emotions. The usage of color is parallel in Taiwanese. This is a special feature of these emotion expressions and will be further discussed in the next section.

In the case of *feet*, agitation, anger, anxiousness, nervousness, hurriedness, satisfaction, and worry are focal emotions expressed in Mandarin *feet*, as shown in examples (2). Helplessness, impatience, regret, and roughness are the special emotions that are expressed in Mandarin *feet* but not shown in Taiwanese, as in (3).

(2). Emotions expressed with Mandarin *feet*
   a. *duo4jiao3* 'stamp-feet = stamp one’s feet’
b. liang3jiao3zhi2tiao4 雨脚直跳 ‘two-feet-keep-jump = to get extremely furious’

c. guo3zu2bu4qian2 裹足不前 ‘bind-feet-not-move = to hesitate to proceed’

d. shou3jiao3wu2cuo4 手脚无措 ‘hand-feet-no-manage = to have no idea about how to do’

e. shou3mang2jiao3luan4 手忙脚乱 ‘hand-busy-feet-mess = very busy’

(3). Emotions expressed particularly with Mandarin feet
a. shou3zu2wu2cuo4 手脚无措 ‘hand-feet-no-manage = to have no idea about how to do’
b. cuo1shou3dun4zu2 搓手顿足 ‘rub-hand-stamp-feet = to behave impatiently or anxiously’
c. cu1shou3cu1jiao3 粗手粗脚 ‘rough-hand-rough-feet = to be clumsy’

There are combinations of emotions expressed with feet too, for example, happiness and weakness are both expressed in tou2zhong4jiao3qing1 头重脚轻 ‘head-heavy-feet-light = top-heavy,’ because the experiencer is so happy that they feel weak. A Mandarin speaker in the condition of qi1shou3ba1jiao3 七手八脚 ‘seven-hands-eight-feet = with everybody lending a hand; in a bustle’ is in a rushed, agitated, nervous condition. The combination of emotions show the cooperation of different body parts in order to accomplish certain emotions that will be elaborated later. Other examples of this kind are shown in (4).

(4). The collaboration of body parts to show emotion
a. chuei2xiojing1dun4zu2 捧胸顿足 ‘beat-chest-stamp-feet = beat the breast and stamp the feet in fury’
b. quan2da3jiao3ti1 拳打脚踢 ‘fist-hit-feet-kick = to strike and kick’
c. shou3wu3zu2dao4 手舞足蹈 ‘hand-dance-feet-stamp = dance for joy’
d. xie2jian1lei4zu2 舌卷唇足 ‘threaten-shoulder-tired-feet = to show a tense and frightened look’
e. suo1tou2suo1jiao3 缩头缩脚 ‘shrink-head-shrink-feet = to shrink from doing’

2.4.2. Taiwanese Southern Min

Anger and cheerfulness are focal emotions expressed in Taiwanese face. Some examples are given below in (5). Emotions that are expressed only in Taiwanese face but not in Mandarin are melancholy and pain, as shown in (6).
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

(5). Anger and cheerfulness expressed with Taiwanese face
   a. phaiNbin7khiuN 夕面向 ‘bad-face-tune = to look unsightly; angry’
   b. moa2bin7chhunhong 滿面春風 ‘full-face-spring-wind = cheerful; happy’

(6). Melancholy and pain expressed with Taiwanese face
   a. khou2ko bin7 ㄆ瓜面 ‘bitter melon-face = melancholic; worried’
   b. bin7ham3hang3 面ham3hang3 ‘face-swollen = to have a swollen face; painful’

Still, there are combinations of emotions expressed, for example, unhappiness, grumpiness (being in a bad mood), and irritability in bin7chhau3chhau3 面臭臭 ‘face-smells-smells.’ The experiencer is in a bad mood and unhappy at the moment, and the speaker would rather leave the experiencer alone. A Taiwanese speaker who says li3phoa3bin7li3 窕面 ‘rip off-broken-face = to put aside all considerations of face’ is ashamed, dashed, and dismayed; is ready to put aside all considerations of face; and will have no consideration for anyone else’s feelings. This might come to an open break in a friendship. The same expression is available in Mandarin. Both expressions show the collaboration of different senses in expressing emotions. That is, the bin7chhau3chhau3 面臭臭 has the odor (‘stinking’) participate in showing a bad mood, while li3phoa3bin7li3 窕面 brings in the sense of touch (‘ripping off’). The mixture of different senses to express emotion is a feature of our data and will be further discussed in the next section.

Anger and happiness are focal emotions expressed using feet in Taiwanese. Some examples are given below in (7). Being at ease and hesitation are special emotions in Taiwanese feet not shown in Mandarin, as (8) shows.

(7). Anger and happiness expressed with Taiwanese feet
   a. tio5khatng3toe5 跳腳踏蹄 ‘hop-feet-stamp-hoof = furious’
   b. saNkhatio5, si3khathiau3 三腳tio5, 四腳跳 ‘three-feet-hop-four-feet-jump = very excited and happy’

(8). Being at ease and hesitation expressed with Taiwanese feet
   a. eng5khatut 開腳骨 ‘free-feet-bone = to be in a carefree state’
   b. tah8khapou7 踏腳步 ‘step-feet-step = to be hesitant’

Combinations of emotions are also expressed; for example, excitement and happiness are both expressed in saNkhatio5, si3khathiau3 三腳 tio5, 四腳跳 ‘three-feet-hop-four-feet-jump.’ A Taiwanese speaker who is khalan2chhiu2lan2 鬥懶手懶 ‘feet-lazy-hands-lazy’ is maybe sick and weak, or in a bad mood and melancholic. Here the laziness indicates a temporary emotion but not an inherent personality trait. On the other hand, a Taiwanese speaker can be worried enough to be
afraid, as in khaphu5chhiau2chun3 腳浮手顫 ‘feet-float-hand-shiver. We see the actions of the body part feet and the force of feet expressions in showing emotions. Jumping, stamping, and beating point to strong emotions like anger and excitement, as in (4) and (9), while laziness and relaxing indicate emotions like grumpiness and melancholy, as shown in this paragraph.

(9). Actions and emotions
a. cham3kha 腳踏 ‘stamp-feet = to be angry’
b. tun3kha 腳踏 ‘stamp-feet = to be hesitant’
c. kiu3khakah / kiu3khakun 勾腳筋 ‘throb-feet-tendon = to feel uncomfortable’

Finally, in both Mandarin and Taiwanese, there are interesting expressions showing emotions by using different role plays, animals, objects, and numbers. We give some examples below in Mandarin (10a-b), (11a-b), (12a-b), (13a-b), and in Taiwanese (10c-d), (11c-d), (12c-d), (13c-d) for later discussion.

(10). Roles and emotions
a. wan3nia it2mian4kong3 晚娘面孔 ‘evening-mother-face-hole/nostril = to show an indifferent, even disdainful, attitude’
b. gue3lian3 鬼臉 ‘ghost-face = grimaces’
c. hau3lam5bin7 孝男面 ‘a son in mourning-face = with a face like a man who is in mourning; a sad and tearing look’
d. lui5konbin7 雷公面 ‘Thunder God-face = fierce look’
e. si2lang5bin7 死人面 ‘dead-person-face = a face looks like that of a dead’

(11). Animals and emotions
a. xiao4mian4hu3 笑面虎 ‘laugh-face-tiger = a wicked person with a hypocritical smile’
b. huang1jiao3ji1 黃嘴雞 ‘flurried-feet-chicken = a man of haste and irritation’
c. lam2khahe5 軟腳蝦 ‘soft-feet-shrimp = a coward’
d. chiNbin7ho2 緋面虎 ‘green-face-tiger = an irritable and moody person’
e. chit8e5bin7na7nimukian7 一個面若貓盹 ‘a-face-like-cat-gizzard = a face wrinkle together; look ashamed when one is known being lying’

(12). Object and emotions
a. ku3gua1lian3 苦瓜臉 ‘bitter-melon = melancholic; worried’
b. pu4ke4lian3 撲克臉 ‘poker-face = an indifferent facial expression, revealing no emotions’
c. bai4fo2jiao3 抱佛腳 ‘hold/embrace-Buddha-leg = rush to meet the deadline’
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

d. *kakoanbin7* 加冠面 ‘add-mask-face = a face like wearing a mask; shameless’
e. *thihbin7phoe5* 鋼面皮 ‘iron-face-skin = shameless’

(13). Numbers and emotions
a. *qi1shou3bai1jiao3* 七手八腳 ‘seven-hand-eight-feet = to serve hand and foot’
b. *lian3shang4yi2zhen4hong2yi2zhen4bai2* 臉上一陣紅一陣白 ‘face-upon-one-[classifier]-red-one-[classifier]-white = a burst of red and a burst of white on face; embarrassed’
c. *saNkhatio5, si3khathiau3* 三腳跳 ‘three-feet-hop -four-feet-jump = very excited and happy’
d. *saNkhacho3chit8kha* 三腳做一脚 ‘three-feet-as-one-feet = in a hurry’

2.5. Discussion: Emotions Expressed with *Face & Feet*

The above presentation of *face* and *feet* expressions in Mandarin and Taiwanese shows two essential issues that will be discussed in this section: (1) the assistance of color in *face* expressions of emotions, and (2) synaesthesia, that is, a combination of different senses.

The face is the most conspicuous part of a person. When we meet someone, we are *peng4mian4* 碰面 ‘meet-face = meeting someone.’ *Face* expresses various emotions, for example, simply juxtaposed with role plays (as in example 10), animals (example 11), and objects (example 12), *face* shows emotions richly in both Mandarin and Taiwanese. In addition, facial color assists the expression of emotions. Color is a visual perception; the combination of color (vision) and emotion is due to the physiological effects of the body (face): the face turns different colors for different emotions. The face can *lian3shang4yi2zhen4hong2yi2zhen4bai2* 臉上一陣紅一陣白 ‘face-on-one-[classifier]-red-one-[classifier]-white = a burst of red and a burst of white on face’ because of embarrassment or irritability. And when a woman is surprised or terrified, her face can have no color, such as *hua1rong2shi1ce4* 花容失色 ‘flower-face-lost-color.’ The synchronization of vision and emotion is documented. For instance, Kolodkina and Hsieh (2006: 98) state that mapping from vision to emotion and sense modality is characteristic of Mandarin, Russian, and English. In Mandarin and Taiwanese, different colors may be adopted for the same emotion (14) and (15) or vice versa, as shown in (16) and (17).

(14). different colors for the same emotion in Mandarin: angry, terrified
a. *hei1lian3* 黑臉 ‘black-face = to show an angry or a grim expression’

b. *lian3hong2bo2zicu1* 臉紅脖子粗 ‘face-red-neck-[suffix]-thick = to be red to the tip of one’s ears’
Chapter 2. Eyes, Hands and Body as Emotion

(15). different colors for the same emotion in Taiwanese: terrified
   a. bin7ouou 面鸟鸟 ‘face-black-black = face turning dark or pale because of fright’
   b. bin7hoan2chheN 面反背 ‘face-turn-verdant = face turning iron-grey; livid’

(16). different colors for the same emotion in Taiwanese and Mandarin: angry
   a. bin7oukhi3 面鸟去 ‘face-black-go/turned = face turning dark’
   b. lian3se4tie3qing1 脸色铁青 ‘face-color-iron- verdant = face turning iron-grey; livid’
   c. toa7bin7ang5kiki 大面红吹吹 ‘big-face-red-gi [model particle] = face turning scarlet’
   d. lian3hong2tou2zhang4 脸红头胀 ‘face-red-head-bloated = face reddening and head seeming to explode’
   e. bin7peh8si2sat 面白死杀 ‘facewhite-ivory/snowy-kill = so furious that one’s face turns pale’
   f. lian3bai1qi4ye1 面白气噎 ‘face-whiten-breath-choke = so furious that one chokes oneself and the face turns pale’

(17). same color for different emotions in Mandarin: nervous, shy
   a. ji2hong2bai2lian3 脸红白脸 ‘rapid-red-white-face = face turning red or white for nervousness or anxiety’
   b. lian3hong2xin1tiao4 脸红心跳 ‘face-redden-heart-beat = face blushing and heartbeat increasing’

(18). same color for different emotions in Taiwanese: angry, shy
   a. bin7ang5hi7chhiah 面红耳赤 ‘face-red-ear-red = to blush up to the ears’
   b. bin7ang5 面红 ‘face-red = shy’

It is also apparent that the face can combine other senses apart from color to express emotion. In the above discussion about Taiwanese face expressions, we see that bin7chhau3chhau3 面臭臭 ‘face-stinking-stinking’ has odor ‘stinking’ participates in showing a bad mood, while li3phoa3bin7 li3 脸面 ‘rip off-break-face = to put aside all considerations of face’ brings in with the sense of touch ‘ripping off.’ These are the synaesthesia of the senses of smell and touch. Other senses such as taste (19), and smell (20) are also involved in Mandarin and Taiwanese, respectively.

(19). taste and emotions
   a. lian3suan1 酸 ‘face-sour = to be jealous’
   b. ku3gua1lian3 酸瓜脸 ‘bitter-melon = a gloomy expression’
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

(20). smell and emotions
a. au3chhau3bin7 臭臭面 ‘blain-stink-face = a displeased expression’
b. bin7chhau3chhau3 臭臭臭 ‘face-stink-stink = a displeased expression’

Other spheres of touch, such as temperature and space, also participate in both Mandarin and Taiwanese, as shown in (21a-b) and (21c-d), respectively. Ullmann (1959) and Williams (1976) say that touch is regarded as a lower sense, i.e., touch is a sense that other senses are easy to transfer to in expressing synaesthetic metaphors. Kolodkina and Hsieh (2006) show that mapping from the “higher” to the “lower” sensory modes touch is particularly obvious (53.2%) in their Mandarin data. In our data of feet expressions, 45.5% of Mandarin and 46% of Taiwanese data are of this type (see Table 2.2).

(21). temperature and emotions
a. lian3re4 脣熱 ‘face-hot = easily excited’
b. leng3mian4 冷面 ‘cold-face = displeased, stern-faced’
c. khaboe2leng2 皺尾冷 ‘feet-tail-cold = to shiver for fear’
d. sio sio bin ù lâng ê chìn kha chhng siosiobin7u3lang5e5chin3khachhng 倉@Bean面熾人个清 觱倂 ‘hot-hot-face-paste-man-possessive marker-indifferent-hip-hip = the good will is not welcome’

(22). space and emotions
a. cham3kha 捺腳 ‘stamp-feet = to stamp for showing anger’
b. tang7kachhia2 動腳手 ‘move-feet-hand = to fight’
c. bin7phoe5poh8 面皮薄 ‘face-sink-thin = get shy easily’
d. moa2bin7chhunhong 腮面昏紅 ‘full-face-spring-wind = face radiates happiness’
e. lian3hong2xin1tiao4 臉紅心跳 ‘face-red-heart-jump = being shy, nervous, etc.’

In fact, the synaesthesia of space (part of the sense of touch) and emotion is the primary source domain for showing emotion. Strictly speaking, the visual (color) transfer to emotion is a spatial account too, because qualities of objects such as spatial dimensions (touch) are perceived with the eyes. The integration of vision in this cognitive construction occurs in an unconscious way to show emotion that is activated in identifying objects and generating “mental visual images” (Kosslyn et al. 1995).
Table 2.2. The main domains of synaesthetic transfers of emotion in our data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>senses</th>
<th>face</th>
<th>feet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>Taiwanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>color</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temperature</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smell</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>touch</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The face generates more emotions in both Mandarin and Taiwanese, but with the involvement of actions and motions or even numbers (as the examples in 13), the feet are well qualified to show rich emotions as well. Spatial transfer to emotion is more obvious in the case of feet. As mentioned in example 4, the combination of emotions shows the cooperation of different body parts in order to express certain emotions in Mandarin feet expressions. The collaboration of different vehicles to give a single meaning shows the holistic mode of thinking typical of Chinese culture, which is discussed in Hsieh (2006). If we look into such collaboration in terms of spatial transference, we see that different body parts, viz. different bodily spaces working together to show emotions, particularly when motions are involved, as such the examples in (4) and (9), all have to do with motions.

Feet and face involve different spatial transference. Feet has a stronger force like stamping (21a) or moving (21b), and face involves more visual and tender space: thinness (21c), fullness (21d), etc. However, through the collaboration of other body parts, strong forces like stamping and jumping can be combined with face, as shown in (21e).

According to Lakoff (1993), there are two cases of the special conceptualization of abstract concepts: the location-dual and object-dual. As we have seen, location and form are included with the sense of touch. Yu (2003a: 33) indicates that the spatialization of abstract concepts is a general cognitive principle: looking at abstract concepts as three-dimensional locations, entities, or substances that exist in space. This is also the principal underlying the notion of “from the more concrete to the more abstract.”

As for the regularities and specifics of formation of synaesthetic expressions, Kolodkina and Hsieh (2006: 103) claim that “the integrity of human perception and the interconnection of feelings with the dominance of emotions can explain the interplay and sometimes inseparability of several different synaesthetic meanings within one verbal representation.” The claim of cognitive psychology lies in the coordination of organs of sense perception and dominance of emotions in the
processes of human perception and cognition. The emotion-related expressions in the forms of face and feet prove this assertion.

2.6. Conclusion

This study presents compounds and idiomatic expressions containing body-part terms, lian3/mian4 ‘face’ and jiao3/zu2 ‘foot’ in Mandarin and bin7 ‘face’ and kha/chiok ‘foot’ in Taiwanese, with a focus on how they convey emotions. Our comparison of Mandarin and Taiwanese shows that the emotions anger, shame, coldness, happiness, sadness, shamelessness, and shyness are most expressed in Mandarin face, while anger and cheerfulness are the focal emotions expressed in Taiwanese face. Coldness is the special emotion that is expressed in Mandarin face, while melancholic and pain are only expressed in Taiwanese face. In the case of feet, agitation, anger, anxiousness, nervousness, hurriedness, satisfaction, and worry are focal emotions expressed in Mandarin, whereas anger, happiness, and satisfaction, are often shown with Taiwanese feet. Greed, helplessness, humility, impatience, regret, and roughness are the special emotions expressed in Mandarin feet, while hesitation is the special emotion that expressed only in Taiwanese feet.

Feet and face involve different spatial transference, with the former having stronger force like stamping (21a) or moving (21b), and the latter including more visual and tender space like thinness (21c), fullness (21d), etc. Nevertheless, through the collaboration of other body parts, strong force like stamping and jumping (21e) can be expressed with face too.

Talmy’s (1988, 2000a) and Kövecses’ (2000) approach, EMOTIONS ARE FORCES, obviously operates in these face and feet expressions of emotion. Emotion, reasoning, self control, or emotional response is either an outer or inner force of the body. Either the outer or inner force is an Agonist or Antagonist. One will prevail over the other in certain circumstances with a particular emotion expressed. To cite Talmy (2000a: 409) again, lexical items involved in this way refer not only to physical force interactions but also to psychological and social interactions, conceived in terms of psychosocial or biological pressures.

To verify this last point, we can look into emotion itself and try to find its position in human body space. Is emotion “reasonable feeling”? Emotions like joy, excitement, and carefreeness can be, but emotions such as anger, worry, insincerity, jealousy, etc. do not fall into this category. However, human reasoning and animal biology work simultaneously in human beings. In classical philosophy from Aristotle on, human irrationality has been a serious topic of discussion. Human beings have a wide range of emotions, and those based on self-awareness seem to make us different from other animals. Expressions of emotion can be an outlet to prevent us from behaving like animals.

The philosopher Church (2005: 39) declares that “the spatialized nature of unconscious reasoning is the nature of emotional reasoning.” Emotion is a form of reasoning and it is natural to
humans. Church interestingly links two things: unconscious representation and an animal’s concrete, spatial representations. Our unconscious form of thinking resembles spatial thinking. Psychoanalysis (Schilder and Wechsler 1935) suggests that the primary form of feelings in infants is a spatial type of experiencing the world. In the very early development of a human infant, “a spatial metaphor represents experience, which is inherent in having a body. The infant’s spatial metaphor starts with bodily sensations” (Hinshelwood 2005: 46). That is to say, the earliest experiences are sensations or feelings and located dimly in the human body, which is considered as a space in which exist the things that infants think their bodies have.

Emotion is a reason for action; however, human beings can integrate actions into expressions to either reduce or relieve negative emotion. We see that verbal expressions achieved through perceptual representations, as well as other sense transferences, are outlets for human emotions expressed by body posture, movement, facial expression, and so on. In other words, a spatial kind of reasoning, an inherent biological mode of thinking, functions in human cognition and expresses itself through language. *Face and feet are* integral parts of language; they show various emotions, presenting thought in action and revealing a new dimension of the mind, that is—SPACE IS BODY.
Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Function

In the previous chapter, we have learned that people who speak Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese Southern Min adopt face and feet and body actions to express emotions. Why can human body actions stand for human emotions? How do other parts of our body express our feeling? In this chapter, we not only look into more body-part expressions, but also compare them cross-linguistically. We examine eyes, hands and other body parts as the vehicles of emotion in Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English to see how these body parts function in different languages and cultures.

3.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on fixed expressions containing body-part terms for the eye(s) and hand(s) in Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English. Data taken from three corpora form the database of the study of this chapter in order to provide a cross-linguistic comparison. The three corpora are: Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese, The National Corpus of the Russian Language, The British National Corpus and The American National Corpus.

We take the theoretical perspective of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff 1987: 382). Evidence is taken from the corpora in order to provide a cross-linguistic perspective and in support of the claim that our bodily experience conceptualizes different emotions, mental faculty and cultural values.

The bulk of the chapter is as follows: (1) Introduction, (2) literature review (3) theoretical framework, (4) the presentation and discussion of the Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English data under the categories of emotion, conceptions, and conceptual metaphor, (5) conclusion.

3.2. Literature Review

There are a good number of research on body parts as previous chapter reviewed. This section presents those that focus on cross-linguistic comparison and those that concentrate on the body parts which our research purpose is oriented to.

Hollenbach (1995) studies the body-part nouns face and foot in the Mixtecan family of languages and found out an series of semantic extensions and syntactic category. They are shifts from nouns to prepositions. For example, the meanings face include not only the literal body part,
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

but also ‘front of,’ ‘top surface of,’ ‘in front of,’ ‘on top of,’ ‘in the measure of,’ ‘to,’ ‘in place of,’ ‘place (where),’ ‘time (when),’ ‘when’ and ‘if.’ The meanings for foot include ‘bottom of,’ ‘beginning of,’ ‘basis of,’ ‘at the foot of,’ ‘at the beginning of,’ ‘for the benefit of,’ ‘on behalf of,’ ‘about,’ ‘in exchange of,’ and ‘because.’ The space of time and body are revealed in this study.

Wei (2001) focuses on national specifics of some Mandarin and Russian body-part expressions. He emphasizes that without knowing non-verbal language and body-part gestures in particular, it is impossible to make cross-cultural communication and contacts. And to master the non-verbal language, it is necessary to know what national specifics can be revealed in body-part expressions. The author postulates that body-part expressions like other utterances have dual meaning: the meaning of visual activity and interpretative (connotative, symbolic) meaning. According to Wei, if we take into account both these meanings, we will find many equivalents in Mandarin and Russian, for example, wo4shou3 握手 ‘hold-hands = to shake hands’ and polozha ruku na serdce положа руку на сердце ‘having put the hand on the heart = frankly.’ But there are also many so called partially equivalent body-part expressions with the foregrounding of interpretative meaning.

Ye (2002) suggests that “bad feelings”, when compared with “good feelings”, attract most of the figurative expressions involving bodily images. These negative feelings are related to different cognitive orientations, including “something bad happened”, “something bad can happen”, and “I want to do something bad” (Ye 2002: 326-). That is, in Chinese there are much more figurative body expressions with negative meaning (negative connotation) than with positive meaning (positive connotation). Ye suggests the typology of body expressions with negative feelings.

Gattner (2004) points out a detailed concept of a human body on the basis of German Tübingen Corpus of the Russian phraseologisms. He then proposes a hypothesis that the more important the body part for a human and his emotive sphere is, the easier is the process of formation of new phraseologisms with this body part. Wang (2005) compares and contrasts hand expressions in Mandarin and English with Lakoff’s ICM and Johnson’s Image Schema. These studies show that with different cultural influences, the body-part expressions reflect difference cognition tendency in oriental and western world. According to Smith, Pollio and Pitts (1981), a study of metaphoric transfers over three centuries, human body is consistently the most frequent source of metaphors, a type of fixed expressions. The widely used body-part metaphors are derived from the combination of the universal, cultural, and individual dimensions of human figurative thought.

In this chapter, we are especially interested in cross-comparative studies of body-part expressions in Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English. Conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff 1987) are also the theoretical background. We take this research as a further study of the previous study on faceand feet in Mandarin and Taiwanese(chapter 2).
3.3. Theoretical Framework

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) put forth that concepts can be reached out from the range of literal ways and are used repeatedly in our daily-life language in a figurative way; these are conceptual metaphors. They examine English and give a number of examples:

LOVE IS MADNESS
I’m crazy about her.
She drives me out of my mind.
He constantly raves about her.
He’s gone mad over her.
I’m just wild about Harry.
I’m insane about her. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 49)

HAPPY IS UP
I’m feeling up.
That boosted my spirits.
My spirits rose.
You’re in high spirits.
Thinking about her always gives me a lift.

SAD IS DOWN
I’m feeling down.
I’m depressed.
He’s really low these days.
I fell into a depression.
My spirits sank. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 15)

In the example LOVE IS MADNESS, the words “crazy,” “drives me out of my mind,” “rave about,” etc. are hints to show up the madness of the affection. They are our life experience expressed in a series of conceptual metaphors such as LOVE IS MADNESS, HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN. They exist in our daily life natural languages. Such metaphors are used not only in our language but in our daily life, and also in our thoughts and actions.

They claim that most of our conceptual system is metaphorically structured; in other words, “most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts” (1980: 56). For example, the concept UP is grounded from the bodily experience that we have bodies and our bodies stand erect. Conceptual system is grounded in simple spatial concepts. Human spatial...
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

concepts like UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK, IN-OUT, NEAR-FAR are relevant to our everyday bodily functioning. They further explain that physical experience is “never merely a matter of having a body of a certain sort; rather every experience takes place within a vast background of cultural presuppositions” (1980: 57). The same basic embodied experiences, in which many conceptual metaphors are grounded, may be defined differently by different cultural beliefs and values (Gibbs 1999b).

Our body is essential not only for living but also the indispensable candidate of our language. Body parts are taking enormously into languages to express a variety of concepts in different cultures. We hope a comparison between body-part expressions in Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English will give a picture.

It is noted that the present research focuses on a division of daily language to study conceptual metaphors, viz. fixed expressions. Fixed expressions are different from creative literary expressions and personal usages. They are commonly accepted and used language device.

To continue with Conceptual Metaphor, Lakoff (1987) puts forth a principle that THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (1987: 382). This principle is based on physiological effects of our body. Lakoff, analyzing anger which is one of the basic emotions, describes the basic cultural model of physiological features of anger. Thus, getting angry, our body heat increases and the internal pressure caused by blood pressure and muscular pressure also increases. If the anger is getting stronger, its physiological effects increase. As a result, the effect agitates and interferes with the accurate perception of the body. According to Lakoff (1987), all these effects including body heat, internal pressure, agitation, and redness in face and neck area are integrated into languages and bring in a system of metonymies for anger. Consequently, Lakoff (1987: 383) formulates the first version of the anger metaphor which is ANGER IS HEAT.

The second variant of anger conceptual metaphor is based on the assumption that “the body is a container for the emotion” as shown in the conceptual metaphor below [The body is a container for the emotion] such as in he was filled with anger, she couldn’t contain her joy, she was brimming with rage, and try to get your anger out of your system, etc.

When the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor connects to fluids, that is, combines with the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, the central metaphor of the system produced: Anger is the heat or a fluid in a container.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) concluded that our mind is embodied in the profound sense and that the structure of our thoughts comes from the natural character of our body. As “the words and fixed expressions of a language can code, that is, be used to express aspects of a given conceptual metaphor to a greater or lesser extent” (Lakoff 1987: 384), a lot of anger idioms were analyzed. Lakoff and Kövecses suggested that there is no one general cognitive metaphor of anger. Contrary, there is a category of cognitive models with the prototypical model in the center. Consequently,
different anger metaphors are variants of the basic model (Lakoff 1987: 217).

Based on these theories, the study of this chapter will show that fixed expressions in terms of the body parts eyes and hands in Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English not only support these theories, but show a cognitive model that is attained from the cross-linguistic comparison.

3.4. Data and Analysis of Mandarin Chinese, Russian & English

The eyes and hands are external body parts. Columbia Encyclopedia (2007) defines the eye as “the organ of vision and light perception. In humans the eye is of the camera type, with an iris diaphragm and variable focusing, or accommodation.” The hand is a “grasping organ at the end of the forelimb of certain vertebrates, exhibiting great mobility and flexibility in the digits and in the whole organ” (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007). In man, the hand is used mostly for feeling and grasping (Encyclopedia Americana, 2007). We present and discuss the body-part expressions in figures of eyes (Mandarin yan3 and mu4, Russian glaz) and hands (Mandarin shou3, Russian ruka) in the given languages according to the emotions and conceptions they express as well as the conceptual metaphors that are revealed.

3.4.1. Emotion

The study of human emotion from a linguistic perspective has been well documented during the last decade (see e.g., Athanasiadou and Tabakowska 1998, Kövecses 1990 & 2000, Niemeier and Dirven 1997, Palmer and Occhi 1999, Russell et al. 1995, Wierzbicka 1990, 1992, 1999). A question that comes to light from this serious study is how the role of the body in emotion and the impact of emotion on the body is conceptualized in different cultures and manifested in different languages. To answer this question requires cross-cultural and cross-linguistic collaboration. Table 3.1 lists the emotions expressed in eye and hand expressions in Mandarin, Russian and English. The related expressions will be discussed in this section.

First of all, we present (1) emotions shared by the three given languages, (2) emotions expressed in a specific language, (3) emotions that show personal qualities. We discuss first eyes, then hands expressions.
### Table 3.1. Emotions expressed in *eye* and *hand* expressions in three languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eye</strong></td>
<td><strong>Emotion:</strong> happiness, sadness, anger, hate, love, shame, dislike, fear, helplessness, surprise, jealousy</td>
<td><strong>Emotion:</strong> embarrassment, sorrow, pleasure, resentment, shame, (exaggeration of) anguish</td>
<td><strong>Emotion:</strong> love, affection, happiness, fear, shame, shyness, surprise, greed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Physiological effect for emotion</strong> appreciation, joke, depreciation, admonition</td>
<td><strong>Physiological effect for emotion</strong> anguish, anger, insincere grief, malice, indifference, tenderness, contentment, fear, sadness, compassion, passion</td>
<td><strong>Physiological effect for emotion</strong> appreciation, desire, sexual interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hand</strong></td>
<td><strong>Emotion:</strong> sadness, anger</td>
<td><strong>Emotion:</strong> different emotions, happiness, pain, sorrow, grief, despair, anger</td>
<td><strong>Physiological effect for emotion</strong> appreciation, depreciation,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Physiological effect for emotion</strong> depreciation, appreciation</td>
<td><strong>Physiological effect for emotion</strong> merriment, fury, happiness, passion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Eyes

The Mandarin vehicle *eyes* is shared by *mu4 目* and *yan3 眼*. They are sometimes interchangeable, as in *liang3mu4hun1hua1 雨目昏花* and *liang3yan3hun1hua1 雨眼昏花* *‘two-eyes-confuse-flower = cannot see clearly due to the confused mind.’* Sometimes either *mu4* (e.g., *mu4bu2shi4 ding1 目不識丁 ‘eye-no know-A= totally illiterate’) or *yan3* (e.g., *lao3hua1yan3 老花眼 ‘old-flower-eye = presbyopia; disoriented eyesight, sometimes with the implication of being bedazzled’) is the only option. In English, many vehicles are interchangeable, for example, *not look somebody in the eye/face*, where *eye* is interchangeable with *face*, in *easy on the eye/ear*, *eye* is interchangeable with *ear*. 

54
Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Emotion

Different aspects of emotions are expressed with *eyes* in three languages. The emotions that are shared by all three languages are pleasance, shame, and fear. Given below are some examples.

(1). Pleasance
   a. *shun4yan3* ‘smooth-eyes = like someone or something’
   b. *radovat glaz* радовать глаз ‘to please one’s eyes = to please somebody’
   c. easy on the eye ‘pleasant to look at’

(2). Shame
   a. *diouren2xian4yan3* 天人現眼 ‘throw-people-show-eyes = to lose face in front of people’
   b. *pryatat glaza* прятать глаза ‘to hide one’s eyes, to avoid somebody’s eyes = to hide one’s eyes to dissemble shame or embarrassment’
   c. not look somebody in the eye ‘too ashamed to look at somebody directly and speak truthfully to him/her’

(3). Fear
   a. *chu4mu4jing1xin1* 擦目驚心 ‘scare-eyes-shock-heart = starling; shocking’
   b. *u strahka glaza veliki* y страха глаза велиki ‘fear has big eyes = the eyes of fear see danger everywhere’
   c. shut one’s eyes to ‘to refuse to see’

The examples in (1) show that the Mandarin vehicle *eyes* is used on the basis of humanism, while Russian and English are speaking for the object. That is, in terms of *eyes*, in Mandarin, the object is pleasant to look at or is great for use because “we people” see it this way, while in Russian and English, the object is pleasant or great from its own, it has the quality. On the other hand, the Mandarin expression *bu2shun4yan3* 不順眼 ‘not-sequence-eyes = dislike someone or something’ also expresses that when the object is not pleasant, the speaker takes the responsibility too; it is not that the object is not good enough, but the speaker has his own judgment. In terms of semantic phenomena, Mandarin vehicle *eye* is used to express the whole person, the insight and viewpoint of this person; a metonymy, whereas in Russian *eye* stand for the whole person, experiencing emotion, as in *robkiye glaza* робкие глаза ‘timid eye’; *eye* expresses physiological effect of an emotion for emotion, as in *vyplakat* vse glaza выплакать все глаза ‘to cry one’s eyes out = to experience utmost sorrow’; *eye* stands for an object, arousing emotions in a person, as in *smotret’ v glaza chemu* смотреть в глаза чему ‘to look into the eyes of something = to be determined in difficult situations,’ where any danger, difficulty is personified and viewed as having eyes and opposing a
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

human. So is it in English.

Many emotions are expressed only in a certain language. Jealousy, depreciation, helplessness, surprise, and happiness are uttered uniquely in Mandarin. Processes of emotions discussed here are supposedly visible. For example, the red eyes show jealousy, thus fen4wai4yan3hong2 分外眼红 ‘divide-outer-eyes-red = envy or admire of someone’; the staring eyes show surprise, therefore mu4demg4kou3dai1 目瞪口呆 ‘eye-stare mouth-silly = stare in bewilderment or mute amazement.’

In Russian, embarrassment, shame, sorrow, resentment are specially addressed. For example, vyplakat’ vse glaza выплакать все глаза ‘to cry one’s eyes out = to experience utmost sorrow’ as cry, weeping, tears are manifestation of sorrow; pryatat’ glaza пряятъ глаза ‘to hide one’s eyes, to avoid somebody’s eyes = to hide one’s eyes to dissemble shame, embarrassment’ as humans display shame dropping their eyes, lowering their gaze. In English, desire, and sexual interest are expressed with eyes, as in eye something up ‘to look closely at something that you are interested in,’ eye somebody up ‘to look at someone with sexual interest,’ and a roving eye ‘sexually interested in people other than their partner.’

The vehicle eyes can express personal qualities, which is particular characteristic of Russian. The following qualities can all be said in Russian eyes: courage, composure, straightforwardness, composure, cleverness, understanding, pride, meekness, timidity, craftiness, stubbornness, resoluteness, timidity, meanness, archness, and arrogance. For example, courage and indifference are personal qualities, conveyed by Russian eyes. Courage is expressed when men can look into the eyes of danger as smotret’ v glaza chemu смотреть в глаза чему ‘to look into the eyes of something = to be determined in difficult situations.’ On the other hand, not to blink the eye, looking into your interlocutor, means to show nonchalant, as glazom ne smorgnyt’ глазом не смотрнуть ‘not to blink the eye = not to blink the eye, demonstrating calmness/indifference.’

As for Mandarin Chinese, eye functions for arrogant, for example, mu4shih3yi2ling4 目使颐令 ‘eye-use-rear-order = arrogant and despised to order.’ There is no related expression for personal quality for a person in the English data that we have collected so far.

The positive emotion happiness is the most often expressed emotion in the form of eyes. It is shown in the following examples.

(4). Happiness
a. mei2kai1yan3xia4 眉开眼笑 ‘eyebrow-open-mouth-laugh = beam with joy; a person with a discerning eye; a person of good sense’
b. schastliyvi glaz счастливый глаз ‘happy eye = a kind eye, having no magical power to injure or harm people by looking at them’
c. There was not a dry eye in the house. ‘all the people at a particular place felt emotional about what they had seen or heard and many of them were crying’
Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Emotion

The initial process to coin this and many other metonymies focuses on a standing-out part (the eyes) of the whole (the person). The expressions of emotion give many metonymies. Some can either be metonym or metaphor, for example,  IsNot-white-eyes = hate, look down or anger to someone.” When we consider that the whites of the eyes is part of the eyes, this expression is a metonym. On the other hand, to show the white is to show the emotion of hate, anger or looking down on someone, it is then a metaphorical expression.

Emotion concepts in human languages, as Lakoff (1987) proposed, are known to make use of metaphors and metonymies relating to physiological effects and behavioral reactions. Metaphors and metonymies are fundamental types of cognitive models, both experientially motivated. Lakoff and Turner (1989), Lakoff (1993), and Kövecses (1990, 1995a, 1995b, 2000), have shown that English metaphors and metonymies used in models of emotions are motivated by our bodies and physiology (Huang 2002: 168). Kövecses (2000: 216-223) presents the number of types of metaphors and metonymies for English emotion concepts and claims that English favors to use conceptual metaphors to form emotion language. On the other hand, metonymic processes play a much bigger role in the understandings of emotion in Mandarin Chinese than in English (Yu 1998, Kövecses 2000, cf. Huang 1994, 2002). Our data agree with this proposal. This will be further discussed in the following section on conceptual metaphor.

**Hands**

In terms of hands, some emotions are expressed only in a certain language. For example, happiness and despair are only found in Russian, as in lomat’ ruki = to break hands = to break hands, expressing grief, misfortune, despair’ and legkaya ruka u kogo-to = a light hand somebody has = somebody brings happiness, luck.’ The emotion appreciation and depreciation are the most often expressed emotions in the form of hands in Mandarin Chinese and English. Happiness is the one for Russian as shown in (5). These favored emotions indicate special concepts and will be further elaborated in the following section about conceptual metaphors.

(5). Russian: Happiness

| a. ty makhni mne vesyoloi rukoi | ‘wave me with a merry hand=merry person’ |
| b. schasttiay ruka | ‘hand of happiness = happy person’ |

(6). Russian: Personal quality expressed by hands

| a. korotki ruki | ‘hands are short = impossible to get, no power to get’ |
| b. druzheskaya ruka | ‘friendly hand = friendly help, person’ |
| c. nezhyne ruki | ‘tender hands = tender person’ |
As mentioned above, the way Chinese uses eye to express the emotion ‘pleasance’ is different from that of Russian and English because the latter two give the viewpoint from the object, but the speakers of Mandarin Chinese takes the viewpoint from the speaker. In terms of object itself, Mandarin uses the vehicle hands, for example, zhi4shou3ke3re4 जױ֫ᑷ ‘broil-hand-can-hot = (fig. of intense political power) burning to the touch.’

Hands located at the ends of our upper limbs, their primary function is locomotion and grasping objects. Some expressions describe emotions by referring to the bodily movements in reaction to those emotions, for example, turn your hand to an activity or skill ‘you could do it well although you have no experience of it’ and leading hand ‘the most experienced person in a factory etc.’ These expressions are to underscore the concurrent, interconnected nature of actions and emotions.

Similar to eyes, the vehicle hands can express qualities of a person, such as powerlessness, friendliness, tenderness, and care in Russian. The examples are shown in (6). The Mandarin and English data we have collected so far do not show examples in this regard.

In terms of Russian, specific movements of eyes and hands, accompanying emotional state, are often fixed in body-part expressions. Thus, when a person is upset or in a low mood, his muscles are not in tonus, his brain is not on the alert, and as a result the person does not coordinate his body movements, including hands, properly. He can easily drop something, hence the expressions vsyo valitsa iz ruk веся валяетс из рук ‘everything is dropped out of hands = work does not go well,’ iz ruk von plocho из рук вон плохо ‘out of hands badly = very badly’ show depression, low mood. Vice versa, if a person takes control over his body and is determined to do something, he is well coordinated and the hand would not shake (to do something), as in ruka ne dragnet chto-nibud’ sdelat’ рука не дрогнет что-нибудь сделать ‘the hand would not shake to do something = he would not be afraid to do something.’

The physiological effect for emotion is merriment, happiness, passion, fury in Russian hands, anguish, insincere grief, indifference, merriment, tenderness, contentment, fright, sadness, compassion, sadness, malice, anger, passion, in Russian eyes, whereas appreciation, joke, depreciation, admonish are in Mandarin.

We see that many of the above examples describe the bodily acts or gestures expressive of certain emotions, for instance (1), (2) and (3). As Huang (2002: 182) points out that “One might even venture the claim that the core of an emotion is not simply a psychological state or process, but a readiness to act in a certain way,” the acts have being formulated in the language and expressed with the eyes and hands for bodily actions.
Furthermore, an emotion concept, as Kövecses (2000: 186) has insightfully observed, stimulates the complex of social, cognitive, and psychological content, arranged in a more or less stable configuration. It can reveal how different languages and cultures can vary. The purpose of cross-cultural studies is to show differences in emotional life, interpretation of emotions and in metaphoric and metonymic understanding of emotions in different cultures.

3.4.2. Conceptions

Yu (2003b) states that “metaphor is an essential cognitive tool in that it structures many concepts, especially abstract ones, in our conceptual systems.” Groups of body-part expressions in our data show the same phenomenon. In what follows, we attempt to outline the cultural model for, or culturally shared understanding of eyes and hands. The conceptions of them in the given languages are abstracted and listed in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Conceptions of eye and hand expressions in three languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>Doer: informer, spy, witness</td>
<td>Doer: eater, drinker, measurer, observer</td>
<td>Abstract: goal, observation, attention, standard, vision, sight, discovery, sexual interest, interest, concern, time, power, practice, ability, sense, taste, understanding, reason, lifeblood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstract: personality, wisdom, vision, judgment, attention, ability, means, power, ideas, consciousness, reason, goal, presence, action, vigor, profit, time, experience, thinking, cognition, care</td>
<td>Abstract: personality, vision, sight, power, (any) condition (state), memory, accuracy, observation, absence/presence, precision, supervision, darkness, source of tears, flirting, darkness, eyesight, sense of reality, impression, evil magic power, flaring, attention</td>
<td>Emotion: love, affection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal quality: disdain, might, dignity</td>
<td></td>
<td>Measurement, Kind, Orientation: small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotion: joyfulness happiness, anger, love, astonishment, shock, fright</td>
<td>Emotions: malice, insincerity, greediness,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement, Kind, Orientation:</th>
<th>calmness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Measurement, Kind, Orientation: instantly, approximately, nothing, never, direction, in front of, imperceptibly, anywhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete &amp; Others:</td>
<td>environment, life, good person, hole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doer:</th>
<th>helper, leader, people, labor, man power, owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract:</td>
<td>means, sexual implication, power, duty, control, action, presence, order, desire, possession, ability, attention, experience, production, reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement, Kind, Orientation:</td>
<td>small, portable, spending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Concrete &amp; Other:</strong></td>
<td>hand, writing, wrist, weapon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emotion:</strong></td>
<td>love</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doer:</th>
<th>personality, helper, owner, major helper, laborer, buyer, newsmaker, musician, bride, bridegroom, supporter, bread-winner, invader, physician</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract:</td>
<td>power, possession, source, authority, handwriting, possession, freedom, control, protection, dependence, influence, oath, valuable, luck, punishment, skill, quickness, workmanship, convenience, petting, attention, suicide, deal, convenience, responsibility, action, disagreement, applause, freedom, reality, fortune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement, Kind, Orientation:</td>
<td>small, portable, direction, transfer, spending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Concrete:</strong></td>
<td>tool, signature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emotions:</strong></td>
<td>mood,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Emotion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dishonesty, grief, unpleasant affair, interest, determination, indecision, joy, diligence, disobedience, willingness, eagerness, dishonesty, inactivity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Measurement, Kind Orientation:</strong></td>
<td>kind, small, sort, size, by hand, direction, together, close, distance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Eyes

The conceptions of *eyes* shared by all three languages are vision, sight, power (supervision), attention, and time as shown in examples (7)-(10).

(7). vision
   a. *ying1yan3* ‘eagle-eyes = vision (car name), chrysler; sharp expression in one’s eyes’
   b. *khot’ glaz vykoli* ‘eye cut out = completely dark’
   c. *bird’s eye view* ‘a view from a very high place which allows you to see a large area’

(8). sight
   a. *yan3hua1* ‘eye-flower = blurry eyesight’
   b. *idti kuda glaza glyadyat* ‘to go where eyes look = to follow one’s eyes (to follow one’s nose)’
   c. *the naked eye* ‘If something can be seen with the naked eye, it can be seen without the help of an instrument’

(9). power
   a. *tiang1yan3* ‘god-eyes = eyes with supernatural power’
   b. *ruki ne dorosli* ‘hands didn’t grow long enough = not possible to reach, having no power to get’
   c. *the evil eye* ‘a magical power to injure or harm people by looking at them’

(10). Attention
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

a. diuren2xan4yan3 失人現眼 ‘throw-people-show-eyes = to lose face in front of people’

b. zakruvat’ glaza na chto-to закрывать глаза на что-то ‘to close eyes on something = not to pay attention to something, to overlook’

c. meet somebody’s eye ‘to look at someone directly while they are looking at you’

The most popular conceptions expressed in the form of eyes are judgment, love, presence in Mandarin. In Russian are vision, personality, opinion, supervision, and in English is attention. These productive conceptions form conceptual metaphors and will be discussed in the following section.

The vehicle eyes can convey measurement or show orientation. The measurement is ‘small’ and the orientation is ‘in the front side’ which shows the physical size of eyes in comparison with that of other organs and the location of eyes. The examples are: trifles (yu2mu4hun3zhu1 魚目混珠 ‘fish-eye-mix-pearl = pass off fish eyes as pearls; pass off the sham as the genuine’) and bull-like (niu2yan3 牛眼 ‘cattle-eyes = big eyes but look dumb’) in Mandarin; approximately (na glaz на глаз ‘by eye, approximately’) and in front of (pered glazami перед глазами ‘in front of the eyes’) in Russian; as well as small (hook and eye ‘a device for fastening clothes consisting of a small bent piece of metal into which a hook fits’) in English.

The vehicle eyes can express personal qualities, such as proud, dignity, and frankness in Mandarin, for example, bi4yan3zi3ran3 琥珀紫髯 ‘jasper-eyes-purple-beard = to describe somebody who has a nice appearance and a mighty imposing manner’ and mei2xin1yan3 面心眼 ‘no-heart-eye = frank.’ In Russian, glaz ‘eye’ can also be used to refer to observation, supervision, e.g., u semi nyaneck ditya bez glazu у семи нянек дитя без глазу ‘seven nurses leave the baby without an eye (supervision) = everybody’s business is nobody’s business; too many cooks spoil the broth.’

Furthermore, many conceptions are expressed only in a certain language: wisdom, means, profit, time, thinking in Mandarin; sense of reality, memory in Russian; affection, taste, lifeblood, and sexual interest in English. The vehicle eyes is particularly favored in showing senses, for instance, vision, taste, sexual interest, interest, affection can be expressed with eyes. Below are some examples.

(11). Senses in the form of English eyes

a. (sense) have an eye for something ‘to be good at noticing a particular type of thing’

b. (sexual interest) give somebody the glad eye ‘to look at someone in a way that shows sexual attraction’
Thus, we see that basic conceptions of *eyes* shared by all three languages are vision, sight, power (supervision), attention, and time. But some conceptions are presented in two languages and still more conceptions are language specific.

**Hands**

Many conceptions of *hands* are shared by all three languages, such as owner, helper, leader, labor, control, possession, presence, spending. Given below (12)-(16) are some examples.

(12). owner

   a. *qian2shou3* 额手 ‘before-hand = predecessor; former owner’
   b. *perekhodit’ iz ruk v ruki* переключить из рук в руки ‘to come from hands to hands = to come from one owner to another’
   c. *second-hand* ‘not new; having been used in the past by someone else’

(13). Helper

   a. *bang1shou3* 扳手 ‘help-hand = helper’
   b. *podat’ ruku pomoshchi komu-to* подать руку помощи кому-to ‘to give the hand of help to somebody = to help somebody’
   c. *give/lend somebody a helping hand* ‘to help someone’

(14). Leader

   a. *shou3xia4* 手下 ‘hand-under = subordinates; under the leadership’
   b. *pravaya ruka* правая рука ‘the right hand = the major assistant’
   c. *leading hand* ‘the most experienced person in a factory, etc.’

(15). Control

   a. *song1shou3* 损手 ‘loose-hand = to let go, to ease off on hold’
   b. *korotki ruki u kogo-to* короткие руки у кого-to ‘short hands somebody has = somebody has no control over something’
   c. *ready to hand UK* ‘close to you and therefore available for use when necessary’

(16). Possession

   a. *tuo1shou3* 脱手 ‘peel-hand = get rid of, sell (property, stocks)’
   b. *pribrat’ k rukam* прибрать к рукам ‘to take to hands = to possess’
   c. *A bird in the hand (is worth two in the bush)* ‘said when you recognize that you should not risk losing something you already have by trying to get something you think might be better’
The vehicle hands can also convey measurement or show orientation. They are again extended from the physical size of a hand and the function of hand being able to carry things. The physical size of a hand is not only small (in comparison with the whole body) in that what it can hold is small, but also what the hands can carry usually has a limitation of weight, thus, ‘portable’ is an important concept found in all three languages, such as small (手提包 ‘hand-bring-bag = a handbag; a purse’) and portable (手提式打字機 ‘hand-bring-kind-typewriter = a portable typewriter’) in Mandarin. Hand luggage ‘the small cases or bags that a passenger carries with them onto an aircraft or bus’ and hand grenade ‘a small bomb consisting of explosive material in a metal or plastic container that can be thrown easily’ in English.

In Russian the concept ‘small,’ ‘portable,’ expressed by the adjective ручной ‘related to hand,’ can be met in many expressions, such as ручные пальцы ‘hand fingers = handcuffs,’ ручная мельница ‘hand mill,’ ручной платок ‘handkerchief.’

Other examples to show measurement and orientation are: kind, sort (какой руки [железо] ‘what hand is the [iron]’ = what kind of the [iron]) in Russian; direction (right-hand ‘on or to the right’), transfer (hands something around ‘to pass or offer something to all the people in a group’) in English.

Cultures attach special importance to the hands. Many conceptions are expressed only in a certain language. Love, desire, sexual interest, duty in Mandarin, for example, 情同手足 ‘love-same-hand-feet = (the two) are close like brothers’; 想念情人 ‘coffin-timber-inside-stretch out-hand = to stretch a hand out from the coffin; someone who views money as more important than life.’ In Russian, newsmaker, musician, bread-winner, e.g., the proverb ноги носят, руки кормят ‘legs carry, hands feed’ opposes legs as the means of transportation and the hands as the major breadwinner as they not only feed, but also support, provide sustenance. In English, fate, truth, common sense, e.g., hand in glove ‘working together, often to do something dishonest’; know something like the back of your hand ‘to have very good and detailed knowledge of something.’

Besides, Mandarin hands can also be used to represent concrete objects like weapon (打出手兒 ‘hit-out-hand-son = throw weapons back and forth on stage’), Russian conveys more conceptions of doer (laborer, buyer, newsmaker, etc.) than the other two languages, while English hands do not show emotions like Russian and Mandarin.

The same conception is sometimes expressed with different vehicles in different languages. For example, sexual interest is expressed with the vehicle eyes in English (eye somebody up ‘to look at someone with sexual interest’), but hands in Mandarin. Hence, have a roving eye ‘sexually interested in people other than their partner’ has a similar expression in Mandarin 手在人不在 ‘hand in person not’.
Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Emotion

jiao3 毛手毛脚 ‘hair-hand-hair-foot = to take liberties with a woman by the actions of one’s hands.’

Again, the conceptions expressed are mostly the function of that body part, e.g., hand for action, thus ‘help,’ e.g., Mandarin shu4shou3wu2ce4 束手無策 ‘fold-hand-no-idea = to feel helpless’ and Russian u nego umelye ruki u nego умелые руки ‘he has skillful hands = he knows how to help.’ Functions of the hands and eyes stand for the related conceptual metaphors that are in the focus of the next section.

The most popular conceptions in terms of hands in Mandarin are ability, action, control, power. In Russian are labor, power, possession and in English are power, direction, transfer. This will be further elaborated shortly.

All three languages give most “abstract” conceptions, for example, judgment (bie2ju4hui4yan3 別具慧眼 ‘other-have-wise-eyes = have special opinion or insight’) and ability (shua3shou3yi4 玩手藝 ‘play-hand-art = make a living by some skill’) in Mandarin, standard (not look somebody in the eye/face ‘too ashamed to look at somebody directly and speak truthfully to them’) and understanding (be more to this than meets the eye ‘it is more difficult to understand or involves more things than you thought at the beginning’) in English. The Specialization of Form (Lakoff 1987) is operating in these expressions. This approach says that a metaphorical mapping can be that of from physical action or physical space to a mental concept. The container schema tells the inner and the outer of an entity—the body. It is due to the transfer of various spaces, viz. body and business, or body and objects.

Finally, at the level of linguistic instantiation, Yu (2004: 663) indicates three major forms of both similarities and differences between Mandarin and English. We see that adding Russian does not change the result of the observation. These similarities and differences take: (1) similar expressions with similar meanings, (2) similar expressions with different meanings, and (3) different expressions with similar meanings, as shown in the example (23) below. This indicates that, although imagination is comprised in these metonymic and metaphoric expressions, “they seem to have experiential roots in common bodily experiences as they arise from the interaction between culture and body” (Yu 2004: 663).
3.4.3. Conceptual metaphor

The interaction between common bodily experiences and diverse cultural experiences decides the extent to which conceptual metaphors can be universal, widespread, or culture-specific. Meanwhile, as Gibbs (1999b) indicates, the same basic embodied experiences, in which many conceptual metaphors are grounded, may be defined differently by different cultural beliefs and values. The conceptual metaphors emerged in our data are shown in Table 3.3. We give some examples below:

(17). (Mandarin Chinese) EYES AS JUDGMENT
a. bu2shun4yan3 不順眼 ‘not-sequence-eyes = dislike someone or something’
b. da3ma3hu1yan3 打馬虎眼 ‘pat-horse-tiger-eyes = pretend to be ignorant of sth. in order to gloss it over; act dumb’
c. bie2ju4hu14yan3 別具慧眼 ‘other-have-wise-eyes = have special opinion or insight’
d. gua1mu4xian1kan4 刮目相看 ‘scrape-eye PRT-see = regard somebody with special esteem’
e. ming2yan3ren2 明眼人 ‘bright-eyes-person = a person with a discerning eye; a person of good sense’
f. du2ju4hue4yan3 獨具慧眼 ‘uniquely-have intelligent-eye = have exceptional mind’
g. zheng1yan3shui1xia1hua4 靜眼說瞎話 ‘compete-eyes-say-blind-speech = to talk nonsense’
h. kan4zou3yan3 看走眼 ‘look-walk-eyes = to misjudge’
i. kan4hua1leyan3 看花了眼 ‘seen-flower-eye = judging someone/thing incorrectly’

(18). (Mandarin Chinese) EYES AS LOVE
a. da4bao3yan3fu2 大飽眼福 ‘big-full-eyes-luck = get satisfaction about vision; good fortune to see rare things’
b. tao2hua2yan3 桃花眼 ‘peach-flower-eyes = (eyes) to be good at sending emotion; a charming eye’
c. du1yan3 對眼 ‘yes-eyes = have the same opinions’
d. pu1me2meng2yan3 纖眉霧眼 ‘spread-eyebrow-cover-eyes = to make eyes at somebody’
e. ci4yan4 刺眼 ‘thorn-eye = something eye-catching that offends others’
f. yan3zhong1ren2 眼中人 ‘eye-inside-person = someone like’
g. yan3zhong1ci4 眼中刺 ‘eyes-center-thorn = hate someone very much’
h. yan3zhong1ding1 眼中釘 ‘eye-inside-nail = someone dislike’
Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Emotion

i. yan3hong2 眼红 'eye-red = covetous'

(19). (Mandarin Chinese) EYES AS ATTENTION

a. bu4zhang3yan3jing1 不长眼睛 'no-grow-eyes-eyes = to lash at somebody with careless mind’
b. mu4bu4jiao1jie2 目不交睫 ‘eye-no cross-eyelashes = go completely without sleep’
c. mu4bu4xia2jie3 目不暇给 ‘eye-no leisure-give = eyes are busy for seeing too many’
d. mu4bu4zhuan3jing1 目不转睛 ‘eye-not turn-eye = stare steadily’
e. mu4song4 目送 ‘eye-send = gaze after’
f. yan3guan1si4mian4, er3ting1ba1fang1, 眼观四面, 耳听八方 ‘eye-watch-four-side, ear-hear-eight-dimension = observant and alert’
g. zhong1yi4zhi1yan3, bi4yi4zhi1yan3, 中一目, 半一目 ‘open-one-eye, close-one-eye = Turn a blind eye to something’

(20). (Mandarin Chinese) EYES AS PRESENCE

a. mu4xia4 目下 ‘eye-below = present’
b. mu4zhong1wu2ren2 目中无人 ‘eye-inside no-person = supercilious’
c. mu4kong1yi2qie4 目空一切 ‘eye-empty one-cut = toffee-nosed’
d. mu4qian2 目前 ‘eye-before = present’
e. mu4wu2qu2niu2 目无全牛 ‘eye-no-full-cattle = (of an experienced butcher) see an ox as a whole (but only as parts to be cut); be supremely skilled’
f. mu4wu2fa3ji4 目无法纪 ‘eye-no law-discipline = disregard laws and regulations’
g. mu4da3 目睹 ‘eye-see = witness’
h. mu4liu4 目录 ‘eye-record = list’
i. yan3qian2 眼前 ‘eye-front = present’
j. mu4ji2 目击 ‘eye-beat = to witness; to see with one’s own eyes’

(21). (Mandarin Chinese) HANDS AS ABILITY

a. shou3yi4 手艺 ‘craftsmanship; workmanship’
b. ding3jian1hao3shou3 頂尖好手 ‘top-shrill-good-hand = to be outstanding to others’
c. sha3shou3yi4 玩手艺 ‘play-hand-art = make a living by some skill’
d. na2shou3 拿手 ‘catch-hand = be good at, excel in’
e. na2shou3hao3shou3 拿手好戏 ‘catch-hand-good-drama = an opera which is some singer’s specialty--hence specialty in general’
f. sheng4shou3 聖手 ‘saint-hand = (praise of) a divine physician’
g. ru4shou3 插手 ‘in-hand = a start; commence, get under way, start up; receive.’
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

(22). (Mandarin Chinese) HANDS AS ACTION
a. xia4shou3下手 ‘down-hand = to start (doing)’
b. shi1shou3失手 ‘lose-hand = make a slip of the hand’
c. qi3shou3起手 ‘begin-hand = to begin (work, operation, scuffle)’
d. xiu4shou3袖手旁觀 ‘sleeve-hand = look on with folded arms, hands in sleeves—not willing to help’
e. zhuo2shou3著手 ‘mark-hand = to begin (to write, build, etc.)’
f. ba4shou3罢手 ‘stop-hand = stop’
g. huan2shou3還手 ‘turn-hand = to strike back after receiving blow’
h. yan3gao1shou3di1眼高手低 ‘eyes-high-hand-low = high in aim but low-rate in execution, have high ambition but no real ability; fastidious and demanding but inept’
i. xie1shou3撤手 ‘stop-hand = stop, give up (doing work, fighting)’

(23). (Mandarin Chinese) HANDS AS CONTROL
a. jie1shou3接手 ‘catch-hand = take up matters left unfinished by predecessor; assistant’
b. cuo4shou3bu4ji2措手不及 ‘handle-hand-can’t-reach = too late to do anything about it’
c. ding3shou3頂手 ‘top-hand = take over’
d. sa1shou3撤手 ‘cast-hand = let go the hand, also wash hands of matter’
e. song1shou3鬆手 ‘loose-hand = to let go, to ease off on hold’
f. ai4shou3礙手 ‘obstruct-hand = (affair) difficult to handle’

(24). (Mandarin Chinese) HANDS AS POWER
a. shou3wu2cun4tie3手無寸鐵 ‘hand-without-inch-iron = a man unarmed, not a scrap of metal’
b. zha1shou3螫手 ‘prick-hand = “prick the hand” (of affair) difficult to handle’
c. shou3wu2ju1zhi1li4(手無)捕雞之力 ‘(hand-no) catch-chicken-length = lack the strength to truss the chicken’
d. lu4si3shei2shou3麋死誰手 ‘deer-die-who-hand = at whose hand will the deer die; who will win the prize’

(25). (Russian) EYES AS OPINION
a. v glazakh kogo-to в глазах кого-то ‘in the eyes of somebody = in somebody’s opinion’
b. na glaza kogo-to на глаза кого-то ‘in the eyes of somebody = in somebody’s opinion.’
c. vysoko stoyat’ v glazakh druzei высоко стоять в глазах друзей ‘to stand high in the friends’ eyes = to stand high in the friends’ opinion’
d. nizko past’ v glazakh druzei низко пасть в глазах друзей ‘to fall low in the friends’
Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Emotion

eyes= to stand low in the friends’ opinion.’

(26). (Russian) EYES AS ATTENTION
a. *brosatsa v glaza* бросаться в глаза ‘to be striking for the eyes = to strike/catch one’s eye, to arrest one’s attention’
b. *bit’ v glaza* биться в глаза ‘to be striking for the eyes = to strike/catch one’s eye, to arrest one’s attention’
c. *rezat’ glaza* резать глаза ‘to cut the eyes = to hurt/offend the eyes’
d. *vertetsa pered glazami* вертеться перед глазами ‘to turn around in front of somebody’s eye = to arrest somebody’s attention’
e. *pyalit’ glaza* пялить глаза ‘to open one’s eyes wide = to stare’

(27). (Russian) HAND AS ACTION
a. *po rukam bit’* по рукам биться ‘to untie somebody’s hands = to give somebody the freedom of action’
b. *derzhat’ ruku chyu-nibud’* держать руку чью-нибудь ‘to keep somebody’s hand = to support somebody’
c. *vsyo valitsya iz ruk* все валится из рук ‘everything is falling from the hands = the work does not go on well’
d. *volyu davat’ rukam* волю давать рукам ‘will (freedom) to give to the hands = to use hands, to fight’
e. *goloi ruko ne tron’* голой рукой не тронь ‘with a bare hand do not touch = do carefully, causiously’
f. *gret ruki* греть руки ‘to warm hands = to get profits not in an honest way’
g. *nalozhit na sebya ruki* наложить на себя руки ‘to put the hands on oneself = to commit suicide’

(28). (Russian) HAND AS POWER
a. *imet’ kogo-nibud’, chto-nibud’ v svoikh rukakh* иметь кого-нибудь, что-нибудь в своих руках ‘to have somebody, something in one’s hands = to have power, control on somebody, something’
b. *derzhat’ kogo-nibud’, chto-nibud’ v svoikh rukakh* держать кого-нибудь, что-нибудь в своих руках ‘to keep somebody, something in one’s hands = to have power, control on somebody, something’
c. *byt’ pod chyei-nibud’ rukoi* быть под чьей-нибудь рукой ‘to be under somebody’s hand = to be in somebody’s power’
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

d. *korotki ruki u kogo-to* коротки руки у кого-то ‘short hands somebody has = somebody has no power.’

(29). (Russian) HAND AS A POSSESSOR
a. *perehodit’ iz ruk v ruki* переходить из рук в руки ‘to come from hands to hands = to come from one owner to another’
b. *pobyvat’ vo mnogikh rukakh* побывать во многих руках ‘to change many hands = to change many owners’
c. *s faktami i tsiframi v rukakh* с фактами и цифрами в руках ‘with facts and figures in hands’
d. *vernutsya s pustymi rukami* вернуться с пустыми руками ‘to return with empty hands = to return with nothing’
e. *pribrat’ k rukam* прибрать к рукам ‘to take to hands = to possess’
f. *nalozhit’ na chto-nibud’ ruku* наложить на что-нибудь руку ‘to put the hand on something = to possesss.’

(30). (Russian) HAND AS THE PROTECTOR
a. *imet’ silnuyu ruku* иметь сильную руку ‘to have a strong hand = to have a strong protector’
b. *u nego est’ gde-to ruka* у него есть где-то рука ‘he has somewhere a hand = he has a personal patron somewhere’
c. *imet’ mokhnatuyu ruku* иметь мохнатую руку ‘to have a hairy hand = to have a strong protector.’

(31). (English) EYES AS ATTENTION
a. *cast an/your eye over something* ‘to look briefly at something’
b. *run your eye over* ‘to look quickly at the whole of something’
c. *turn a blind eye* ‘to ignore something that you know is wrong’
d. *easy on the eye/ear* ‘pleasant to look at/listen to’
e. *eye-catching* ‘particularly attractive or noticeable’
f. *out of/from the corner of your eye* ‘If you see something out of/from the corner of your eye, you see it but not clearly because it happens to the side of you’
g. *draw your eye(s)* ‘to attract your attention’
h. *meet somebody’s eye* ‘to look at someone directly while they are looking at you’
i. *be in the public eye* ‘to be famous and written about in newspapers and magazines and seen on television’
Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Emotion

(32). (English) HANDS AS POWER
   a. free hand ‘the right or authority to do anything you consider necessary’
   b. hand-picked ‘Someone who is hand-picked has been carefully chosen for a special job or purpose’
   c. bite the hand that feeds you ‘to act badly towards the person who is helping or has helped you’
   d. go cap in hand to somebody ‘to ask someone in a polite and sincere way for something, especially money or forgiveness’
   e. The hand that rocks the cradle (rules the world) ‘said to emphasize that women have a strong influence on events through their children’
   f. have somebody eating out of your hand ‘to easily make someone do or think what you want’
   g. a firm hand ‘strong control’
   h. force somebody’s hand ‘to make someone do something they do not want to do, or act sooner than they had intended’
   i. keep a firm hand on something ‘to control something or someone carefully’

(33). (English) HANDS AS TRANSFER
   a. hand something in ‘to give something to someone in a position of authority’
   b. hand something out ‘to give something to each person in a group or place’
   c. hand/give in your notice ‘to tell your employer that you intend to leave your job after a particular period of time’
   d. give/hand something to somebody on a plate ‘to allow someone to get or win something very easily’

(34). (English) HANDS AS APPRECIATION
   a. The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world ‘women have a strong influence on events through their children’
   b. with your own fair hand(s) ‘you have made something yourself’
   c. have (got) to hand it to somebody ‘have been very successful or skilful’
   d. give/lend somebody a helping hand ‘to help someone’
   e. know something like the back of your hand ‘to have very good and detailed knowledge of something’

When eye and hand coordinate, it involves what our eyes see and the corresponding physical responses. This is apparently shown in conceptual metaphors of eyes (EYES ARE ATTENTION AND JUDGMENT) and hands (HANDS SHOW ABILITY). For example, yan3ming2shou3kuai4
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

A comparison between Mandarin and English data reveals 2 differences. First, the conceptual metaphor “CONTROL IS HOLDING IN THE PALM OF THE HAND” is not richly manifested in English, although it is in Mandarin. Second, the conceptual metaphor “THE FINGER IS THE DOER” is well manifested in English, but it is not realized in Mandarin (Yu 2000: 159).

The conceptual metaphor THE HAND SHOWS DIRECTION is well manifested in English and Russian, but it is not realized in Mandarin. Nevertheless, Mandarin, Russian and English also share the conceptual metonymy PERCEPTUAL ORGAN STANDS FOR PERCEPTION, THE HAND IS THE DOER, as well as THE HAND IS THE CONTROLLER as in the following examples.

(35). PERCEPTUAL ORGAN STANDS FOR PERCEPTION

**Mandarin Chinese:**
- zhou2yan3 著眼 ‘put to-eye = have something in mind’;
- zheng1yi4zi1yan3, bi4yi4zi1yan3 睁一隻眼, 闭一隻眼 ‘open-one-eye, close-one-eye = Turn a blind eye to something’;
- bie2ju4hui4yan3 别具慧眼 ‘other-have-wise-eyes = have special opinion or insight’;
- gua1mu4xian1kan4 刮目相看 ‘scrape-eye PRT-see = regard somebody with special esteem’;
- ming2yan3ren2 明眼人 ‘bright-eyes-person = a person with a discerning eye; a person of good sense’;

**Russian:**
- skazat’ pravdu v glaza ‘to say the truth in the eyes = to say the truth to somebody’;
- nazvat’ negodyayem v glaza ‘to call a villain in the eyes = to call a person a villain’;
- v glaza ne vidat’ ‘in eyes not to see = never to see, not to see at all’;

**English:** see eye to eye, not look somebody in the eye, meet somebody’s eye;

(36). THE HAND IS THE DOER

**Mandarin Chinese:**
- zhuo2shou3 著手 ‘mark-hand = to begin (to write, build, etc.)’;
- ba4shou3 罷手 ‘stop-hand = stop’;
- xiu4shou3pang2guan1 抽手旁观 ‘sleeve-hand = look on with folded arms, hands in sleeves—not willing to help’;
- yan3gao1shou3di1 眼高手低 ‘eyes-high-hand-low = high in aim but low-rate in execution, have high ambition but no real ability; fastidious and demanding but inept’;

**Russian:**
- delo v opytnykh rukakh ‘the business is in the experienced hands = business is done by experienced workers’;
- rabota izvestnoi ruki ‘the work is of a famous hand = the work is of famous master’;
Chapter 3. Eyes, Hands and Body as Emotion

*malo svobodnykh ruk* мало свободных рук ‘few spare hands = few spare workers’;

**English:** hired hand, handyman, working hands;

(37). THE HAND IS THE CONTROLLER

**Mandarin Chinese:** jie1shou3 接手 ‘catch-hand = take up matters left unfinished by predecessor; assistant’; cuo4shou3bu4ji2 接手不及 ‘handle-hand-can’t-reach = too late to do anything about it’; ding3shou3 頂手 ‘top-hand = take over’; sa1shou3 撒手 ‘cast-hand = let go the hand, also wash hands of matter’; song1shou3 松手 ‘loose-hand = to let go, to ease off on hold’; ai4shou3 阻手 ‘obstruct-hand = (affair) difficult to handle’;

**Russian:** byt’ pod chyei-nibud’ rukoi быть под чьей-нибудь рукой ‘to be under somebody’s hand = to be under somebody’s control; tverdaya ruka твердая рука ‘hard hand = strong control’; byt’ v rukakh u kogo-nibyd’ быть в руках у кого-нибудь ‘to be in the hands of somebody = to be under somebody’s control’;

**English:** firm hand, iron hand; to fall into somebody’s hands; to suffer at somebody’s hands; to get out of hand;

**Table 3.3. Conceptual metaphors involving eyes and hands in three languages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EYES</th>
<th>HANDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mandarin</strong></td>
<td>JUDGMENT, ATTENTION, LOVE, PRESENCE</td>
<td>ABILITY, ACTION, CONTROL, POWER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Russian</strong></td>
<td>PERSONALITY, VISION, ATTENTION, OPINION,</td>
<td>ACTION, POSSESSOR, POWER, SKILL, PERSONALITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUPERVISION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td>ATTENTION</td>
<td>ABILITY, CONTROL, POWER, DIRECTION, TRANSFER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above examples (17)-(18) indicate that the central conceptual metaphor the EYES JUDGE AND SHOW AFFECTION is well manifested in Mandarin yan3 眼.
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

It is worth mentioning that the alternative of yan3 is mu4 目. It takes this part of conceptual metaphor in Mandarin vehicle eyes: EYES (MU) PROVE PRESENCE. In other words, mu4 is a vehicle that gives neutral connotation—the existence and being, unlike the affection and evaluation that the other vehicle yan3 is responsible for. Mu was the sole vehicle for Mandarin eyes in old Chinese; its main semantic responsibility had been taken by yan3 after the reanalysis of semantic structure. Not only many expressions that were used to be expressed with mu4 can be now expressed with yan3, such as mu4-qian2 目前 ‘eye-before = present’ and yan3qian2 頭前 ‘eye-front = present,’ yan3zhong1ci4 頭中刺 ‘eyes-center-thorn = hate someone very much’ and mu4zhong1ci4 目中刺 ‘eyes-center-thorn = hate someone very much.’ Most of the semantic development of Mandarin eyes is given by yan3. Mu4 now assists yan3 to reach the semantic completion of Mandarin eyes.

Furthermore, the EYES JUDGE AND SHOW AFFECTION in Mandarin realized the THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION as Lakoff (1987) brings out. That is to say, BODY AS EMOTION is manifested in Mandarin eyes.

As for Mandarin hands, HANDS DO AND GIVE POWER is the central conceptual metaphor. Action shows ability, can possess and control, thus showing power, both positive (e.g., shou3xia4lou2qing2 手下留情 ‘to show mercy; to be lenient; to pull one’s punches; to hold one’s hand(s)’) and negative (sexual harassment, e.g., mao2shou3mao2jiao3 毛手毛腳 ‘hair-hand-hair-foot = to take liberties with a woman by the actions of one’s hands’). Action and power are achieved by the motion of hands. In other words, BODY IS FUNCTION is well manifested in Mandarin vehicle hands.

On the other hand, ability, control, or power say human behavior which takes 43.16% of our collected data of Mandarin Chinese hands and expresses the central conceptual metaphor HANDS DO AND GIVE POWER. Further, the vehicle hands can be used metonymically to present people (21.58% of the data). For example, sha1shou3 殺手 ‘kill-hand = a killer,’ zhu4shou3 助手 ‘help-hand = an assistant,’ lao3shou3 老手 ‘old-hand = a person with rich experience.’

The conceptual metonymy EYES AS PERSONALITY is very productive in Russian, as in (38).

(38). (Russian) EYES AS PERSONALITY

a. skazat’ prevdu v glaza сказать правду в глаза = to say the truth in the eyes = to say the truth to somebody
b. nazvat’ negodyayem v glaza назвать негодяем в глаза = to call a villain in the eyes = to call a villain in the eyes
c. v glaza ne vidat’ в глаза не видать = in eyes not to see = never to see, not to see at all

d. na glaza на глаза ‘before the eyes = directly in front of somebody’
e. na glazakh u kogo-to на глазах у кого-то ‘before the eyes of somebody = in a way
that somebody saw or watched.’

It is often backed by conceptual metaphor EYES AS EMOTION, thus, emotions, expressed by a person, are expressed through his eyes, for example, trevozhnye glaza тревожные глаза ‘anxious eyes.’ In the conceptual metaphor EYES STAND FOR VISION in Russian VISION IS MOVEMENT, such as running, walking, sticking, eating, and measuring, as in (39).

(39). (Russian) EYES STAND FOR VISION, VISION IS MOVEMENT
a. probegat’ glazami пробегать глазами ‘to run one’s eyes over something to skim something, to scan something’

b. provozhat’ glazami провожать глазами ‘to follow somebody with one’s eyes’

c. vpivatsya glazami впиваться глазами ‘to stick by the eyes to stare hard at somebody’

d. est’ glazami есть глазами ‘to eat by the eyes = to look very attentively’

f. pozirat’ glazami пожирать глазами ‘to devour by the eyes = to look very attentively’
f. merit’ glazami мерить глазами ‘to measure somebody with one’s eyes = to look somebody up and down.’

It should be mentioned that in Russian conceptualization of vision not only eyes fulfill different movements to see something, but the objects have to make some movements to attract the eyes attention, they strike, cut, throw themselves on. Thus, EYES ARE ATTENTION, as in brosatsa v glaza бросаться в глаза ‘to be striking for the eyes = to strike/catch one’s eye, to arrest one’s attention.’ And vice versa, if the person is attentive, he opens and moves his eyes, trying to peer at something or somebody, as in otkryt’ glaza na chto-to открыть глаза на что-то ‘to open eyes on something = to pay attention to something.’ In the conceptual metaphor EYES ARE OPINION in Russian eyes form an opinion about something or somebody, as in v glazakh kogo-to в глазах кого-то ‘in the eyes of somebody = in somebody’s opinion.’ Conceptual metaphors UP IS GOOD and LOW IS BAD are also revealed in EYES ARE OPINION, as in wysoko stoyat’ v glazakh druzej высоко стоять в глазах друзей ‘to stand high in the friends’ eyes = to stand high in the friends’ opinion.’

EYES AS SUPERVISION is also productive in Russian, where eye is equivalent to supervision and control, as in (40).

(40). (Russian) EYES AS SUPERVISION
a. tut svoi glaz nuzhen тут свой глаз нужен ‘here the own eye is necessary = here the personal supervision is necessary’

b. nuzhen glaz da glaz нужен глаз да глаз necessary ‘eye and eye here necessary = serious supervision is necessary’

c. u semi nyaneck ditya bez glazu у семи нянек дитя без глазу ‘seven nurses leave the
As for hand in Russian, the central conceptual metaphor is HAND AS ACTION, which comprises various actions. The paramount importance of this metaphor is connected with the role of hand in the process of labor. Different types of actions can be fulfilled by means of hands, as in (27). It is important whether hands are clean or dirty in the process of action. *Imet' chistye ruki* имеет чистые руки ‘to have clean hands’ means to be honest, irproachable, vice versa, dirty hands are characteristic of dishonorable, disreputable action, as in *marat' ruki* марать руки ‘to make hands dirty = to interfere with an unpleasant, scandalous affair,’ *na ruku nechist* на руку нечист ‘on the hands is not clean = dishonest.’ The proverb about accomplices in an improper action *ruka ruku moyet* рука руку моет ‘a hand washes a hand’ means that swindlers cover each other. HAND AS A POSSESSOR, resulting from the main function of hands to take, grasp and manipulate objects is presented in (29). The above metaphor is closely connected with HAND IS POWER, as to have something in hands, to possess means to have power on something or somebody, as in *imet’ kogo-nibud, chto-nibud v svoikh rukakh* ɨɢɦɟɬɶ ɤɨɝɨ – ɧɢɛɭɞɶ, ɱɬɨ – ɧɢɛɭɞɶ ɜ ɫɜɨɢɯ ɪɭɤɚɯ  ‘to have somebody, something in one’s hands = to have power, control on somebody, something.’ The metonymy HAND AS PERSONALITY in Russian is represented by the fixed expressions in (41).

(41). (Russian) HANDS AS PERSONALITY

a. *rabota izvestnoi ruki* работа известной руки ‘the work is of a famous hand = the work is of a famous person’

b. *uznat’ chto-to iz pervykh, vtorykh ruk* узнать что-то из первых, из вторых рук ‘to know something from the first, second hands = to know from the first person, second person’

c. *delo ruk kogo-nibud’* дело рук кого-нибудь ‘the work is of hands of somebody = somebody is to be blamed for this affair.’

It has a variant HAND AS A PROTECTOR, as in *imet’ silnuyu ruku* имеет сильную руку ‘to have a strong hand = to have a strong protector.’ HAND AS DIRECTION is revealed only by three fixed expressions, but their frequency of occurrence in everyday speech is very high.

Thus, the analysis of Russian conceptual metaphors and metonymies mainly follow the model BODY AS FUNCTION. Still, there are some metaphorical set expressions both with vehicle *eyes* and *body* that can be conceptualized as BODY AS EMOTION. But Russian is very productive in creating metonymies with *eyes* and *hands* preceded by an attribute, denoting emotion, as in *krotkiye, nezhnye glazki* кроткие, нежные глазки ‘calm tender eyes,’ *mstitelnaya ruka* мстительная рука ‘revengeful hand.’

In English, EYES GIVE ATTENTION is the sole conceptual metaphor shown by the data we
have collected so far. In this case, an abstract concept, attention, is partly structured by a conceptual metaphor BODY IS FUNCTION. The conceptual metaphor has the human body as its source domain. This result disagrees with that in Yu (2004: 663) where Yu found that Mandarin and English share the conceptual metaphors SEEING IS TOUCHING AND THINKING, KNOWING, or UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING.\(^\text{2}\) The reason for the diversity is presumably due to that our data are fixed expressions while Yu takes literary expressions as well, such as his example (5) (Liang3 ren2 de mu4guang1 peng4 zai4 yi4 qi3 雨人的目光碰在一起 two persons’ eye-light bump together ‘The two persons’ eyes met = Their eye lights bumped each other,’ Ta1 de yan3 guang1 rui4 li4, shen2 me shi4qing2 dou1 man2 bu2 guo4 ta1 她的眼光銳利，什麼事情都瞞不過她 ‘her eye-light sharp-pointed, whatever things all unable-hide from her = You can hide nothing from her sharp eyes.’) (Yu 2004: 666) and many of his examples are used only in Mainland China, such as his example (8) (zhao1yan3 揽眼 ‘beckon-eye = eye-catching,’ chu4yan3 觸眼 ‘touch-eye = eye-catching; striking; conspicuous,’ da3yan3 打眼 ‘beat-eye = catch the eye; attract attention’) (Yu 2004: 668). As for hands, the central conceptual metaphor is HANDS SHOW POWER AND GIVE DIRECTION. Having power, thus shows ability and control. Again, the function of hands is realized and BODY IS FUNCTION is also manifested.

To compare eyes and hands in Mandarin, the functions of both body parts are transferred to language. We therefore come to the conclusion that BODY IS FUNCTION.

| Table 3.4. Central conceptual metaphors involving eyes and hands in three languages |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| **EYES**                        | **HANDS**                        |
| Mandarin                        | Mandarin                        |
| EYES JUDGE AND SHOW AFFECTION   | HANDS DO AND GIVE POWER          |
| Russian                         | Russian                         |
| EYES MAKE MOVEMENTS TO SEE, GIVE AND GET ATTENTION, EXPRESS OPINION AND SUPERVISE | HANDS ACT, POSSESSS AND HAVE POWER, PROTECT |
| English                         | English                         |
| EYES GIVE ATTENTION             | HANDS SHOW POWER AND GIVE DIRECTION |

\(^{2}\) These conceptual metaphors can not be clearly seen from English eye and hand fixed expressions.

In Mandarin, the first part (judge) of the central conceptual metaphor EYES JUDGE AND SHOW AFFECTION can be interpreted as understanding too.
3.5. Conclusion

Eyes and hands are integral parts of languages, revealing a new dimension of the mind and presenting thought in action. Although the human body is a potentially universal source domain for expressions structuring abstract concepts, cultural groups set up “specific perspectives from which certain aspects of bodily experience or certain parts of the body are viewed as especially salient and meaningful in the understanding of those abstract concepts” (Yu 2003b). A group of body-part expressions mappings from source domains to target domains arrive on the scene fundamentally from the interplay between body and culture.

To sum up the above findings, some emotions are expressed with eyes in all three languages, such as pleasance, shame, and fear in which, however, Mandarin vehicle eyes is used on the basis of humanism, a subjective point of view, while Russian and English are speaking for the object, an objective point of view. In terms of object itself, Mandarin can use the vehicle hands.

The positive emotion happiness is the most often expressed emotion in the form of eyes. In the form of hands, not many emotions are shown in all three languages. Many emotions are expressed only in a certain language. For example, happiness and despair are only found in Russian. Only English hands express the emotion satisfaction.

Yu (1998), Kövecses (2000), and Huang (2002) propose that metonymic processes play a much bigger role in the understandings of emotion in Mandarin than in English. In Russian, both metaphor and metonymy are very productive in creating body-part expressions. Moreover, in metonymies EYES and HANDS FOR A PERSON metonymies are very often backed by adjectives, denoting emotions. On the other hand, many examples, such as (7), (8) and (10), describe the bodily acts or gestures expressive of certain emotions, just like Huang (2002) points out that the core of an emotion is not simply a psychological state or process, but a readiness to act in a certain way.

Furthermore, the EYES JUDGE AND SHOW AFFECTION in Mandarin realized THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION as Lakoff (1987) brings out; BODY AS EMOTION is manifested in Mandarin eyes. In Russian, EYES MAKE MOVEMENTS TO SEE, GIVE AND GET ATTENTION, EXPRESS OPINION AND SUPERVISE are central conceptual metaphors for eyes; HANDS ACT, POSSESSS AND HAVE POWER, PROTECT are central conceptual metaphors for hands. Thus, BODY AS FUNCTION is mainly realized in our Russian data. Nevertheless, BODY AS EMOTION is displayed in a wide range of Russian fixed expressions and trite metonymies with adjectives, denoting emotions. In English, EYES GIVE ATTENTION and HANDS SHOW POWER AND GIVE DIRECTION are the central conceptual metaphors emerged from our English data; BODY IS FUNCTION is operating here.

Therefore, we can draw to the conclusion that BODY AS FUNCTION is equally displayed in
all three analyzed languages, but BODY AS EMOTION as a particular conceptual model is characteristic only of Mandarin.

Yu (2003a: 27) points out that “culturally constructed and shared concept … manifested in conventional metaphorical expressions in the form of proverbs, idioms, and compounds”—they are fixed expressions. In sum, we would like to make the following hypothesis for a cognitive model under a cross-cultural perspective based on the above observation between Mandarin, Russian and English.

![Figure 3.1 Dynamic cognitive model of body-part expressions in languages](image)

**Figure 3.1 Dynamic cognitive model of body-part expressions in languages**

Human body is projected onto languages by means of utilizing body-part terms in various fixed expressions through human inherent cognition which yet featured by assorted cultures to abstract body functions, describe human behavior and express human emotions. These differences consist in the choice of a part (eye or hand) over the whole (body) as a result of cultural preferences with different expressions. However, all generated from the central conceptual metaphor: BODY IS FUNCTION.
Chapter 4. Human Vision and Hierarchical Distribution

In the previous chapter we studied heart expressions and mind-as-body hypothesis. This chapter deals with human ‘vision’. Human eyes are sensitive and expressive. People usually depend on their sense of vision to learn about the world. People also use their eyes to express their feelings. Human, body, and mind are working synaesthetically. The visual synaesthetic expressions are commonly found in many languages. How does our sense of vision work with other senses as a metaphorical extension in an expression? Which part of speech is the most likely form of synaesthetic expressions? Are synaesthetic expressions just the attributive word-combination? Do the synaesthetic expressions of different languages have similar syntactic structural features? In this chapter, we are studying the synaesthetic metaphors of vision in Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English to see how these metaphors work in these languages.

4.1. Introduction

According to modern cognitive scientific paradigm, the major interest of research is a human being’s perception, cognition and feelings. Synesthesia (also spelled synaesthesia) from Greek syn (with or joined together) and aesthesis (sensation), means ‘the union of senses.’ Synesthesia, being the most mysterious and the least studied phenomenon of human sense perception, is now in the centre of scientific research.

Traditionally a synaesthetic metaphor is understood as the usage of words, connected with one sphere of sensation to express senses and feelings of another sphere of sensorium (e.g., a warm voice, soft light, velvet smile). Cognitive psychology suggests a broad definition of synesthesia as a phenomenon of harmonic intersensial perception, when one cognitive act combines associations of different types. Modern linguistics needs a new theory of synesthesia which takes into account recent data, obtained in cognitive psychology, philosophy, and neurosciences.

The published works on synesthesia are usually done on the basis of one language and investigate only one side of this phenomenon—the interaction of sensorial adjectives within different lexical-semantic groupings.

This study presents synaesthetic metaphors in Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English. We focus on visual synaesthetic metaphors, for example, yan3jian1 眼尖 ‘eye-sharp = sharp-eyed’ contains “vision” as synaesthetic sense and “touch” as a primary sense. We compare synaesthetic
part I. human, body and mind in language

linguists’ approaches, such as Ullmann’s (1959), Williams’s (1976), Classen’s (1993), and Day’s (1996), and take the traditional one—Ullmann’s hypothesis of “hierarchical distribution” (1959: 276-284) as the basis of the analysis.

as synesthesia is a complex many-sided language phenomenon, it is possible to classify it according to several principles. Cross-linguistic research gives an opportunity to investigate universal meaningful and structural features of synaesthetic metaphors, existing in all three compared languages. On the other hand, language peculiarities are revealed to update traditional approaches, explained by the language specificity and different cultural background of the language speakers.

the structure of this chapter is organized as follows: (1) introduction (2) a review of studies on synesthesia in sciences including arts, psychology, neuroscience, linguistics, (3) the presenting analysis of visual synaesthetic metaphors in Chinese, Russian, and English, (4) further discussion about language diversity and linguistic universality, and (5) a conclusion.

4.2. literature review

this chapter starts with a brief review of the rich studies of synesthesia in various fields, including those in arts, psychology, neuroscience, linguistics with special emphasis on a synaesthetic metaphor as a conceptual metaphor.

4.2.1. studies of synesthesia in arts, psychology, and neuroscience

The problem of interaction of different organs of sense perception has a long history both in humanities and sciences. The fine arts dealt with synesthesia long before it became the object of scientific research. The term ‘synesthesia’ etymologically comes from Greek ‘aesthesis,’ thus being connected with aesthetics. Greek philosophers were the first who tried to explain the phenomenon of synesthesia. Thus, Plato wrote about correspondence of different types of perception (white is regarded as hot, and black as cold, etc.). Aristotle mentioned about physiological syncretism of sensations, relations of color and sound. The deliberate use of synesthesia in poetry and prose began in the epoch of Romanticism, characterized by the flourishing of arts, emotionality, and a deep interest to the inner world of a human. Literary studies of synesthesia can be traced at the end of the 19th century when a new literary trend of symbolism made a special impact on synesthesia in the works of art.

The end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries was marked by the first peak of interest to synesthesia. It was studied in aesthetics, theory of arts, psychology, physiology, medicine,
linguistics. During the next 100-year-period, synesthesia happened to be both in the center and in
the margins of scientists’ interest. The beginning of the 21st century can be regarded as a period of
the second peak of interest to synesthesia. It is connected both with the tendency of creating broad
interdisciplinary approaches in sciences and humanities and the predominance of the cognitive
scientific paradigm in linguistics.

Several popular psychological and neurophysiological theories are trying to explain the
phenomenon of synesthesia. According to Pribram, a human brain uses the holographic coding
system, which enables it to code all sensor signals through all organs of sense perception (Pribram
1991). The emotive theory of synesthesia explains interconnections of senses by the existence of a
common emotional background (Yanshin 1996). According to Starcheus (2003), the closer are the
emotional evaluation of different sensations, the brighter the associations and the composite
intersensory image. Cytowic (1989, 2002b) backs the statement about the importance of emotions
in the formation of synesthesias with the results of tomographic studies. This author writes that
synesthesia should be studied not only in neuroscience, but also in medicine, genetics, linguistics,
and artificial intelligence. Bardovskaya (2002) in the survey of modern works on synesthesia in
sciences dwells on the broadening of the definition of synesthesia which is understood as the
phenomenon of harmonic intermodal perception when one cognitive act combines several
associations of different types.

4.2.2. Studies of Synesthesia in Linguistics

Both the term and the concept of ‘synesthesia’ were introduced into linguistics from psychology,
where synesthesia was defined as a stimulation of one sense alongside another: evocation of one
kind of sense impression when another is stimulated, for example the sensation of color when a
sound is heard. The linguistic works on synesthesia, traditionally understood as the use of the words
connected with one sphere for the nomination of feelings and emotions related to other spheres of
sensorium, for example, loud color, sharp mind, soft voice, were published practically
simultaneously with the first psychological studies of intermodality in the second half of the 19th
century (Paul 1960, Bréal 1991, Potebnya 1976). A great number of monographs and articles on
synesthesia have been published recently in linguistics. But up to now there is no generally
accepted linguistic definition of synesthesia. According to Bretones-Callejas (2005) three
contradicting one another concepts of synesthesia are discussed in linguistics: (1) the acoustic
synesthesia (Slawson 1985); (2) synesthesia as a linguistic category, limited only to sensorial fields.
This sphere can be widened to the associations between abstract notion and a sensorial impression
(e.g., sweet desire, blue shyness); and (3) synesthesia of semantically incompatible components,
belonging to the same sensorial field (e.g., blind light, dumb song) (Erzsébet 1974).
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

The concept of synaesthetic metaphor transformed from its understanding as a metaphor-freak (Binet 1969) and attempts to create a new language (Boduen-de-Kurtenet 1963) to its recognition as a linguistic universal (Kronasser 1998, Ullmann 1959, Whorf 1941), playing an important role in the development of a language. Modern researches of synesthesia regard it not only as a phenomenon of a language, but as a phenomenon, which gives the opportunity to observe some regularities of human cognition (Marks 1978, Petrenko 1988, Voronin 1983).

According to a cognitive theory of metaphor known as “the theory of conceptual metaphor,” metaphor is recognized not only a figure of speech, but also as “a figure of thought” (Lakoff 1986). It is primarily conceptual in nature, with surface manifestations in language. As a basic cognitive structure, metaphor allows us to understand a relatively abstract concept in terms of a more concrete or more structured concept. Structurally, metaphors are mappings across conceptual domains, involving projections from a source domain to a target domain. Such mappings are asymmetric in that they are uni-directional, that is, from the more concrete to the more abstract. According to Yu (2003b), they are partial in that only part of the structure of the source domain is projected to the target domain.

4.2.3. Studies of Synesthetic Metaphors

In this chapter we study a particular kind of metaphor, a synaesthetic metaphor, i.e., metaphor that maps across various sensory domains. Though traditionally, literary synesthesia is regarded as “the exploitation of verbal synesthesia for specific literary effects,” which “is typically concerned with verbal constructs and not with ‘dual perceptions’” (Tsur 1992: 245), the empirical studies demonstrate that even literary synesthesia is constrained as it does not map randomly from any sensory domain to any other one. Sensory domains, coinciding with human sense modalities, traditionally fall into five categories: touch, taste, smell, sound, and sight, hierarchically from the lowest to the highest. Therefore, there should be twenty theoretically possible kinds of cross-modal transfers.

The most frequently cited research on synaesthetic transfers is Ullmann’s classic work on synesthesia in the 19th century poetry (1959). We regard Ullmann’s theoretical framework of “hierarchical distribution” as the theoretical base of our research. Ullmann formulated three overall tendencies in synaesthetic transfers. The first tendency is that “transfers tend to mount from the lower to the higher reaches of the sensorium, from the less differentiated sensations to the more differentiated ones, and not vice versa” (1959: 280). Thus, according to the tendency of ‘hierarchical distribution’ synaesthetic transfers tend to go from the “lower” to the “higher” sensory modes, namely, touch → taste → smell → sound → sight (vision).

According to the second tendency, in keeping with the first one, touch, the lowest level of sensation, is the predominant source of transfers. The third tendency is that sound, rather than sight,
is the predominant destination for synaesthetic transfers, which is somewhat unexpected from the hierarchical point of view. Ullmann explains this phenomenon by the richness of visual terminology in comparison with auditory one. In Ullmann’s view, synesthesia is at the border line of synesthesia proper, i.e., the category of direct name-transfer based on synaesthetic similarity, and of pseudosynaesthesia, i.e., the association of a concrete sensation with an abstract notion, name-transfer based on simultaneous sense-contiguity.

Ullmann’s approach has been backed by other linguists. Major generalization of Williams’s diachronic study of synaesthetic adjectives in English, backed by comparing with their Indo-European and Japanese cognates, proves Ullmann’s (1959: 276-284) conclusions that synaesthetic transfers tend to move upward: if a lexeme metaphorically transfers from its earliest sensory meaning to another sensory modality, it will transfer from the physiologically least differentiating, most evolutionary primitive sensory modalities to the most differentiating, most advanced, but not vice versa. But post-first-order transfers do not obey this constraint with the same regularity. Vision, which we are particularly interested in, is divided by Williams into two sub-modalities: color and dimension. Color may shift only to sound, dimension lexemes transfer to color or sound.

According to cross-cultural ethnological study of Classen (1993), not vision, but hearing ranks highest in the system for synethetic transfers in English: touch → taste → smell → vision → hearing.

Day (1996) inserts temperature between smell and taste: touch → taste → temperature → smell → vision → hearing. He examines the occurrence of metaphorical transfers in both directions in various English texts and found out heavy weighting of the touch → hearing tendency among other types of transfers (42.6%). Transfers from vision have the following ranks in his data: Touch → hearing transfers come first, vision → hearing rank fifth, vision → smell—twelfth, vision → touch—eighteenth among 23 examined types of transfers. Day suggests that the next step in investigation should be the study of synethetic metaphors in other languages and cultures.

Yu (1992) emphasizes that Ullmann and Williams not only proposed universal principles in synethetic transfers, but also expressed the need of a wider investigation of more languages before these hypotheses can be established as universal principles. He found that Ullmann’s first two tendencies (hierarchical distribution and touch as the predominate source) have their parallel tendencies in Mandarin Chinese. His third tendency, sound as the predominant destination, is not so clear in Mandarin Chinese. Williams’s hypothesis about the routes for synethetic transfers was confirmed in Mandarin Chinese except that Mandarin Chinese dimension words transfer not only to color and sound, but also to taste and smell. Yu’s survey of empirical studies of synesthesia in various languages and literatures (2003a) revealed that synaesthetic metaphors are quite selective in terms of directionality. Yu stresses that cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies may reflect general mechanisms in human language and cognition that are rooted in embodied expressions.
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

Shen (1997) states that poetic metaphors seem to be highly selective with respect to their directionality of mapping, that is, mapping tends to be one-directional rather than both ways. He analyzed synaesthetic metaphors drawn from Modern Hebrew poetry and found that the Hebrew corpus conforms to Ullmann’s conclusion that synaesthetic metaphors tend to map lower terms onto higher ones in the hierarchy. Moreover, he suggests that the “low to high” mapping follows from the general cognitive constraint which states that “a mapping from more ‘accessible’ or ‘basic’ concepts onto ‘less accessible’ or ‘less basic’ ones seems more natural, and is preferred over the opposite mapping” (Shen 1997: 51).

4.3. Visual Synesthetic Metaphors in Mandarin Chinese, Russian, and English

We investigate one particular type of synaesthetic metaphors—visual synaesthetic metaphors (VSMs). Traditionally works on synaesthetic metaphors are confined with synaesthetic transfers from the lower senses to the higher ones. The opposite type of mapping, i.e. from the highest sense—vision—to the lower ones has not been the object of particular linguistic interest yet. Besides, the results of empirical studies contradict theoretical constructs. Thus, even Ullmann’s data about sound, rather than sight as a predominant destination for synaesthetic transfers does not prove his conclusion about the universal upward tendency.

Traditional synaesthetic transfers correspond to basic sense modalities, such as touch, taste, smell, sound, and sight. Some scientists propose to distinguish between several subtypes within basic senses. The traditional subdivision of the sense of sight is that into color and light. Williams (1976) breaks sight into two subcategories: color and dimension. Gordon (1978) proposes to distinguish between several submodalities in the sense of sight: color, brightness, intensiveness, contour, and location. We will not differentiate senses in our research except the cases when different subcategories of one sense are manifested in one and the same composite synaesthetic metaphor. Emotion and sense are considered as one of the domains of synaesthetic transfers alongside with tactile, gustatory, olfactory, auditory, and visual synesthesias. Besides, we follow the traditional view on sight as color and light. It should also be noted that we look into the sememes of the words and semantic units in the metaphors and that polysemy is not of concern in this chapter.

We included into the examined types of synthetic transfers emotion and sense modality. Traditionally, transfers from basic senses to emotive sphere are not regarded as synesthesia. Thus, Ullmann (1959) distinguished between synthetic metaphors and the so called pseudo-synesthesia, based on the transfer sensation → emotion. Most of synesthesia researchers confine themselves to sensation → sensation transfers. But modern science gives the chance to dispute over emotive synesthesia. Psychologists and neurophysiologists proved that emotive factors play the basic role in
forming synesthesia (Velichkovsky, Zinchenko and Luria 1973, Cytowic 2002a, Shiffman 2003). Emotive theory of synesthesia explain the interaction of sensation by common emotional background (Yanshin 1996). Voronin (1983) introduced the term ‘phonosemantics’ to denote a psycho physiological universal, underlying a linguistic universal, explaining sensation-emotion interactions. Bardovskaya (2002), describing temperature-based synaesthetic nominations, introduces a broader category—associations with the sense of psychic modality. We back her viewpoint and study emotion synaesthetic transfers and transfers based on sense of psychic modality in one category emotion and sense modality. We rely on modern neurophysiological and psychological studies of emotions, which are the integral part of all senses.

Dictionaries and literary texts are our data sources, including *Chinese Mandarin Online Dictionary* (Committee of Official Language Promotion 1998), *The Wild Fire* (Walther 1985), *English and American Literature* (Lehmstedt 2002), and *Russian Literature From Nestor to Mayakovsky* (Litvina and Yermoshin 2003). We use both literary texts and ordinary language, as one of the central claims of the theory of conceptual metaphor is that metaphor in poetry is not an essentially different phenomenon from metaphor in ordinary language; poetic metaphor basically uses the same cognitive mechanisms as everyday metaphor; and what makes poetic metaphor look different, however, is its extension, elaboration, and combination of those mechanisms in ways that go beyond the ordinary (Lakoff and Turner 1989).

Data of three languages and their cross-linguistic study may reflect some general mechanisms in human language and cognition that are rooted in embodied experience.

As theoretical framework of our study is the cognitive theory of metaphor, developed in the broad context of cognitive sciences with the emphasis on cognitive psychology and neurosciences, we support the broad concept of linguistic synesthesia as backed by the newest findings about the great role of emotions in the sphere of human cognition. So we regard emotion as one of the domains of synaesthetic transfers and study the cases of emotional synesthesia.

### Table 4.1. Three main domains of synaesthetic transfers of VSMs in our data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>sound</th>
<th>touch</th>
<th>emotion and sense</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As synesthesia is a complex many-sided language phenomenon it can be classified according to several principles. We began with a closer look at the directions of the synaesthetic transfers in
the obtained data. Three main domains of the distributions of synaesthetic transfers are given in Table 4.1.

The examples from (1) to (3) are VSMs in Mandarin, Russian and English, mapping from vision to sound. Transfers from vision to sound are abundant in Russian (27.4%) and English (20.9%), but rather rare in Mandarin (4%). We see loanwords in the Mandarin examples in (1), *hei1ren2yin1yue4* 黑人音樂 ‘black-people-music = soul music,’ and also semantic comparisons, *shi4ting1* 聽 ‘see-hear = what is seen and smelled.’ That is to say, transfers from vision to sound are limited, and most of them are borrowings or simple comparisons. However, transfers from vision to sound are quite common in Russian (2) *bely perezvon* белый перезвон ‘white carillon’ and English (3) *bright music*. This shows that Russian and English rely heavily on the mapping from vision to sound. We have a further discussion in this regard later.

(1). (Mandarin Chinese) vision → sound:
yan3guan1s4fang, 1er3ting1ba1fang1 眼觀四方, 耳聽八方 ‘eye-see-four-direction, ear-hear-eight-direction = to have sharp eyes and keen ears; to be observant and alert; to be all eyes and ears’
kan4ren2zuei3lian3 看人嘴臉 ‘see-people-mouth-face = to live on another’s favor; to depend on another’
*hei1ren2yin1yue4* 黑人音樂 ‘black-people-music = soul music’
mian4hong2er3chi4 面紅耳赤 ‘face-red-ear-red = emotionally excited, face reddens to the ears’
*shi4ting1* 聽 ‘see-hear = seeing and smelling; what is seen and smelled’
jian4wen2 見聞 ‘see-smell = what one sees and smells; knowledge; information; experience’

(2). (Russian) vision → sound:
*bely perezvon* белый перезвон ‘white carillon,’
*blesstasyashchy razgovor* блестящий разговор ‘lustrous talk,’
*zhele1enny uy golos* желтенький голос ‘yellowish voice,’
*zelenaya tishina* зеленая тишина ‘green silence,’
*zolotaya pesn* золотая песня ‘gold song,’
*zolotoy golosok* золотой голосок ‘gold voice,’
*krasny smekh* красный смех ‘red laughter,’
*mato1vy ryc* матовый рык ‘lusterless growling,’
*prozrachnye zvuki* прозрачные звуки ‘fragrant sounds,’
*svelty smekh* светлый смех ‘light laughter,’
*chernoye slovo* черное слово ‘black word’
(3). (English) vision → sound:
bright sound,
colored musical things,
colorless voice,
dark noise,
dim tales,
dull music,
glaring loudness,
gloomy silence,
golden silence,
luminous conversation,
silvery silence,
darken tale,
white voice

Examples (4) to (6) below contain VSMs in three languages, mapping from vision to touch. The Mandarin examples in (4) recur with high frequency (53.2%); synaesthetic metaphors from vision to touch are the most frequent transfers in Mandarin (see Table 4.1). Quality in objects such as texture (soft, hard), temperature (hot, cold), and space (separating, through) are included in touch. All above submodalities of touch are presented in Mandarin examples. As for Russian (10.5%) and English (13.9%) data, they are constrained to temperature, space submodalities and movement. The total number of synaesthetic transfers from vision to touch in these two languages is noticeably less than in Mandarin.

Unlike emotion or sound, qualities of objects such as space dimensions (touch) are perceived with eyesight. The integration of vision in this cognitive construction occurs in an unconscious way that is activated in identifying objects and generating “mental visual images” (Kosslyn et al. 1995). Touch is regarded as a lower sense (Ullmann 1959, Williams 1976). Mapping from the “higher” to the “lower” sensory modes is particularly obvious in our Mandarin data.

(4). (Mandarin Chinese) vision → touch:
mu4bu4xia2jie1 目不暇接 ‘eye-no-free-catch = so many things come into sight that the eyes are kept fully occupied’
mu4guang1xia2zhai3 目光狭窄 ‘eye-light-narrow-narrow = to have tunnel vision’
mu4ji2 目擊 ‘eye-beat = to witness; to see with one’s own eyes’
yan3ya1 眼壓 ‘eye-pressure = intraocular pressure’
kan4bu4shuen4yan3 看不慣眼 ‘see-no-along-eye = (things) are disgusting (to look at)’

89
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

kan1shou3 靈守 ‘see-guard = watch (prisoner, house)’
kan4chuan1 靈‘see-wear = see through (life, trick)’
kan4zhong4le 靈中了 ‘see-middle-already = have a liking for (an object)’
kan4puo4 靈破 ‘see-broke = to see through a thing 2. to be resigned to what is inevitable’
hei1bai2bu4fen1 黒白不分 ‘black-white-no-separate = do not distinguish between right and wrong’
hei1shi4jiao1yi4 黒市交易 ‘black-market-join-easy = black market’

(5). (Russian) vision → touch:

belye dvizheniya белые движения ‘white movements,’
beszvetno dni tekli бесцветно дни текли ‘days flew colorless,’
goluboy pokoy голубой покой ‘light-blue calm,’
matov znoy матов зной ‘lusterless hot,’
svetloye dvizheniye светлое движение ‘light movement,’
svetlye sny светлые сны ‘light dreams,’
sinyaya prokhada синя прохлада ‘dark-blue coolness,’
son goluboy сон голубой ‘light-blue dream,’
teplotoy zolotitsya теплой золотится ‘gold with warmth,’
khолод siny холод синий ‘dark-blue cold’

(6). (English) vision → touch:
breathed black,
bright calm,
bright movement,
dim stillness,
red-hot,
red of heat,
white fire,
white-hot,
white of heat

The examples (7) to (9) below contain synaesthetic transfers from vision to emotion and sense. Mapping from vision to emotion and sense modality is characteristic to all three analyzed languages, being the major type of transfer in Russian and English and the second one after transfer
from vision to touch in Mandarin Chinese. The examples in (8) show that both positive and negative emotions *svetlaya radost* 'light joy,' *cherny gnev* черный гнев 'black anger' are presented in target domain in Russian. Emotions are revealed both by color words *rozovye mechy* розовые мечты 'pink dreams,' *belaya zhut* белая жуть 'white horror' and by light words *svetlaya taina* светлая тайна 'light mystery,' *tuskloye zhitiyo* тусклое житье 'dull life.' The examples in (9) mostly comprise light words *dim apprehension, lustrous passion.* Ward (2004) indicates that words having emotional connotations, such as *love,* have a tendency to bring out a synaesthetic response. The examples (7) to (9) prove that visual-emotive synesthesia is the fact of language use and the most common type of synaesthetic transfers in Russian and English.

(7). (Mandarin Chinese) vision $\rightarrow$ emotion and sense:
- *hong2se4kong3bu4* 紅色恐怖 'red-terror = red terror'
- *hong2bai2xi3shi4* 紅白喜事 'red-white-happy-thing = weddings and funerals'
- *ming2mu4zhang1dan3* 明目張膽 'clear-eye-open-gall = to do evil things openly and unscrupulously; to have the impudence to do something; to throw all scruples to the air'
- *guang1gua4lu4li2* 光怪陸離 'light-strange-land-leave = grotesque in shape and gaudy in color; strange looking'
- *shi4wei2wei4tu2* 看見畏道 'see-for-fear-way = to be afraid to undertake something'
- *an4xiao4* 暗笑 'dark-smile = to snigger; to have a chuckle'
- *an4shang1* 暗傷 'dark-hurt = internal injury of human body; invisible injury of human body'

(8). (Russian) vision $\rightarrow$ emotion and sense:
- *belaya zhut* белая жуть 'white horror,'
- *garmoniki zheltaya grust* гармоники желтая грусть 'light sadness of harmonica,'
- *prozrachnaya dusha* прозрачная душа 'fragrant soul,'
- *rozovye mechy* розовые мечты 'pink dreams,'
- *svetlaya radost* светлая радость 'light joy,'
- *svetlaya taina* светлая тайна 'light mystery,'
- *svetloye serdtse* светлое сердце 'light heart'
- *tuskloye zhitiyo* тусклое житье 'dull life,'
- *cherny gnev* черный гнев 'black anger,'
- *cherny styd* черный стыд 'black shame,'
- *chernaya skuka* черная скрука 'black boredom,'
- *yarkaya slava* яркая слава 'bright glory,'
- *yarkiye mechy* яркие мечты 'bright dreams'
(9). (English) vision $\rightarrow$ emotion and sense:
colorless depression,
dim apprehension,
fiery-colored prose,
glaring fraud,
glaring joy,
gloomy grief,
hope grew pale and dim,
luminous personality,
lustrous passion,
pale grief,
radiant happiness,
radiant with glory,
sparkling fury,
white glory

Our Mandarin data give some VSMs with target domain taste. It is not shown in our Russian and English data. Some examples are given in (10).

(10). (Mandarin Chinese) vision $\rightarrow$ taste:

wang4mei2zhi3ke3 望梅止渴 ‘see-plum-stop-thirst = tell the army there are prunes ahead so as to stop their thirst; wishful thinking’
mei3wei4 美味 ‘beauty-taste = delicious food; delicacies; dainties; relish’
qing1-se4 青涩 ‘blue-astringent = unexperienced’
huo3la4la4 火辣 ‘fire-spicy-spicy = burning; scorching; searing’
cheng1mu4jie2she2 瞠目结舌 ‘stare-eye-tie-tongue = to stare dumb-founded’
yan3chan2 眼馋 ‘eye-greedy = to cast a covetous eye (on something); to be envious’
bai2chi1 白吃 ‘white-eat = eat without pay’
hei1chi1hei1 黑吃黑 ‘black-eat-black = double cross’
an4chi1yi1jing1 吃惊 ‘dark-eat-one-startle = startled secretly’

The fact that the Chinese emphasize eating and are famous for their tasty cuisine is probably an explanation for this linguistic phenomenon. That is, eating culture is reflected in Mandarin Chinese. Taste has already been in the focus of some linguistic studies. Strauss (2005) investigates the linguistic aestheticization of food in the comparison of food commercials in Japan, Korea, and the United States. Probing into linguistic and conceptual factors, Ward and Simner (2003) study
how speech sounds induce an involuntary sensation of taste, subjectively located in the mouth, in the synaesthesia.

The results of our study show that, despite those features peculiar to Mandarin Chinese, synaesthetic metaphor in Mandarin Chinese does conform to the general tendencies observed by Ullmann (1959) and Williams (1976) in English and some other languages.

4.4. Discussion: Language Diversity vs. Linguistic Universality

The analysis of the synaesthetic metaphors in Mandarin Chinese, Russian, and English show noticeable language diversity in the types of synaesthetic transfers from vision to other types of sense modalities. While in Mandarin the predominate target domain is touch, in Russian and English the major destination is emotion and sense modality. Transfer from vision to taste is typical only for Mandarin data. While Russian and English rely heavily on the mapping from vision to sound, Mandarin Chinese does not. Yu (2003a) explains the poor presentation of such sound transfer in Mandarin. According to his Mandarin data, Yu elucidates that sound is more abstract than sight in the sense because sound gives no obvious spatial existence. So, “its understanding and description are expected to undergo metaphorical mapping in terms of entities and substances that do have spatial existence” (Yu 2003a: 30). Space and sound synaesthetic metaphors in Mandarin is an interesting subject for further research.

The diversity between Mandarin Chinese, on the one side, and Russian and English, which have much in common in our data, can partially be explained by different morphological structure of the languages. Thus, according to morphological classification of languages, Mandarin Chinese is an isolating language, while both Russian and English are inflecting languages. Different metaphorical mapping of the Mandarin Chinese and the Indo-Europeans (the Russians and the English) can be clarified by hemispherical differences of the above nations. The Chinese are traditionally thought to have the dominant right hemisphere, while the Europeans—the left one (Sergeyev 1983). Different hemispheres are responsible for different types of perceptions. Thus, the right hemisphere is closely connected with space representations, which are characteristic of touch. We suppose that the predominance of right hemisphere explains the mapping from vision to touch in Mandarin data.

In addition, our data also show language universality. Mandarin, English and Russian VSMs share three target domains of synaesthetic transfer, namely sound, touch, and emotion. We could predict that sound would be the destination of VSMs, as manifestations of visual-auditory synesthesia are studied both in psychology and literary analysis. This type of transfer supports Ullmann’s hypothesis about sound as a predominate destination of synaesthetic transfers, but
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

contradict his statement about the downward route of transfer from the “lower” to the “higher” sensory modes. Still, sight is the highest sensory mode, and sound ranks the second. So, this type of transfer combines two highest sensory modes.

To get touch as one of the major target domains happened to be unexpected, as touch is the lowest sensory mode. Therefore, our data contradict Ullmann’s postulate about the routes of synaesthetic transfers. This type of mapping needs further theoretical and practical research.

Ullmann wrote about universality of transfers from lower to upper, but his practice showed, that not the upper level—sight happened to be the major target domain, but sound (in that is his contradiction). Most researchers consider transfers from high to low untypical, not a universal tendency (e.g., Yu 2003a). But we show that it is a universal tendency.

Mapping from sound to emotion is the most common both for Russian and English. Thus, our research confirms modern neurological and psychological theories about the major role of emotions in intermodal associations and processes of cognition in general.

Analyzing VSMs, we found out that this type of metaphor is frequently a part of a composite synaesthetic metaphor, combining different types of transfer. The examples (11) to (20) below contain various combinations of synaesthetic transfers.

(11). sladostnye mucheniya, svetlo opalyushchiye dushu сладостные мучения, светло опаляющие душу ‘sweet torments, brightly burning the soul’

(12). luchezarnaya radost’ prozvenela v samykh dal’nykh koridorakh yego serdtsa лучезарная радость прозвенела в самых дальних коридорах его сердца ‘radiant joy rang in the remote corridors of his heart’

(13). dushe khochetsya smeyatsya: yeyo pyanit svetly smekh душе хочется смеяться: ей пьянет светлый смех ‘the soul wants to laugh: it is drunken with light laughter’

(14). with the wine of her bright and liquid song

(15). sang of Zion, bright and free

(16). ardours of fiery-coloured love

(17). majestic prose of his, so fervid and so fiery-coloured

(18). colorless and manifold diluted repetition

(19). yong4 you1yu4 de yan3jing1 he4 wo3 dui4yin3 用幽幽的眼睛和我對飲
‘use-dim-gloomy-of-eye-with-I-pair-drink = drinking with me with gloomy eyes’

(20). *chen4zhe hei1ye4, zai4 nu4hao2 de bao4feng1yu3 zhong1 fei1 lai2* 趁著黑夜，在怒號的暴風雨中飛來 ‘by-black-night, in-angry-cry-of-strong-wind-rain-middle-fly-come = flying to me in howling storm at night’

The example in (11) is a composite synaesthetic metaphor, combining taste, emotion and touch. In (23) emotion is the target domain of vision and sound. In (13) the composite metaphor combines vision, sound, taste and emotion. In (14) vision and touch map to sound. In (15) vision and emotion are transferred to sound. Vision and emotion move to touch in (16). Touch together with a combination of color and emotion map to emotion in (17). In (18) vision and taste map to emotion. In Mandarin examples, (19) gives emotion, vision, and taste, while (20) combines vision, emotion, and touch. So, in Mandarin, Russian and English data composite synaesthetic metaphors combine two, three or more synaesthetic transfers.

Yu (2003a), describing various composite synaesthetic metaphors in the literary works of a Chinese contemporary novelist, Mo Yan, draws to a conclusion that simultaneous appeal to multiple sensations is a peculiar feature of this author, making him a master of style. Our analysis demonstrates that the description of multiple sensations is a very common literary technique, used by authors of different genres and styles. But we agree with Yu (2003a) that composite synaesthetic metaphors are extended, elaborated and compressed. Moreover, composite synaesthetic metaphors with visual component are characterized by additional imagery and brightness.

Composite synaesthetic metaphors are embodied in sentences (phrases) or super phrase unities (abstracts, microcontexts). It is not reasonable and sometimes even impossible to divide such abstracts into components, as synaesthetic transfers are interconnected. In (21) the abstract is an example of the manifestation of synesthesia in a microcontext.

A звезды! На чernoм небе так и кипит от света, дрожит, мерцает. А какие звезды!. Усатые, живые, бушуют, кольют глаз. В воздухе-то мерзлота, через нее-то звезды большие, разными олями блещут – голубой хрусталь, и синий, и зеленый, – в стрелках. И звон усыщиши. И будто это звезды – звон-то!
И все запело, тысяча церквей играет. Такого не усылышь, нет. Не Пасха, перевну нет, а стелят звоном, кроет серебром, как пены, без конца-начала... – гул и гул’ [Лето Господне И.С. Шмелева].
Translation: ‘And the stars! It is boiling from the light in the black sky, trembling, shivering. And the stars! Bearded, alive, they beat, hurt the eyes. Coolness in the air, and because of it the stars seem to be larger, they twinkle with different flames – light-blue crystal, and dark-blue, and green in arrows. And the chime is heard. As if the stars are the chime. Frosty, resonant – like silver. You can’t hear such one. When they strike the bell in the Kremlin – the chime is ancient, dignified, and husky. And here – tough silver, like resolute velvet. And everything has sung, a thousand of churches strike the bell. You can’t hear it. It is not the Easter; there is no peal of the bells, but it covers with the chime, lays silver as a song without beginning and end – the boom and boom.’ (The God Summer by I.S. Shmelev).)

In the first part of the abstract, describing stars in the dark night sky, visual images, dominate. The second part describes the auditory sensations of bells chime. To combine them the author uses synesthesia, comparing visual objects and sounds: As if the stars are the chime. But this visual-auditory synesthesia, being the core one, is not the single synaesthetic metaphor in the abstract. It is backed by additional synaesthetic characteristics, in which different types of touch sensations prevail: the light of the stars makes the sky boil and shiver (vibration-tactile synesthesia); the stars beat, hurt the eyes (pain-tactile synesthesia); the chime is frosty (temperature-auditory synesthesia), like tough silver, resolute velvet (tactile-visual images). Combinations of interrelated synesthesias in this abstract, which can be regarded as a sustained metaphor, create an exquisite artistic image and a powerful emotional effect.

According to a formal aspect, all the components of a VSM are combined on the basis of subordinate (krasny smekh крaсный смех ‘red laughter,’ golden silence) and predicative conjunction (komu zh tvoyi klyuchi ty zolotil poyushchim slovom komu ж твои ключи ты золотил поющим словом ‘whom did you gild your key with a singing word,’ the word darkened). Coordinate conjunction is used when a VSM is accompanied with other types of synaesthetic metaphors (golos byl sladky i kholodny голос был сладкий и холодный ‘the voice was sweet and bright,’ grey clouds were fuming up, fuming up as if breathed black and icy).
Our data contradict the generally accepted assertion that the only one or the most typical type of grammatical pattern of a synaesthetic metaphor is an attributive word combination, giving the unique possibility to reveal the direction of synaesthetic transfer (Gak 1988, Yelina 2002)

Table 4.2. The distribution of grammatical models in our data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>words</th>
<th>word-combinations</th>
<th>sentences</th>
<th>microcontexts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, Mandarin Chinese is different for its syntactic structure. One sensitive issue regarding the Mandarin data is that the so-called part-of-speech (e.g., adjectives, verbs) is context dependent.

Though attributive word-combinations are the most common structure in our Russian and English data see the, other types of word-combinations also can be found (see the examples from (1) to (9), which are mainly attributive word-combinations). When a visual synesthetic metaphor is combined with other types of synesthetic metaphors, comparative word combinations are often used: 

\textit{huei2mou2yi1xiao4 bai3mei4sheng1 回眸一笑百媚生 ‘back-eye-one-smile = look back with a smile and all charms appear’ (touch $\leftrightarrow$ vision $\leftrightarrow$ emotion $\leftrightarrow$ vision),}

\textit{ta1 yao4 kan4 ren2 de zui3-lian3 guo4-ri4-zi 他要看人的嘴臉過日子 ‘he has to see-people-mouth-face spend-days = he has to live on another’s favor; he has to depend on another.’ (vision $\leftrightarrow$ sound $\leftrightarrow$ emotion $\leftrightarrow$ touch),}

\textit{slova, skazannye im, byli yarki kak nebesny ogon ‘words said by him were as bright as the heaven’s light’ (sound $\leftrightarrow$ vision),}

\textit{yest’ slova – ikh dykhanye, chto zvet, tak zhe nezno i belo-trevozhno есть слова - их дыхание, что цвет, так же нежно и бело-тревожно, ‘there are words, whose breath is as tender and white-anxious as a flower’ (sound $\leftrightarrow$ touch $\leftrightarrow$ vision);}

\textit{clouds were fuming up as if breathed black and icily (touch $\leftrightarrow$ vision $\leftrightarrow$ touch).}

A Mandarin syntactic characteristic enables many four-word idioms being nouns and sentences depends on the contexts, for examples, the following four-word idioms (they are visual synesthetic metaphors) can all be either nouns or sentences because subjects are not bound to Mandarin sentences: 

\textit{Jian4xian2si1qi2 見賢思齊 ‘see-virtuous-think-together = seeing another better than oneself, one tries to equal him,’ an4jian4shang1ren2 暗箭傷人 ‘dark-sword-hurt-people = make sniping attacks, slander others behind their backs,’ and wang4mei2zhi3ke3 望梅止渴 ‘hope-plum-stop-thirsty = tell the army there are prunes ahead so as to stop their thirst; wishful thinking.’}
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

Besides word-combinations, words, sentences and microcontexts embody visual synaesthetic metaphors. A word-metaphor is usually a compound word, formed according to the syntactical pattern Adv. plus Adj. morozno-matovy nalyot морозно-матовый налет ‘cold-lustreless coating,’ trevozhno-krasny rot тревожно-красный рот ‘agitatingly-red mouth.’ In our English data there are many temperature adjectives with the meaning of high intensity of the temperature, which is suppressed by the first color component: red-hot, blue-hot, blue-cold.

We propose to include sentences and microtexts as syntactical patterns of representations of VSMs, as sometimes it is impossible to pick out the VSM from the composite intersensory metaphor.

4.5. Conclusion

The research described here shows both universal tendencies and language diversity in the directionality of metaphorical mapping. Target domains for VSMs in our Mandarin, Russian and English material falls into three domains: emotion, sound and touch. But the ranks of these domains are different for Mandarin, on the one hand, and Russian and English, on the other hand. Emotion ranks the second in our Mandarin data and the first in Russian and English. The dominance of emotion and sense domain as the final point of visual synaesthetic transfers is backed by the recognition of the paramount role of emotions in the processes of human cognition. Touch is the major destination of synaesthetic transfers in Mandarin and the third target domain in Russian and English. Sound ranks the second in Russian and English and the third in Mandarin. The similar results for Russian and English, which differ considerably from Mandarin ones, can be explained by similar inflecting morphological structure of the above Indo-European languages and isolating character of Mandarin Chinese. Touch, being lowest sensory mode, happened to be the first target domain for Mandarin. We suppose that the dominance of the right hemisphere of the Chinese, responsible for touch perception, can account for our results. Still our data need further study and cognitive explanation.

Mapping from vision to sound and touch contradicts Ullmann’s hypothesis of ‘hierarchical distribution’ of synaesthetic transfers from the “lower” to the “higher” sensory modes. But our results can be backed up by the cognitive theory of metaphor. It allows us to understand a relatively abstract concept in terms of a more concrete or more structured one. Traditionally, mapping from lower sensory domains to higher ones, was regarded as corresponding to the cognitive theory of metaphor. We think that modern researches on the problem of sense perception in cognitive science lead to the review of the division of sensory modes into lower and higher, as lower modes happened to have a very complicated structure and are interconnected with other senses.

We propose to discuss the role of touch in terms of conceptual domain of space, occupying a special place in cognitive linguistics. There are two cases in special conceptualization of abstract
concepts: the location-dual, and object-dual (Lakoff 1993). According to Yu (2003a: 33), spatialization of abstract concepts is a general cognitive principle: to view abstract concepts as three-dimensional locations, entities or substances that exist in space. This is what the conceptual metaphor theory calls metaphorical mapping from the more concrete to the more abstract, or from the more structured to the less structured. But location and form, together with the submodalities, are included into the sense of touch, regarded as a lower sense. Thus, cognitive theory of metaphor supports our empirical results of touch as a target domain of synaesthetic transfers from the so-called higher sensory domains, which is particularly obvious in our Mandarin data.

The claim of cognitive psychology, being the core element of cognitive sciences, lies in the coordination of organs of sense perception and dominance of emotions in the processes of human perception and cognition. Cognitive linguistics, backed by cognitive psychology and theoretical and practical studies of intermodality in such sciences as philosophy, psychology, psycholinguistics, aesthetics, and the theory of arts, applies to regularities and specifics of formation of synaesthetic language expressions. The integrity of human perception and the interconnection of feelings with the dominance of emotions can explain the interplay and sometimes inseparability of several different synaesthetic meanings within one verbal representation.
Chapter 5. Human Taste and Synaesthetic Expressions

Taste is also one of the five human senses. It is an important means for people to experience the world. People eat not just to maintain their lives, they also taste flavors and can enjoy a high quality sensual feast. People also adopt senses to make synaesthetic metaphors. It seems that other senses are often integrated with taste, and many senses can be transferred to taste in our languages. How do other senses work with taste in language? Why do people make synaesthetic expressions in such way? Do different languages speakers develop synaesthetic expressions differently? In this chapter, we will focus on taste expressions in Mandarin Chinese and Russian with data taken from dictionaries and literature texts.

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents synaesthetic metaphors with the focus on the sense ‘taste,’ for example, *chi1xiang1 吃香 ‘eat-fragrance = be popular, in current demand or fashion’ contains “taste” as primary sense and “smell” as synaesthetic sense, and *kislo ukhmylaya ‘grinning sourly’ has “emotion” as primary sense and “taste” as synaesthetic sense. Examples will be referred to as gustatory synaesthetic metaphors (hereafter GSM). Our theoretical background is in light of Day’s (1996) hypothesis of “hierarchical distribution” and Cytowic’s (1993) approach about neurological synaesthesia. Mandarin Chinese and Russian are examined with data taken from Dictionaries and literature works as mentioned in the previous chapter.

The structure of this chapter is organized as follows: (1) introduction, (2) literature review, (3) theoretical framework, (4) gustatory synaesthetic metaphors in the languages in question which includes data presentation and discussion, and (5) conclusion.

5.2. Literature Review

Synaesthetic metaphors and expressions are well-liked research data in the subfields of linguistics as shown in the previous chapter (chapter 4). Since the study of the specifics and regularities of formation of synaesthetic expressions implies the integration of theoretical and practical studies of the coordination of the organs of sense perception and the language in the processes of human
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

perception in such sciences as philosophy, psychology, psycholinguistics, aesthetics and the theory of arts. Focusing on vision, Rich, Bradshaw and Mattingley (2005) have a large-scale study of synaesthesia. They delve into the role of early experience in lexical-color associations. Derrig (1978) proposes that dimension is a primary sensory area from which there is a transfer to sight and sound.

Lien (1994: 442) suggests that at least in Taiwanese Southern Min or possibly Chinese dialects at large a tendency that dimension as the primary sensory area is the highest in the implicational hierarchy and touch is the second important sensory area from which other sensory areas are derived. Kolodkina and Hsieh (2006) study on the synaesthetic metaphors in Mandarin Chinese, Russian and English with a focus on vision. They found that emotion, sound, and touch are major target domains for visual synaesthetic metaphors in the giving languages. It contradicts Ullmann’s (1959) hypothesis of “hierarchical distribution,” but is backed by the cognitive theory of metaphor and interdisciplinary studies of intermodality. They also propose that a synaesthetic word combination is a particular case of manifestation of intermodality.

Studying hearing, Tsur (2006) investigates size-sound symbolism on the basis that there is a subtle inter-sensory quality found in thick things and bass voices. Lai (2004) has a study on the Japanese hearing adjectives. Her findings include that there are many meaning-feature of such adjectives in Japanese, such as unbalance, limitation, fuzziness, etc. Chen (1988) presents a local variety of the northern Mandarin dialect at Mancheng in central Hebei next to Baoding. She found that the sense covers both sound and smell such as in the following example, *ni3 ting1 yi4 ting1 zhe4 hua1 xiang1 bu4*? ‘you-listen to-this-flower-fragrant-not = Sniff at the flower and see if it smells good?’

Focusing on smelling, Morrot, Brochet and Dubourdieu (2001) show that the odors of a wine are, for the most part, stood for by objects that have the color of the wine. Ibarretxe (1999: 41) proves that the sense of smell is not weaker than that of other perception domains like hearing or vision. Focusing on emotion, Ward (2004) believes that words that have emotional connotations, such as love, have a tendency to bring out a synaesthetic response.

Turning to taste, Strauss (2005) studies the linguistic aestheticization of food in which she looks at food commercials in Japan, Korea, and the United States. Probing into linguistic and conceptual factors, Ward and Simner (2003) study the synaesthesia in which speech sound induce an involuntary sensation of taste that is subjectively located in the mouth. Yu (2003a) also investigates synaesthetic metaphor from a cognitive perspective. He believes that poetic metaphor basically uses the same cognitive mechanisms as everyday metaphor and studies Chinese novels and stories. His finding supports the claim that “human meaning and understanding are embodied, constrained by the kind of body we have and how it functions” (Yu 2003b).

Metaphor has the capacity to “introduce a sensory logic at the semantic level alluding to a more complex scenario of interrelated meanings and experiences of the world” (Cacciari 1998: 128). According to a cognitive theory of metaphor known as “the theory of conceptual metaphor,”
metaphor is recognized not only a figure of speech, but also as “a figure of thought” (Lakoff 1986). It is primarily conceptual in nature with surface manifestations in language. As a basic cognitive structure, metaphor allows us to understand a relatively abstract concept in terms of a more concrete or more structured concept. Structurally, metaphors are mappings across conceptual domains, involving projections from a source domain to a target domain. Such mappings are asymmetric in that they are uni-directional, that is, from the more concrete to the more abstract. According to Yu (2003b), they are partial in that only part of the structure of the source domain is projected to the target domain.

5.3. Theoretical Framework

Though traditionally, literary synaesthesia is regarded as “the exploitation of verbal synaesthesia for specific literary effects,” which “is typically concerned with verbal constructs and not with ‘dual perceptions’” (Tsur 1992: 245), the empirical studies demonstrate that even literary synaesthesia is constrained as it does not map randomly from any sensory domain to any other one. Sensory domains, coinciding with human sense modalities, traditionally fall into five categories: touch, taste, smell, sound, and sight, hierarchically from the lowest to the highest. Therefore, there should be twenty theoretically possible kinds of cross-modal transfers.

The theory of conceptual metaphor provides support for Day’s (1996) theoretical framework of “hierarchical distribution,” which is a further development of Ullmann’s approach. According to Ullmann’s classic work on synaesthesia in poetry, there are three overall tendencies in synaesthetic transfers (1959: 276–284). Ullmann proposes a pattern as below:

\[
\text{smell/taste} \rightarrow \text{hearing/vision} \rightarrow \text{touch}
\]

This can be understood as “smell/taste will develop to being talked about in terms of hearing/vision, and likewise hearing/vision will develop towards being talked about in terms of touch.” Day (1996) has a further investigation and suggests that:

\[
\text{hearing} \rightarrow \text{vision} \rightarrow \text{smell} \rightarrow \text{temperature} \rightarrow \text{taste} \rightarrow \text{touch}
\]

The tendency of ‘hierarchical distribution’ means that synaesthetic transfers tend to go from the “lower” to the “higher” sensory modes. For the convenience of discussion, we can revolve Day’s hierarchy around, namely,
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

hearing
↑
vision
↑
smell
↑
temperature
↑
taste
↑
touch

Cytowic (2002a: 67-69, 2003: 76-77) expresses that synaesthesia is involuntary and automatic. Synaesthetic images are spatially extended. Cytowic posits a complex way of scientific and epistemological points to analyze the phenomenon. An explanation of his work is essential to getting inside the synaesthesia debate. Instead of seeing synaesthesia as a neurobiological concern, Cytowic (1995) elucidates how multidisciplinary work will offer insight into “consciousness, the nature of reality, and the relationship between reason and emotion.” He intends to look both at experimental data as well as at a broad overview of the scientific concept of the brain to answer the synaesthesia question.

Cytowic (1993) indicates that neurological synaesthesia does not involve “common sensibles,” except for motion, that happens frequently. According to common British and American cultural standard, Cytowic separated five senses: touch, sight, smell, taste, and hearing. Day (1996: 6) added a sixth sense of temperature perception, separating it from touch. So as we will do in this chapter. We will not differentiate the sense of sight and other senses in our research except the cases when different subcategories of one sense are manifested in one and the same composite synaesthetic metaphor.

Our data of this chapter are collected from dictionaries and literary texts: Chinese Mandarin Online Dictionary (Committee of Official Language Promotion 1998), The Wild Fire (Walther 1985), and Russian Literature From Nestor to Mayakovsky (Litvina and Yermoshin 2003). We use both literary texts and ordinary language for the reason that, according to Lakoff and Turner (1989), poetic metaphor basically uses the same cognitive mechanisms as everyday metaphor. They also express that what makes poetic metaphor look different is its extension, elaboration, and combination of those mechanisms in ways that go beyond the regular everyday language.
5.4. Gustatory Synaesthetic Metaphors in Mandarin Chinese and Russian

Data of these two languages and their cross-linguistic study may reflect some general mechanisms in human language and cognition that are rooted in embodied experience. We present some important examples of our data with classification and a discussion then follows.

Table 5.1 and Table 5.2 give the frequencies of some of our collected data. It is noted that the key words, such as tasty and tasteless have no correspondents in Table 5.1 Mandarin data and Table 5.2 Russian data. The reason is that tasty and tasteless are compounds in Mandarin hao3chi1 好吃, ‘good-eat = tasty,’ and nan2chi1 艮吃, ‘difficult-eat = tasteless,’ respectively. They are categorized in eat. This is to say, we list only some equivalents in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2.

Table 5.1. The domains of synaesthetic transfers of GSMs in Mandarin data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>vision</th>
<th>hearing</th>
<th>smell</th>
<th>touch</th>
<th>emotion</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spicy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sour</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taste</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astringent</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitter</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crisp</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>licking</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swallow</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hold in mouth</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inhale</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result, eat (chi1 吃, shi2 食, dan4 吃), spicy (la4 辣), drink (he1 喝, yin3 喝), sour (suan1 酸), sweet (gan1 甘, tian2 甜), taste (chang2 嘴, wei4 味), astringent (se4 酸), bitter (ku3 苦), crisp (cui4 脆), licking (tian3 舌, shi4 舌), swallow (tun1 哼), hold in mouth (han2 宕, diao1 哨), inhale (xi1 嘴) are keywords for Mandarin data in Table 5.1, while tasty
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

(vkusny вкусный), tasteless (bezvkusny безвкусный), sweet (sladky сладкий), bitter (gorky горький), sour (kisy кислый), salty (soleny соленый), tart (terpy терпкий), sugary (pritorny приторный), and astringent (vyazhushchy вяжущий) are given to display Russian data in Table 5.2.

Table 5.1 shows that emotion and touch are the most popular senses for taste transference. Emotion is the most salient transfer for taste, especially when emotion transfers to eat, bitter, and hold in mouth. Bitter, drink, eat, hold in mouth center on emotion and touch. This prominent transference of emotion and touch shall be discussed below.

On the other hand, drink, sour, swallow and hold in mouth have wider distribution to the rare synaesthetic sense for taste like vision, smell, and hearing. As for the minor transference like vision and hearing, although vision is not a salient transfer for taste, but sweet + vision gives five metaphors that is 2.6% of the sweet GSMs, next to the most productive transference for emotion (5.8%). Though hearing is not a salient transfer for taste, but swallow + hearing gives six metaphors, 3.8% of the swallow GSM, next to the most productive transference for touch (4.4%). In general, verbs produce more GSMs than nouns and adjectives do which will be discussed later.

Table 5.2. The domains of synaesthetic transfers of GSMs in Russian data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>vision</th>
<th>hearing</th>
<th>smell</th>
<th>touch</th>
<th>emotion</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tasty</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasteless</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tart</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>69</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see in Table 5.2, emotion and touch are also the most salient senses for taste transference. Emotion is the most salient transfer for taste, especially when emotion transfers to sweet, and bitter. Sweet, bitter, sour, tart, and sugary center on emotion, whereas sweet centers on touch. Again, this prominent transference of emotion and touch shall be discussed below.
Chapter 5. Human Taste and synaesthetic Expressions

_Sweet and bitter_ are the most popular ones in Russian. They are also productive senses for producing GSM. The positive taste _sweet_ enjoys more GSM than the negative evaluated taste _bitter_ does. We hereby give some examples as below.

(1). (Mandarin Chinese) sweet, bitter:
   a. _bu4gan1ji2mo4_ 不甘寂寞 ‘not-sweet-lonesome-lonely = unwilling to remain out of the limelight’
   b. _gan1xin1_ 甘心 ‘sweet-heart = willingly; to be resigned to’
   c. _ku3xiao4_ 苦笑 ‘bitter-smile = a forced smile’
   d. _ku3kou3po2xin1_ 苦口婆心 ‘bitter-mouth-grandma-heart = to urge somebody time and again with good intentions’

(2). (Russian) sweet, bitter:
   a. _sladky shepot_ сладкий шепот ‘sweet whisper’
   b. _Kak sladko zhit’! Kak sladko tanzevat’!_ Как сладко жить! Как сладко танцевать! ‘How sweet is to live! How sweet is to dance!’
   c. _gor’ko-radostnoye litso_ горько-радостное лицо ‘bitter-joyful face’
   d. _gor’ky smekh_ горький смех ‘bitter laughter’

As theoretical framework of our study is the cognitive theory of metaphor, developed in the broad context of cognitive sciences with the emphasis on cognitive psychology and neurosciences, we support the broad concept of linguistic synaesthesia as backed by the newest findings about the great role of emotions in the sphere of human cognition. So we regard emotion as one of the domains of synaesthetic transfers and study the cases of emotional synaesthesia.³

The examples (3) and (4) are GSMs in Mandarin Chinese and Russian, mapping from taste to emotion.

(3). (Mandarin Chinese) taste \(\rightarrow\) emotion:
   a. _suan1tong4_ 酸痛 ‘sour-pain = to ache’
   b. _suan1chu3_ 酸楚 ‘sour-bitter = hardship’
   c. _han2xiou1ren3ru4_ 含羞忍辱 ‘hold-exmibarrass-tolerate-injustice = suffer humiliations’
   d. _han2lei4_ 含泪 ‘hold-tears = restraining one’s tears’

³ We regard emotion and sense as one of the domains of synaesthetic transfers alongside with tactile, gustatory, olfactory, auditory, and visual synesthesias.
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

(4). (Russian) taste → emotion:

a. On prin vos s soboy sladkyuy nadezhdu Он принес со своей мне сладкую надежду ‘He brought me a sweet hope.’

b. Ulubka – vkusnoye sochetanie nauki s zhizniyu Улыбка – вкусное сочетание науки с жизнью ‘a smile is a tasty combination of science and life’

c. skuchat’ v presnote povsednevshchiny скучать в пресноте повседневности ‘to be bored in the insipidity of humdrum’

d. nasha gor’kaya, terpkaya, bobyl’naya zhizn’ наша горькая, терпкая, бобыльная жизнь ‘our bitter, tart, lonely life’

In terms of semantic salience, licking centers on emotion in which most of them are used to describe love between parents and children, such as tian3du2qing2shen1 調情深 ‘lick-calf-sentiment-deep = very affectionate toward one’s children.’ The transfer taste → emotion is most salient in both languages, eat, bitter, and hold in mouth produce the most of such metaphors in this category. In this case, eat is often used to mean ‘joy’ and ‘satisfaction,’ for example, hao4chi1he1wan2le4 吃喝玩樂 ‘eat-drink-play-fun = eating, drinking, playing and be happy; fool around all day,’ chi1ni4le 吃膩了 ‘eat-greasy-end = satiated with eating.’ However, they show negative connotations. The first two examples are used to refer to a lazy and meaningless life and the last example denotes that a certain food is no more appetizing. Bitter is often used to be collocated with a motion to describe the hardship of involving in this motion, for example, ku3yi4 苦思 ‘bitter-think = to cudgel one’s brains; to rack one’s wits,’ ku3yi4 苦憶 ‘bitter-remember = to remember bitterly,’ ku3tong4 苦痛 ‘bitter-pain = pain; sufferings; torments; trouble.’ Hold in mouth refers to both positive and negative emotions like ‘love,’ ‘hatred,’ ‘shy’ etc. For example, han2ching2mo4no4 吃喝應用 ‘hold-love-vein-vein = with one’s eyes beaming with affection,’ han2hen4 吃恨 ‘hold-hate = to nurse regret, hatred’ and han2xiong1 吃膽 ‘hold-ashame = ashamed or shy.’

Emotion is also the most common target domain in Russian, many Russian examples center on different kinds of emotions. Thus, bitter is very often used to demonstrate negative feeling, for example, gor’kaya grust’ горькая грусть ‘bitter sadness,’ gor’koye otchayanie горькое отчаяние ‘bitter despair,’ gor’kaya sud’ba горькая судьба ‘bitter destiny.’ Likewise, sugary is always used with negative connotation, e.g., pritornaya sentimental’nost’ приторная сентиментальность ‘sugary sentimentality,’ pritornaya vezhlivost’ приторная вежливость ‘sugary politeness.’ But sweet is used to denote both positive and negative emotions, e.g., sladkaya mecha сладкая мечта ‘sweet dream,’ sladkoye chuvstvo сладкое чувство ‘sweet feeling,’ sladky soblazn сладкий соблазн ‘sweet temptation,’ and sladky grekh сладкий грех ‘sweet sin = a forbidden thing or action, looking very tempting.’ For Russian tasty the major target domain is sound, where it is mainly used to
describe the human voice, for example, *vkusny golos* вкусный голос ‘tasty voice = a very pleasant voice,’ *vkusnye slova* вкусыые слова ‘tasty words = appealing, flattering words.’

The examples in (5) and (6) below recur the second highest frequency in both Mandarin Chinese and Russian. Quality in objects such as texture (soft, hard), temperature (hot, cold), and space (separating, through) are included in touch. All above submodalities of touch are presented in Mandarin examples. As for Russian data, they are constrained to temperature and space submodalities, in space submodality mainly denoting movement.

(5). (Mandarin Chinese) taste \(\rightarrow\) touch:
   a. *han2sha1she4ying3* 含沙射影 ‘hold-sand-take-shadow = to spit sand on a shadow; to make innuendos, spread groundless rumors’
   b. *han2yi2nong4suen1* 含饴弄孫 ‘hold-candy-use-grandson = to play with grandchildren with candy in mouth’
   c. *zi4shi2qi2li4* 自食其力 ‘self-eat-it-force = earn one’s own living’
   d. *jian1suan1ke4bo2* 尖酸刻薄 ‘shrill-sour-carve-thin = acrimonious’

(6). (Russian) taste \(\rightarrow\) touch:
   a. *Gor'ko vo mne shevel'nulas' krov'* Горько во мне шевельнулась кровь ‘Bitterly in me moved the blood’
   b. *kislo ukhmylyayas'* кисло ухмыляясь ‘sourly grinning’
   c. *Bralas' ona za vse bol' shie roli, no igrala grubo, bezvkusno, s pritornoy sentimental'nostyu* Бралас она за все большие роли, но играла грубо, безвкусно, с приторной сентиментальностью ‘She set to all major parts, but played crudely, tastelessly, with sugary sentimentality’
   d. *Veterok podul, solyonoy shchekotkoy proshyol po litsu* Ветерок подул, соленой щекоткой прошел по лицу ‘The breeze blew, with salty tickling touched the face’

The next examples in (7) and (8) below contain synaesthetic transfers from taste to vision. Transfers from taste to vision is abundant in Russian but not obvious in our Mandarin data which is against our hypothesis. Among the 21 metaphors from taste to vision, *eat* has the most metaphors.

(7). (Mandarin Chinese) taste \(\rightarrow\) vision:
   a. *bu4shi2yan1huo3* 不食烟火 ‘not-eat-smoke-fire = (Taoist) stop eating cooked food’
   b. *chi1guang1* 吃光 ‘eat-bright = with nothing left, everything gone’
   c. *chi1yan3qian2kuei1* 吃眼前面 ‘eat-eye-front-loss = accept a present loss’
   d. *tian2mei3* 甜美 ‘sweet-beauty = mellifluous’
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

(8). (Russian) taste ➔ vision:
   a.  *Kak sladko svetit mesyats zolotoy!* Как сладко светит месяц золотой! ‘How sweetly the golden Moon shines’
   b.  *bezvkusno odetaya nemka* безвкусно одетая немка ‘a tastelessly dressed German woman’
   c.  *Zanavesi viseli smyatymi, kislymi skladkami* Занавеси висели смятыми, кислыми складками ‘The curtains hung with crumpled sour folds’
   d.  *solyonye l’udi* соленые люди ‘salted people = people, living and working near the sea, looking as if covered with salt and dried under the hot sun’
   e.  *tosklivy i kisly vid* тосклый и кислый вид ‘dreary and sour look’

Transfers from taste to sound are abundant in Russian, but rather rare in Mandarin Chinese. Those two entries that are in our collected Mandarin data so far are not commonly used in Modern Chinese. They are *gan1jiou3shi4yin1* 甘酒啞音 ‘sweet-wine-like-sound = be fond of wine and music’ and *er3shi2* 耳食 ‘ear-food = to believe all that one hears’ where the first one is a semantic collocation to refer to sensory joy, and the second one is a metaphorical extension to mean taking (like eating) all one hears.

(9). (Mandarin Chinese) taste ➔ smell:
   a.  *qiang4bi2zi* 噛鼻子 ‘choke-nose = (smoke) irritates the nose’
   b.  *chi1xiang1* 吃香 ‘eat-fragrance = be popular, in current demand or fashion’
   c.  *chi1xiang1he1la4* 吃香喝辣 ‘eat-savoury-drink-spicy = have influence’

Kolodkina and Hsieh (2006: 96) investigate synaesthetic metaphors concerning vision and they also draw a conclusion that mapping from vision to sound is typical for Russian and English, but not characteristic for Mandarin Chinese. Lien (1994: 439) reminds us of the polysemous usage of *wen2* 聽 ‘hear; smell’ in Mandarin Chinese. The sense of hearing developed into that of smell in the Chinese linguistic history. The etymology arose some debates and Lien considers the finding of Wen (1941) be plausible which explains the development in terms of phonetic affinity. As Lien (1994: 439) cites that the phonetic affinity between *hear* and *smell* in Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms makes clear that “the auditory and olfactory senses were confused in the Old Chinese period. *Ting1* 聽 ‘hear’ may be a descendant of the general morpheme *wen2* 聽 ‘hear; smell’ of sense perceptions.”

As for the mapping from taste to smell, Ibarretxe (1999: 41) proposes that the sense of smell is not weaker than that of other perception domains. Heiz (in Ibarretxe 1999: 37) has found that memories evoked by the sense of smell are more emotional than those evoked by other senses, including vision, hearing and touch. It thus proves that the connection between smell and memory...
is strong. This is true to our Russian data, it is, however, not the case in Mandarin. The examples in (10) and (11) contain GSMs mapping from taste to smell.

The transfer taste $\rightarrow$ vision and taste $\rightarrow$ vision deserve more detail discussion in a separate study.

(10). (Mandarin Chinese) taste $\rightarrow$ smell:
   a. *tong2chou4wei4* 銅臭味 ‘copper-stinking-taste = the stink of money; profits-before-everything mentality’
   b. *chou4wei4* 臭味 ‘stinking-taste = foul smell; stink’
   c. *chou4wei4xiang1tou2* 臭味相投 ‘stinking-taste-look-toss = to share the same rotten tastes, habits, etc.; to be two of a kind’
   d. *xiang1wei4* 香味 ‘savoury-taste = fragrance; scent’

(11). (Russian) taste $\rightarrow$ smell:
   a. *sladko-grusny zapakh vtekal v komnatu* сладко-грустный запах втекал в комнату ‘sweet-sad smell flew into the room’
   b. *vkusny tserkovny vozdykh* вкусный церковный воздух ‘tasty church air’
   c. *babushka, vkusno ponyukhivaya tabachyok* бабушка, вкусно понюхивая табачок ‘the grandmother, tasty sniffing the snuff’
   d. *Komu zima – polyn’ i gor’ky dym k nochkegu* Кому зима – полынь и горький дым к ночлегу ‘to somebody winter is a wormwood and a bitter smoke of a night’s lodging’

The prominent transference of emotion and touch shall be discussed. Mandarin mainly focuses on emotion and touch, while Russian, though have much wider distribution than Mandarin GSMs, still have emotion and touch as the topic transfers. Emotion pushes sense shift, thus eyes can hear, ears can see. The inter-transference of the senses is mainly used to describe human emotion.

This is one of our research findings based on the observation of the sense ‘taste.’ However, Kolodkina and Hsieh (2006) focus on the synaesthetic sense vision and propose that touch is the major destination of synaesthetic transfers in Mandarin vision. The difference of the research foci of these two studies is that Kolodkina and Hsieh (2006) study the opposite type of mapping, i.e., from the highest sense—vision—to the lower ones. More comparison between the different directions of mapping is worth researching.

To look into the data from a morphosyntactic point of view, Mandarin synaesthetic metaphors are mostly done through compounding, for example, *xiang1tian2* 香甜 ‘fragrance-sweet’ means ‘delicious’ or ‘sleep soundly’ and *chi1guang1* 吃光 ‘eat-bright = with nothing left, everything gone.’ The writing system of Mandarin Chinese (Chinese characters) is
different from that of Russian (alphabetic writing). Gao (1986: 30) says that Mandarin Chinese is basically a monosyllabic-word language. In one hand, it is convenient to combine monosyllabic words to form a compound, Gao (1986: 97) thus declares that most Mandarin innovations are compounds. On the other hand, Mandarin Chinese gives a lot of homonyms. When the pronunciation of some words is the same, semantic ambiguity arose. Compounds are a solution to prevent from possible confusing in meanings (Li 2002: 18, Yang 1984: 11). We therefore observe a high percentage of compounds in Mandarin synaesthetic metaphors.

Mandarin Chinese is different for its syntactic structure. One sensitive issue regarding the Mandarin data is that the so-called part-of-speech (e.g., adjectives, verbs) is context dependent. On the other hand, most of Russian GSMs are attributive word combinations, for example, солёный воздух ‘salty air,’ сладкие слова ‘sweet words’ (66% of all GSMs). Adverbial word combinations rank the second in our Russian data, e.g., звучать сладко ‘to sound sweetly,’ горько плакать ‘to cry bitterly’ (32%). Some Russian GSMs are compound words, e.g., сладкоголосый ‘sweet-voiced,’ сладкопоющий ‘sweet-singing’ (about 1%). Our data contradict to the generally accepted assertion (Gak 1988, Yelina 2002) that the only one or the most typical type of grammatical pattern of a synaesthetic metaphor is an attributive word combination, giving the unique possibility to reveal the direction of synaesthetic transfer.

It’s interesting to note that adverbial word combinations in our Russian data are mainly found in the two types of transfers: from taste to sound, e.g., плакать горько ‘to cry bitterly,’ звенеть сладко ‘to chime sweetly’ and from taste to touch, e.g., горько шевелялась кровь ‘bitterly moved the blood = felt resentment,’ кислый морщить розу ‘to wrinkle the face sourly = to make a wry face (grimace).’ We mentioned above that in the transfer from taste to touch the space (movement) submodality dominates. As we see in the above examples, the actions are described in both types of transfer. No wonder that verbs are mainly used to denote action.

5.5. Conclusion

This study presents synaesthetic metaphors in Mandarin Chinese and Russian and focuses on the sense ‘taste’ in light of Day’s (1996) hypothesis of “hierarchical distribution” and Cytowic’s (1993) approach about neurological synaesthesia.

Russian GSMs have much wider distribution than Mandarin GSMs, while Mandarin mainly focuses on emotion and touch. Emotion and touch are also the most salient senses for taste transference. We support the broad concept of linguistic synaesthesia as backed by the newest findings about the great role of emotions in the sphere of human cognition. The research result shows both the universal tendencies and language diversity in the directionality of metaphorical mapping.
Ibarretxe (1999: 41) proposes that the sense of smell is not weaker than that of other perception domains. This is true to our Russian data, it is, however, not the case in Mandarin. The mapping from taste to smell is very weak.

Many synaesthetic metaphors in Russian are achieved through sense transfer in an attributive word combination, for example, *sladky ogon’* сладкий огонь (*sweet fire*), where the sense word *сладкий* ‘sweet’ was transferred from taste to touch; *pirtorny golos* пригорный голос (*sugary voice*), where the sense attribute ‘sugary’ was transferred from taste to sound. Mandarin synaesthetic metaphors are mostly done through compounding, for example, *xiang1tian2* 香甜 ‘fragrance-sweet’ means ‘delicious’ or ‘sleep soundly’ for the nature of the Chinese characters and Mandarin Chinese being a monosyllabic-word language that compounds can avoid semantic ambiguity.

Our data contradict to the generally accepted assertion (Gak 1988, Yelina 2002) that the only one or the most typical type of grammatical pattern of a synaesthetic metaphor is an attributive word combination, giving the unique possibility to reveal the direction of synaesthetic transfer.
Chapter 6. Human Beings: Ego ‘I’ in Taiwanese Southern Min

A person’s ego is often revealed in how he/she indicates him/herself. In Taiwanese Southern Min (hereafter Taiwanese, several first-person deictic forms may appear in various discourses. These deictic uses have different sociolinguistic functions. How do Taiwanese people choose one of these deictic uses in speech? What value is implied by the different forms of first-person deixis in Taiwanese? How about by the written forms? In this chapter, we will see how Taiwanese identify themselves with first-person deixis and what human (psychological, social, bodily, and mental) characteristics are revealed by the usage of the range of self-referential pronouns for ‘I.’

6.1. Introduction

Self-reference is indispensable in conversation. Person deixis, especially self-referential ‘I’ and ‘we,’ are necessary in dialogues. According to Chang (1998), first-person plural ‘we’ is the most used apaphora, and second-person ‘you’ ranks next. However, we found that both ‘we’ and ‘you’ can mean the speaker him/herself, the human ego, viz. they can both refer to the first-person deixis ‘I.’ Anthropological linguistics cannot avoid the topics of the human ego and self reference.

We used twenty Taiwanese audio-recordings about various topics from different speakers and listeners to examine the social connotations of the first-person deixis and people’s values revealed when they used it. Written forms of the first-person deixis have also been investigated in academic articles (see below). In Taiwanese, the first-person deixis can be in different morphological forms, including goa2 ‘I’, gun2 ‘I’, goan2 ‘we’, and lan2 ‘we’. There are also address forms such as sio2ti7goa2 小弟我 ‘little-brother-me = humble me’.

This chapter is organized as follows: (1) Introduction, (2) literature review and theoretical background, (3) four types of first-person deixis in Taiwanese, (4) the social connotation of “I,” (5) comparing “I” in Taiwanese novels and academic articles, and (6) conclusion.

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6.2. Literature Review and Theoretical Background

Many linguists have noticed the necessity of person deixis in languages. Brown and Gilman (1960) found that the exchange of deixis can shape or confirm the power dynamics and solidarity of a relationship. Wilson (1990: 46) stated that politicians “manipulate pronouns to develop and indicate their ideological positions on specific issues.” After examining politicians’ speeches and interviews, Bolivar (1999: 68) found that ‘I’ is frequently used at different political moments. On the one hand, politicians tend to exclude themselves by using plural pronouns when they feel that it is necessary to distance themselves from responsibility for their future acts. In contrast, when they are interested in making a good appearance during an election campaign or when they just begin their term of office, “they make use of other pronouns as well as first-person pronouns for self-reference.” She also found that in spite of their ideological differences, they tended to use ‘you’, which “lent their discourse an element of self-centeredness. This highly self-centered discourse is also marked by the absence of the pronoun ‘you.’…” ‘a political style that values the individual’s authority to the neglect of the social dialogue.’ Kuo (2002) videotaped two televised Taipei mayoral debates that revealed important uses of the second-person deixis ‘you’ in Taiwanese politics. For example, the different uses of ni ‘you’ signal that the interactive goal of the debate has changed from establishing or reinforcing solidarity with the audience to expressing antagonism and confrontation toward one’s opponent.

Biq (1991: 319) suggested that the second-person deixis ni ‘you’ in Mandarin has dramatic, impersonal, and metalinguistic uses. The metalinguistic use is deictic, pointing to the role of the intended recipient instead of referring to the individuals in that role. All three non-canonical uses of ni, Biq points out, reinforce the addressee’s involvement in what he or she is being told and mark the spontaneity and interactionality of spoken discourse. Goddard (1995) worked on how the Natural Semantic Metalanguage framework can accommodate the inclusive/exclusive distinction, dual number, and trial number of the first-person pronoun we in languages.

Winchutz (2001: 347) looked into the formal person deixis Sie in German in talks. She found 25 salient social meanings of Sie, including age, adulthood, anger, arrogance, authority, closeness, coldness, etc. Fasulo and Zucchermaglio (2002) observed indexical meanings of ‘I’ in Italian work-meeting conversations. They claimed that ‘I’ utterances show how role-identities are manipulated and mitigated “through conversational devices such as self-repair, word delay, and metaphorical work. Xiang (2003: 489) compared the use of the personal reference “self” in two sports radio shows in the US and China and showed that the concept of “self” has multiple manifestations in various cultures. For other research on person deixis in Mandarin Chinese, see for example, Chu (1998), Li and Thompson (1981), Li and Zubin (1995), Tao (1996).

Goffman’s (1981) participation framework is of immediate importance to this chapter. Goffman asserted that when an utterance or a message is articulated, the speaker or the messenger’s
“design” of it will affect its contents and outcomes. From the point of view of person deixis, different person deictic uses affect and decide the nature of the speaker’s messages and influence the listener’s interpretations. When a speaker uses ‘I’ to refer to himself/herself, ‘I’ to mean other people, or ‘we’ or ‘you’ to refer to himself/herself, all affect the messages that the listener receives.

The topics of our audio-taped Taiwanese recordings including talking about examinations, cooking, running a business, earning money, taking medicine, a Christmas party, etc. These conversations took place between November 2005 and March 2006 in different settings, involved different speakers, and lasted for as little as ten minutes and as long as ninety minutes. They occurred in restaurants, traditional Taiwanese markets, amusement parks, Christmas Eve parties, New Year parties, department stores, etc. They were mostly recorded before the speakers were informed.

6.3. Taiwanese Use of ‘I’

According to Lu (2005), the first-person singular /goa/ ‘I’ developed into /goan/ ‘we’ with the plural suffix /-n/ attached to the singular /goa/. However, the Quan-Zhou accent in Taiwan has lost the vowel /a/ and became /gun/ with the same meaning of ‘we.’

Table 6.1 shows the frequency of first-person deixis in the recorded Taiwanese data. The frequency of lan2 ‘I/we’ is 50.8%, highest, goa2 ‘I’ at 40% is next, and gun2 ‘I’ at 0.6%, is lowest. We will discuss them in turn in this section. There are four basic uses (1) propositional use, (2) fixed expression, (3) projective use, and (4) focus transfer.

Table 6.1. The frequency of first-person deixis in the recorded Taiwanese data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taiwanese</th>
<th>goa2</th>
<th>gun2</th>
<th>goan2</th>
<th>lan2</th>
<th>lang7</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Frequency (times)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>40.0%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.1. Propositional Use

The typical use of “I” in Taiwanese is propositional use. The usage is very simple, using “I” to indicate “I,” shown as the following sentences:

(1). goa2 si7 tai5 oan5 lang5

‘我是臺灣人’

4 We thank Prof. Shih Bing-hua and Jason Jui-feng Hsu for their advice on the phonetic
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

I am a Taiwanese.

(2). *goa2 beh chheng2 kau3 chit8 e7*
   ‘我要請教一下’
   I want to consult you.

This simple and common usage can be found in any tense and sentence without the limitation of time and space. The second use of “I” indicating “I” is *gun2*, a feminine usage, mostly in the context of coquetry or playing the woman. Take the lyrics of the song *gun2 m7 chai la3* 仌不知啦 ‘I don’t know,’ written by Wu Cheng-jia, as an example “... *gun2 m7* 知啦, *gun2 m7* 知啦, 總無 數 *gun2* 去找新...” meaning ‘I don’t know. I don’t know. I won’t give up the old one to look for a new one.’

*Gun2* appeared only three times in our recording, rare but nonetheless significant. Examples are in (3) and (5) below. The scenario of example (3) is a statement by a local person to a visitor that the speaker believes is from somewhere else, so F replied “I come from Taipei.” The speakers of (3) and (4) are both female. The speaker of example (5) is the indicated *thai3thai3* ‘wife.’ The utterance was spoken in a public place. The wife spoke gracefully, wanting to help and also euphemistically persuade her husband; she did not directly use “I” but drew out from the scenario, using the situation of common couples to narrate. This is one of the ways that women use “I.” There is no “I” in this example. We just introduce the feminine usages in this section and discuss them in the next section.

(3). *J: gun2 chai iaN2 li2 si7 goa7 te7 lai5 e5 ah!*
   ‘我知道你是外地來的啊’
   I know that you are from somewhere else.

   *F: bo5 la3, gun2 tui3 tai5pak lai5 e5 la3*
   ‘沒啦，我從台北來的啦’
   No, I come from Taipei.

(4). *ai3 mng7 gun2 kiaN2*
   ‘得問我兒子’
   (I) have to ask my son.

(5). *thai3thai3 beh tau3 iong7, be7 sai2 kong2 m7 ho2*

transcriptions of Taiwanese.
6.3.3. Projective Use

Projective use and focus transfer, which is discussed in the next section, are both “non-canonical deictic uses” as Lyons (1977: 88) calls them. That is, the personal pronouns and the referents disagree. We discuss projective use first, as in examples (14) and (15):

(6).  chesia7 hoe7 ti7 anna7 ho2, gua2 kam2 e7 khi3 thau
     ‘這社會治安若好 我（人們）怎會去偷’
     If the public security of this society is good, how come we would steal?

(7).  kong2 an2 ne, gua2 behan2 choaN2 cho3
     ‘講這樣，我（人們）要怎麼做’
     In this way, what can we do?

“I” is used to refer to common people in general call. Though using “I” in (14), the speaker’s real meaning is that if the public security of this society is good, people will not steal. The speaker is a high school teacher, not a thief, and uses “I” to state the situation of common people by looking at the event from their point of view. This is what Lyons calls “deictic projection.” “I” in (15) also refers to a mass population. The topic is that the government constantly changes the policy on the electronic toll collection on Taiwan’s super highways. The speaker is a worker in the automobile business. He is saying that because the policy is changing all the time, he, a businessman, does not know what he can or should do about it. In this case, the speaker wants to shorten the distance between interlocutors and increase their intimacy and solidarity.

6.3.4. Focus Transfer

The fourth use of self-referential pronouns is focus transfer, which also involves a disagreement between the personal pronouns and the referents. The difference from the previous one is that the pronoun “I” is used to refer to others in projective use, and that the other pronouns are used to refer to the self in focus transfer; therefore, though referring to himself/herself, the speaker uses “you”, “we”, “he/she”, “lang7”, and so on instead of “I”, regardless the specific semantic and pragmatic functions of these pronouns.

(8).  lang7 ma7 m7 chaie7 an2 neah
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

‘人家也不知道會這樣啊’
S/he doesn’t know why this happened. (= I don’t know why this happened.)

(9). kio3 lang7 m7 chai beh an2 chiaN2 chiah ho2
‘叫人不知怎麼辦才好’
Makes people not know what to do. (= Makes me not know what to do.)

(10). lang7 chhui3 khi2 thiaN3
‘人家又有牙痛’
S/he has a toothache. (= I have a toothache.)

(11). siang2 u2 hit le7 bi2 kok si5 kan khi3
‘誰會有時間去！’
Who has the time to go? (= I don’t have time to go.)

The first one of this kind is lang7 人家. In (16) and (18), lang7 is used is a substitute for “I.” In this focus change usage, lang7 is mostly pronounced in a soft tone and is often considered both feminine and charming. The proposition is mostly negative. In example (16), for example, the an ne at the end is supposed to be negative. Here, the personal pronoun is used as a way to play women, to prolong distance, but also to semantically shorten distance. It also shows the affection between speakers and listeners. The speaker in (18) is an old lady in her late sixties. She uses lang7 to express tender affection and sympathy. When mentioning the self-referential pronouns of ancient women, Shih (1984: 219) states that “women call themselves qie4 奴 ‘concubine,’ nu2jia1 奴家 ‘slave-home’ or jian4qie4 競妻 ‘petty concubine’ but seldom “I”….women are humble when referring to themselves.” Cheng (1997: 40) discusses “people” in Taiwanese and states that one uses “first person to indicate oneself as in an inferior position, and uses ‘people’ to refer to themselves”. Women often use it when they do not dare to be bold, want to step aside, and want to be coquettish. Touching upon the usage of Mandarin ren2jia1 人家, Lu (1985: 93) stated that ren2jia1 is a more tactful modern colloquialism than “I”. In addition, Chiu (2000) brought up Holmes’s statement (1992: 173) to respond to the expectation that “subordinate groups must be polite.”

Example (19) is another pronoun that includes ‘I’. “Who,” the indefinite interrogative, is used to mean “no one (has the time to go).” The actual underlying meaning is that “I [the speaker] do not have time to go,” but that is too disdainful and reluctant for the speaker to say.

(12). sng2 u7 kau3 khui3 ah, lan2 e5 khong5 thou2 io5 ma5 eng kaiho2 ah
‘玩夠了，我們的土窯應該也好了’
After we have fun, our soil kiln should be ready.
Chapter 6. Human Beings: Ego ‘I’ in Taiwanese Southern Min

(13). *lan2 na7 bo5 cho3 tioh8 ho2 ah*
‘若我們沒做就好了’
If we had not done this.

(14). *guan2 long2 bo5 an2 ne neh*
‘我們都沒這樣呢’
We do not do this.

The second way of using “we” to indicate “I” can be *lan2* or *guan2*, as in (20)-(22). The data in Table 2 shows that *lan2* occurs most frequently. In example (20), the soil kiln is being made by the speaker. He uses *lan2* to include his listeners to show his hospitality. Using “we” to indicate “I” can not only soften the atmosphere of conversation but also share the responsibility. In (21), *lan2* refers to the listener, and the sentence means “if you had not done it.”

The scenario of (22) is in a restaurant. The speaker wants to say that “I (we) do not put grated cheese in tomato soup.” There are four people there, three of whom are female overseas Chinese, and only the speaker (Mr. A) does not add cheese powder. Refusing to be isolated, however, Mr. A’s tone is intended to protect his male dignity. His *guan2* (we) certainly does not include anyone else present. In this situation, *guan2* cannot be replaced by *lan2*. Notice that *guan2* has two meanings, one including and the other excluding the listener. The usage sometimes reveals timidity. In (22), what Mr. A says can be interpreted as refer to “Taiwanese”; in this way, the collective thinking model of Taiwanese is presented. That is to say, the speaker uses his own people and culture to strengthen the explanation of a certain behavior of his, but, in fact, his people do not all like this and do not necessarily have to be like this.

Xiang (2003: 491), observing the sports news in Mandarin Chinese and American English, also pointed out the expressions of highlighting collective opinions made by speakers of Mandarin Chinese. Hsieh (2006) also observed two different thinking modes, the holism of Mandarin speakers and the individualism of German speakers, in comparing animal fixed expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German. Table 2 above pointed out *lan2* comprised more than half of our data (50.8%), adequately displaying the collective thinking of Taiwanese.

(15). *li2 a7 m7 chaie7 an2 ne ah*
‘你也（我）也不知道會這樣啊’
You (I) do not know why this would happen either.

(16). *ui7 sim2 mih in an2 ne, in ui7 li2 chun tiong7 in*
‘為什麼他們這樣，因爲你（我）尊重他們’
Why do they do that? Because you respect them.
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

(17). gun2 hun3 lian7 hak8 seng chin lan5, chue3 au7 u7 tioh8 mia5, li2 tioh8 kam2 kak chin hoaN hi2
‘我們培訓學生不容易，最後取得名次，你就輸很高興’
It’s not easy for us to train students. They won. You feel happy.

The third focus change uses li2 (you) to refer to the speaker herself/himself. Examples (23)
and (16) are the same except that one uses li2, and the other uses lang5, though both refer to the
speaker; however, the different subject pronouns make a big difference. This rule-violating usage is
frequently used when the speaker wants to express a certain point of view or to achieve a certain
purpose. This usage does not involve different pragmatic, social, or cultural factors. li2 in example
(23) takes away the bashful feeling of using lang5, so it is a neutral usage transcending gender and
occasions. This is a daily conversation between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law. The
speaker is a young married woman in her twenties. Though using li2 as a subject, she in fact means
gua2; that is to say, what she wants to say is gua2 a7 m7 chaie7 an2 neah “I do not know why this
would happen either.” This kind of focus change often happens when the proposition is especially
negative (like example 23) or especially positive (like example 25). The structure of example (25) is
[subject + compliment/advantage]; the proposition is good affair or the statement of the good
affairs in the speaker’s own opinion. At the moment of the conversation, the speaker was in fact
using the addressee-oriented strategy, using “you” to replace “I.” The strategy is for not claiming
credit for oneself or for avoiding boasting.

From the discussion above, we can see that the special attention of using focus change: to
gain other’s tender affection (as in examples 16 and 17), to complain (as in example 18), to shift the
responsibility to others (as in example 23), and to not claim credit for oneself or to avoid boasting
(as in example 25). Next, we will further discuss the social connotation of “I.”

6.4. The Social Connotation of “I”

The different pronoun choices show the speakers’ attitude toward and expectations of the listener
(Myers-Scotton 1993: 85) and reveal whether the speaker is a powerful, irresponsible, or modest
person. Therefore, the main motivation for each choice depends on how the speaker wants to
modulate her/his social presentation of self and on the positive or negative attitude has about
herself/himself and her/his interpersonal relationship with her/his listener (Myers-Scotton 1993:
111). In fact, the uses of “you,” “I,” and “he” all come from the same starting point, that is “I” (the
speaker), which the speaker flexibly and unconsciously uses when she/he chooses which personal
pronouns to use. In addition, such flexible application also shows the attitude, social identification,
and culture characteristics of the speaker.
When using “you,” but actually referring to the speaker himself “I,” for example (25), the speaker turns the subject into “you” due to modesty, not claiming credit for himself. In example (23), the speaker probably wants to avoid responsibility for what happened, so “I” turns into “you.” Just as Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990: 740) say, “‘you’ in English may refer to some indefinite person or persons, and we can only determine whom the personal pronouns actually refer to according to the context.”

Let’s look at the three functions of situation insertion proposed by O’Connor (1994). The speaker used the personal pronoun “you” to indicate herself/himself and to avoid responsibility in example (23) is, says O’Connor, “self-distancing” himself because he wanted to exclude himself from the event. The speaker also used the personal pronoun “you” to indicate himself in example (24). This is called “other-involving”: it allows the listeners to participate in the speaker’s description. This is a self-referential statement in that the speaker uses another personal pronoun to refer to his/her past. Actually, our Taiwanese data present more plentiful effects. In examples (24) and (25), the speaker uses “you” instead of “I” when giving a good presentation of himself. His strategy is to not claim credit and to avoid the suspicion that he is boasting. Therefore, situation insertion (O’Connor 1994) in Taiwanese also allows the speaker to acceptably show off and boast.

In other words, “I” does not necessarily refer to the speaker, “you” does not necessarily refer to the listener, and “he/she/we” also do not always include a third person. The speaker may use the personal pronouns freely. That illustrates the convenience, vitality, and mobility of languages. As Koike (1989: 191-92) said, if we do not take the point of view of being face-to-face, that is, depart from being self-centered, an unexpected function of language function occurs.

To sum up, the four uses of “I” are the simple propositional use, which Lyons (1977: 88) called the “canonical deictic uses”, the imperative form or exclamatory use of fixed expressions (examples 6-13), deictic projection in projective use (examples 14-15), and the special purpose of focus changing, to complain (e.g., example 14), shift responsibility (e.g., example 23), be gratifying and satisfactory (e.g., examples 16 and 17), not to claim credit or boast. The reciprocal uses of various self-referential pronouns express the meaning between the lines, the implications between words, a desire to shirk or take responsibility, a modest personality, subjectivity or objectivity, emotion, controlling the atmosphere when speaking, the social relationships between speakers, and the effect the speaker and listener have on each other.

On the other hand, there are different intentions and points in expression of written “I.” We will discuss this important topic before ending the Taiwanese “I” in the next section.
6.5. Comparing “I” in Taiwanese Novels and Academic Articles

In this section we will compare the colloquial usage discussed above with the written literary language. First, we look at how the authors of Taiwanese novels use “I,” whether there are some changes of the usage of the first-person pronoun, and how “I” is used in modern academic articles at last.

We analyzed four Taiwanese novels A Comrade’s Letter (1935, 一個同志的信), Lovable Enemy (1950, 可愛的仇人), Taneaw City Opposing Violence5 (1987, 打貓市), and A-eng Ah (1999, 阿英阿). A Comrade’s Letter, by Lai-he, is about a man of high aspiration just released from jail. Although it was written in Taiwanese, the language used was not totally Taiwanese (Song, 1995: 18). Lovable Enemy, a purely colloquial Taiwanese novel by Lai, describes the destiny of the fishermen and the tranquility of a rural village. The following examples are adopted directly from Lovable Enemy; that is, both Church Romanization and Chinese characters were used. Taneaw City Opposing Violence, by Song, is about the concerns of Taiwan’s farmers. The novel covers the history from the February 28, 1947, massacre (the “228 Incident”, also known as the “228 Massacre”) of rebellious Taiwanese by Kuomintang (KMT) government soldiers to the 1980’s, illustrating the postwar communalism in Taiwan. There is no mixed usage of Taiwanese and Mandarin Chinese. A-eng Ah, by Chang, is about a widow, A-eng, and her experience and thoughts as well as her changes in values. At the beginning of the story, she runs a small grocery store and then later a supermarket. We see a woman, who initially accepts the traditional “three obediences and the four virtues”, thoroughly remold herself in a modern industrial society. The book is written in the Taiwanese used in Chang-Hua and Taichung counties in central Taiwan.

In A Comrade’s Letter, the first-person pronoun is always “I”; “我們” refers to “we” only three times. Lai’s Lovable Enemy shows richer usages of the first-person pronoun. In addition to the usage of “I”, 咱 ‘we’ is used thirteen times, and 我 ‘my’ is used five times (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. The frequency of the first-person pronoun in four Taiwanese novels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First-person pronoun</th>
<th>我 (I)</th>
<th>咱 (we)</th>
<th>我 (my)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Comrade’s letter</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lovable Enemy</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taneaw City Opposing Violence</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-eng Ah</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Taneaw City (打貓市) is the original name of Minsyong in Chiayi County, Taiwan.
Chapter 6. Human Beings: Ego ‘I’ in Taiwanese Southern Min

(18) 秋桂小姐也贊嘴講：永福兄tiam chia好啦。阮爸爸都按呢講。《可愛的仇人》
Miss Chhiu-kui also echoed, “Eng-hok shall stay. My father says so too.” (Lovable Enemy)

(19) 守義就講伊去講「先生，khab失禮，阮家母講beh ka你講安。」《可愛的仇人》
Siu-gi entered and said, “Sir, excuse me, my mother wanted me to greet you.” (Lovable Enemy)

(20) 算是無親無戚，只有單身，我chia，也是真欠工，請你m荡koh去別位，就按呢tiam
我chia，koh我ng望你會奮及阮同心敬拜上帝，ng望主拯救你，你想怎樣？《可愛的仇人》
I do not have relatives. Only me. Workers are needed here. Please do not leave. Stay here. I hope you can worship God with us and then God will save you. What do you think? (Lovable Enemy)

(21) 阿添伯講：那會使講阮著看好就好，也m是阿爸家己beh按啦！。《可愛的仇人》
Uncle A-thiam said, “How can I say alright and then it’s alright? It’s not me who wants to marry him!” (Lovable Enemy)

(22) 我會記得我tiam幹代tiam著記冊時，teh教院牧會學(bok-hoe-hak)e先生河野文善牧師ka
阮講：若beh去探訪會友，男的主人若無tih leh，只有女的tih內面，上好m通入去。《可愛的仇人》
I remember that when I was studying in the theological seminary, the pastor bok-hoe-hak told us that “If you want to visit your congregation, do not enter the house if the male master is not there and only women are inside.” (Lovable Enemy)

The ‘阮 ‘my’ in examples (26) and (27) both indicate ‘my.’ The difference is that the speaker in (26) is a female and a male in (27). In example (28), there are three “I’s, but when referring to God the speaker becomes humble and uses “阮” instead. Of course, “阮” can be interpreted as “we,” but the author of Lovable Enemy is a pastor; thus, it is probable that “阮” is used to show humbleness. On the other hand, the jargon in church also uses “we” to replace “I” very often.

Examples (29) and (30) are more special usages. In example (29), Uncle A-thiam asks “How can I say alright and then it’s alright?” He uses “阮” to indicate himself, which is evident that males also use “阮” to indicate themselves at that time, but the topic has to be related to female, just as in (29) in which Uncle A-thiam talks about his daughter and especially her wedding; thus, tenderness and affection are in the words and the expression. Example (30) is a similar case. The whole
Part I. Human, Body and Mind in Language

An utterance is from the same speaker, who uses “I” twice, but changes to “阮” when the topic is related to a female.

In *Taneaw City Opposing Violence*, there is a high probability of “阮” being used, especially by male speakers. The reason for this may be that there are more male than female characters in the novel, but we can still observe the prevalent use of “阮” in that era. Here, only two examples, (31) and (32), are provided:

(23). 李國一 ...,「阮聴著安呢，就決定做運動家。」〈抗暴的打貓市〉
Li Kok-it... “when I heard this, I decided to be an athlete.” (*Taneaw City Opposing Violence*)

(24). 醫生就加伊講：「汝的病只是暫時轉好，但是阮真驚汝驚再發作，假便驚再發作，神仙也無救a」〈抗暴的打貓市〉
The doctor told him that “Your illness is temporarily getting better, but I am afraid that if it recurs again, even God can’t help you.” (*Taneaw City Opposing Violence*)

Compared with *Taneaw City Opposing Violence*, in *A-eng Ah*, “阮” is used mostly by female speakers, though there are also male speakers. “阮” also indicates individual “I,” just as for the speaker in (33), a character called Kiong-tong, and for the male doctor in (34):

(25). 無啦，無啦，... 你 mai 讚阮草包就好囉。《阿瑜啊》
No! No! ... It’s good enough that you do not detest me as a bumpkin. (*A-eng Ah*)

(26). 然然阮會盡力救治，唔 koh，oan-na 看 tioh ng 伊的生存意志。《阿瑜啊》
Of course we will try our best to save her/him, but it still depends on her/his will to survive. (*A-eng Ah*)

In conclusion, of these four novels, *Lovable Enemy* shows us that, about sixty years ago, “阮” was used primarily to indicate the possessive pronoun “my” as well as to humble oneself. Furthermore, when males are mentioning females, especially when the topic is about, for example, marriage, speakers used other-involving expressions (O’Connor 1994), a soft usage, to put themselves in another’s position.

Compared with the usages of “I” discussed before, except for the fixed expressions, all the other usages, especially the “focus change” expression “阮”, are now rarely used by males. Let us look at the usage of “咱”:

(27). 這個類名叫「馬蘭香」及老嬸siang娃，就是咱u頭前所講，做外科e護士班長e「馬蘭香姐」。《可愛的仇人》
This woman named Li Lan-xiang and our father have the same surname. She is the Sister Lan-xiang whom we mentioned earlier. She is the chief nurse in the surgical department. (*Lovable Enemy*)

(28). 超頭進財燒真相本分，想請咱是散鄉人，m-bat半字。《可愛的仇人》
At the beginning Ms. Chin-chai knows her own duty. She thinks that we are poor people, now knowing even one word. (*Lovable Enemy*)

When using “咱,” which mainly means “we,” the writer is expressing a collective opinion and to refer to himself modestly, as in example (35). Different from the written form “咱,” “咱” was the first-person pronoun for females in the 1950s, but today it is used primarily for males. For example, Chang uses “咱” more often for females than for males and “俺” for males than for females in *A-eng Ah* (1999). This is one of our primary findings that needs further study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>First-person pronouns</th>
<th>The number of times the author cites her/his own work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied Linguistics</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, let us look at the usage of first-person pronouns in academic articles. Harwood (2005) pointed out that even in academic articles written in the third-person impersonal, authors still use self-referential pronouns subconsciously to highlight or promote themselves. Harwood (2005: 1207) suggests that although authors try to use the first-person pronoun “I” as little as possible in English academic articles to maintain an impersonal tone, properly using personal pronouns highlights the writer. Hyland (2001: 212) investigated academic articles published in eight disciplines in the arts, sciences, and engineering, and averaged the frequency of use of the first-person pronouns *I, me, my, we, us, and our,* in each (Table 6.3).
Table 6.4. The frequency of the first-person pronoun in Taiwanese academic articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>first person pronoun</th>
<th>我</th>
<th>咱</th>
<th>我</th>
<th>個人</th>
<th>個人</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frequency</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Take applied linguistics as example. The frequency of first person pronoun is 32.3%. However, it is different from Taiwanese academic articles. Table 6.4 shows the statistics. We gathered 15 academic articles written in Taiwanese, in which the contents discuss transition and loss of languages and reports about Taiwanese character. Although the structures of these articles are not as strict as English ones, they are academic in nature.

That is to say, “I” is not used frequently in Taiwanese articles, only 33.5% of the time. The frequency of using the substitute forms “我” and “個” is even lower, only 1.4% and 0.9%, respectively, much less frequently than English “I” in academic articles. However, “咱” and “咱們,” collective usages meaning “our” group, is frequently 64.1%. This shows the characteristic humility of Chinese culture by not highlighting the author as an individual but as a member of a group.

This thinking mode is not an exclusive characteristic of Taiwanese. Other Chinese speakers, such as the people in Hong Kong, often express themselves in this manner as well. After investigating the academic reports written by college students in Hong Kong, Hyland (2002) reported that students in Hong Kong are extraordinarily careful about using the English personal pronoun “I.” He sees this questionable need to avoid the first-person pronoun in formal writing as a hindrance to English learners.

### 6.6. Conclusion of This Chapter

We have discussed the usage of “I” in terms of propositional usage, fixed expressions, projective use, focus transfer, social connotations. From observation, “I” exhibits power, authority, confidence and prominence (propositional use); “we” contains modesty, subtlety, solidarity, not claiming credit for oneself, and avoiding responsibility (focus change). A large number of goan2 and lan2 (we) in Taiwanese are used to indicate goa2 (I), amply manifesting the collective thinking of Taiwanese people. This has been proved in other Chinese and Western studies. In addition, compared with Westerners, Taiwanese and Chinese are more conservative and tend to keep a low profile. This can be seen in classrooms filled with native speakers of Taiwanese or Mandarin Chinese compared with those filled with speakers of Western languages. Western students tend to express personal opinions
and are not afraid of asking questions, while Taiwanese students tend not to do either so that they can avoid being labeled as “show offs”.

In written speech the use of “I” was studied in novels and academic articles. The frequency of usage of different ways of expressing “I” differs greatly from novel to novel, depending on the style, time of publishing and gender characteristics of the characters. Thus, in A-eng Ah (1999) “吾” was the first-person pronoun for females in the 1950s, but today it is used primarily for males. As for the academic articles, the usage of personal “I” is more uniformed there.

Western scholars have extensively studied the personal pronouns. Our brief examination of Taiwanese spoken and written language confirms that speakers of Taiwanese use self-referential pronouns abundantly. O’Connor (1994) proposed self-distancing, other-involving, and self-addressing functions of personal pronouns when she talked about situation insertion. However, in Taiwanese, unlike in English, speakers can use self-referential pronouns to boast and show off, as examples (23) to (25) indicate.

When “I” does not necessarily indicate the speaker, “you” does not necessarily indicate the listener, and “they/we” do not necessarily include the third person, we can see how flexible language is. Speakers and writers can select appropriate personal pronouns based on the people, events, time, location, subject, and social standards being discussed. This is one important way in which human beings can say one thing and mean another.
Part II. Animals and Embodiment


Some terms should be defined for the research goals of the following chapters in Part II. An animal expression is defined as an expression that encodes animal names with metaphorical meaning, without recourse to a separate definition of metaphor, or of metonymic blending. That is to say, the animal expressions in the present corpora are fixed expressions (Alexander 1978, Carter 1987, Moon 1998) which include: metaphors, similes, proverbs, sayings, frozen collocations, grammatically ill-formed collocations and routine formulae. They are not ad-hoc terms, or freely generated phrases and contain at least one animal name that has metaphorical meaning (tenor).

The written data are collected from literature and dictionaries (Chang 1992, Liang 1992, Riegler 1907, Büchmann 1972, Röhrich 1991 and elsewhere). Spoken data are gathered from mass media, daily conversations and questionnaires. Most of the raw data are collected from Academia Sinica Ancient Chinese Corpus, Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese and the German Corpus Search, Management and Analysis System (COSMAS).

The data are then categorized by the animal names in alphabetical order in EXCEL to compile our Corpora of Animal Expressions. The present corpora contain 3580 Mandarin Chinese and 3230 German written and spoken animal expressions. Different kinds of data relating to individual animal expression are recorded in up to twelve separate fields, including phonetic transcription of the Mandarin Chinese, word-to-word translation, semantic feature of the metaphorical vehicle (animal name), frequency, metaphorical tenor (meaning) of the animal expression, the underlying conceit (the association between vehicles and tenors), etc.

Animal expressions develop as a part of language along the time with the society. Everyday usage may disappear. For instance, “modern” animal expressions in Spalding’s work (1969: 120) Gossenmolch (gutter-newt = policeman), lascher Bock (limp-buck = wimp) and Eule (owl = girl) are no more used today. On the other hand, as Zheng (1993: 6) says: the amount of basic lexemes of a language grows by 20% per 1000 years. New animal expressions are created as a result of the technical development, for example, Maus (mouse = the computer equipment mouse) and Elchtest (elk-test = dynamic test of the car stability). The included metaphorical vehicles in part II are:

Mammals: monkey, bear/panda, badger, squirrel, elk, elephant, donkey, fox, gazelle, hare/rabbit,
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

deer, dog, hyena, hedgehog, jaguar, camel, cat/tomcat, leopard, lion, lynx, mouse/rat, horse/steed/zebra, cattle/ox/bull/buffalo/ cow/calf, sheep/buck/lamb/goat/ram/kid, jackal, pig/sow, tiger, whale, weasel, wolf, sable.

Birds: eagle, magpie, duck/mandarin duck, owl, goose/wild goose, vulture, cock/chicken, Zhen,\(^6\)
owl, crane, cuckoo, nightingale, parrot, peacock, oriole, turkey, crow, roc, reed bunting, swallow, swan/swan goose, sparrow, woodpecker, sparrow hawk, stork, pigeon/turtledove, bird, ostrich.

Amphibians: frog, toad, salamander.

Reptiles: dinosaur, crocodile, turtle/soft tortoise, snake.

Molluscs: oyster, shell/clam, snail, squid/calamari.

Annelid: ant, bee/wasp/drone/bumblebee, fly/dayfly, flea, praying mantis, cricket, chafer, crab, louse, maggot, moth, mosquito, caterpillar/silkworm, butterfly, spider, tick, cicada.

Worms: worm.

Fish: eel, fish, shark, pike, carp, manta.

Mythical creatures: dragon, Phoenix, Qilin.\(^7\)

The metaphorical vehicles in German and Mandarin Chinese are not concurrent with each other. Whereas the mandarin duck and the hyena appear to be as notable as the wolf in Mandarin Chinese, there are neither mandarin duck nor hyena metaphors in German frequent. On the other hand, there are variations of vehicles in German with respect to a specific animal species, for example, cattle, bull, buffalo, calf, cow and ox, while only the macro term—cattle ‘niu\(^2\)牛’ is used in Mandarin Chinese.

\(^6\) Zhen 是 a Chinese legendary bird with poisonous feathers.

\(^7\) Qilin is a Chinese legendary animal, it is sometimes referred as Chinese unicorn.
Chapter 7. Animal Vehicles and Semantic Functions

What do different animals mean to people? What features of an animal strongly influence human beings and then makes it stand for a certain way of human life? How is this animal image formed in human culture? Does the human-animal relation have an influence on animal names and embodiment in our language? In this chapter, we study the animal expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German to see how these animal names work as vehicles in both languages. This chapter gives an overview of the related study on domestic animal, wild animal as well as mythical animal vehicles. The following chapters will provide more detail for the embodiment of the respective animal vehicles in languages.

7.1. Introduction

Over the years there has been continuing interest in the research of idioms, metaphors, and, in recent years, cognitive endeavors. In comparison, studies on animal expressions are relatively few. Craddick and Miller (1970) examine the animal names used to represent the outer and inner selves. They identify the concept of self in terms of animal names. Fraser (1981) examines insulting terms that involve animal names. Those in English are: stupid-donkey, coward-chicken, sneaky-snake, mean-dog, nasty-rat and dirty-pig. One of Fraser’s results shows that stupid-donkey and dirty-pig are more widespread than nasty-rat is. Davies and Bentahila (1989) examine animal terms in British English and Moroccan Arabic. Their informants are instructed to indicate, for each term, which meaning they would most likely understand if they were to hear it being applied to someone. Similarity, salience and relevance are applied to categorize animal metaphors. Nesi (1995) discusses single-word conventional animal metaphors in different cultures.

This chapter deals with important vehicles in Mandarin Chinese and German to give an overview for the following chapters concerning animal expressions.

Language change and language development are observed, such as the reason for the disappearing of an animal expression and the newly generated metaphorical tenors. Also the

Part II. Animals and Embodiment

concepts of the animal names are investigated. Because human beings have lived close to animals since the beginning of their existence, studies based on the animal corpus about how people observe and describe animals and use animal names in their languages may help us to understand or reveal, or both, cultural backgrounds and differences.

This chapter is organized as follows: (1) introduction, (2) theoretical framework, (3) semantic functions of animal vehicles in Mandarin Chinese and German, and (4) conclusion.

7.2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter reports mainly the field of the semantic feature and its interaction with other fields. The semantic features are abstracted in the way shown below:

1. compound A: e.g., shu3she2yao1 水蛇腰 ‘water-snake-waist = a slender waist,’ here “snake” carries the semantic features [+slender, +curvaceous] and Hasenherz ‘hare’s heard = coward’: here “hare” stands for [+cowardly, +anxious]. The features are heavily bound with other elements in the animal expression.

2. compound B: in many cases, the sole metaphoric sense of the vehicle is the intensifier of a word, as, e.g., in Affenhitze ‘monkey-heat = scorching and sizzling heat’ the monkey stands for [+intensifier].

3. phrase: An example for this category is null Bock ‘nil-ram = it does not really grab me to it’ here the “ram” contains the semantic features [+mood, +desire, +lust].

4. sentence: shan1zhong1wu2lao3hu3, hou2zicheng1da4wang2 山中無老虎，猴子稱大王 ‘mountain-center-no-tiger monkey-call-big-king = the weak can king and dominate without the existence of the strong’; here the tiger conveys the sense of the whole sentence [+head, +powerful, +significant]. Auf der Bärenhaut liegen ‘on-the-bearskin-lay = laze around, have a lazy time of it’; here the “bear” conveys the sense of the whole sentence [+lazy, +inactive]

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) indicate that the Americans very often integrate concepts such as “love is madness” and “time is money” into their daily language and actions. Such conceptual metaphors are a use of imagery based on concepts that are heavily culture-related. The present animal expression corpora also shows that our adopting animal names as metaphorical vehicles in our languages is closely related to situations or to culture. Low (1988: 133) points out that animal expressions refer to undesirable traits, reflecting human views of animals as lower forms of life. The present corpora give a different view. Though animal metaphors are often abusive, some of them are positive (e.g., terms of endearment, benediction, praise, jest…) and others are neutral (e.g., objects, euphemisms, exclamatory expressions…).
7.3. Semantic Functions of Animal Vehicles in Languages

Only the most productive Vehicles will be briefly discussed in this section to present a clear overview of the semantic functions of animal names in languages.

7.3.1. In Mandarin Chinese

The following paragraphs discuss only the most productive metaphorical vehicles: domestic animals (35.2%), wild animals (20.7%), and mythical animals (9.5%) in the collected corpus of Mandarin Chinese.

7.3.1.1. Names of Domestic Animals

Table 7.1 lists the semantic functions of the most productive vehicles, and the percentages indicate the more salient features. The horse was an important means of transportation and important in war. It continues to perform these functions in languages, though not in the real world. Bing1ma3 乓馬 ‘troop-horse’ first stood for military forces; now it also means workforce or personnel. Qian1jun1wan4ma3 千軍萬馬 ‘thousand-soldier-ten thousand-horse’ means not only a huge army, but also an imposing scene. The metaphorical vehicle ma3 馬 ‘horse’ represents a variety of meanings in Chinese history = a means of transportation, war, social activities, an old utensil, clothing, and philosophy (Table 7.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Semantic Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>Weakness 27.3%, shrillness, falseness, lechery, gluttony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cattle</td>
<td>big size 11.1%, strength 11.1%, stupidity 9.3%, sluggishness 5.6%, stubbornness 5.6%, intensifier 5.6%, slowness, profit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>inferiority 23.4%, announce the daybreak 10.6%, talkative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>inferiority 23.7%, serf 10.5%, cheat 6.6%, stupidity 5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>strength 14.9%, war 12.3%, means of transportation 9.6%, power 7.9%, good people 3.5%, woman 2.6%, toil, agile, stupidity, labor, diligence, wild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandarin duck</td>
<td>wedded bliss 66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>stupidity 29.4%, laziness 17.6%, dirt 17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>profit, event</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In modern usage, as languages contact extensively, when translating the phonetic combination /ma/, the morphological representation ma is adopted, such as in ma3 sai4ke4 马赛克 ‘mask; censorship,’ ma3la1song1 马拉松 ‘marathon,’ etc. The reasons for this are that ma 马 is one of the 5000 most frequent Chinese morphological representations, it also has a neutral or positive connotation as shown in Table 7.1 (strength, means of transportation, power, good people, diligence, agile), and it is a common phonetic combination in alphabetical languages. Ma3 马 is here a semantically arbitrary application.

Ji1 雞 ‘chicken’ has a similar development. Ji1po2 雞婆 ‘chicken-aunt’ is a phonetic translation from the Taiwanese gebe (someone who likes to take care of something which is not his business), a frequent animal expression in newspapers. Linguists believe that ji1po2 雞婆 should be written as ji1po2 ‘婆婆,’ but the mass media persist in using ji1po2 雞婆. The Chinese character ji1 雞 is probably used because the semantic feature [+talkative] of the chicken-expression does fit the sense “smart-alecky, saucy, brassy.” Long2 龙 ‘dragon’ has a similar and even stronger usage than ma3 马 ‘horse’ and ji1 雞 ‘chicken’ that will be further discussed later.

Rawson (2006) indicates that the word “rooster” is an Americanism. He notes that the appearance of a rooster in the written record toward the end of the eighteenth century signals a major cultural and linguistic change. At that time, people began to be much more fastidious when speaking of death, sex, and their bodies. That was also the time when donkey, limb, and bosom replaced ass, leg, and breast, when trousers and breeches became inexpressible and unmentionable.

Yang2 羊 ‘sheep’ is not productive in Mandarin Chinese. One of its salient features is [+profit], which is also one for niu2 牛 ‘cattle.’ Niu2 is similar to ma3 马 ‘horse’; both introduce the old and new society, such as lao3niu2che1 老牛車 ‘old-cow-car = a very slow car’ and niu2rou4chang2 牛肉場 ‘cattle-meat-field = striptease.’

7.3.1.2. Names of Wild Animals

The semantic features of the animal names (animal vehicles) are highlighted through the blend of other lexical items in animal expressions; for example, tiger in Mandarin Chinese can combine with wolf, and its [+greed, +hunger, +cruelty] are stressed, as in lang2tun1hu3yan4 狼吞虎咽 ‘wolf-swallow-tiger-gobble –wolf down; gobble up; devour ravenously’ and ru2lang2si4hu3 如狼似虎 ‘like-wolf-like-tiger = as ferocious as wolves and tigers; like cruel beasts of prey.’ When sheep and tiger come together, tiger’s [+cruelty, +violence, +danger] is emphasized, as in yang2ru4hu3kou3 羊入虎口 ‘sheep-in-tiger-mouth = in a perilous position.’ Of the animal expressions in the collected Mandarin Chinese corpus, 11.8% have two or more vehicles, but only

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8 According to Huang (1993: 21), 73.3% of speakers in Taiwan speak Taiwanese.
1.9% in the collected German corpus do. This reveals the syntactic and semantic nature of Mandarin Chinese.

Mandarin Chinese *hu* 虎 ‘tiger’ occupies the domain ‘big, strong’; other features such as [+courageous, +vital, +proud, +significant, +energetic] are included in this domain; big and strong can be ‘powerful’ or conversely ‘dangerous’ depending on the need. This makes tiger a “wonderful” semantic contributor for the subject ‘man.’ We therefore have a large number of *tiger*-expressions in Mandarin Chinese denoting ‘man,’ for example, *biao1xing2da4han4* 彪形大 獅 ‘young tiger-form-big-man = husky fellow’ and *hu3jiang4* 虎將 ‘tiger-general = brave general,’ etc. This domain is bordered by gender. It is kept for males in Mandarin Chinese and cannot be applied to females. When it is, the sense is shifted to ‘a terrible woman,’ as in *mu3lao3hu3* 母老虎 ‘female tiger = tigress; fractious women,’ *hu3gu1po2* 虎姑婆 ‘tiger-aunt = evil woman’

and *bai2hu3xing1* 白虎星 ‘white-tiger-star = jinx; women who bring hard luck,’ showing only negative tiger semantic features. Cultural background is required for understanding such expressions.

Animal expressions demonstrate the sense extension involved with metonymy, for example, *e2mei2* 蝴眉 ‘moth-eyebrow = delicate eyebrows; beautiful woman.’ A part-for-whole coding strategy (synecdoche) amply exploited in language.

Although some domestic animals are also food products, *yu2* 魚 ‘fish’ and *niao3* 鳥 ‘bird’ are semantically representative for [+profit, +gain], such as in *fang4chang2xian4diao4da4yu2* 放 長線釣大魚 ‘cast-long-line-catch-big-fish = to wait patiently for one’s chance; good bait catches good fish’ and *yi4shi2liang2niao3* 一石兩鳥 ‘one-stone-two-bird = to kill two birds with one stone’ and so on.

The animal pairs *yuan1yang1* 鴛鴦 ‘Mandarin ducks,’ *hu2die2* 蝴蝶 ‘butterflies,’ *feng4huang2* 凤凰 ‘Phoenixes,’ *long2feng4* 龍鳳 ‘dragon-Phoenix,’ and *jian1die2* 鰲鰲 ‘the legendary bird-flatfish’ are also in pairs in Mandarin Chinese no matter whether they exist in nature or only in fantasy.

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9 *Hu3gu1po2* 虎姑婆 ‘tiger-aunt = evil woman’ is originally a fairy tale figure who transformed into a loving old grandma, but actually wanted only to devour children.
Table 7.2. Semantic functions of some wild-animal vehicles in Mandarin Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Semantic Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>gain 10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crane</td>
<td>isolation 30%, freedom 30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>profit 28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>profit 17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fox</td>
<td>malevolence 41.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>malevolence 46.7%, dread 33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>power 24.4%, danger 22.1%, malevolence 15.1%, cruelty 9.3%, courage 4.7%, greed 3.5%, big, great, swallowing, jumping, vitality, proud, significant, valuable, energetic, robust, awfully, auspicious, superstitious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>malevolence 26.9%, cruelty 15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worm</td>
<td>damage 64%, laziness 28%, inferiority 24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.1.3. Names of Mythical Animals

The above discussion supports Lakoff and Turner’s (1989: 170) proposal: “animals form the second highest level, and are seen in terms of ‘instinctual attributes and behavior.’” However, another kind of animal expression, formed using the names of mythical animals, is used with over 10% in the collected Mandarin corpus of animal expressions (only 0.67% in the German corpus) and should be taken into consideration. Mythical animal expressions in Mandarin Chinese convey [best people, strong man, power]. They can even be [holy, auspicious] (Table 7.3).

From the viewpoint of derivation, dragon lexemes, unlike other animal lexemes that favorably describe the appearance, for example, ying1gou1bi2 蟺鷹鼻, ‘hawk-hook-nose = aquiline nose’ and yu2du4bai2 魚肚白, ‘fish-belly-white = the whitish color of a fish’s belly; gray dawn,’ etc. or the character of the referents, e.g., gou3ji2tiao4qiang2 狗急跳牆, ‘dog-rush-jump-wall = a cornered beast will do something desperate’ and ji2ru2re4guo1shang4de ma3yi3 急如熱鍋上的螞蟻, ‘hot-pot-on-of-ant = as restless as ants on a hot pan.’ Dragon lexemes only mention the body parts but have no description (long2yan3 蛇眼, ‘dragon-eye = longan’) or only draw attention to the dragon’s movement but still leave the space and imagination to the language users, as in long2xing2hu3bu4 龍行虎步, ‘dragon-walk-tiger-pace = a great warrior’s firm strides are like the dragon’s and the tiger’s’ and long2fei1feng4wu3 龍飛鳳舞, ‘dragon-fly-phoenix-dance = like dragons flying and phoenixes dancing; lively and vigorous
flourishes in calligraphy.’ A mythical creature has no determined appearance to be described; thus, also it offers the speaker and listener a space for imagination and a blank to fill in on their own accord.

The same as the modern usage of *ji1* 雞 ‘chicken’ and *ma3* 馬 ‘horse’ (as mentioned above), *long2* 龍 ‘dragon’ has even become a morphological root in transliteration, e.g., meaning textile goods: 奧龍 ‘Orlon,’ 帝人帝龍 ‘Teijen Tetonon,’ 森多龍 ‘Tetonon,’ 愛絲龍 ‘Exlan,’ and 毛龍龍 ‘Vonnel’ (Yao 1992: 343). Homonyms play a key role because the words are borrowed. Long2 not only is a semantic marker denoting [+positive, +super], but it also serves as a popular phonetic representation for the phonological unit [+liquids] + [-front vowels] + [+nasal C]. This is a robust tendency for many Chinese characters when borrowing words from other languages: semantic marker > phonetic element.

There are many meteorological and astronomical terms that include long2, because long2 carries the semantic concept of nature – sky, earth, water, and fire. As a bound morpheme used to describe the head of the lexeme, dragon represents this group of adjectives: “remarkable, valuable, important, strong, powerful, super,” all positive, e.g., *long2zi3* 龍子 ‘dragon-son = descendents of emperors in ancient times’ and *long2zhong3* 龍種 ‘dragon-race = Chinese people.’ It reaches all dimensions: big, deep, wide, high, and far. The female counterpart of *long2* ‘dragon’ is *feng4* 凤, ‘phoenix,’ which also carries the same positive sense, e.g., *long2feng4pei4* 龍鳳配 ‘dragon-phoenix-match = union of a dragon and a phoenix.’ Feng4 凤 is male in compounds with huang2 黃 or luan2 懶 such as in *feng4qiu2huang2* 凤求凰 ‘male phoenix-ask-female phoenix = the male chasing after the female’ and *luan2feng4he2ming2* 鳳凰和鳴 ‘female phoenix-male phoenix-harmony-sound = be blessed with conjugal felicity; be a happy couple.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Semantic Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dragon</td>
<td>best people 32.8%, auspiciousness 32.8%, strong man 16.4%, holiness 9.8%, power 9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phoenix</td>
<td>auspiciousness 60%, beauty 30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qilin</td>
<td>auspiciousness 66.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7.3. Semantic functions of mythical animal vehicles in Mandarin Chinese

#### 7.3.2. In German

The following will discuss only the most productive metaphorical vehicles in the German corpus: domestic animals comprise 37% and wild animals 10.1% of the collected animal expressions.
7.3.2.1. Names of Domestic Animals

_Null Bock haben_ ‘nil-ram-have = it does not really grab me to it’ and _auf etwas Bock haben_ ‘to-something-ram-have = feel like doing something’ may have originated in the late 1970s and become popular among teenagers (Röhrich 1991: 227). The adjective “stier” is a homonym of _Stier_ ‘bull.’ Drosdowski (1997: 713) says that this is a conversion of the Low German and of the Dutch word _stur_ being influenced by the animal name _Stier_. Even around 1600, the Dutch _stuur_ ‘stern, gruff’ was used in sense of “staring like a bull in a wild and threatening way.”

The distinct functions of semantic domains are shown by animal expressions. Take the vehicle _Katze_ ‘cat’ as an example; it evokes the concepts [weak, false, small, unimportant, flattering, quick, shrill] in a German-speaker’s mind, and a large number of _Katze_ expressions connote these semantic features. Therefore _Katze_ is a “perfect” semantic contributor for the subject ‘woman.’ Many German _Katze_ expressions denote this meaning, such as _Kätzchen_ ‘little cat = an endearment for a woman,’ _falsch wie eine Katze_ ‘a woman who is as false as a cat’ and _Schmusekatze_ ‘flattering cat = an endearment for a woman.’ This domain is occupied by _Katze_, and should not be invaded. It is bordered by gender, i.e., the semantic features of _Katze_ [+small, weak, false, moody] do not function for males; rather, when used for men, the meaning shifts to [+intoxicate, loaded, hangover], the behavior when a man is drunk, as in _Katzenjammer_ ‘cat’s complaint = the complaint after a hangover.’

Some semantic features of the metaphorical vehicles seem awkward and have puzzled linguists, driving them to trace folk-etymology for answers (Riegler 1907, Storfer 1935, Büchmann 1972, Röhrich 1991: 818). However, they can be understood after using semantic interconnection and interaction; e.g., one of the semantic features of German _cat_ is [+nothing], as in _Das ist für die Katz_ ‘this is for the cat = This is worth nothing, I don’t know why I bothered’ or _Dann gehört er der Katz_ ‘this belongs to the cat = This is in vain, I don’t know why I bothered.’ The Germans nevertheless can understand the meaning of _Das ist für die Katz_ ‘this is for the cat = this is worth nothing’ from the other semantic features of _Katze_: [+small] (as in _Katzenschwanz_ and _Katzentisch_) and [+unknown matter] (as in _die Katze im Sack kaufen_ and _die Katze aus dem Sack lassen_). The interconnection and interaction of semantic features explains. The senses of the vehicles in question are intimately related because they are developed from the same animal and

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10 _Katze_ (cat) can also be used for children, but not for men.
11 Meaning: A cat tail = a triviality.
12 Meaning: A cat’s table = a little table for dining.
13 Meaning: To buy a cat in a sack = to buy something without knowing what it is.
14 Meaning: To let cat go out of the sack = to tell the covered truth; let the cat out of the bag.
Chapter 7. Animal Vehicles and Semantic Functions

denote the same cultural background. Salient elements will surface and occupy syntactic positions available with understood elements in the background.

According to Braun et al (1993: 495) the meaning of Hahnrei ‘cuckold = a deceived husband’ may have been originally Kapaun ‘capon,’ as being used as late as 16/17th century. This may provide an explanation for the origin of the saying jemandem Hörner aufsetzen ‘someone-horn-put on = to cuckold someone.’ It used to be a custom to cut the spurs of the capon and to implant them into its crest, where they continued growing like horns. We give a more complete list of semantic functions of domestic animal vehicles in German below (Table 7.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Semantic Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>strength 12.2%, stupidity 12.2%, arrogant 10.2%, means of transportation 8.2%, values 8.2%, robustness 6.1%, heavy workload 6.1%, common people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>stupidity 27.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>silly behavior 53.8%, stupidity 30.8%, money 23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ox</td>
<td>stupidity 41.2%, heavy labor 23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull</td>
<td>stupidity 17.6%, aggressiveness 17.6%, intensifier 17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sow</td>
<td>intensifier 26.3%, dirt 15.8%, obscenity 15.8%, happiness 13.2%, mess 10.5%, insidious 7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>stupidity 16.7%, woman 10%, craziness 10%, mess 10%, talkative, proud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rooster</td>
<td>man 18.2%, weather vane 18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>Insignificance 14%, superficiality 8%, flattering behaviour 8%, small amount 6%, falseness, quickness, shrillness, ill-temper, pursuance, cleanliness, misfortune, cowardice, absurdity, intolerableness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomcat</td>
<td>hangover 55.6%, depression, craziness, misfortune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>poverty 13%, wickedness 9.8%, intensifier 7.6%, worthlessness 6.5%, baseness 5.4%, insignificance 5.4%, malevolence 4.3%, someone 3.3%, labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>dirt 37.5%, mess 25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3.2.2. Names of Wild Animals

The notable semantic functions of Tiger ‘tiger’ [+quickness, +jealousy], Vogel ‘bird’ [+symbol of freedom], Wurm ‘worm’ [+wriggling forward] and Fisch ‘fish’ [+no intelligence, +uncertainty, +unreliability] as discussed in Riegler (1907) are fading; some were lost during the last century.

There are many animal-name endearments in German. They reveal the traditional gender roles in German society. The endearments applied to women are derived either from a domestic animal (lamb: Lamm, Lämmchen), pets (cat: Schmusekatze, Kätzchen, rabbit: Hase, Hasi, Hälsen), a culture follower (mouse: Mäuschen, Mausi), or small and light birds (swallow: Spatz, Spätzen, dove: Täubchen), whereas, those for men are derived from a wild animal, the bear: Bärchen, Knuddelbär, Brummbär. This linguistic fact first shows that men are generally physically stronger than women. Secondly, traditionally, women were responsible for the household while men were considered to be the breadwinners in society. As this notion fades in modern society, language continues to file it.

The original meaning of Elefantenhaut ‘elephant skin’ was merely “the skin of an elephant.” By sense extension, the expression gained an additional meaning. The semantic feature [+thick/fat] was decisive. The outer physical size transformed into a behavior feature. The extension of the meaning of Elefantenhaut ‘to have a thick skin; to be insensitive, inured, indifferent, apathetic’ goes from the skin of the elephant to insensitive people. This tendency of changing from a concrete to an abstract concept echoes Aitchison’s (2001: 130) universal laws: Humans “using everyday external bodily behavior to describe internal events.”

Sometimes both the Chinese and the German people share the same point of view about some animals. But differences in interpretation and in opinion have led to different animal expressions. Both peoples produce animal expressions based on their observations that a snail carries a shell. They are wa2ke2gua1niu2 無殼蜗牛 ‘no-shell-snail = people who are not capable of purchasing houses’ and gua1niu2zu2 蜗牛族 ‘snail-tribe = people who do not possess real estate’ in Mandarin Chinese, where the basic need of housing is the focus, and sich in sein Schneckenhaus zurückziehen ‘self-in-one’s-snail shell-withdraw = to go into one’s shell’ und jemanden zur Schnecke machen ‘someone-to-snail-make = to come down on someone like a ton of bricks’ in German, it concentrates more on behavior and emotion. The underlying concretes vary in these snail-expressions, and the idiom schemas are recognizable. We give a more complete list of semantic functions of wild animal vehicles in German below (Table 7.5).

15 The Vogel ‘bird’ is still the symbol of freedom in German society, but not shown in modern German. Vogelfrei ‘bird-free = outlawed’ is a closed one.
16 Culture followers are animals that live close to humans.
Table 7.5. Semantic functions of wild-animal vehicles in German

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Semantic Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>comic 11.1%, symbol of freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>fishfishing 26.4%, fish-water 14.7%, profit 11.8%, event 11.8%, fish-swimming 11.8%, no intelligence, uncertainty, unreliability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fox</td>
<td>cleverness 28.6%, shrewdness 19%, anger 19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>fear 26.7%, woman 20.7%, event 17.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>poison 15.8%, cunning 15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>power 66.7%, courage, hunt, jealousy, protector, quickness, gasoline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>cruelty 27.8%, destruction 22.2%, hunger 16.7%, greed 16.7%, malevolence 16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worm</td>
<td>parasite 25%, small size 20%, defenselessness 20%, defect 15%, danger 15%, wriggling forward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4. Conclusion

7.4.1. The Concepts of Animal Names

Fixed expressions are culturally marked lexical items and “established as pithy ways of expressing and referring to concepts” (Moon 1998: 43). So are animal expressions. The vehicles of animal expressions can be domestic animals, wild animals, or mythical creatures. There are more animal expressions generated from domestic animals than from wild ones. Because human beings and domestic animals live closely together and are in daily contact, the concepts of these expressions relate to [normal, insignificant]. Because those animals depend on human beings, these animal expressions also convey the concepts of the [good-hearted, weak]. On the other hand, the concepts of wild-animal expressions tend toward [big, crude] or [great, dangerous], because wild animals are difficult to tame. The semantic functions that generated more than 2.6% of the expressions of the respective vehicles are listed in Table 7.6. Some vehicles produce only a limited number of animal expressions; nevertheless, concepts are found among them. This goes back to specific ideas and concepts that people associate with these vehicles, for example, Ameise ‘ant’: busty, Esel ‘donkey’: stupidity, yuan1yang1 ‘mandarin ducks’: wedded bliss, and lu4 ‘deer’: profit.

While there are many newly invented animal expressions, such as those related to computers (Maus ‘mouse = the computer equipment mouse,’ qian1xi1chong2 ‘thousand-year-worm = millennium bug’), the tendency of fading animal expressions is also invasive. The reasons for the
disappearance or replacement of a semantic function can be traced from the development of technology and society, for example, people now wear a yan4wei3fu2 ‘swallow-tail = swallow-tailed coat’ instead of a chang2pao2ma3gua4 ‘long-robe horse-gown = a ceremonial wide-sleeved jacket of a mandarin’ on ceremonial occasions. When electronic mail became popular, the retronym snail mail was created. Neither zwei Finger Adler-System ‘two-finger-eagle-system = the beginner’s method of typing using two fingers’ nor Elchtest ‘elk-test = dynamic test of automobile stability’ were needed some decades ago. Language contact changes the structure of a language, such as the enlargement of roots (long2 ‘dragon’ stands for textile) and the development of semantic markers (such as ma3 ‘horse’) to phonetic representations.

Table 7.6. Concepts of the animal expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>tiny</td>
<td>bustle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>rudeness, power, men, intensifier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beast</td>
<td>cruelty, fright</td>
<td>malice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>diligence, attractiveness, women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>profit, gain</td>
<td>comic effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cuckoo: devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>goose: stupidity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nightingale: beautiful singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>peacock: vanity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>raven: blackness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sparrow: tiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stork: delivering kids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>swan: presentiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vulture: greed, devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crane</td>
<td>calmness, isolation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin duck</td>
<td>wedded bliss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>profit, event</td>
<td>stupidity, profit, gain, need of protection, property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lamb: Patience, innocence, love, gentleness, defenselessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buck: stubbornness, lust, men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>weakness</td>
<td>something small, insignificance, superficial, flattering behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tomcat: results of alcohol consumption, hangover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Synonyms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cattle</td>
<td>big size, height, strength, stupidity, laziness, stubbornness, intensifier, big size, sluggishness, intensifier</td>
<td>worthlessness, immoral person, bull: stupidity, aggressiveness, intensifier, calf: stupidity, silly behavior, money, foolishness, cow: stupidity, ox: stupidity, heavy labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>inferiority, announce the daybreak</td>
<td>women, craze, stupidity, mess, rooster: men, weather vane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cricket</td>
<td>curiousness, mood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>stupidity,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>inferiority, deceit, stupidity, serf, cheat</td>
<td>misery, poverty, wickedness, meanness, insignificance, worthlessness, malice, anybody, intensifier, in connection with weather, baseness, malevolence, poodle: intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donkey</td>
<td>stupidity</td>
<td>stupidity, stubbornness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dragon</td>
<td>holiness, power, best people, strong, auspiciousness</td>
<td>wickedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>profit, gain, goal</td>
<td>profit, gain, event, things, fishfishing, fish-water, fish-swimming, pike: nimbleness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flea</td>
<td>tiny, restlessness, intensifier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>tiny, insignificance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fox</td>
<td>wickedness</td>
<td>red, clever, crafty, troubles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hare</td>
<td>fear, women, event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hedgehog</td>
<td>protective posture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>means of transport, war, forces, strength, women, good people, power</td>
<td>means of transport, values strength, robustness, hard work, miner standards, stupidity, arrogance, common people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion</td>
<td>strength, king, power, center, malice, danger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>louse</td>
<td>annoyance, brazenness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>foolishness, intensifier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>villain</td>
<td>something small, cute appearance money, rat: enthusiasm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phoenix</td>
<td>beauty, propitiation, auspiciousness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>stupidity, laze, dirt, filth</td>
<td>dirt, filth, luck, mess</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Metaphorical Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qilin</td>
<td>propitiation, auspiciousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>inferiority, announces daybreak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snail</td>
<td>slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>malice, fright, poison, trick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>strength, courage, greed, danger, malice, cruelty, power, malevolence, strength, power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weasel</td>
<td>quickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>wickedness, cruelty, malevolence, hunger, greed, malice, cruelty, destruction, malevolence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worm</td>
<td>inferiority, decomposition, laze, damage, tiny, defenselessness, parasite, disturbance, defect, danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maggot</td>
<td>spoilt, disparage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Empty cells indicate that there is no corresponding concept; either the vehicle is not productive or it has diverse meanings.

### 7.4.2. Other Possible Applications of the Corpora

Other possible applications of the corpora are as follows: From the field of “underlying conceit” we can observe how Germans and Chinese observe, perceive animals and produce animal expressions. It seems that Chinese tend to generate more expressions from animal’s appearances, whereas the Germans more from animal’s habitats, such as the above mentioned snail-expressions. When examining in particular those animal expressions of the same metaphorical meanings but different vehicles, cultural difference can be exposed.

As many vehicles serve solely as intensifier in German animal expressions, while there are a good number of animal expressions with two or more vehicles in Mandarin Chinese (11.78%). To reveal syntactic and semantic nature of the languages in question could be a topic for further study.

Many animal expressions are proper names (e.g. Maus ‘mouse = the computer equipment mouse’) or technical terms (e.g. Elchtet ‘elk-test = dynamic test of the car stability’) but they are common for language users. We can analyze their syntactic structure or metaphoricality to see the principles of analogy (see Aitchison 1992: 40-).

Based on the field of “metaphorical tenor,” we can analyze the philosophies of life, aesthetic values, and modes of thinking of other peoples. Moon (1998: 163) points out that fixed expressions
usually include a connoted evaluation. In the course of the present study, it became clear that
animal expressions are a vocabulary of peoples’ values, because about 80% of them are used to
scorn or warn people, i.e., they convey values from different societies; for example, [stupid],
[worthless], [fast], [pretty] are the most salient animal concepts in those expressions, a dai1tou2e2
呆頭鵝 ‘stupid-head-goose = a man who is not aware of a woman’s flirt’ is considered “stupid” in
a Mandarin speaking society, while albernes Huhn ‘silly-chicken = a giggly woman’ stands for
“stupid woman” in Germany. Ren2sheng1bu4du2shu1, huo2zhebu4ru2zhu1 人生不讀書, 活著不如豬 ‘people-life-not-read-book, live-not-as-pig = people living in the world would be ignorant if
they do not study’ is thought to be “worthless” in a Mandarin-speaking society. Furthermore,
together with the field “frequency,” we can compare newly generated animal expressions and
old-society animal expressions to observe the change of social structures.
Chapter 8. Bird-species and Their Conceptions

Chapter 8. Bird-species and Their Embodiment in Language*

The bird, as one species of animal, has its role in language too. Different kinds of birds seem to be used for different occasions. Some bird names are symbols of luck while others are symbols of doom. In this chapter, we will examine the fixed expressions that contain the names of birds in Mandarin Chinese and German. We will find different bird names and their embodiment in language.

8.1. Introduction

Animal fixed expressions may have various origins; however, they share, at least partially, the same conceptual basis, as can be seen from the previous chapter. This chapter deals further with the concepts of animal expressions and focuses on expressions containing bird-species in Mandarin Chinese and German. We hope to reveal metaphorical vehicles and a metaphorical sense of each bird-species expression discussed.

The fixed expressions of birds often reflect the relationship between humans and birds. According to Riegler (1907: viii), the analysis of the fixed expressions of birds may provide a significant contribution to the understanding of the psychology of nations from the metaphorical and phraseological usages of animal names for the mental relationships between humans and animals. This semantic change can be made transparent by means of the radial prototypical structure. Prototype theories, investigated by Rosch (1973), have given some reason to suppose that many natural lexical category structures are graded, i.e., they have prototypical members that are considered to be “better fit” the category than other examples. For instance, robins are generally viewed as better examples of the category “bird” than, say, penguins. The same with the semantic features, as some of them, such the ability to fly and to sing, are regarded to be in the center, and the ability to steal, are closer to the periphery of the radial structure. And the very periphery, its outer

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17 The original German text in Riegler (1907: viii) is “Untersuchungen über Tiermetaphern der Völkerpsychologie einen nicht unwesentlichen Dienst erweisen, indem nämlich aus der metaphorischen und phraseologischen Verwertung von Tiernamen sich ein Schluß ziehen läßt auf das gemütliche Verhältnis des Menschen zum Tiere.”
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

layers comprise the features, which are ascribed to the birds in many set-expressions. Then categories can be understood to have central and peripheral members, and not just be evaluated in terms of members and non-members.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) described how fixed expressions spread from a prototypical sense to a variety of subsequent specific senses along with the radial form. This is the case for the fixed expressions of birds as well. The extended senses do not necessarily cohere, because they are derivatives of different features of the animal. The concept of the radial structure corresponds to the various metaphoric senses of the bird’s name, i.e., the vehicle.

The conceptual basis of each expression of bird will be specified. This implies a set of conceptual metaphors. Each bird-expression can then be mapped onto these conceptual metaphors. Of course, some of the fixed expressions may be mapped onto several conceptual metaphors. The general rule is that a conceptual metaphor is defined as long as there are at least three fixed expressions mapping onto it. Based on the analysis of the metaphorical sense and of the semantic features of the bird expressions, the conclusion of their related conceptual metaphor will follow.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: (1) introduction, (2) metaphorical concepts of birds, and (3) conclusion.

8.2. Metaphorical Concepts of Birds

The birds discussed here include the eagle, magpie, duck or mandarin duck, owl, goose, wild goose, vulture, cock, chicken, Zhen, screech owl, crane, cuckoo, nightingale, parrot, peacock, oriole, turkey, raven, crow, roc, reed bunting, swallow, swan, swan goose, sparrow, woodpecker, sparrow hawk, stork, pigeon, and ostrich.

8.2.1. In Mandarin Chinese

Human languages pay as much attention to birds as they do to domestic animals. Brinkmann (1878: 513) reports that while there are only relatively few fixed expressions related to animals that are not in a close relationship with humans, the number and importance of fixed expressions related to fowl is quite comparable to that of other domestic animals.¹⁸ Metaphorical and interpretations of HUMAN IS ANIMAL construct and reproduce ideologies and justify or reproduce certain behaviors (Fairclough, 1989, Gibbs 1999a). In Goatly’s

¹⁸ The original German text in Brinkmann (1878: 513) is: “Während von den übrigen, dem Menschen ferner stehenden Tieren nur verhältnismäßig wenige Mn und Sprichwörter gebildet worden sind, reihen sich die auf das Hausgeflügel bezüglichen an Zahl und Wichtigkeit würdig den Namen der bisher behandelten Haustiere an.”
(2006: 24) view, “We are not simply programmed by our animal inheritance to participate in an aggressive struggle for existence, but are weighted towards symbiotic co-operation, not only between ourselves and others in society, but between ourselves and the rest of the living and non-living universe”. That is to say, neo-Darwinians theories, concentrating on competition and struggle, cannot explain the human behavior which is much more complicated and needs certain theory to explain it.

The underlying conceit of most bird expressions focuses on the aptitude of birds for singing and flying.19 Humans have always desired to fly. This coined the following fixed expressions: bu2yi4er2fei1 不翼而飛 ‘no-wing-and-fly = has got lost,’ cha2chi4nan1fei1 鸟瞰飛 ‘stick-wing-hard-fly = hard to escape’ and yu3hua44cheng2xian1 羽化成仙 ‘feather-change-become-god = to pass away [in Taoism].’ A restricted person is compared to birds being kept in a cage as the fixed expression long2zhong1niao3 龜中鳥 ‘cage-inside-bird = to be not free; a restricted person’ or just the other way fang4chu1long2zideniao3 放出籠子的鳥 ‘put-out-cage-of-bird = to be free; a liberated person.’

Some of the fixed expressions refer to the twittering of the birds or generally to the bird’s singing, such as huang2ying1chu1gu3 黃鸚谷 ‘yellow-oriole-out-valley = very nice singing,’ ying1ge1yan4wu3 聞歌燕舞 ‘oriole-sing-swallow-dance = a scenery full of prosperous life; a springtime landscape,’ ying1wu3xue2she2 鳥語學舌 ‘parrot-learn-tongue = to parrot something,’ wu1ya1zui3 鳥嘴 ‘raven-beak = auguring badly; misfortune’ and jin1ji1bao4xiao3 金雞報曉 ‘gold-rooster-announce-dawn = the cockcrow announces the daybreak.’ Coghlan (2007) says that the “language gene” is essentially important for many animals, not just humans. Just like human beings, birds have problems communicating when their language gene is not functioning as it should, showing that it is crucial for everyday activity.

Nevertheless, “bird” is the most common concept in the Mandarin Chinese speaker’s mind, which is revealed by the conceptual metaphor (1) below. The bird stands for gain in human-animal relations. “Bird” is the underlying conceit.

(1). The bird stands for gain
   yi4shi2liang2niao3 一石兩鳥 ‘one-stone-two-bird = to kill two birds with one stone’;
   shi2niao3zai4shu4 bu4ru2yi4niao3zai4shou3 十鳥在樹 不如一鳥在手
   ‘ten-bird-in-tree-not-like-one-bird-in-hand = a bird in hand is worth two in the bush’;
   niao3jin4gong1cang2 鳥盡弓彎 ‘bird-end-bow-hide = now that he’s not needed any more, he can just go’

19 “Rooster’s” origin, ultimately from the Old English *hrost*, is self-evident, referring to the bird’s habit of perching on the high spars or rafters of a house (Rawson 2006).
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

On the other hand, a feature of fixed expressions is [+loving couple; +lovers] as in 

\textit{fu\textsubscript{1}qi\textsubscript{1}ben\textsubscript{3}shi\textsubscript{4}tong\textsubscript{2}lin\textsubscript{2}niao\textsubscript{3}} ‘husband-wife-naturally-are-same-forest-bird = a married couple belong together,’ \textit{bi\textsubscript{3}yi\textsubscript{4}niao\textsubscript{3}} ‘pair-wing-bird = the symbol of the marital bond’ and \textit{jian\textsubscript{1}die\textsubscript{2}qing\textsubscript{2}shen\textsubscript{1}} ‘jian-flounder-love-deep = a very tender loving couple.’

The \textit{jian} is a legendary bird in China. A jian bird has only one wing. It is also called \textit{bi\textsubscript{3}yi\textsubscript{4}niao\textsubscript{3}} ‘pair-wing-bird,’ because jian birds have to depend on another’s wing to fly, and then they fly by synchronously flapping their wings. To fly, they have to be couples. \textit{Die}, the flounder, looks like a half fish. Therefore, in Chinese legend, \textit{die} is also called \textit{bi\textsubscript{3}yi\textsubscript{4}niao\textsubscript{3}} ‘pair-eye-fish’ because it has to depend on another’s eye to see.

One metaphorical sense of \textit{bird} is [penis], as in \textit{xiao\textsubscript{3}niao\textsubscript{3}} ‘small-bird = small penis,’ \textit{xiao\textsubscript{3}ji\textsubscript{1}ji\textsubscript{1}} ‘small-chick-chick = small penis’ and \textit{niao\textsubscript{3}ren\textsubscript{2}} ‘bird-man = a silly man.’ According to Guo (1994: 46), \textit{niao\textsubscript{3}ren\textsubscript{2}} originally is a curse from the novel \textit{Shuihuzhuan} (The Robbers from Liangshan-Moor). “鳥” is pronounced as \textit{dia\textsubscript{3}o\textsubscript{3}}, a homonym of \textit{dia\textsubscript{3}o\textsubscript{3}} ‘penis.’ The homonyms pave the way for this semantic development as an abuse and to the meaning of “a silly, unpleasant person.”

\textbf{Duck, mandarin duck}

The features of the duck are [+loquacious] and [+waddling]. The Mandarin \textit{ya\textsubscript{1}dan\textsubscript{4}} ‘duck egg’ means “unsatisfactory grade.” In order to understand this sense one should know that in Taiwan the number “0” stands for the grade “unsatisfactory.” The higher the number the better the grade, the opposite of the German grading system, in which “1” is better than “2”. For the Chinese the Arabic cipher “0” looks like a duck egg, and that in turn is bigger than a chicken egg and is therefore ironically adopted to tease a disappointing performance in school.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{yuan\textsubscript{1}yang\textsubscript{1}} ‘mandarin duck = a happy married couple’;
\item \textit{luan\textsubscript{4}dian\textsubscript{3}yuan\textsubscript{1}yang\textsubscript{1}pu\textsubscript{3}} ‘confused-point-mandarin duck-notation = to aimlessly choose a mandarin duck and a mandarin drake; to bring together two not fitting persons’;
\item \textit{zhi\textsubscript{3}xian\textsubscript{4}yuan\textsubscript{1}yang\textsubscript{1}bu\textsubscript{2}xian\textsubscript{4}xian\textsubscript{1}} ‘only-even-mandarin duck-not-envy-god = the mandarin duck couple does deserve it and not the immortals; love is much more important than immortality’;
\item \textit{yuan\textsubscript{1}yang\textsubscript{1}hu\textsubscript{2}die\textsubscript{2}meng\textsubscript{4}} ‘mandarin duck-butterfly-dream = a dream of mandarin ducks and about butterflies; a dream of love’
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Diao\textsubscript{3}ren\textsubscript{2}} ‘bird-man = arsehole; bastard’ is usually pronounced as \textit{niao\textsubscript{3}ren\textsubscript{2}} by native speakers of Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan.
Chapter 8. Bird-species and Their Conceptions

In addition, there are Mandarin duck-fixed expressions in Mandarin. Because Mandarin duck couples stay together for life and never change partners, these metaphors stand for wedded bliss, for love, or for a happy couple, as shown in (2).

**Geese, wild goose, swan**

The typical features of the Mandarin goose are [+wobbly, +shaky] and [+silly]. Wild goose fixed expressions are e.g.,  

\[\text{chen2yu2luo4yan4} \quad \text{沈魚落雁 'sink-fish-fall-goose = a woman of such a beauty that the fish hides his ugliness in the ground and the wild goose falls down for shame'}\]  

and \[\text{yu2yan4wang3fan4} \quad \text{'fish-wild goose-go-back = incoming and outgoing of letters.'}\]

In the Chinese view, the swan is beautiful and elegant. This maps into the fixed expression  

\[\text{lai4ha2ma2xiang3chi1tian1e2rou4} \quad \text{違う離想吃天鹅肉 'toad-want-eat-swan-flesh = to desire something one does not deserve.'}\]

The conceptual metaphor in (3) shows the polysemy of ‘swan’: it can mean ‘greatness’ or ‘magnitude’.

\[\text{(3). Swan stands for 'greatness' or 'magnitude'}\]

\[\text{hong2fu2} \quad \text{鴻福 'swan goose-happiness = great luck'}; \text{hong2ye4} \quad \text{鴻業 'swan goose-business = great business'}; \text{hong2yun4} \quad \text{鴻運 'swan goose-happiness = huge happiness'}; \text{hong2bo2} \quad \text{鴻博 'swan goose-wide = large and wide'}; \text{hong2en1} \quad \text{鴻恩 'swan goose-mercy = great mercy'}\]

**Crane, swan goose, Pirol, sparrow, swallow**

The crane-fixed expressions are based on traditional Chinese cultural concepts. The crane’s outer appearance, such as the snow-white feathers, was associated with Taoist mysticism and resulted in a positive metaphoric sense like [+calm], [+bringing fortune], [+long-lived], and [+pure, +clean] as in  

\[\text{xian2yun2ye3he4} \quad \text{閒雲野鶴 'idle-cloud-wild-crane = calm and independent'}; \text{mei2qi1he4zi3} \quad \text{梅妻鹤子 'plum-wife-crane-son = a calm and secluded life'}; \text{he4fu3tong2yan2} \quad \text{鶴發童顏 'crane-hair-child-face = healthy despite the high age; old but sprightly and in good shape.'}\]

Various concepts as shown in examples (4) The crane stands for calmness and (5) The crane stands for isolation aroused by different context.

\[\text{(4). The crane stands for calmness} \]

\[\text{gu1yun2ye3he4} \quad \text{孤雲野鶴 'alone-cloud-wild crane = isolated and calm'}; \text{xian2yun2ye3he4} \quad \text{閒雲野鶴 'idle-cloud-wild-crane = calm and independent'}; \text{miao3ru2huang2ye3} \quad \text{苗如黃鶴 'disappear-like-yellow-crane = to vanish without a trace'}\]

\[\text{(5). The crane stands for isolation} \]

153
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

*gu1yun2ye3he4* 孤雲野鶴 ‘alone-cloud-wild crane = isolated and calm’;
*xian2yun2ye3he4* 閒雲野鶴 ‘idle-cloud-wild-crane = calm and independent’;
*miao3ru2huang2he4* 鳥如鶴鶴 ‘disappear-like-yellow-crane = to vanish without a trace’

*Ying1ying1yan4yan4* 燕燕 ‘oriole-oriole-swallow-swallow = a bevy of young girls’ and
*ying1ge1yan4wu3* 燕鳴鶯舞 ‘oriole-sing-swallow-dance = a scenery full of prosperous life; a springtime landscape.’ The oriole is called the bird of joy and music because of its wonderful singing. A *liu2ying1* 隨鳴 ‘moving-oriole = oriole moving around’ is a prostitute as acted by girl-singers in the old days.

*Yan4* 燕 ‘swallow’ appears typically as a woman [+small, lightweight, thin]. The following fixed expressions are obvious: *huan2fei2yan4shou4* 環肥燕瘦 ‘ring-fat-swallow-thin = fat as the beauty Yang Yuhuang and thin as the beauty Zhao Feiyan; every woman does have her specific appeal and charm.’ It can indicate one part of the couple, such as in the following examples *lao2yan4fen1fei1* 勞燕分飛 ‘tired-swallow-separate-fly = to fly away like birds in different directions; to part.’ The feature [+pleasure, +joy] can be found in swallow and sparrow: *yan4hao3* 燕好 ‘swallow-good = to have sexual intercourse,’ *xin1hun1yan4er3* 新婚燕語 ‘new-marriage-swallow-er = happy like a just married couple; just married’ and *que4yue4* 燕躍 ‘sparrow-jump = jump around for happiness like a sparrow.’

In addition, the *swan goose* carries a polysemous sense [+big, +great]: *yan4que4an1zhi1 hong2hu2shi1zhi4* 鵝雀安知鴻鵰之志 ‘swallow-sparrows-how-know-swan goose-crane-thoughts = how could swallows and sparrows know how high the swan goose and crane can fly; different horizons, different thoughts.’ Also the bird *peng2* 鳳 ‘roc’ can stand for [+big, +great]: *peng2cheng2wan4li3* 鶴程萬里 ‘swan goose-journey-ten thousand-miles = like the bird roc flying 10000 miles; to face an excellent career.’

According to La Fountain-Stokes (2007) on birds and the cultural representation of homosexuality, research analyzes the lexical coincidence of the expression *queer duck* with terms in Spanish and Yiddish like *pato*, *pata*, and *feygele*. This comparative linguistic and cultural analysis helps us understand strategies of negotiation of divergent sexual and gender expression in diverse social contexts, and demonstrates the creative reappropriation and resemanticization of stigmatized terms.

**Magpie, raven, dove**

The singing of the magpie and of the raven attracted the people in a special way. Therefore a part of the Chinese name of the magpie is based on *xi3* 吉 ‘joy.’ On the contrary, the raven’s singing is not that nice; therefore, the saying *wu1yalzui3* 鳥宿啄 ‘raven’s beak = the messenger of bad luck’ was coined.
Chapter 8. Bird-species and Their Conceptions

Many fixed expressions reflect the color of the raven: 
hei1ya1ya1 黑 翠 翡 'black-raven-raven = jet-black; pitch-black,' wu1hei1 烏 黑 'raven-black = dark black; black like a raven’ and tian1xia4wu1ya1yi4ban1hei1 天下鴉一般黑 ‘heaven-under-raven-same-black = all ravens under heaven are the same black; at night all the cats are the same grey; bad people are everywhere the same.’ Some of the raven-fixed expressions emphasize the feature [+ugly], such as wu1ya1pei4feng4huang2 翠 鵞 輝 'raven-dating-phoenix = an ugly man dating a beautiful woman,' cai3feng4sui2ya1 彩鵞隨 'colorful-phoenix-follow-raven = a woman marries a man whose beauty and talent are not as good as hers; marry an unfavorable man'; and lao3ya1cha2li3chu1feng4huang2 老鴉巢出鳳凰 'old-raven-nest-inside-out-phoenix = a phoenix came out of the old raven’s nest; a nice girl of common descent or background.'

The raven also expresses piety in Mandarin, as in ci2wu1fan3bu3 子孫 'kind-hearted-raven-back-feed; the ravens feed the old ones later = The children take care of their parents then.'

Zhen4 鴞 is a legendary bird with poisonous feathers. Several related expressions have been generated: 
yin3zhen4zhi3ke3 喝鴞止渴 'drink-poison-quech-thirst = to quench one’s thirst by drinking poison; to try to escape a misery using damaging means = robbing Peter to pay Paul,’
zhen4du2 鴞毒 'legendary bird with poisonous feathers = a poisoned wine or drink' and zhen4sha1 鴞殺 'to kill someone with a poisonous drink.'

Even though the dove symbolizes peace, there is no corresponding conceptual metaphor in Mandarin. Some fixed expressions of dove that are commonly used are: 
ge1zilong2 瞰子鏡 'dovecot' refers to a very small flat, and fang4ge1zi 放鴿子 'free-dove = to set the doves free' means to miss an appointment or to take someone along but to drop him off half way.

Eagle, ostrich, owl, peacock

The very attractive physical features of the eagle gave rise to the following fixed expressions:
ying1gou1bi2 覺鷹嘴 'eagle-hook-nose = hooked nose,' ying1yan3 覺鷹眼 'eagle eye,' ying1bi2yao4yan3 覺鷹銳眼 'eagle-nose-vulture-eyes = to look cunning and mean,' hu3shi4ying1lin2 虎視鷹眸 'tiger-lurks-eagle-watches = from above; to be surrounded by strong and greedy enemies.'

The beautiful peacock’s tail plays an important role in fixed expressions: 
kong3que4kai1 ping2 孔雀開屏 'peacock-spreads-tail = beautiful and bringing fortune; propitious', and que2ping2zhong4xuan3 雉屏中選 'peacock-tail-got-picked = to be selected among many good ones [son-in-law].’ The typical ostrich feature is [+frightened]: tuo2niao3xin1tai4 船鳥心態 'ostrich-thoughts = to ignore problems' and tuo2niao3zheng4ce4 駭鳥政策 'ostrich policy.' The expression ye4mao1zi 夜貓子 ‘night-cat = night owl’ shows the feature of owls that they are typically active at night. Liu (2004) explains the meaning of “knowing birds” advanced by Confucius himself in “to know more names of birds, beasts, and grasses and plants.” The annotations of Confucius’s “the watching of birds” and “the treating of birds with benevolence” are
investigated. The study reveals Confucius’s distinctive manner of imparting knowledge, demonstrating truth with the help of other matters.

**Phoenix**

(6). *Feng4huang2* stands for beauty

\[dan1feng4yan3\] (丹) 眼, ‘red-phoenix-eye = a form of eyes with raising corners; horizontal, long, elegant, and elegant eyes, which are like phoenixes’ eyes’; *feng4guan1* 鳳冠, ‘phoenix-crown = phoenix coronet [worn by empresses or imperial concubines and also as a bird’s headdress in feudal china]’;

\[long2feilfeng4wu3\] 龍飛鳳舞, ‘dragon-fly-phoenix-dance = like dragons flying and phoenixes dancing; lively and vigorous flourishes in calligraphy’;

\[cai3feng4sui2ya1\] 彩鳳隨鶯, ‘color-phoenix-follow-crow = a beautiful phoenix mated to a crow; a perfect woman married to a worthless man’;

\[wu1ya1peifeng4huang2\] 烏鶯配鳳凰, ‘crow-pair-phoenix = a raven dating a phoenix; an ugly man dating a beautiful/good woman’;

\[long2sheng1long2feng4sheng1feng4lao3shu3sheng1de’er2zi’hui4da3dong4\] 龍生龍 凤生鳳, 老鼠生的兒子會打洞, ‘dragon-bear-dragon phoenix-bear-phoenix mouse-bear-de-son-zi-can-dig-hole = dragons give birth to dragons, phoenixes to phoenixes; like father like son’

(7). *Feng4huang2* stands for propitiation

\[luan2feng4he2ming2\] 鳳和鳴, ‘female phoenix-male phoenix-harmony-sound = be blessed with conjugal felicity; be a happy couple’;

\[long2feng4cheng2xiang2\] 龍鳳呈祥, ‘dragon-phoenix-present-auspicious = prosperity brought by the dragon and the phoenix; in extremely good fortune’;

\[long2feng4pei4\] 龍鳳配, ‘dragon-phoenix-match = union of a dragon and a phoenix; a perfect match’;

\[wei1feng4xiang2lin2\] 威鳳祥麟, ‘powerful-phoenix-auspicious-qilin = phoenixes with awe-inspiring bearing, and auspicious unicorns, in ancient times, both phoenixes and unicorns were mascots, and appeared only when the world was at peace’

The Chinese *feng4* 鳳, or *feng4huang2* 凤凰, has nothing in common with the German or European phoenix, except that they are all mythical creatures. In *Hanshiwaizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (outer comment on “Book of Songs” by Han Ying) the following description of *feng4huang2* is given: head like that of a swan, neck like that of a snake, tail like that of a fish, scale like that of a dragon, body like that of a turtle, chin like that of a swallow and bill like that of a rooster (Xue 1993:
Chapter 8. Bird-species and Their Conceptions

12). In general fenghuang represents a divine bird. Fenghuang is the female supplement to long. In former times, long was the symbol of the emperor, while fenghuang the symbol of the empress. According to Eberhard (1983: 63), Dragon and phoenix embody the male and the female nature and they are the symbol of the married couple.

In most cases, one must distinguish between feng, huang, and luan. Feng stands for male, and huang and luan stand for female; for example, fengqiuhuang ‘the male phoenix is courting the female one; a man is courting a woman’ and luanfenghe2ming ‘female phoenix-male phoenix-harmony-sound; be blessed with conjugal felicity; be a happy couple.’

As the examples in (6) Fenghuang stands for beauty and (7) Fenghuang stands for propitiation may illustrate, all fixed expressions related to fenghuang and to long ‘dragon’ have a positive meaning and are important in Chinese culture (see, e.g., Hsieh and Kirschner 2007).

The paddy rice cultivation mode used by ancient Chinese people living in the area of the southern Yangtze River gave rise to their belief in and cult of birds. The well-developed cultural system of belief in birds put together by evolutions of the belief “penetrated into nearly all areas of Chinese people’s material and spiritual life” (Chen 2003). Therefore, the research on the occurrence of Chinese belief in birds is necessary to reveal the origin of Chinese culture.

8.2.2. In German

Many German bird-expressions refer to flying. Riegl (1907: 11) says that whatever can fly is, for the folk, a bird. This concept has generated several fixed expressions: vogelfrei ‘bird-free = outlawed,’ sich frei wie ein Vogel fühlen ‘to feel free like a bird = to feel really free,’ jemanden für vogelfrei erklären ‘to declare someone bird-free = outlawed’; silberner Vogel ‘silver bird = airplane’ etc. We found more fixed expressions based on [+flying], such as Vogelschau ‘bird-view =

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22 After the daughter of Qinmugong (659 BC – 621 BC) died, the fengnüci (phoenix-woman-temple) was built. Since that time feng has stood for female. Otherwise feng was referred to as a male creature in Zuozhuan (Comments on Chunqiu) and Ciyuan (The encyclopaedia Ciyuan).
23 The original German text is: “für das Volk ist eben alles Vogel, was fliegt.”
24 For the meaning of outlawed here: to be outside of regular treatment, not protected by law, can be killed by anybody. It also goes back to the custom of leaving those hanged on the gallows for birds like ravens to feast on.
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

Bird’s-eye view’ and Vogelperspektive ‘bird-perspective = Bird’s-eye view.’

The human-animal relations “birding” and “bird-hunting” derived the German fixed expressions: Lockvogel ‘bait bird = decoy,’ den Vogel abschießen ‘to hit the bird = to take the cake; to hit the target; to gain the best profit’ and der Vogel ist ins Garn / auf den Leim gegangen ‘the bird has gone in the yarn/on the glue = the prey is being taken in (fooled) by the bait.’ The features [+target] and [+goal] have generated bird-fixed expressions such as den Vogel abschießen ‘the-bird-shoot = to hit the bird; to take the cake.’ We see that such underlying conceit (“birding” and “bird-hunting”) to birds are important in generating fixed expressions. The underlying conceit is an essential issue for investigating the embodiment of animal and plant fixed expressions and will be discussed in the following chapters.

In the fixed expression Ich habe ein Vögelchen davon singen hören ‘I heard a bird singing about it: “a little bird told me’,” the bird is a messenger. It was believed that some birds might give secret messages to congenial people. Riegler (1907: 95) opines that some fixed expressions date back to ancient pagan ideas that birds are messengers of superhuman wisdom. Birds, especially ravens, cranes, and owls, were important in Greek and German mythology. Even today they are believed to possess divine skills.

In the 19th century and for several hundred years before that, people believed that mental derangement was caused by demonic possession. Riegler (1907: 101) explains that the fixed expression Vogel haben ‘to have a bird = to have a screw loose’ compares someone’s confusing thoughts to a to-and-fro flying bird. The German saying ‘Bei dir piepst’s wohl? ‘it’s chirping in your head = you must be off your rocker’ shares the same concept (Röhrich 1991: 1679). Some other metaphorical vehicles are also used in this sense, for example, Mäuse im Kopf haben ‘mice-in-head-have = to have mice in ones head; being mad,’ Grillen im Kopf haben ‘crickets-in-head-have = to have crickets in ones head; to be full of silly ideas,’ einen Hirnwurm haben ‘to have a brain worm,’ einen Käfer haben ‘a-beetle-have = to be strange or drunk,’ Das ist eine Motte ‘this-is-a-moth = that’s funny,’ Fliege im Kopf ‘a fly in ones head’ or eine Mücke im Kopf ‘mosquito in ones head.’

A Vögelchen ‘little bird’ is an endearment for a woman and can be used for a child too. Animal-name terms of endearment are widely used in German but not found in Mandarin Chinese. These endearments reveal cultural features of their respective languages (see, e.g., Hsieh 2006).

The earliest record of the colloquial usage of vögeln ‘to bird = to screw; to have sex’ is in

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25 The original German text (Riegler 1907: 95) is: “Als ein Rest alter heidnischer Vorstellungen sind diejenigen Man zu betrachten, in denen der Vogel als Verkünder übermenschlicher Weisheit erscheint. Man denke an Vögel wie den Raben, den Kranich, die Eule, die in der römischen wie germanischen Mythologie eine wichtige Rolle spielten und denen zum Teil noch heute vom Volksglau ben divinatorische Fähigkeiten zugeschrieben werden.”
Middle German. Originally *vögeln* was used only for the coition of birds. Röhricht (1991: 1681) states that a bird or a bird’s beak denotes a penis in vulgar language.

On the other hand, a bird can stand for comic in German, as the examples in (8) show.

(8). The bird stands for something or someone comic

  *ein komischer Vogel* ‘a comic bird’; *ein lustiger Vogel* ‘a funny bird = is good for a laugh’;  *ein schräger Vogel* ‘an askew bird’; *ein seltener Vogel* ‘a rare bird’

Similarly, a *bird* with an adjective modifier often stands for someone in German: *komischer Vogel* ‘comic bird = odd character,’ *seltener Vogel* ‘rare bird = rare person,’ *lockerer / loser Vogel* ‘loose bird = loose person,’ *schräger Vogel* ‘askew bird = askew person,’ *lustiger Vogel* ‘funny bird = good for a laugh,’ *Spaßvogel* ‘jesting bird = jester; comedian,’ *Pechvogel* ‘bad luck bird = unlucky person,’ *Glücksvogel* ‘lucky bird = lucky person.’

**Goose, swan**

The fixed expressions *Gänsehaut* ‘goose-skin = goose bumps’ and *Gänsefüßchen* ‘goose-feet = quotation marks’ reflect the outward appearance of the goose. The characteristic behavior of a goose is coined as *Gänsemarsch* ‘goose-march = in single (American Indian) file’ and *wie eine Gans schnattern gehen* ‘to cackle like a goose = to talk much and senseless.’ Most of the fixed expressions refer to “silly.” The jesting term *Gänsewein* ‘goose-wine’ is for simple water.

The origins of most of the fixed expressions cannot be identified. Many are fixed expressions based on quotations of famous persons or works of literature. In this context, classical Chinese works, the Bible, and Buddhist and Hindu sutra are important. There may be a close connection between fixed expressions and their corresponding animals, especially in cases of so-called direct derivations (see Hsieh 2001) which do reflect the human way of perceiving and assessing animal behavior. On the other hand, there is a category of fixed expressions that do not deal with animals at all but are based on folk etymology or they are simply homonyms. They are arbitrary inventions. There is a special category of fixed expressions going back to customs, faith, belief, superstition, and technical terms.

(9). The goose stands for stupidity

  *dumme Gans* ‘silly goose’; *Gänsehaut* ‘silly goose’; *dumme Gans* ‘little goose = inexperienced girl’; *gänsehaft* ‘goose-like’; *gänzig* ‘goose-like = silly’; *Gänsekopf* ‘goose-head = silly person’;
  *schielen wie die Gans, wenn’s donnert* ‘to look like a goose frightened by thunderstorm’;
  *ein Gesicht machen wie die Gans, wenn es donnert* ‘a-face-make-like-the-goose-when-it-thunder = to make faces like a goose frightened by a thunderstorm; to pull nonplussed faces’
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

(10). The swan stands for presentiment

Mein lieber Schwan! ‘my dear swan = blimey!; something wrong may (have)
happen(ed)’; mir schwant nichts Gutes ‘a swan tells me something awful is going to
happened’; mir wachsen Schwansfedern ‘I got swan feathers = got bad feeling’;
Schwanenlied ‘swan song’; schwanen ‘swan[verb] = augur’; Schwanengesang ‘swan
song = last (very sad one) song’

The fixed expressions Schwanenhals ‘swan-neck,’ Schwanenhalslampe ‘swan-neck-lamp’
and Schwanenweiss ‘swan-whiteness’ reflect the outward appearance of a swan. In addition, the
conceptual metaphor (10) The swan stands for presentiment is of special interest. Röhrich (1991:
1429) found several explanations for it: J. Grimm explained it by the ancient German belief. S.
Singer recalls the antique legend about the “swan song[This needs to be stated. As it stands here, it
means nothing to me.” A. Lindquist believes that according to a mistake in the word separation in
Middle Lower German “es wanet mir” turned to “swanet mir.”

Duck

In German (and in Mandarin Chinese) the semantic features of a duck are: [+waddling,
loquacious], for example, schnattern wie eine Ente ‘to cackle like a duck,’ lahme Ente ‘lame duck’,
and wie eine Ente watscheln ‘waddling like a duck.’

Zeitungsentle ‘newspaper-duck = canard; hoax; false news’ may go back to Luther’s (III, 282)
blaue Ente ‘blue duck’ as Brinkmann (1878: 561) suggested.

Eagle, falcon, vulture

The eagle is the heraldic animal of Germany. Its role among the birds is similar to that of the
lion among mammals. This influences how it is embodied in German (Riegler 1907: 106).
Adlerauge ‘eagle eye’ and Adlerblick ‘eagle look’ refer to its big eyes and keen eyesight. Adlernase
‘eagle-nose’ describes its hooked nose. The fixed expressions frei wie ein Adler ‘free as an eagle,’
stolz wie ein Adler ‘proud as an eagle’ and Adler und Bär ‘the eagle and the bear’ reflect the
eagle-associated features [+freedom], [+pride], and [+power].

Drosdowski and Scholze-Stubenrecht (1992: 483) consider the fixed expression sich mausig
machen ‘to behave as if in molt = to get cheeky or fresh’ is an observation about when a falcon
behaves aggressively and vigorously in its molting period. Riegler (1907: 94) believes Friß, Vogel,
oder stirb ‘devour bird or die = sink or swim’ has the underlying conceit from the training methods
of falconry.

There are two conceptual metaphors for the vulture, as shown in (11) and (12).

26 See Storfer (1935: 99-104) for interesting research on Zeitungsentle.
Chapter 8. Bird-species and Their Conceptions

(11). The vulture stands for greed

*Geierblick* ‘Vulture-look = greedy look’; *Geiergriff* ‘vulture-caught = no escape’; *gierig wie ein Geier* ‘greedy as a vulture’; *wie ein Geier* ‘like a vulture = greedy’

(12). The vulture stands for the devil

*Weiß der Geier* ‘the vulture knows = nobody knows; God knows’; *Geh’ zum Geier* ‘go to the vulture = go to the devil; go to hell’; *Hol’ dich der Geier* ‘to the vulture with it = to hell with it’

*Sparrow, swallow, raven*

The conceptual metaphor for the sparrow (13) reflects for Germans its small stature. A traditional kind of noodles in Swabia (southern Germany) is called *Spätzle* ‘little sparrows’. Drosdowski (1997: 688) says the original name in the 18th century was “Wasser-Spatzen ‘water-sparrows.”’ The same concept of sparrow can be found in *essen wie ein Spatz* ‘eat like a sparrow = very little’ and *Pferdearbeit und Spatzenfutter* ‘horse-work and sparrow-fodder = work hard and eat little’, which is based on the behavior and nature of sparrows: they eat only small amounts of food.

(13). The sparrow stands for minuteness

*Besser ein Spatz in der Hand als eine Taube auf dem Dach* ‘a sparrow in the hand is better than a dove on the roof = a bird in hand is worth two in the bush’; *kranker Spatz* ‘ill sparrow = ill or helpless kid’; *mit Kanonen nach/auf Spatzen schießen* ‘to shoot sparrows with cannons = to break a butterfly on the wheel’

(14). The raven stands for blackness

*ein weißer Rabe* ‘a white raven = a big exception’; *Rabenhaar* ‘raven hair = jet-black, very black hair’; *Rabennacht* ‘raven night = pitch-black, very dark night’; *rabenschwarz* ‘raven black; black like a raven’; *schwarz wie ein Rabe* ‘a raven black day = black day’

The deep dark color of the raven gave rise to its conceptual metaphor (14). *Rabenstimme* ‘raven-voice’ goes back to the hoarse voice of a raven. Analogous to the Mandarin *wu1ya1zui3* ‘raven-beak = promising bad luck’ is the German term *Unglücksrabe* ‘misfortune raven = unlucky person,’ both used to mean someone “just born unlucky.”
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

*Rabeneltern* ‘Raven parents’ are unloving parents. Rieger (1907: 148) offers an explanation of its underlying conceit. This goes back to the raven’s behavior of raising its chicks. Ravens take care of their chicks until they are fledged and then throw them out of the nest.

When analyzing the application of fixed expressions in German and Mandarin Chinese, one can conclude that the various cultural differences do map well onto the fixed expressions. On the other hand, there are noticeably analogous fixed expressions in both languages. This may be because Germans and Chinese share views and assessments of the behavior and characteristics of some animals. Language transfer may contribute to this as well. It is likely that in the future, the number of analogous fixed expressions in both languages will increase as a result of increased communication supported by mass media, cultural contacts, etc.

**Stork, cuckoo**

German *Storch* ‘stork’ and *Kuckuck* ‘cuckoo’ have similar concept: they are both important in folk belief, and both may stand for exclamation. The *Storch* or *Klapperstorch* contains the feature [+deliver babies] (15) in fairy tales and in modern German. *Da brat’ mir einer einen Storch* ‘someone may bake a stork for me’ is used in a joking way to express surprise and astonishment. Krüger-Lorenzen (1996: 743) proposes that the underlying conceit dates back to when storks were holy animals. To this day, it is unusual to bake and eat a stork.

(15). The stork stands for the delivery of babies

*Der (Klapper)storch beißt jmdn. ins Bein* ‘The stork is biting someone’s leg = be pregnant’; *der Storch hat angerufen* ‘the stork just called = be pregnant’; *Der Storch hat dich gebracht* ‘You have been delivered by a stork’; *der Storch kommt bald (zu Müllers)* ‘The stork will be coming to the Müllers soon’

With respect to the appearance of a stork, the long thin legs and the way of walking map onto the fixed expressions *Storchenbein* ‘stork-legs = spindly; matchstick legs’ and *storch* ‘to walk like a stork; to stalk.’

The expression *Kuckucksei* ‘cuckoo-egg = a dubious gift’ and *ein Kuckucksei ins Nest legen* ‘to lay a cuckoo-egg in someone’s nest = to cause someone’s embarrassment’ have the underlying conceit based on the well known fact that the cuckoo lays its eggs in the nests of other species of bird. The fixed expressions *Kuckuck* ‘cuckoo! = hello!’ and *den Kuckuck nicht mehr rufen/schreien hören* ‘not to hear the cuckoo’s call anymore = to die’ remind us of the characteristic call of the cuckoo.

Braun et al. (1993: 740) suggest that this concept (16) may date back to the 16th century when the cuckoo was a euphemism for the devil. Riegel (1907: 125) reports that, in folk belief, the cuckoo, rooster, raven, and tawny owl all had the ability of prophecy.
Chapter 8. Bird-species and Their Conceptions

(16). The cuckoo stands for devil
\[ \text{an einem Ort / bei jmdm. ist der Kuckuck los = it's like all hell let loose there; } \]
\[ \text{Das mag der Kuckuck wissen = weiss der Geier (vulture, devil) knows about it = God knows!; der Kuckuck ist los; etwas ist zum Kuckuck = this is something for the cuckoo = too complicated for a human being; Hol' dich der Kuckuck = the cuckoo may pick you up = go to hell; Der Kuckuck soll dich holen = the-cuckoo-shall-you-take = go to hell; jmdn. zum Kuckuck schicken = someone to cuckoo-send = to send someone to the cuckoo; to send someone packing; jmdn. zum Kuckuck wünschen = someone to cuckoo-wish = to wish someone to the cuckoo; to wish someone very far away [to hell]; scher' dich / Geh' zum Kuckuck = go to cuckoo! = go to hell!; weiß der Kuckuck = the cuckoo knows = the devil knows; God knows!; Zum Kuckuck (noch mal) = to-cuckoo-(once-more) = damn it; blimey!}\]

Peacock, dove, owl

The dove-fixed expressions Friedenstaube ‘dove of peace,’ Taube und Falken ‘doves and falcons,’ sanft wie eine Taube ‘gentle as a dove’ and Täubchen ‘little dove = an endearment to a woman or child’ reflect the semantic features [+peaceful, +gentle]. The relationship between man and dove influenced the fixed expressions Taubenschlag ‘dovecote’ and Taubenpost ‘dove-letter post = done by carrier pigeons’ because the disorder of the small dovecote is associated with that of a person’s little room and the dove/pigeon was used to deliver messages.

In German, the typical owl features “sharp-sighted” and “nocturnal” map onto Augen wie eine Eule ‘eyes-like-an-owl = to have eyes like an owl and night owl,’ eulenäugig ‘owl-eyed = to have an excellent night eyesight’ and Nachteule ‘night owl = night owl.’ The feature [+ugly] influenced arbitrarily eine alte Eule ‘an-old-owl = an ugly old woman’ and wie eine Eule aussehen ‘like-an-owl-look = look like an owl; ugly.’ According to Drosdowski (1997: 166), Eulenspiegelei ‘owl-game’ originated from the trickster named Till Eulenspiegel.

Nevertheless, the most characteristic feature of the peacock is [+vain] as in (17).

(17). The peacock stands for vanity
\[ \text{einherstolzieren wie ein Pfau = strut or swagger like a peacock = show off; er ist ein Pfau = he is a peacock = he is proud and vain; sich spreizen wie ein Pfau = to give oneself airs [like a peacock]; stolz/etitel wie ein Pfau = be proud or vain like a peacock}\]

27 Such as Das ist hier der reinst Taubenschlag ‘it’s like in a dovecot here = it’s like Piccadilly Circus around here.’
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

Nightingale, parrot, ostrich

Both nightingale- and parrot-fixed expressions refer to their characteristic bird calls. The parrot-feature [+chattering/prattling/babbling] maps onto wie ein Papagei schwätzen/plappern ‘chatter or babble like a parrot,’ alles nachplappern wie ein Papagei ‘all-repeat-like-a-parrot = repeat everything like a parrot’ and papageienhaft ‘parroting = chattering like a parrot.’

The conceptual metaphor (18) refers to the nightingale’s singing, In this context, Was dem einen sein Uhl, ist dem anderen sein Nachtigall ‘what for the one an owl is, that is for the other a nightingale = What is an owl for somebody, may be a nightingale for someone else’, the nightingale stands for something valuable.

(18). The nightingale stands for a good singing voice
die Nachtigall singen lehren ‘to teach nightingales to sing = to do something useless’; Nachtigallenstimme ‘nightingale voice = beautiful voice’; wie eine Nachtigall singen ‘as-a-nightingale-sing = to sing like a nightingale’

The Vogel-Strauß-Politik ‘ostrich-policy = ostrichism’ ignores the real challenges and problems as the ostrich is supposed to hide its head in the sand when it encounters danger.

Many other German bird names yield fixed expressions that the Germans use in their daily life. However, they do not appear to convey conceptual metaphors. Such birds are: Pute ‘turkey,’ Rohrspatz ‘reed bunting,’ Specht ‘woodpecker,’ Krähe ‘crow,’ and Elster ‘magpie.’ Some of the fixed expressions are listed below.

Table 8.1. Some other bird fixed expressions in German

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Metaphors</th>
<th>Meanings &amp; Examples</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elster</td>
<td>eine diebische Elster</td>
<td>to steal as many as possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elster</td>
<td>Elsterauge</td>
<td>corn on the feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elster</td>
<td>geschwätzig wie eine Elster</td>
<td>a gossipy woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krähe</td>
<td>danach kräht kein Hahn mehr</td>
<td>the subject is not interesting any more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krähe</td>
<td>eine Krähe hackt der anderen kein Auge aus</td>
<td>one does not criticize another who has the same profession, for instance, a doctor usually does not blame another doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krähe</td>
<td>krählen</td>
<td>to scream loud and clear; to loudly announce something</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter 8. Bird-species and Their Conceptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bird</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>Krähe</td>
<td>Krähenfüße</td>
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<tr>
<td>Krähe</td>
<td>Krähennest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pute</td>
<td>dumme Pute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pute</td>
<td>puterrot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohrspatz</td>
<td>er schimpft wie ein Rohrspatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specht</td>
<td>Mauerspecht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specht</td>
<td>nicht schlecht, Herr Specht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specht</td>
<td>Schluckspecht</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Phoenix**

Unlike the *feng4huang2* in Mandarin Chinese, the German *Phönix* ‘phoenix’, just like *Drache* ‘dragon,’ is a minor figure in German bird fixed expressions. It is featured in only one common and frequently used fixed expression = *wie ein Phönix aus der Asche steigen / erstehen* ‘like-a-phoenix-from-the-ashes-rise = to rise like a phoenix from the ashes.’ According to Schulte (1997: 647), this saying goes back to ancient Greece and complies with the Greek notion of this legendary bird that burned itself at the Egyptian jubilees (every 500 or 1461 years) and then rose up from its ashes. It stands for the symbol of eternal renewal, immortality, and resurrection. So far the meaning of this fixed expression is “to rise again after a seemingly complete decline”. It expresses one aspect of the spirit of the Germans and is commonly used in daily life.
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

8.3. Conclusion of This Chapter

This chapter focuses on the metaphorical sense and metaphorical vehicles of the concept of bird species in Mandarin Chinese and German. The relationships between human beings and birds are usually expressed in the fixed expressions of birds, because one can understand the psychology of different peoples from the metaphoric and phraseological usage of their animal vehicles. On the other hand, the radial structure makes this semantic change more transparent. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) mentioned the way expressions spread from a prototypical sense to various specific senses along with the radial form. This also fits with the fixed expressions of birds. The examples of bird expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German clearly illustrate this notion.

Most bird expressions in Chinese are related to the bird’s abilities to sing and fly, as in the fixed expression huang2ying1chu1gu3 黃鶯出谷 ‘yellow-oriole-out-valley = very nice singing,’ and cha2chi4nan1fei1 施翅翻飛 ‘stick-wing-hard-fly = hard to escape’. However, with the underlying conceit of birding in human-animal relations, birds also denote the meaning of gain such as yi4shi2liang2niao3 一石兩鳥 ‘one-stone-two-bird = to kill two birds with one stone.’ In addition, the semantic feature of bird fixed expressions can be [+loving couple; +lovers], as in bi3yi4niao3 比翼鳥 ‘pair-wing-bird = the symbol of the marital bond’ which bi3yi4niao3 比翼鳥 ‘pair-wing-bird’ is also called jian, a bird that could fly only when another wing was synchronously flapping with it, which elicits the meaning of the division of labor between two lovers. Another metaphoric sense of birds is [+penis] as in xiao3niao3 小鳥 ‘small-bird = small penis’, with its origin as a curse in the novel Shuihuzhuan 水滸傳 (The Robbers from Liangshan-Moor). Other features of birds, such as the [+loquacious] and [+waddling] of ducks, the [+wobbly], [+shaky], and [+silly] of the Mandarin goose, and the [+silly], [+calm], [+bringing fortune], [+long-lived] and [+pure, +clean] of the crane are derived either from their unique characteristics or from their cultural concepts in Mandarin Chinese.

As in German, many bird expressions refer to [+flying] as in vogelfrei ‘bird-free = outlawed, and Vogelschau ‘bird-view = bird’s-eye view.’ Also, “bird watching” and “bird-hunting” as human-animal relations are found in German fixed expressions such as Lockvogel ‘bait bird = decoy.’ Moreover, the features [+target] and [+goal] generate bird expressions such as den Vogel abschießen ‘the-bird-shoot = to hit the bird; to take the cake.’ While many features and fixed expressions have different origins and different historical backgrounds, the underlying conceit is an essential issue for investigating the embodiment of animal names in language. There are also bird fixed expressions such as Ich habe ein Vögelchen davon singen hören ‘I heard a little bird singing about it,’ which denote the meaning of the bird as a messenger. This feature might originate from an ancient pagan idea (Riegler, 1907: 95). In another example, Rabeneltern ‘Raven parents’, which refers to unloving parents, the underlying conceit is relevant to how the raven raises its chicks.
There are various kinds of bird expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German. Some of the similarities and differences in these expressions in these two languages may be attributable to shared views of the characteristics of animals and cultural differences, respectively. Language transfer is also a probable source of similarity. In the future, the number of analogous fixed expressions may rise because of increased international and intercultural communication.
Chapter 9. Wild Animals and Their Embodiment in Language

And how about animals that live in the wild? Wild animal names also play a vivid role in human languages. Exactly what are the features and images of the wild animals? How do people have such impressions of them and derive so many fixed expressions with these animal names? What do people try to express with these animal vehicles? In this chapter, we focus on wild animal expressions and look into their function in human speech.

9.1. Introduction

Wierzbicka’s (1985) insight about animal terms will be taken as the theoretical framework for the study of this chapter. The significance that collocations, common sayings, endonyms, etc. are evidence for semantic structure was argued by the Russian linguist Apresjan (1992[1974]: 33, 35) who says “the folk picture of the world … reflects the material and spiritual experience of a people …. The task of the lexicographer … consists of discovering the native picture of the world hidden in lexical meanings and presenting it in a system of definitions.” The job of a linguist, in particular a lexicographer, must take the real world—nature, life form as well as human society—into consideration. Wierzbicka (1985) studied animal terms in the way of stating explication that contains many semantically complex words, for example, the explication of tiger in English is:

\[
\text{tigers =}
\]
\[
\text{a. a kind of animal}
\]
\[
\text{b. they live in the jungle}
\]
\[
\text{people keep some of them in special places (zoos)}
\]
\[
\text{so that people can go there to see them}
\]
\[
\text{c. they look like cats and they move like cats}
\]
\[
\text{but they are very much bigger than cats}
\]
\[
\text{d. they are yellowish with black stripes}
\]
\[
\text{they have big sharp claws and big sharp teeth}
\]

* The original version of the present chapter was published in *Journal of Southern Taiwan University of Technology*, 30:185-200, Tainan: Southern Taiwan University.
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

e. they kill and eat other animals and people
f. people think of them as fierce and powerful

people are afraid of them. (Wierzbicka 1985: 164)

In her analysis, the topmost component “animal” indicates that tiger is a life-form word derived from the animal tiger. Component (b) describes its habitat, (c) and (d) refer to its size and overall outer appearance, (e) says its characteristic behavior, and (f) specifies an animal-human relation. In a word, the meaning of an animal word in our mental lexicon contains the components from the animal’s nature, habitat, appearance, behavior and human-animal relation. We will therefore study our collected data from these angles. Wild animal names that will be examined in this chapter, including tiger, wolf, bear, monkey, bird, fish, worm and insect.

This chapter is organized as follows: (1) Introduction, (2) semantic functions of wild animal names in Mandarin Chinese and German, (3) discussion, and (4) conclusion.

9.2. Semantic Functions of Wild Animal Names in Mandarin Chinese and German

We will discuss most productive vehicles, first Mandarin Chinese and then German. The sections follow this order: tiger and wolf, bear and monkey, bird and fish, and last, worm and insect. It is to be remembered that an animal expression consists not only of one semantic component, therefore the same animal expression could appear and be discussed under several categories. Also, the metaphorical vehicles in German and Mandarin Chinese are not concurrent with each other, for example, whereas the Hecht ‘pike’ appears to be notable in German, there are no pike expressions found in Mandarin Chinese, thus, pike will be absent in the related section about Mandarin Chinese.

9.2.1. Tigers and Wolves

In Modern Chinese the tiger-expressions are just as frequent as the horse- and dog-expressions. According to Shuowen Jiezi (Classics of the Character Etymology), the tiger is the king of the animals. He was assigned with the features [+bold], [+strong] and [+big]. As the tiger is (1) STRONG and (2) BOLD, he is sometimes (3) DANGEROUS, (4) WICKED and (5) CRUEL as the following examples show. These are some of the concepts of the Mandarin vehicle tiger. The strength and the boldness of the tiger was applied to “military forces”: hu3jiang4 虎將 ‘tiger-general = a brave general’; jiang4men2hu3zi3 將門虎子 ‘general-door-tiger-son = a capable young man from a distinguished family’ and hu3ben1 虎實 ‘tiger-angry = bold fighter.’

(1). STRONG: hu3fu4wu2quan3zi3 虎父無犬子 ‘tiger-father-no-dog-son = there will be
Chapter 9. Wild Animals and Their Conceptions

no laggard among the children of or among the children of a brave or talented man’

(2). BOLD: hu3dan3 虎膽 ‘tiger-gut = to be very brave’

(3). DANGEROUS: lao3hu3pi4gu3mo1bu4de2 老虎屁股摸不得 ‘tiger-fart-thigh-stroke-not-get = like a tiger whose backside no one dares to touch’

(4). WICKED: xiao4mian4hu3 笑面虎 ‘smile-face-tiger = smiling tiger; an outwardly kind but inwardly cruel person’

(5). CRUEL: ke1zheng4meng3yu2hu3 較政猛於虎 ‘harsh-policy-fierce-than-tiger = tyranny is fiercer than a tiger’

(6). STRONG: stark wie ein Tiger ‘strong as a tiger’

(7). MALEVOLENT: lang2xin1gou3fei4 狼心狗肺 ‘wolf-heart-dog-lung = rapacious as a wolf and savage as a cur; cruel and unscrupulous’

(8). CRUEL: cai2li2hu3kou3you4ru4lang2wo1 才離虎口又入狼窩 ‘just-leave-tiger-mouth-again-in-wolf-den = to hardly get out of the tiger’s lair just to find himself among the wolves; jump out of the frying pan into the fire’

(9). GREEDY: wie ein Wolf runterschlingen ‘like a wolf to devour = to swallow like a wolf; to eat fast and without chewing’

(10). MALEVOLENT: der böse Wolf ‘the wicked wolf = wicked person’

People were afraid of the tiger, they avoided spelling his name and referred to it as da4chong2 大蟲 ‘the big worm’ or “the king of the mountains.” Wild animals are wild, strong and hard to be tamed, people dealt with them in a respectful manner. Consequently there are no tiger-expressions referring to the human-animal relations. This is a completely different situation from that of domestic animals. A great number of the domestic-animal expressions are generated from human-animal relations.

Many tiger-expressions are secular benedictions, for example, long2teng2hu3yu44 龍騰虎躍 ‘dragon-rise-tiger-leap = dragons rising and tigers leaping; a scene of bustling activity.’ However, there is semantic feature [+bringing misfortune], e.g., bai2hu3xing1 白虎星 ‘white-tiger-star = unlucky person; unlucky wife.’ This was merely an astronomic term, but an old superstition says that this is a wicked heavenly body. Since then bai2hu3xing1 also applies to a woman who is
accused of “causing” misery to her family. A similar sense, a spiteful or quarrelsome woman is called *mu3lao3hu3* ‘female-tiger = a tigress; a shrew.’ It is notable that *tiger* typically refers to male or neuter referents, only seldom to women. As soon as it applies to women, it stands for [+bringing misfortune] or [+quarrelsome]. This implies that in the Chinese society at least in the former times a strong woman was not a preferred attribute and that strength was not prototypically a feminine characteristic.

In contrary to Mandarin Chinese there are only few tiger-expressions in German, the example in (6) is one of them. It’s noticeable that there is no tiger in Europe and the Germans used to refer to tiger as “the Asian predator (*das asiatische Raubtier*).” The modern metaphor *Pack’ den Tiger in den Tank* ‘put the tiger in your tank’ expresses this concept. It goes back to the advertisement slogan of ESSO company in 1965. Another salient feature which refers to the tiger’s behavior is the [+hunt/roaming around for prey]. It was mapped onto the German verb *tigern* ‘to tiger = to mooch around the town.’ All these metaphorical sense of *tiger* are rather neutral or even positive in comparison with Storfer’s (1935: 370) statement that the animal tiger is assumed as an extraordinary dangerous creature. It is an example of cruelty and unrelenting belligerence. Our knowledge of animals and our cognitive model of animal expressions are often at different levels.

In Mandarin Chinese *wolf* stands for (7) MALEVOLENT and (8) CRUELTY. Besides, [+lecherous] is common with the examples: *se4lang2* ‘color-wolf = sexual maniac’ and *lang2wen3* ‘wolf-kiss = to be raped.’ This is an arbitrary feature of *wolf* assigned by the speakers.

According to *Ji2yun4* (集雨), the *bei1* is an animal of wolf genus. *Beis* have short front feet while wolves have short back feet, therefore they often collaborate by walking or working together. The blending of *wolf* and *bei* is highlighted in Mandarin Chinese: *lang2bei4wei2jian1* ‘wolf-bei-do-evil = act in collusion with each other,’ *lang2bei4* ‘wolf-bei = embarrassed; in a difficult position’ and *lang2bei4xiang4* ‘wolf-bei-face = a sorry face.’

The *wolf* in German stands for (9) GREED and (10) MALEVOLENT. Even the adjective *wölfisch* ‘wolfish = greedy, cruel’ was formed. No *wolf-hyena* relation is seen in German, but the combination of *wolf* and *sheep* gave raise to several animal expressions: *Wer sich zum Schaf macht, den fressen die Wölfe* ‘who acts like a sheep will be eaten by wolves’; *ein Wolf im Schafspelz* ‘the wolf in sheep’s skin = the wolf in sheep’s clothing’; *Der Wolf frißt auch von den gezählten Schafen* ‘the wolf devours even by the counted sheep = a wicked person dares a bad deed even if obvious.’ In reality the predator is after the sheep because sheep are simple prey. In the Bible and in fairy tales wolf and sheep do appear often side-by-side; their relationship represents the contrast between good versus evil or weak versus strong.
9.2.2. Bears and Monkeys

In Mandarin Chinese, several bear-expressions such as hu3bei4xiong2yao1 虎背熊腰 ‘tiger-back-bear-waist = backs like tigers and lions like bears; stalwart men’ and chi1lexiong2xin1 bao4zidan3 吃了熊心豹子膽 ‘eat-le-bear-heart-leopard-gall = to be bold and fearless’ refers to the bear features [+strong] and [+bold]. In the bear family, panda’s outer attributes, such as its black rings under the eyes, show up. Mao1xiong2 猫熊 ‘cat-bear = a panda’ is created to jest someone who has black eyes from lacking sleep or being hurt.

The bear in German has the similar metaphorical meaning but is more diversified as shown in (11), (12), (13) and (14). Brinkmann (1878: 294) comments that in the languages the concept of “big” mutates easily into that of “coarse, rough and ugly” and the concept of “small” into that of “fine and dainty.” The bear-expressions, the mouse-expressions and so on confirm this viewpoint.

(11). COARSENESS: ein ungeleckter Bär ‘a un-licked bear = a rude bloke’

(12). POWER: stark wie ein Bär ‘as strong as a bear’

(13). MEN: Knuddelbär ‘hug-bear = pet name for a male’

(14). INTENSIFIER: Bärenkälte ‘bear-cold = very cold’

(15). TOMFOOLERY: jemanden zum Affen halten ‘to consider someone being a monkey = to fool someone’

(16). INTENSIFIER: Affengeduld ‘monkey-patience = great patience’

In German, Panda is a synonym of China because China is where pandas origin of. Feuchtmayer (1986: 518) speculates that the name of the city “Berlin” is developed from the animal name Bären ‘bears’ by phonetic adoption. Bärchen ‘little bear’ and Knuddelbär ‘hug-bear = pet name for a male’ are terms of endearment for men.

The appearance and behavior of monkeys are highlighted in Mandarin Chinese, The examples observed from the appearance are: hou2zibu4zhi1pi4gu3hong2 猴子不知屁股紅 ‘monkey-not-know-buttock-red = people usually cannot be conscious of their own mistakes, as cattle cannot be conscious of its own powerful strength,’ shou4pi2hou2 瘦皮猴 ‘thin-skin-monkey = a bag of bones’ and jian1zui3hou2sai1 狼嘴猴腮 ‘sharp-mouth-monkey-cheek = to have biting mouths and narrow cheeks; people having gaunt cheeks as ugly as monkeys.’ Hou2ji2 猴急 ‘monkey-rush = to be very impatient’ and xiao3hou2zi 小猴子 ‘little-monkey-zi = a young and small monkey; an energetic but naughty little boy’ picture monkey’s jumpy behavior. Also the
loanword *de2hou2* 得猴 ‘get-monkey = to condemn someone who is restless or discontented with his lot’ from Taiwanese has the underlying conceit that monkey’s seem impatient or rushed. The animal expressions such as *de2hou2* 得猴 ‘get-monkey = to condemn someone who is restless or discontented with his lot,’ *xiong2xiong2* 熊熊 ‘bear-bear = suddenly,’ *ji1po2* 雞婆 ‘chicken-aunt = to be nosy,’ *zhu1long2* 抓龍 ‘catch-dragon = massage’ and so on are intradialectally motivated innovations. They are the results of language contact between Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese. Take *ji1po2* as an example. *Ji1po2* is a phonetic translation from the Taiwanese *kepo5* (someone who likes to take care of something which is not his business), a frequent usage in newspapers and in spoken Mandarin Chinese. The linguists believe that *ji1po2* 雞婆 should be written as *jia1po2* 蒼婆, but the mass media persist the orthography *ji1po2* 雞婆. The Chinese character *ji1* 雞 ‘chicken’ is used here probably because the semantic feature [+talkative] of the chicken does fit to the sense “smart-alecky, saucy, brassy.” Homonyms play a key role as the words are loaned. 28 Sometimes a transliteration can be so widely used that it becomes a morphological root undergone grammaticalization. 29

Among the German animal expressions, the concept (15) TOMFOOLERY and (16) INTENSIFIER are of special interest. Many monkey-expressions in German express these two concepts. *Affenliebe* ‘monkey love = doting affection’ refers to a blind, exaggerated parent love. Riegler (1907: 6) explains the conceit is that the monkey mother hugs her favorite cub and carries the other ones on her back when being chased. In case of highest danger she throws away the cub held in her arms, her favorite cub, which allows her to move faster to rescue herself and the less beloved cubs. The favorite cub is the victim of her mother’s blind love. This animal expression therefore also carries (15) TOMFOOLERY and reflects German’s observation on monkey’s behavior.

*Affengeil* ‘monkey horny’ means excellent. This is a popular saying among teenagers to express approvals. The head “*geil*” of the compound is a polysemy that can mean lecherous, but in *Affengeil* it loses the connotation of sexuality. Röhrich (1991: 74) explains that “*geil*” means “glad, happy” in Middle High German, the “*Affen*” in *Affengeil* serves merely as an intensifier, just as that in *Affenschande* ‘monkey disgrace = absolute scandal’ does. Many German animal names have more morphosyntactic function than semantic function. This will be further discussed in the next chapter. Homonym or pseudo-homonym creates animal expressions that have nothing to do with any nature of the named animals, another example given by Feuchtmayer (1986: 525): *Affenschande* ‘monkey disgrace = absolute scandal’ and *Maulaffen feilhalten* ‘mouth monkey offer = to hang around with open mouth and no action’ do not relate to *Affe* ‘monkey’ but to *offen* ‘open.’

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28 See Hsieh (1994) and Li (2000) for more examples about such borrowings.

29 For the grammaticalization of morphological root, see Hsieh and Eschbach-Szabo (2003).
**9.2.3. Birds and Fish**

Human language pays as much attention to birds as it does to domestic animals. Brinkmann (1878: 513) notices that while there are relatively few metaphors related to animals that are not in a close relationship to the human being, the number and importance of metaphors related to fowl is quite comparable to that of other domestic animals.

Flying has always been human’s desire. The underlying conceit of most of the bird-expressions focuses on bird’s aptitude of singing and flying, and coined the following metaphors: *bu2yi4er2fei1 不翼而飛 ‘is flying without wings = has got lost,’ cha2chi4nan1fei1 翱翔飛 "not to be able to fly away even with wings = hard to escape’ and *yu3hua44cheng2xian1 羽化成仙 ‘to ascend to the sky and become immortal = to pass away [in Taoism].’ An restricted person is compared to birds being kept in a cage as the animal expressions *long2zhong1niao3 笼中鳥 ‘cage-in-bird = a caged bird; a restricted person’ or just the other way *fang4chu1long2zide niao3 放出籠子的鳥 ‘release-out-cage-zi-de-bird = a bird released from the cage; a liberated person.’ The concept (17) GAIN relates to a underlying conceit from birding, a human-animal relation.

Some of the metaphors refer to the twittering of the birds or generally to the bird singing, such as *huang2ying1chu1gu3 黃鸂谷‘golden-oriole-out-valley = a golden oriole flies out of the valley; very nice singing,’ *ying1ge1yan4wu3 燕歌燕舞 ‘orioles-sing-swallow-dance = orioles sing and swallows dart; a springtime landscape; a scenery full of prosperous life,’ *ying1wu3xue2she2 鳥雪學古 ‘parrot-learn-tongue = to parrot something,’ *wu1ya1zui3 鳥嘴嘴 ‘crow-mouth = promising bad luck; people who like to spread gossip’ and *jin1ji1bao4xiao3 金雞報曉 ‘gold-chicken-report-dawn = the cockcrow announces the daybreak.’

A concept of the *bird is LOVING COUPLE as in *fu1qi1ben3shi4 tong2lin2niao3 夫妻本是同林鳥 ‘husband-wife-origin-are-same-wood-bird = as a matter of fact a married couple is like two birds sharing the same forest; a married couple belongs together,’ *bi3yi4niao3 比翼鳥 ‘juxtapose-wing-bird = the legendary bird couple flying with synchronous flapping of wings; a devoted couple’ and *jian1die2qing2shen1 鯉魚清深 ‘the legendary bird-flatfish-affection-deep = a tender loving couple.’

A metaphorical sense of *bird is [+penis], as in *xiao3niao3 小鳥 ‘birdie,’ *xiao3ji1ji1 小雞 ‘small-chicken-chicken = reproductive organs of male children’ and *niao3ren2 鳥人 ‘bird-man = a stupid man.’ According to Guo (1994: 46), *niao3ren2 鳥人 originally is a curse stated in the novel Shuihu zhuan (The Robbers from Liangshan Marsh) and “鳥” shall be pronounced as *diao3, a homonym of *diao3 鳥 ‘penis.’ The homonyms pave the way for this semantic development as an abuse and further to the meaning “a silly, unpleasant person”—a part-for-whole semantic change.

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30 *Diao3ren2 鳥人 is pronounced as *niao3ren2 in colloquial usage.
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

As for German, also many bird-expressions refer to flying. Riegler (1907: 11) says that whatever can fly is for the folks a bird. This concept generated several animal expressions: vogelfrei ‘bird-free = outlawed,’ sich frei wie ein Vogel fühlen ‘to feel free like a bird = to feel really free,’ silberner Vogel ‘silver bird = airplane,’ etc.

The human-animal relations “birding” and “bird-hunting” derived the German: Lockvogel ‘bait bird = decoy,’ den Vogel abschießen ‘to hit the bird = to hit the target; to gain the best profit’ and der Vogel ist ins Garn gegangen ‘the bird was entrapped in a net = the prey is taken in.’ The features [+target] and [+goal] generated bird-expressions like den Vogel abschießen ‘to hit the bird = to take the cake.’

(17). GAIN: yi4shi2liang2niao3 一石兩鳥 ‘one-rock-two-bird = kill two birds with one stone; to gain two advantages by a single move’

(18). PROFIT: fang4chang2xian4diao4da4yu2 放長線釣大魚 ‘release-long-line-catch-big fish = to throw a long line to catch a big fish, adopt a long-term plan to secure something big’

(19). fish-water: munter wie ein Fisch im Wasser ‘the fish is in his element = the person is in optimal element conditions’

(20). fish-fishing: der Fisch hat angebissen ‘the fish took the bait = a person took the bait’

(21). PROFIT/PURPOSE: den Fisch an der Angel haben ‘to have that fish on the fishing line = to be sure of that profit’

(22). SOMETHING/SOMEONE: alle anfallenden kleinen und großen Fische erstmal auf Eis legen ‘to put all the small and big fish on ice first = to gather all the property and put it aside’

(23). QUICK: hechten ‘to pike = to do a racing dive’

In Ich habe ein Vögelchen davon singen hören ‘I heard the bird singing about,’ the bird is a messenger. It was a belief that some birds might provide congenial people with secret messages. According to Riegler (1907: 95), some animal expressions date back to ancient pagan ideas that refer to birds being messengers of superhuman wisdom. The raven, crane and owl played an important role in the Greek and German mythology and even today they are believed to possess divine skills. This brings an arbitrary feature to German bird.
Chapter 9. Wild Animals and Their Conceptions

In the old days, people believed that mental derangement was caused by demon obsession. Riegler (1907: 101) explains that Vogel haben ‘to have a bird = to have a screw loose’ compares someone’s confusing thoughts to a to-and-fro flying bird. Röhrich (1991: 1679) agrees with him and says that the German saying Bei dir piepst’s wohl? ‘it’s chirping in your head = you must be off your rocker’ shares the same concept. In fact, many animal expressions utter this sense, for example, Grillen im Kopf haben ‘to have crickets in ones head,’ einen Spatz im Dach ‘to have a sparrow under the roof,’ einen Hirn wurm haben ‘to have a brain worm,’ einen Käfer ‘a beetle,’ or eine Mücke im Kopf ‘mosquito in ones head.’ As we can see, bird, worm and insect are the metaphorical vehicles here. They serve an “emotive function” of language.

A Vögelchen ‘birdie’ is an endearment for a woman and can also be for a child. The earliest record of the colloquial usage vögeln ‘to bird = to have sex’ is in Middle German. Originally vögeln was used only for coition of birds. In Röhrich (1991: 1681) states that a bird or a birds beak denotes a penis in vulgar language.

A bird with a modifier to represent for someone is often heard in German: komischer Vogel ‘comic bird = odd character,’ seltener Vogel ‘rare bird,’ lockerer Vogel ‘loose bird,’ schräger Vogel ‘askew concept’ PROFS of a sleepy fisherman waiting for the biting fish. This sed only for coition of birds. In Röhrich (1991: 1681) states that a bird or a birds beak denotes a penis in vulgar language.

Let us now turn to the vehicle fish. Most of the fish-expressions refer to fishing based on the human-animal relation that fish is our essential food supply. (18) illustrates the fish concept PROFIT. Water is an essential element for fish. Many animal expressions refer to this underlying conceit: yu2da4shu1xi3aio3 魚大水小 ‘fish-big-water-small = consumption exceeds production; an unwieldy and overstaffed organization’ and you3shan1wu2mu4, you3shui3wu2yu2 有山無木 有水無魚 ‘have-mountain-no-wood, have-water-no-fish = mountains without woods, waters without fish.’ Riegler (1907: 216) expresses that “fish in the water” stands for the symbol of emotional health. Symbols may call in metaphors, in this case, for example, ru2yu1de2shui3 如魚得水 ‘as-fish-get-water = to be in one’s element.’

The animal expression diao4yu22 釣魚 ‘fishing-fish = to angle; to fall asleep for tiredness’ images the conceit of the fishing rod in the hands of a sleepy fisherman waiting for the biting fish. This is then extended to picture of a sleeping pupil. The mollusks calamari is a kind of fish. Chao3you2yu2 炒鱿魚 ‘fry-cuttlefish = to fry cuttlefish’ means “to be fired.” The origin of this saying goes back to Cantonese dialect (Chen 1991: 9). According to Chen (1991: 2) and Xu (1998: 32), the sense developed as follows: the octopus rolls itself when being boiled > a person rolls it’s bedding and suitcases when leaving > a person is leaving the office > a person was fired. The metaphorical extension of chao3you2yu2 is from the field “food” to that of “job” which is motivated by the metaphoricality that they are the same passive (caused by external force), have the same reaction (rolling) and same result (the end of a life or a career life). A complex but step-by-step and witty extension. Chao3you2yu2 has its semantic field shifted from “food” to “job,”
**Part II. Animals and Embodiment**

The Chinese character `yu` is shifted from “leisure activity” to “schooling.” A social development is also mirrored in animal expressions.

The German *Fisch* ‘fish’ shares many concepts with Mandarin Chinese `yu` ‘fish.’ The basic underlying conceits are (19) fish-water and (20) fish-fishing (see above). Besides (21) PROFIT/PURPOSE, there is the concept (22) in which a fish stands for an OBJECT or even for a PERSON, for example, *ein dicker Fisch* ‘a thick fish = a big profit,’ *kleiner Fisch* ‘a small fish,’ *großer Fisch* ‘a big fish,’ *kalter Fisch* ‘a cold fish,’ and *Backfisch* ‘a throwing back fish = someone who behaves like an young girl falling in love.’ This is a similar case to German *bird* and other vehicles in terms of animal names.

As fish are cold-blooded, there are many *Fisch* ‘fish’ expressions referring to this nature, for example, *kalt wie ein Fisch* ‘cold like a fish’ and *fischblütig* ‘fish-blood,’ which means cold or heartless. The concept of the *Hecht* ‘pike’ is noticeable in German. According to Röhrich (1991: 686), originally *Hecht* referred to “a thieving person; a robber,” later on it was used in a positive sense “a (smart) guy.” In our German corpus, the semantic features of a *Hecht* are [+jump], [+quick], as (23) shows. The *Hecht* behaves “bold, active” in a fishpond as perceived by the Germans and therefore can be extended in German to [+a dangerous person].

**9.2.4. Worms and Insects**

The Mandarin Chinese `chong` ‘worm’ was used originally for all animals and even for people (Wu 1995: 314). In *Shijing* (Book of Odes), `chong` stands for the insects. Later, `chang` 'worm' ‘long-worm’ and `da4chong` ‘big-worm’ were formed to refer to snakes and tigers, respectively. Nowadays, `chong` is a synonym of (24) INFERIORITY. The concept of (25) DAMAGE goes back to the fact that many worms live in foodstuff, such as in a rotten apple or meat.

The well known computer-problem-year 2000 (expected troubles with most of the computers with respect to the turn of the year 1999/2000) is called `qian1xi1chong` ‘millennium-worm’ in Taiwan. This is a loan translation of the English *millennium bug* where *bug* stands for a computer error. Moon (1998: 40) expresses that metaphorical fixed expressions can be traced back to classical sayings, from Biblical sayings and can be historical events. As pointed out earlier, such expressions can be borrowed and circulated in languages. They will be understood as arbitrary inventions at first and can become part of the lexical structure later.

The Old High German *Wurm* ‘worm’ denoted all crawling animals including snakes and dragons (Riegler 1907: 286). Among the *worm* features the (26) SMALL SIZE is the most noticeable one. The same as in Mandarin Chinese, the concept (27) PARASITICAL refers to the parasitical habitual behavior of the worm. The underlying conceit “worm lives in foodstuff” migrates into a general form “worm lives in something” and generates expressions such as
Bücherwurm ‘bookworm’ and Ohrwurm ‘ear-worm = catchy tune.’ That’s why worms are so INCONVENIENT and TROUBLESOME, as illustrated in (28). A further transition addresses even the physical and the psychological aspects of some disorder and burden – BAD CONSCIENCE, SORROW, FEAR and TROUBLE as in (27) and (29).

(24). INFERIORITY: ying4sheng1chong2 ‘answer-sound-worm = a yes man; a camp follower’

(25). DAMAGE: chong2ya2 ‘worm-tooth = a decayed tooth; dental caries’

(26). SMALL SIZE: ein armer Wurm ‘a poor worm = a poor kid’

(27). PARASITICAL: der nagende Wurm des Gewissens ‘the worm gnawing at the conscience’

(28). INCONVENIENT/TROUBLESOME: es wurmt einen ‘to worm = to regret to have done something’

(29). BAD CONSCIENCE/SORROW: jmdm. Würmer in den Kopf setzen ‘to put someone worms in his head’

(30). DILIGENCE: Bienenfleiß ‘bee-diligence = high diligence’

(31). ATTRACTIVENESS: flotte Biene ‘a smart bee = an attractive young woman’

(32). WOMEN: tolle Biene ‘a fantastic bee = a fantastic young woman’

(33). SMALL SIZE: keiner Fliege etwas antun können ‘can not do a harm to a fly’

(34). INSIGNIFICANCE: sich über die Fliege an der Wand ärgern ‘even a fly on the wall bothers him’

There are much more insect-expressions in German than in Mandarin Chinese. The conceits for Mandarin bee lies in [+much], [+hurried], for example, yi4woljeng1 ‘one-nest-bee = to swarm’ and feng1lyong3er2chu1 ‘bee-crowd and-out = swarm forward.’ Although there are not many bee-expressions in German, three concepts are identified, as shown in (30) DILIGENCE, (31) ATTRACTIVENESS and (32) WOMEN. The Mandarin fly-expressions indicate to [+inferior], such as ying2ying2gou3gou3 ‘fly-camp-dog-careless = shamelessly seek personal gain’ and [+to buzz around], for example, wu2tou2canglying2 ‘無頭蒼蝇’
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

‘no-head-fly = to disorderly rush and bump.’ Animal expressions also demonstrate semantic extension involved with metonymy, again, a part-for-whole coding strategy, for instance, *e2met2*

‘moth-eyebrow = delicate eyebrows; a beautiful woman.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>gain 10.3%, loving couple 10.1%, messenger, girl, someone, something, unpleasant person, followers, penis, free, nice voice, timid, stupid, small, inexperienced, parroting, crazy, awkwardly, useless, determination, goal, (sun)</td>
<td>comic 11.1%, confidential messenger, free, goal, small, light weight, cute, eat little, rapidity, loosely, unsteady, mad, strange, confusing thought, merrily, sexual intercourse, defect, sacrifices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>profit 17.1%, fecundity 12.2%, person in danger 7.3%, lover 5.6%, well, swim well, goal, work, chance, ability, someone, something, friend, society/group, message, innocent, joke, (acrobatics)</td>
<td>someone 13.7%, profit/purpose 11.8%, event 11.8%, cold-blooded, uncertainty, unreliability, (no intelligence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>strength/power 24.4%, danger 22.1%, wickedness 15.1%, cruelty 9.3%, leader 12.3%, courage/boldness 7.6%, greed 5.5%, big, great, swallowing, jumping, vitality, proud, significant, valuable, energetic, robust, awfully, auspicious, superstitious</td>
<td>strength/power 66.7%, courage, hunt, protector, rapidity, gasoline, (jealousy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>malevolence 26.9%, cruelty 15.4%, lecherous, thankless, yammers, cunning</td>
<td>cruelty 27.8%, destruction 22.2%, malevolence 16.7%, hunger 16.7%, greed 16.7%, evil, strong, intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worm</td>
<td>damage 64%, laze 28%, inferiority 24%, small, insignificant, flattering, hungry, enthusiast, poisonous, disease, scatterbrain, (decomposition, other animal)</td>
<td>parasite 25%, small size 20%, defenselessness 20%, trouble 18%, defect 15%, danger 15%, bad conscience 9%, shape of a thread, restless, anger, poor, addiction, mad idea, mystery/secret, disturbing, (wriggling forward, grave)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In German, besides the *fly* concepts (33) SMALL SIZE and (34) INSIGNIFICANCE, there are animal expressions relating to the [+light weight] of the insect, e.g., *Fliegengewicht* ‘flyweight = weight class in boxing, wrestling.’ The expressions *Fliegenfänger* ‘fly paper = a bad goalkeeper in a football,’ *wenn du dich auf den Kopf stellst und mit den Beinen Fliegen fängst* ‘if you put yourself on the head and with the legs flies catch = No way!’ and *zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe*
Chapter 9. Wild Animals and Their Conceptions

schlagen ‘to kill two flies with one fly swatter = to kill two birds with one stone’ have the underlying conceit from fly catching.

The name Grille ‘cricket’ in German gains a polysemous meaning [+mood], [+foolish behavior] or [+quirk] since the 16th century. According to Hübner (in Röhrich 1991: 582), this meaning does not relate to the animal itself but goes back to the Latin grilli (creation of grotesquerie) which may have become known by the humanistic circles in the 16th century. Also the plural form Mucken of Mucke ‘mosquito’ obtains the sense “mood” first in the 16th century (Drosdowski 1997: 472).

From the data that we have collected, we can summarize the semantic functions of bird, fish, tiger, wolf, and worm as in Table 9.1. Some of the functions were presented in the above sections. Table 9.1 and the above presentation shows that animal features are richer and more complex than only one feature can represent. This list still does not provide a complete picture of the meanings of those animal names, nor could it ever hope to.

The percentages in the table indicate the more salient functions. They are the concepts and will be adopted in a full list of wild animal names below. Those in brackets are out-of-date components which can be found only in literature, for example, jin1niao3yu4tu4 金鳥玉兔 ‘gold-bird-jade-rabbit = the crow of gold and the hare of jade; the sun and the moon’ and yu2long2man4yan3 魚龍漫衍 ‘fish-dragon-overflow-develop = conjuring tricks.’ In German, [+jealousy] (tiger), [+wriggling forward] (worm) and [+no intelligence] (fish) are recorded in Riegler (1907), but these semantic features are lost during the course of the last century. Nesi (1995: 276) describes, “metaphors change and develop across time and space. Traditional uses do not always accord…” There are fading animal expressions, while newly invented ones are also invasive, such as those related to computers (Maus ‘mouse = the computer equipment mouse,’ qian1xi1chong2 千禧蟲 ‘thousand-year-worm = millennium bug’). The reasons for the disappearance or replacement of a semantic function can be traced from the development of technology and society, for example, people wear yan4wei3fu2 亜尾服 ‘swallow-tail = swallow-tailed coat’ instead of chang2pao2ma3gua4 常袍馬褂 ‘long robe horse-gown = a mandarin ceremonial wide-sleeved jacket in a ceremonial occasion.’ When electronic mail is popular, the retyonym snail mail is produced. Neither zwei Finger Adler-System ‘two-finger-eagle-system = the beginner’s method to type using two fingers’ nor Elchtest ‘elk-test = dynamic test of the car stability’ were needed some decades ago. Language contact changed the structure of the language, such as the enlargement of roots (long2 龍 ‘dragon’ stands for textile) and the development of semantic markers (such as ma3 馬 ‘horse’) to phonetic representations. This again supports that animal expressions form a vital part of the language.
9.3. Discussion: The Conceptions and the Emotive Functions

Table 9.1 shows that Mandarin *tiger* is more productive than German *tiger* while *worm* is reversed. The less productive vehicles concentrate on specific concepts, for example, German *tiger* focuses more on the concept POWER (66.7%) whereas Mandarin *tiger* POWER (24.4%), DANGER (22.1%), MALEVOLENCE (15.1%), CRUELTY (9.3%), etc. The *bear* in German has the similar metaphorical meaning but more diversity as shown in examples (11), (12), (13) and (14). Brinkmann (1878: 294) comments that in the languages the concept of “big” mutates easily into that of “coarse, rough and ugly” and that of “small” into that of “fine and dainty.” The *bear*, the *mouse* and so on all confirm this view. Take an elephant-expression as an example. Originally the meaning of *Elefantenhaut* ‘elephant skin’ was merely the skin of an elephant. By sense extension the expression gained an additional meaning. The semantic feature [+thick/fat] plays here the decisive role. The outer physical size transformed into a behaviour feature. The extension of the meaning of *Elefantenhaut* ‘to have a thick skin; to be insensitive, indifferent, apathetic’ goes from the skin of the elephant to insensitive people. This tendency of changing from concrete concept to abstract concept echoes Aitchison’s (2001: 130) possible universal laws: Humans “using everyday external bodily behavior to describe internal events.”

Features of different animals can be composed in a two-animal expression, and unlike the composing of the poetic metaphors that “is the use of ordinary conceptual resources in extraordinary” (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 72) and “is very complex” (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 71), the features of different animals in two-animal expressions are used to interact and highlight specific features of the animal names in question. For example, *tiger* in Mandarin Chinese can combine with *wolf*, and its [+greed], [+hunger], [+cruelty] are stressed, as in *lang2tu1hu3yan4* 狼吞虎嘔 ‘wolf-swallow-tiger-gobble = wolf down; gobble up’ and *ru2lang2si4hu3* 如狼似虎 ‘like-wolf-like-tiger = as ferocious as wolves and tigers; like cruel beasts of prey.’ When *sheep* and *tiger* meet, *tiger*’s [+cruelty], [+violence], [+danger] is emphasized, as in *yang2ru4hu3ku3* 羊入虎口 ‘sheep-in-tiger-mouth = in a perilous position.’ There are 11.78% animal expressions with two or more vehicles in Mandarin Chinese, but only 1.93% in German. This has to do with the different modes of thinking as put forward in Hsieh (2006).

Our corpora indicates that Chinese tend to generate more animal expressions from animal appearances and apply them to the basic-need domain (see Table 9.2), for example, that a snail carries a shell is observed by Chinese people, thus, *wu2ke2gua2niu2* 无壳蜗牛 ‘no-shell-snail = people who are not capable of purchasing houses’ and *gua1niu2zu2* 蜗牛族 ‘snail-tribe = people who do not possess real estate’ are produced, to apply to the basic housing need. On the other hand,
the Germans tend to generate more animal expressions from animal behaviors or habits and apply them to an emotion domain, i.e. they carry emotionally-charged subject matter, such as the Basic Emotions\textsuperscript{31} ‘anger,’ ‘fear,’ ‘surprise,’ etc. The proportion can be higher if we include animal expressions such as \textit{qian2li2ji4qiong2} ‘Qian-donkey-skill-poor = the Guizhou donkey at the end of its resourcefulness; a person who has exposed his limited ability’ to not only the ABILITY domain but also EMOTION with the consideration that the donkey shows his poor ability when he is scared.\textsuperscript{32}

The fact that a snail carries its shell is also observed by the Germans, but the behavior that it withdraws into its shell when encountering danger is the conceit of the animal expressions: \textit{sich in sein Schneckenhaus zurückziehen} ‘self-in-one’s-snail shell-withdraw’ and \textit{jemanden zur Schnecke machen} ‘someone-to-snail-make.’ They are composed to denote “to go into one’s shell” and “to come down on someone like a ton of bricks,” respectively. Table 9.2 counts the percentages of different types of underlying conceits and (the share) of metaphorical tenors in Mandarin Chinese and German (see Hsieh 2004a for detail).

**Table 9.2. The underlying conceits and metaphorical tenors in the animal-expression corpora**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Conceit</th>
<th>Percentage Mandarin</th>
<th>Percentage German</th>
<th>Metaphorical tenor Mandarin</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Metaphorical tenor German</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>basic need domain\textsuperscript{33}</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emotion</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behavior</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>basic need domain</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emotion</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbitrary</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tenor EMOTION is our concern in this section. German gives examples in various acts of speech: terms of endearment, exclamations, and other emotive expressions such as comparing

\textsuperscript{31} For Basic Emotion see e.g., Izard (1977), Ekman (1992, 1993). For the related criticism see e.g., Russell (1994).

\textsuperscript{32} The semantic values of most animal expressions as well as other expressions can be manifested, say either positive or negative, according to the different contexts, see e.g., Gumperz and Hymes (1986), Fishman (1968) for social situations, and Hsieh (2004a) for the evaluation of animal expressions.

\textsuperscript{33} Basic need domain involved with eating, clothing, dwelling and so on. Other domains such as society and amusement domains are not listed here.
someone’s confusing thoughts to a to-and-fro flying bird. Röhrich (1991: 1679) says that the
German saying *Bei dir piepst's wohl?* ‘it’s chirping in your head = you must be off your rocker’
shares the same concept. In fact, many animal expressions utter this sense, as we have mentioned
above: *Grillen im Kopf haben* ‘to have crickets in ones head,’ *einen Spatz im Dach* ‘to have a
sparrow under the roof,’ *einen Hirnwurm haben* ‘to have a brain worm,’ *einen Käfer* ‘a beetle,’ or
*eine Mücke im Kopf* ‘mosquito in ones head.’ The metaphorical vehicles are birds, worms and
insects. This gives us a clue of the “emotive function” of animal expressions in languages.

Another type of emotive set of animal expression is the endearments. The full set of the
German endearments in terms of animal names is in (35).

(35). Emotive function: terms of endearment

For men: *Bärchen* ‘little bear,’ *Knuddelbär* ‘hugging-bear,’ *Brummbär* ‘growling bear’;
For women: *Lamm/Lämmchen* ‘lamb/little lamb,’ *Schmusekatze* ‘flattering she-cat,’
*Kätzchen* ‘little cat,’ *Hase/Hasi/Häschen* ‘rabbit/little rabbit,’ *Mäuschen/Mausi* ‘little
mouse,’ *Spätzchen* ‘little swallow,’ *Täubchen* ‘little dove,’ *Vögelchen* ‘little bird’;
For children: *Frosch/Fröschlein* ‘frog/little frog,’ *Mäuschen/Mausi* ‘little mouse,’
*Schäfchen* ‘little sheep,’ *Spatz/Spätzchen* ‘swallow/little swallow,’ *Würmchen* ‘little
worm.’

Some of them are interchangeable for both women and children. Lakoff and Turner (1989:
170ff in Moon 1998: 197) set forth that “animals form the second highest level, and are seen in
terms of ‘instinctual attributes and behavior.’” Sharing the so-called “bestial instincts” (Lakoff and
Turner 1989: 168), it’s not surprising that both German and Mandarin Chinese have a good amount
of animal expressions concerning EMOTION.

The third type of emotive set of animal expression is the exclamations:

(36). Emotive function: exclamations

Kuckuck: *Das mag der Kuckuck wissen* ‘the cuckoo knows about it = Devil knows,’
*Geh’ zum Kuckuck* ‘go to cuckoo = go to hell,’ *Zum Kuckuck noch mal* ‘to cuckoo =
damm it,’ *Hol’ dich der Kuckuck* ‘the cuckoo may pick you up = Go to hell,’ *der
Kuckuck ist los* ‘the cuckoo is loose = it’s like all hell let loose there,’ Pferd: *Pferdefuß* ‘horse-foot = cloven hoof; drawback,’ Sau: *Ich werde zur Sau* ‘I-become-to-the-sow = I
am turning to a devil,’ Motte: *Du kriegst die Motten* ‘you have the moth = blow me,’
Storch: *Nun brat’ mir einer einen Storch* ‘someone may bake a stork for me = Such a
surprise.’
Chapter 9. Wild Animals and Their Conceptions

Here we have one of the most common uses of language – a means of getting rid of our nervous energy when we are under stress. Swearing and obscenities are probably the most common signals used in this way, especially when we are angry or feel frustrated. Crystal (1997: 10) believes that there are also a variety of emotive expressions of a positive kind, such as our instinctive verbal reactions to nice scenery and wonderful paintings and our utterances of fear and affection. “At a more sophisticated level, there are many literary devices of grammar and vocabulary” which convey the language users’ feelings (1997: 10). The expletions in the form of animal expressions are the emotional outpourings giving our surprise, disapproval, etc. as (36) shown.

(37). Emotive function: intensifiers

Affen: affengeil ‘monkey-horny = great,’ Affenhitze ‘monkey-heat = scorching heat,’ Affenschande ‘a monkey-shame = a absolute scandal’; Bären: Bärenkälte ‘bear-cold = big cold’; Bärenhunger ‘to have a bear-hunger = to be ravenous,’ Laus: Lauselümme ‘louse lout = lout rascal,’ lausige Kälte ‘lousy cold = absolutely freezing’; Ratte: ratzeputz ‘(he ate everything) rat bold = he polished off the lot,’ ratzekahl ‘(he ate everything) rat bold = he polished off the lot’; Wolf: Wolfshunger ‘wolf hunger = very hungry’; Elefant: Elefantenhochzeit ‘elephant wedding = a merger of two big companies; jumbo merger’; Tier: tierischer Ernst ‘animal gravity = very serious and bureaucrat’; Sau: saubillig ‘sow cheap = very cheap,’ saudumm ‘sow stupid = extremely dumb,’ saugrob ‘sow coarse = very coarse,’ saukgut ‘sow-good = great,’ etc.

The intensifier in German in terms of animal names, as exemplified in (37), serves the function to increase the tone or mood. At the same time, it is a model particle offering morphosyntactic function. They go through the process of grammaticalization as Traugott (1995: 32) describes “… forms and constructions that at first express primarily concrete, lexical, and objective meanings come through repeated use in local syntactic contexts to serve increasingly abstract, pragmatic, interpersonal, and speaker-based functions.”

Grammaticalization is observed in animal name usage in both languages, especially in German. They reinforce the meaning of their heads in the compounds or the phrases, for example, the Affen in Affenschande ‘monkey shame = absolute scandal’ does not mean “monkey” and the Bären in Bärenkälte ‘bear-cold = big cold’ does not refer to “bear.” They lost or mitigated their own semantic function and work as a grammatical unit. Table 9.3 summarizes the concepts of all the wild-animal expressions in our Mandarin Chinese and German corpora.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>tiny, aggregation</td>
<td>bustle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td>coarseness, power, men, intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beast</td>
<td>cruelty, fright</td>
<td>malice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>numerous</td>
<td>diligence, attractiveness, women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>profit, gain, loving couple</td>
<td>comic effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>crane: calmness, isolation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mandarin ducks: loving couple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>swallow: nice voice, joy, sexuality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>turtle dove: aggregation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wild goose: letter, alone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bustard: pimp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cicada</td>
<td>filmy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cricket</td>
<td></td>
<td>curiousness, mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>profit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>big size, precious</td>
<td>big size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>profit, gain, goal, fecundity, person in danger, lover</td>
<td>profit/purpose, someone, event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pike: nimbleness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flea</td>
<td>tiny</td>
<td>tiny, restlessness, intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>tiny</td>
<td>small size, insignificance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fox</td>
<td>wickedness, crafty, goblin, a wicked woman</td>
<td>red, clever, crafty, troubles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hare</td>
<td>profit, fast</td>
<td>fear, women, event</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 9.4. Conclusion

This study presents an application of the Mandarin Chinese and German animal-expression corpora, aims to explore the semantic and pragmatic functions of the wild animal names in the light of the underlying conceits. Animal expressions form a vital part of the language. Through new additions or losses during the course of history, for known or unknown reasons, the semantic functions are related to the appearance, behavior, nature, human-animal relations or arbitrary inventions, all based on the culture. Hereby we affirm that the arbitrary features have dwelled, if not long established, in the derivation chain of the animal expressions.

The most salient underlying conceit in Mandarin Chinese is appearance and in German is behavior. Certainly the real world provides a starting point for animal expressions. The concepts of the metaphorical vehicles in terms of wild animal names (see Table 9.3) suggest that big, strong or dangerous are the metaphoric source of vehicles of big sized, wild animals such as *bear* and *lion*.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Semantic Function</th>
<th>Pragmatic Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hedgehog</td>
<td>protective posture</td>
<td>protective posture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion</td>
<td>powerful</td>
<td>strength, king, power, focus, malice, danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leopard</td>
<td>outstanding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>louse</td>
<td>tiny</td>
<td>annoyance, brazenness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>restless, haste, mischievous</td>
<td>tomfoolery, intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td>vicious women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snail</td>
<td>small house</td>
<td>slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>malice, fright, villain, low-grade, greed</td>
<td>poison, trick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>strength/power, leader, danger, wickedness, cruelty, courage/boldness, greed</td>
<td>strength/power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>inferior, sexuality</td>
<td>slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weasel</td>
<td></td>
<td>quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>cruelty, malevolence, greed, embarrassment</td>
<td>cruelty, destruction, malevolence, hunger, greed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worm</td>
<td>inferiority, unimportant, damage, decomposition, parasite, laze</td>
<td>parasite, small size, defenselessness, defect, trouble/disturbance, danger, bad conscience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Empty grids indicate that there is no correspondent concept; either the vehicle is not productive or it has diverse meanings.
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

whereas tiny, insignificant and restless are those for small sized, wild animals like *insects*. Nevertheless, “the choice of salient feature, and the significance attached to that feature, varies to such an extent as to appear arbitrary” (Nesi 1995: 276). Our animal-expression corpora indicate that Mandarin Chinese tend to generate more animal expressions from animal’s appearance and applies them to the basic need domain, while German generates more from animal’s behavior and applies them to the emotion domain. Both Mandarin Chinese and German concern a good number of emotionally-charged subjects in their animal expressions. Various acts of speech, such as terms of confusing thoughts, terms of endearment, exclamations and intensifiers articulate the pervasive emotive expressions in German. This is performed with an integration of semantic, pragmatic and morphosyntatic linguistic performance in German.

The conceptual metaphor A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL is widespread. Since human beings and animals share the same bestial instincts that other life forms do not have (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 168). When we express ourselves in terms of animal expressions, strong feelings are involved; animal expressions are perfect acts of speech to be used in the situations when a topic is so emotionally charged that, as Low (1988) says, “ordinary literal speech fails.”
Chapter 10. Mythical Animals and Linguistic Development

Long2 龙 ‘dragon’ is the most popular mythical animal in Chinese culture. Unlike other animals which can be seen and are closely bound to human life, no one has ever seen or contacted with this legendary creature. How does this animal establish its image in people’s mind? What meaning does the lexeme 龙 convey? Does the meaning of this lexeme change through time? Which role does the lexeme 龙 play in Mandarin Chinese other than its semantic representation? We plan to discuss these questions in this chapter.

10.1. Introduction

The dragon plays a dramatically important role for the Chinese. It is a mythical creature, but it has represented the Chinese for thousands of years. According to Wang (2001: 151), scholars have speculated variously about the source of this mythical creature: animal speculation says that it is stereotyped from animals like snakes, crocodiles, horses, and crickets; plant speculation argues that it is the image of pines and cypresses; nature speculation claims that its source was clouds, lightning, and rainbows; and totem speculation declares that it was our ancestors’ totem.

The Chinese character for dragon, long2 龙, appears in Jiaguwenbian 甲骨文編 (Compilation of Oracle Bone Inscriptions)\textsuperscript{34} Oracle Bone Inscriptions. The 36 long2 ideograms collected in Oracle Bone Inscriptions look similar to curling bodies with no feet and either with or without horns. Du (1966: 156) asserts that the character is the moon in snake form, representing the idea of the moon and a snake. According to Erya 鬳雅 (A Concordance to the Erya),\textsuperscript{35} the original dragon has “the antlers of a deer, the head of a camel, the eyes of a hare, the neck of a snake, the abdomen of a crustacean, the squamas of a fish, the claws of an eagle, the paws of a tiger, and the ears of an ox.” It flies and moves with ease on land and in water. And it is variable, as in Shuowenjiezi 説文解字 (Elucidations of the Signs and Explications of the Graphs)\textsuperscript{36} which states

* The original version of the present chapter was published in Intergrams: Studies in Languages & Literatures, 8. Taichung: National Chung Hsing University.

\textsuperscript{34} Vols. 11, 14, 15, Zhongguo Shehuikexueyuan (2004).

\textsuperscript{35} Lau and Chen (1995).

\textsuperscript{36} Xu (1992).
that “Dragon can be unclear and can be clear, can be small and can be huge, can be short and can be long.”

A long2 lexeme\(^{37}\) is defined in this chapter as any expression in Mandarin Chinese that encodes long2 龍, regardless of whether the long refers to the mythical animal or has other metaphorical meanings, for the purpose of revealing the broad extension of long2 龍 in Mandarin Chinese. The long2 lexemes in this chapter are again fixed expressions like idioms, frozen collocations, grammatically ill-formed collocations, proverbs, routinized formulae, and similes (Moon 1998) that contain the lexical item long2 龍 ‘dragon.’ We collected 310 dragon lexemes from written and spoken Mandarin Chinese. They are observed first from their origins, i.e., where the lexemes are generated from Ciyuan 詞源 (A Dictionary of Chinese Etymology)\(^{38}\) and DalubanCiyuan 大陸版詞源 (A Dictionary of Chinese Etymology, Mainland Edition)\(^{39}\) are adopted for this purpose. After the lexical change is examined, the study focuses on the semantic development of long2, long2 lexemes, and the Chinese values that they convey.

The bulk of the chapter is as follows: (1) introduction, (2) origins of dragon lexemes, (3) lexical change, first the generation and then the derivation, (4) semantic development, including the concepts of long2, from a semantic unit to a syntactic marker, and the relations between dragon lexemes and chinese values, (5) conclusion.

### 10.2. Origins of Dragon Lexemes

In searching for the source or derivation of words or lexemes, one may easily fall into the trap of folk etymology after losing the analogy, i.e., the folk etymological tracing. De Saussure (1959: 173) reminds us, in the Course in General Linguistics, that “… folk etymology, can hardly be distinguished from analogy … the only apparent difference is that analogical constructions are rational while folk etymology works somewhat haphazardly.” The origins of the dragon lexemes are sometimes vague and need careful research. The following discusses the generation and derivation of dragon lexemes. “Generation” refers to the dragon lexemes that can be found in Chinese literature or modern media. “Derivation” refers to those derived from past or present events and cultural activities.

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\(^{37}\) “Lexeme” and “lexical item” are used here instead of “morpheme,” “word,” etc. to avoid the debate on the terminology of a minimal semantic distinctive unit in Chinese. See Taylor and Taylor (1995), Shei (2005), etc. for a detailed discussion on related terminology.

\(^{38}\) Shangwu Yinshuguan (1970).

\(^{39}\) Daluban Ciyuan Xiudingzu (1989).
10.2.1. Generation

The Chinese dragon was created to be used as an icon, whereas the western dragon was created to be used as a negative role model because of adopting the image of dragon in the Bible, such as in Revelation 12:9 “The great dragon was hurled down = that ancient serpent called the devil or Satan.” Dragon lexemes in Mandarin Chinese that date back earlier are mostly abstracts of legends. For example, when a jiao3long2 蛟龍  needs water, it can call the clouds and rain, then fly to the sky; thus we have jiao3long2 de2shui3 蛟龍得水 ‘a talent gets time and power.’ Long2wang2 龍王 is mythically the god who is in charge of the water and rain, and long2gong1 龍宮 is the palace in which the long2wang2 lives, and long2nu3 龍女 is his daughter.

Later occurrences of dragon lexemes are taken from written literature such as poems, novels, or the Sutra. For instance, we find long2sun1 陛下 ‘the offspring of a king’ in Wentinyunshiji 溫庭筠詩集 (The Collected Poems of Wen Tinyun), long2gu3che1 龍骨車 ‘mill wheel’ in Jiannanshigao 劍南詩稿 (The Poetry of Jiannan), and long2tan2 龍潭 ‘dragon’s pond = a dangerous place’ in Litaibaishi 李太白詩 (The Poems of Li Bai). Sheng1long2huo2hu3 生龍活虎 ‘live-dragon-live-tiger = doughty as a dragon and lively as a tiger, full of vim and vigour’ is excerpted from the novel Xinshiyinyanzhuan 霜世姻緣傳 (The Story of a Marital Fate to Awaken the World), Chap. 18, and long2tan2hu3ku1 龍湖虎穴 ‘dragon’s lake and the tiger’s den; places of extreme danger’ is quoted from Chap. 58, Shuihuzhuan 水竜傳 (Outlaws of the Marsh). Long2sheng1long2sheng4sheng1feng4 龍生龍 鳳生鳳, ‘dragon-bear-dragon phoenix-bear-phoenix = dragons give birth to dragons, phoenixes to phoenixes; like father like son’ is found in the Zhongzhumiaochanshifasi 中宗妙師法嗣 chapter of Xuchuandenglu 楚楚傳, and hu3tou2she3wei3 龍頭蛇尾 ‘tiger-head-mouse-tail = to start doing something with vigor but fail to see it through; impressive in the beginning but disappointing in the end’ in Jingdechuandenglu 景德傳. Many modern dragon lexemes are found in the media, for example, the Bruce Lee movie meng3long2guo4jiang1 惡龍過江 ‘The Way of the Dragon’ (strongmen) made in Hong Kong in 1971, and the Taiwanese television show long2xiong1hu3di4 龍兄虎弟 ‘dragon-the elder brother

40 Such as the following English and German dragon lexemes indicate: A dragon lady is a powerful and intimidating woman, and both a Drachenbrut (dragon-brood) and a Drachensaat (dragon-sow) are wicked progeny.
41 See Chap. Xingshi, Guanzi 管子 (Master Guan) and Vol. 73, Weishu 真書 (The History of Wei).
42 See Huayan Jing 華嚴經 (Canon of Huayan).
43 See Fahua Jing 法華經 (Canon of Fahua).
44 See Facao Jing 法華經 (Canon of Facao).
and tiger—the younger brother’ (capable and vital brothers) with its popular hosts the brothers Chang Fei and Fei Yu-ching come from the entertainment sector. In addition, the Four Dragons in Asia 亞洲四小龍, which refers to the economic strength of Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Singapore, comes from the financial sector.

10.2.2. Derivation

The lexical derivations of dragon lexemes are unlike those of other animal lexemes. According to Hsieh (2004a, 2006), animal lexemes and expressions are derived from an animal’s appearance, habitat, and relation to people. For example, many animal lexemes describe the appearance, for example, yìng1gòu1bi2 鷹鉤鼻 ‘hawk-hook-nose = aquiline nose’ and yú2dù4bái2 魚肚白 ‘fish-belly-white = the whitish color of a fish’s belly; gray dawn,’ or the character of the referents, for example, gòu3ji2tiào4qiāng2 狗急跳牆 ‘dog-rush-jump-wall = a cornered beast will do something desperate,’ and jì2rù2ru4guò1shàng4de mǎ3yì3 急如熱鍋上的螞蟻 ‘hot-pot-on-of-ant = as restless as ants on a hot pan.’ Dragon lexemes mention body parts but have no description, for example, lónɡ2yán3 龍眼 ‘dragon-eye = longan,’ or draw attention only to the dragon’s movement, as in lónɡ2xínɡ2hù3bú4 龍行虎步 ‘dragon-walk-tiger-pace = a great warrior’s firm strides are like the dragon’s and the tiger’s,’ and lónɡ2fē1fēnɡ4wú3 龍飛鳳舞 ‘dragon-fly-phoenix-dance = like dragons flying and phoenixes dancing; lively and vigorous flourishes in calligraphy.’ A mythical creature has no determined appearance; thus, it offers the speaker and listener space for their imaginations to fill in the missing details on their own.

Dragon lexemes can also be derived from (a) the relics of customs, (b) the records of historical events, (c) extensions of jargon or technological terms, or (d) borrowings from language contact. For example,

(a). The relics of customs: Lónɡ2chuán2 龍船 ‘dragon boat’ is a long, narrow boat. Sometimes it is trimmed with dragon patterns. Such boats sail on the fifth of May (of the Chinese lunar calendar), in imitation of a vain attempt to save the patriot and poet Qu Yuan 屈原 (340 BC-278 BC) from drowning. Wú3lónɡ2wú3shí1 舞龍舞獅 ‘dragon and lion dance’ is a two-man team dancing inside a paper lion seen in Chinese festivals.

(b). Records of historical events: Yè4ɡōnɡ1huāo4lónɡ2 耶公好龍 ‘Yegong-favor-dragon’ refers to Lord Ye 耶公 (Chunqiu Dynasty, 770 BC-476 BC), who loved dragons and decorated his house with various kinds of dragon carvings and pictures but was afraid to see a live dragon. This saying is now used to mean professed love of what one really fears. Tú2lónɡ2ji14 屠龍技 ‘slaughter-dragon-skill’ records the story that Zhu Ping-man 趙平漫 sacrificed two years and all his property to learn the skill of dragon slaughter. But once he had learned, he had no opportunity to
Chapter 10. Mythical Animal and Linguistic Development

put it into practice\textsuperscript{45} and thus refers to an impressive but impractical technique. Long2hu3bang3 龙虎榜 ‘dragon-tiger-name list’ reports the famous writers Han Yu, Li Guan, Li Wei, etc. (Tang Dynasty 618 AD-906 AD), all of who passed an important examination and whose names were announced on the name list.

(c). Technological terms: Pao3long2tao4 跑龍套 ‘run-dragon-garment’ originally was classic Chinese opera jargon that referred to the extra actors needed to make the entrance of the general more impressive: the larger the entourage, the higher the status of such prominent people. Today it also refers to an unimportant role in a play or a task with minimal meaning. Bian4si4long2 毕色龍 was merely a biological term for a chameleon, but now its meaning has been extended metaphorically to include ‘make-believe.’

(d). Borrowings: Shallong2 沙龍 is directly borrowed from English salon, and indirectly from French salon (shallong2 沙龍 > English salon > French salon). Ni2long2 尼龍 is borrowed from English nylon. Zhua1long2 抓龍 is a loan word from Taiwanese meaning massage, and bao3li4long2 保麗龍 is from English styrofoam.

No matter how the long2 lexemes are generated or whence they are derived, they are constantly used in written literature, cultural activities, and daily-life conversations. Inevitable linguistic changes, therefore, are found in the frequent use of long2 lexemes.

10.3. Lexical Change

Different ways of derivation generate different lexical changes. While the long2 lexemes that generated from the relics of customs, records of historical events, and technological terms are either broadened in meaning, or disappear, those borrowed from other languages can give new meanings for the lexical item long2.

A lot of long2 lexemes have become archaic phrases found only in literature and are not used except in historical contexts, e.g., long2yang2 龍洋 was the silver coin cast during the Qing dynasty that is no longer legal tender, but it is seen in Yanlingzhonghuakuqianbizhi 燕京中華古錢幣志 (Nummus Chinensis Antiquus Ngiana) in print. Long2shu1 龍書 is an old calligraphy style that can be appreciated in Puliji 菩里集 (The work of Lu Gui-meng).\textsuperscript{46} Long2xuyou3 龍騷友 refers to a pen found only in Yuxianzaji 雲仙雑記 (The Immortals of the Clouds).\textsuperscript{47}

Many dragon lexemes remain, but their meanings have changed. First, broadening or semantic extensions: the referents of the lexemes increase, for example, long2zi3long2sun1 龍子龍孫 from “the offspring of a king” to “Chinese people.” Long2chuan2 龍船 originally referred

\textsuperscript{45} See Chap. Lieyukou, Zhuangzi 莊子 (Master Zhuang).
\textsuperscript{46} Lu Gui-meng was a writer in the late Tang Dynasty.
\textsuperscript{47} A work written by Feng Zhi 馮贊 in the Tang Dynasty.
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

only to the boats used to save Qu Yuan 屈原, but now it also refers to any boats sailing in the dragon boat festival. Long2di3 龍邸 was once only a king’s palace, but now it includes all luxurious houses or villas. Pao3long2tao4 跑龍涛 ‘run-dragon-garment’ refers not only to the extras in classic Chinese operas but also to any unimportant role or task. The lexemes that are the relics of customs, the records of historical events, and borrowings from technological terms tend to initiate semantic extensions since the lexemes are continually used in various situations of daily life.

On the other hand, the meaning of lexemes can be narrowed; for example, long2gu3 龍骨 has several meanings: water wheel, the central mast of a sailboat, and vertebra. Recently, however, it is often used to refer only to vertebrae, because water wheels are rarely used nowadays and boats are no longer the common mode of public transportation they once were. In our collected data, examples of meaning broadening are seen more than meaning reduction. As Cipollone and Vasishth (1998: 335) pointed out: historically speaking, semantic reductions are relatively less common than extensions of meaning.

Moreover, there are dragon innovations in modern Mandarin Chinese or loan words as mentioned above, such as shang4ke4xiang4tiao2chong2, xia4ke4xiang4tiao2long2 上課像條蟲, 下課像條龍 ‘in the class like a worm, after the class like a dragon = previously cowardly, later heroic; in the moment weak, later great.’ The borrowings result from language contact initiating a change of long2 龍, which was originally only a semantic unit. This will be further discussed in the next section.

10.4. Semantic Development

We have presented various sources of long2 lexemes. This section delves into the semantic development of the lexemes, namely, the semantic concepts that they represent and the Chinese values they express. The important semantic unit long2 has developed into a phonetic element, and further a syntactic marker in the current trend of language contact.

10.4.1 The Concepts of Dragon (Long2)

Long2 is a polysemous word in Mandarin Chinese and expresses a variety of concepts for the speakers of Mandarin Chinese. Semantically, dragon is a lexical item that represents nature (sky, earth, water, fire), divinity, king, and remarkable men and objects, as in the following examples:

(1). dragon: nature (sky, earth, water, fire)

\[ \text{huo3long2 火龍 ‘raging fire’; di4long2 地龍 ‘earthworm’; long2pan2hu3ju44 龍蟠虎踞 ‘a terrain of strategic importance’; long2juan3feng1 龍捲風 ‘cyclone, twister,\]
Chapter 10. Mythical Animal and Linguistic Development

(2). dragon: king, divinity
haïlongwang ‘Dragon King of the seas’; longzhong3 龍種 ‘royal
descendants, progeny’; conglong 從龍 ‘follow one destined to become emperor’;
longxin1da4yue4 龍心大悦 ‘His Majesty was greatly pleased’; longpao2 龍袍
‘imperial robe’

(3). dragon: remarkable men
meng3hu3gui1shan1, jiao1long2ru4hai3 ‘to free the malefactor
and cause serious security problems’; yun2qi3long2xiang1 ‘the rise of great
heroes’; yi4tiao2long2 ‘a remarkable man’; ren2zhong1zhi1long2 ‘the dragon among men’; huo2long2huo2xian4 ‘vivid’;

(4). dragon: remarkable creature/objects
long2sheng1long2, feng4sheng1feng4 ‘compliment to having unusual
sons and daughters’; diaolong 龍駒 ‘masterly in rhetoric’; long2ju1 龍驤 ‘a
spirited horse’; long2quan2 龍泉 ‘name of sword’; long2jing3 龍井 ‘name of famous
tea’

As a matter of fact, there are many meteorological and astronomical terms that have adopted
long2, long2 implies the concept of nature—sky, earth, water and fire. As a bound morpheme used
to describe the head of the lexeme, dragon represents this group of adjectives “remarkable, valuable,
important, strong, powerful, super,” all positive. The above (1)-(4) are all examples of this kind. It
reaches all dimensions: big, deep, wide, high, and far.48

Long2 is one of the favorite options in naming objects. It creates a semantic ambiguity;
conveys a neutral and yet a positive denotation to the object names. For example, long2tou2 龍頭
‘dragon-head = tap; cock; handlebar [of a bicycle],’ huo3long2 火龍 ‘fire-dragon = fiery dragon; a

48 Feng4 凤, is the female counterpart of long and also carries the same positive meaning, e.g.,
long2feng4pei4 龍鳳配 ‘dragon-phoenix-match = union of a dragon and a phoenix; a perfect
match’ and pan1long2feng4fei ‘龍附鳳, ‘stick-dragon-attach-phoenix = play up to people of
power and influence; put oneself under the patronage of a bigwig.’ Feng4 凤, is male when in
compounds with huang2 or luan2 such as in feng4qiu2huang2 凤求凰, ‘the male
chasing after the female’ and luan2feng4he2ming2 凰鳳和鳴 ‘female phoenix-male
phoenix-harmonious-sing = a happy, harmonious marriage.’ For a discussion about how
language contact pushes the grammaticalization of the Chinese lexicon, see Shi (2000: 49-).
procession of lanterns or torches; an air channel from a brick kitchen stove to a chimney,' long2yan3 龍眼 ‘dragon-eye = longan,’ long2jing3 龍井 ‘dragon-well = a famous green tea produced in the city Hangzhou; Dragon Well tea,’ and long2chuan2 龍船 ‘dragon boat.’ When long2 is adopted in personal names, it expresses all the unspoken positive expectations of the parents.

Lexical meaning usually changes from concrete to abstract (Aitchison 1991, Traugott 1995: 32). However, the lexemes that contain long2 develop in a different way: from abstract (a mythological animal) to concrete (king, great men), from super (myth, king) to good (great men, great objects), and from holy (god, king) to ordinary (men, objects).

The observation that lexemes containing long2 develop differently from usual meaning change is neither absurd nor unique. Recent loanwords from Japanese provide examples of this kind. The “yu4 餘” in yu4bian4dang1 餘便當 ‘royal meal box = a great meal box’ or yu4fan4tuan2 養飯團 ‘royal-rice-dumpling/roll = a great rice and vegetable roll’ means “great, excellent,” no more “imperial or loyal” as it used to mean in, for example, yu4lin2jun1 養林軍 ‘palace guards’ and yu4hua1yuan2 養花園 ‘imperial garden.’ The “yu4 養” has been re-applied and modernized for common food following social change (the end of the imperial dynasties) and, according to Hsieh and Hsu (2006: 68), showing “a signal of the changing social structure.” Hence, this seemingly exceptional meaning change is presumably a common rule of meaning change for a specific group of lexemes whose meanings have positive connotations.

10.4.2 From a Semantic Unit to a Syntactic Marker

Extensive language contact resulted in the above mentioned English nylon and Taiwanese massage to be translated and represented as ni2long2 尼隆 and zhua1long2 抓隆, respectively, where the 隆 represents the sounds /lɔn/ as in salon, /lɒn/ as in nylon, or /liŋ/ in Taiwanese (massage) 抓隆. Homonyms play a key role for loanwords. Long2 is not only a semantic unit denoting ‘positive, super,’ but it also serves as a popular phonetic representation for the phonological unit [+liquid] + [-front vowel] + [+nasal consonant]. The schematic summary is: semantic unit > phonetic element. This is a new tendency for many Chinese characters when borrowing words from other languages by the way of transliteration. Transliteration pushes grammaticalization. As Yao (1992: 343) stated, the word endings -lon and -ron of textile goods are usually translated and represented by the Chinese character 隆, such as Orlon 奧隆, Teijen 蒂人帝特龍, Tetoron 蒂人帝特隆, Exlan 愛絲龍, Vonnel 毛麗龍, etc. Long2 隆 has become a root to represent textile goods. In other words, long2 攪 follows the development: semantic unit > phonetic element > morphological unit.

Semantically, transliteration favors lexemes with positive semantic denotations. On the other hand, an affix in Mandarin Chinese is usually needed for categorizing the semantic type of the
borrowing, for example, じ2pu3che1 吉普車 ‘jeep-car = jeep’ and ｄien4shi4ji1 視機 ‘television-machine = television.’ The che1 車 and ji1 機 are added, respectively, to indicate that the former is a kind of car and the latter is a type of machine. The じong2 題 in, for example, Vonnel 毛麗娜, in which appears no segment that phonic sounds like じong2, was adopted to show this characteristic of Mandarin morphology. In other words, じong2 頭 is undergoing the development: semantic element > phonetic element > morphological unit > syntactic marker. As a result, じong2 頭 underwent a grammaticalization 49 such as in ｎi2long2 尼龍 and ｍao2li4long2 毛麗娜, in which じong2 lost its semantic meaning and serves as a function word: a quasi-affix. This change was triggered by social change and a new Mandarin morphosyntactic development.

10.4.3 Dragon Lexemes and Chinese Values

After discussing the lexical item じong2, let us now further discuss じong2 lexemes. The meanings that the じong2 lexemes convey are mostly positive. They are used as a jest, for example, ｓｈang4ke4yi4tiao2chong2, ｘia4ke4yi4tiao2long2 上課-一樣蟲. 下課-一樣龍 ‘in-class-like-a-worm after-class-like-a-dragon’ or as a blessing, for example, ｌong2teng2hu3yue4 龍騰虎躍 ‘dragons rising and tigers leaping = a scene of bustling activity,’ ｃｈeng2long2kuai4xu4 乘龍快婿 ‘fly-dragon-son-in-law = a handsome or lucky son-in-law; proud or handsome son-in-law,’ and ｌong2feng4cheng2xiang2 龍鳳呈祥 ‘dragon-phoenix-present-peace = prosperity brought by the dragon and the phoenix; in extremely good fortune.’ They are also used as praise, for instance, ｌong2pan2hu3ju4 乘龍快婿 ‘like a dragon that coils and a tiger that crouches = impressive terrain,’ ｈuo2long2huo2xian4 禱龍活現 ‘live-dragon-live-show = tone it up with color and life; vividly,’ and ｌong2ma3jing1shen2 龍馬精神 ‘dragon-horse-spirit = aged but vigorous; old but strong.’ Animal metaphors that adopt the names of “real” animals, however, are often applied as abuse. For example, ｗu1ya1zui3 乌鸦嘴 ‘crow-mouth = one who likes to say bad omen,’ ｆei2zhu1 肥猪 ‘fat-pig = a fat person,’ ｚhang1tou2shu3mu4 壮頭鼠目 ‘buck-head-mouse-eye = with the head of a buck and the eyes of a rat; repulsively ugly and sly-looking,’ ｃｈun3li2 蠕蠕 ‘stupid-donkey = an idiot,’ ｒu2lang2si4hu3 如狼似虎 ‘like-fox-like-tiger = as ferocious as wolves and tigers; like cruel beasts of prey,’ and ｃai4niao3 菜鳥 ‘vegetable-bird = inexperienced person,’ etc. じong2 lexemes utter our wishes and fill in the semantic gaps that other animal lexemes cannot express.

The wishes carried by じong2 lexemes explore the values of the Chinese people. Lexemes like ｌong2teng2hu3yue4 龍騰虎躍 ‘dragons rising and tigers leaping = a scene of bustling activity’ and ｃｈeng2long2kuai4xu4 乘龍快婿 ‘fly-dragon-son-in-law = a handsome or lucky son-in-law; proud

49 For a discussion about how language contact pushes the grammaticalization of the Chinese lexicon, see Shi (2000: 49-).
or handsome son-in-law’ are blessings used to express one’s concern and good wishes to another person. On the one hand, Chinese believe in supernatural power and objects and think that they have mighty power, flying ability, and beauty. They wish to gain blessings from mythical creatures to make their fortunes and realize their desires. The dragon is one of the so-called *si4ling2* ‘four wonder animals; four lucky symbols’ and is head of them. It therefore has been the Chinese totem and divine symbol and hope throughout history. On the other hand, speakers of Mandarin Chinese use a variety of blessings in terms of dragon to express wishes to families and friends to show their concern and caring. This reveals that interpersonal relations are strongly emphasized in Mandarin-speaking society. Sociologists (Weakland 1950: 361-370, King 1981: 413-428) support this view in their research on Chinese culture and social relations.

10.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, no one has ever seen a dragon. People of different cultures have created similar mythical animals (though in different ways) for a variety of reasons. People need both positive and negative role models in their societies. The mythical dragon, a fantasy can be as made as perfect as desired, was created and chosen as a positive role model in Chinese society and negative one in Western society. These conflicting mythical entities have different physical appearances and characteristics; one is almost sacred and the other is evil.

The character *long2* ‘dragon’ represents the idea of the moon and a snake, and *long2* lexemes are developed from legends, adopted from literature, mass media, or historical records. The meaning of a lexieme usually changes from concrete to abstract. However, the *long2* lexeme develops in a different way: abstract > concrete, and high > low (i.e. super > good, holy > ordinary). Nevertheless, I assume this is a general rule of meaning change for a particular group of lexemes, as indicated above. The linguistic development of the *long2* lexeme is: semantic element > phonetic element > morphological unit > syntactic marker. This was triggered by social change and a new Mandarin structure. The social implications of *dragon* lexemes show both the value that Chinese people place on interpersonal relations, and the influence of globalization (e.g., language contact) on Mandarin Chinese.

*long2* lexemes have undergone some lexical changes and acquired semantic innovations over time, as many other lexemes have. Despite the *long2* lexemes’ marked changes, however, *dragon* has remained in a dramatic and essential position in Mandarin Chinese and in the Chinese mind.
Chapter 11. Animal Expressions and Underlying Conceits*

After looking into the vehicles of domestic animal, bird-species, wild animal and mythical animal, let us examine the underlying conceits of these animal vehicles. People adopt animal names to derive animal expressions widely. What do people have in mind when they adopt a certain animal name to make these expressions? Is it mostly because of the animal’s appearance, behavior or habit? How do the animal features relate to human life and which domain of human life do the animal vehicles relate to? What role does the animal embodiment play in human language? The answers lie in the animal vehicles and their underlying conceits, which will be discussed in this chapter.

11.1. Introduction

The research goals of this chapter is to examine the underlying conceit and the metaphorical tenors of the animal expressions. We will discuss the proportions of different types of underlying conceits and the salient metaphorical tenors they convey, and finally the focus is set on the positive and negative tenors which bring out the last result that animal expressions are our vocabulary of values.

Whaley and Antonelly (1983) reveal the assumptions about male-female relationships by animal metaphors; in particular the women are animals. According to Low (1988) and Newmark (1988), animal metaphors are largely used to describe inferior or undesirable human habits and attributes. O’Donnell (1990) lays his focus on the descriptions of common and productive figurative meanings assigned to animal names and animal metaphors in different languages.

Sutton (1995) studies language discrimination towards females and makes a strong argument on women are animals metaphor. Hsieh (2002b) further discusses animal expressions in light of the approach of semantic molecules (Goddard 1998). She suggests the interconnection and interaction between semantic molecules and these animal names serve as semantic contributors in distinct semantic domains. Fontecha and Catalan (2003) concentrate on the word pairs fox/vixen and bull/cow and their Spanish counterparts zorro/zorra and toro/vaca with the data from dictionaries to investigate the semantic derogation of the related animal metaphors and concepts. They found that,

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* The original version of the present chapter was published in the University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language Technical Papers, Special Issue, England: Lancaster University, 2004(18): 27-35.
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

with mapping from source to target domain, the main metaphorical meanings of the female terms connote worse qualities than those connoted by the metaphors of the male terms.

The research questions of this study ask: What do people have in mind when they adopt a certain animal name to make these expressions? How do the animal features most often relate to human life and which domain of human life does the animal vehicle relate to? What role does the animal embodiment play in human language?

The bulk of the chapter is as follows: (1) introduction, (2) the underlying conceit, (3) the metaphorical tenor, and (4) a conclusion.

11.2. The Underlying Conceit

As Lakoff and Turner (1989: 65) already noticed “We conventionally understand these concepts not by virtue of metaphoric mappings between them and different conceptual domains but rather by virtue of their grounding in what we take to be our forms of life, our habitual and routine bodily and social experiences.” Most of the animal expressions reflect human observation of the vehicles. Both Chinese people and Germans may observe and perceive animals from the same viewpoint and interpret what they see identically. i.e. they share the same underlying conceit. For example, the ease of fish in water is expressed in Mandarin Chinese as .functional form and in German as .functional form. Both Chinese and German speakers may share the same viewpoint but develop different underlying conceits and therefore generate different animal expressions, for example, the cat is gluttonous in the eyes of both Germans and Chinese, thus .functional form which cat would not steal smelly fish; which man would not like the wife of another’ developed in Mandarin Chinese. The German version is .functional form ‘sweet-toothed cat,’ which means a person who likes nibbling at sweets. Both emphasize human behaviours, but the Mandarin Chinese is in the domain of ‘emotion’ while the German belongs to the domain of ‘basic need.’

Animal expressions are developed either from the animals’ appearances, habits, and relation to people (Wierzbicka 1985: 167) observed from different cultural backgrounds. In addition, many animal expressions are arbitrary inventions and have nothing to do with the animals themselves (Hsieh 2001: 149-), as exemplified in Tables 11.1 and 11.2: 15% in Mandarin Chinese and 9% in German. Without doubt, most of the underlying conceits of animal expressions in both languages are associated with the metaphorical vehicles’ attributes, for example, their appearances, habits or behaviours. Ahrens and Say (1999: 6) propose that the appearance of an animal is usually mapped to the target domain of human appearance in Mandarin animal expressions, whereas animal behaviours are mapped to human behaviours. The result of the present corpora further indicate that
Chapter 11. Animal Expressions and Underlying Conceits

Chinese tend to generate more animal expressions from animal appearances and apply them to the basic-need domain (see Table 11.1), for example, that a snail carries a shell is observed by Chinese people, thus, *wu2ke2gua1niu2* 無殼蝸牛 ‘no-shell-snail = people who are not capable of purchasing houses’ and *gua1niu2zu2* 蝸牛族 ‘snail-tribe = people who do not possess real estate’ are produced, to apply to the basic housing need. On the other hand, the Germans tend to generate more animal expressions from animal behaviours or habits and apply them to an emotional domain (see Table 11.2). That a snail carries its shell is also observed by the Germans, but the behaviour that it withdraws into its shell when encountering danger is the conceit of the animal expressions: *sich in sein Schneckenhaus zurückziehen* ‘self-in-one’s-snail shell-withdraw’ and *jemanden zur Schnecke machen* ‘someone-to-snail-make’ They are composed to denote “to go into one’s shell” and “to come down on someone like a ton of bricks,” respectively. Tables 11.1 and 11.2 count the percentages of different types of underlying conceits and the share of metaphorical tenors in Mandarin Chinese and German.

Table 11.1. The underlying conceits and metaphorical tenors in Mandarin Chinese corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Conceit</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Metaphorical tenor</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>basic need domain</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emotion</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amusement</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>society</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>work, sport, etc.</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behavior</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>basic need domain</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emotion</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amusement</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>society</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>work, sport, etc.</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habit</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>basic need domain</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emotion</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amusement</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>society</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>work, sport, etc.</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human-animal relation</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbitrary</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It should be noted that the total percentage of underlying conceit in Table 11.1 is 110%, and that of Table 11.2 is 105%. The reason that the percentages are more than 100% is because that an animal expression can be categorized into more than one type when we analyze its underlying conceits. For example, 老牛拉車 ‘old-ox-pull-cart = doing thing slowly like an tired old ox’ can be associated with the habit (slow move) of an old ox and the human-animal relation that people used ox to pull cart.

The unknown derivation as shown in the tables can be traced from historical events and be arbitrary inventions. The popular German expression Mein Name ist Hase ‘my name is hare = I know nothing; search me’ is an example; In about 1854, there was a German professor named Victor von Hase. His last name (von Hase) is the same as the “hare” (German: Hase). One day, one of his friends killed someone in a duel and was being pursued by the police. To protect this friend, Victor von Hase provided his own identification passport to the friend and helped him cross the German border illegally. Later, the professor was interrogated by the police for this charge. He answered, “Mein Name ist Hase. Ich weiß von nichts.” (meaning: My name is Hase, I know nothing about it.) Soon, his statement went the rounds in Heidelberg and became a well-know saying from then on (Büchmann 1937: 579). Arbitrary inventions are mostly abstracts of legends and superstitions. They can be due to rhyme form, e.g., weder Fisch noch Fleisch ‘neither fish nor meat = neither fish nor fowl; neither ass nor horse; ambiguous.’ Or like many modern animal expressions, for example, (transliteration) 马殺雞 ‘horse-kill-chicken = transliteration of English “massage” and (phonetic translation) 马克 ‘horse-gram = Deutsche mark.’ Language contact brought out more and more such inventions.

The metaphorical vehicles fish, dog, horse, mouse, etc. generate animal expressions based on the vehicles’ habits, as in the above exemplified wie ein Fisch im Wasser ‘like a fish in water = feeling well.’ Their animal expressions also often are based on human-animal relations (fishing, watchdog, horse riding, culture follower). This is a marked feature of more productive vehicles. Less productive vehicles tend to render specific underlying conceits and generate particular metaphorical tenors, such as 猫 ‘cat’ for ‘gluttonous’ and Kater ‘tomcat’ for ‘hangover.’ The domains of metaphorical tenors will be discussed in the following section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying Conceit</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Metaphorical tenor</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>basic need domain</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>emotion</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amusement</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>society</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>work, sport, etc.</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.3. The Metaphorical Tenor

First the salient metaphorical tenors will be distinguished, then the evaluation of some tenors in order to represent the different values.

### 11.3.1. Salient Metaphorical Tenors

When we examine the underlying conceits that belong to animal attributes – appearance, behaviour and habit, both Tables 1 and 2 indicate that Mandarin Chinese and German favor the metaphorical tenor of the BASIC NEED domain in which they utter the various meanings about eating, drinking, housing, etc. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 168) said in their “Great Chain Metaphor” that “Therefore, instinct is a generic-level parameter of animals. Similarly, the mental, the moral, and the aesthetic are generic-level parameters of human beings.”

In addition, Chinese people tend to create more tenons related to the SOCIETY domain while Germans ring the bell for the EMOTION domain.\(^5\) There are a good number of group-oriented secular benedictions in Mandarin Chinese and many endearments (one-on-one dictions) in German, but not vice versa. For example, wo4hu3cang2long2 臥虎藏龍 ‘crouch-tiger-hide-dragon = a remarkable talent who has not been discovered,’ Schmusekatze ‘flattering cat = a term of endearment to a woman.’ This gives a hint to the different modes of thinking between Chinese and

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5. The tenors of the terms of endearments are categorized into the BASIC NEED domain “love” that can also be sorted to EMOTION.
German, i.e. the Chinese tend to think group-centrically while the Germans think individualistically or egocentrically (Hsieh 2002b). On the other hand, German endearments fall into the EMOTION domain, while the secular benedictions in Mandarin Chinese express the SOCIETY domain. A SOCIETY domain like schooling can be exemplified by the animal expressions ren2sheng1bu4du2shu1, huo2zhebu4ru2zhu1 人生不讀書，活著不知書 ‘people-life-not-read-book, live-not-as-pig = people living in the world would be ignorant if they did not study,’  fang4niu2ban1 放牛班 ‘release-cow-class—let alone classes where the students’ school performances are inferior,’  ya1dan4 鴨蛋 ‘duck-egg = the school grade “unsatisfactory”’: zero,’ shang4ke4xiang4tiao2chong2, xia4ke4xiang4tiao2long2 上課像條蟲，下課像條龍 ‘up-class-like-a-worm down-class-like-a-dragon = students acting dully in class and dynamically out of class’ and diao4yu2 釣魚 ‘fishing = sleepy; to fall asleep for tiredness in class.’ Chinese also emphasize diligence as a human virtue, such as with wen2ji1qi3wu3 聽雞起舞 ‘hear-chicken-up-dance = to rise up upon rooster; diligent and full of enthusiasm’ and li1ba1za1de2 jin3, huang2gou3zuan1bu2jin4 鐵籃繫得緊，黃狗鑽不進 ‘fence-basketry-tie-get-tight, yellow-dog-drill-not-inside = man should work hard to prevent a contingent disaster.’ However, diligence is not emphasized in a German-speaking society.

Some examples from the German EMOTION domain, other than the above-mentioned German endearments, are: einen Affen an jmdm. gefressen haben ‘to have eaten a monkey on someone = to be crazy about someone,’ Du benimmst dich wie ein Backfisch ‘you behave like a fried fish = you behave like an young girl falling in love,’ jmd. umklammern wie ein Tintenfisch ‘someone embrace like a squid,’ einen Vogel haben ‘a-bird-have = to have a screw loose’ and die Sau rauslassen ‘the-sow-let-out = to let the pig out; having fun; to paint the town red.’

When categorized, the metaphorical vehicles horse, dog, cow, etc. tend to be responsible for ‘work,’ pig, snail, etc. more for the BASIC NEED domain ‘housing,’ and the names of wild animals more for SOCIETY. There are vehicles that serve only as positive metaphorical tenors, such as long2 龍 ‘dragon’ in Mandarin Chinese. Many vehicles produce only negative metaphorical tenors, such as gou3 狗 ‘dog’ and Hund ‘dog.’ Some vehicles serve for specific metaphoricality, such as German Grille ‘cicada’ stands for ‘strange mood’ and ‘strange ideas.’ Moon (1998: 163) says that “idioms represent concepts embodied in the culture and associated with particular lexicalizations. They are characterized by an underlying conceit … and an overlying preferred lexical realization,” and usually with connoted evaluation. The present corpora demonstrate that about 80% of animal expressions are used to scorn or warn people. Thus, we can say animal expressions are a vocabulary of peoples’ values. They convey values from different cultures and societies. The following sections exemplify this argument.
11.3.2. Positive and Negative Tenors

Both Germans and Chinese pay attention to their shape and watch their weight. Praises in forms of animal expressions are:  

- shui3she2yao1 水蛇腰 ‘water-snake-waist = a slender waist,’  
- Wespentaille ‘wasp waist = slender waist,’  
- shen1qing1ru2yan4 身轻如燕 ‘body-light-like-swallow = light as a swallow’ and schlank wie ein Reh ‘slender-like-a-deer = slender.’  

People outside the norm are despised with animal expressions like  

- fei2zhu1 肥猪 ‘fat-pig = a fat person,’  
- shou4pi2hou2 薄皮猴 ‘thin-skin-monkey = bag of bones,’  
- Schwer wie ein Elefant ‘heavy like an elephant = very heavy,’  
- Schultern wie ein Huhn ‘shoulders like a chicken = having slim shoulders,’  
- pudeldick ‘poodle fat = very fat’ etc.

Table 11.3 gives the evaluation of body-part animal expressions. Although many of them are neutral descriptions, such as  

- hu3kou3 虎口 ‘tiger-mouth = part of the hand between the thumb and the index finger’ and  
- tu4chun2 兔唇 ‘hare-lip = harelip; cleft lip,’ some of them are compliments, most of them carry negative connotations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation</th>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>positive</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also to pinpoint and reprove a woman are examples, aufgedonnert wie ein Pfau ‘in full feather like a peacock = dressed or done up to the nines’ and  

- hu2li2jing1 狐狸精 ‘fox-spirit = woman of easy virtue [supposed to be a fox in disguise]; an enchantress.’  
- alter Gockel ‘old cock = a conceited old man’ and  
- wu3ye4niu2lang2 午夜牛郎 ‘mid-night-cowboy = male prostitute.’  

To events, for example,  

- hua4she2tian1zu2 画蛇添足 ‘draw-snake-add-foot = draw a snake and add feet to it; ruin the effect by adding something superfluous’ and  
- Schweinearbeit ‘pig work = chore.’  

And to a society, for instance,  

- die großen Fische fressen die kleinen ‘the-big-fish-eat-the-small = the great fish eat up the small; the strong overwhelm the weak’ and  
- sun1san4 shu4dao3hu2 sun1san4 森林猴子散 ‘tree-fall-monkey-scatter = when the tree falls, the monkeys scatter; when an influential person falls from power, his hangers-on disperse.’

A great amount of animal expressions are taboo, e.g.,  

- Sauigel ‘sow-hedgehog = a person telling indecent jokes; dirty person,’  
- dummes Kamel ‘stupid camel = stupid!,’  
- er geht nicht mit
Part II. Animals and Embodiment

kleinen Hunden pinkeln ‘he does not go pissing with small dogs = he is not interested in insignificant people,’ lang2dao4chu4chi1rou4, gou3dao4chu4chi1shi3 遲到處吃肉，狗到處吃屎 ‘wolf-everywhere-place-eat-meat, dog-everywhere-place-eat-dung = people in different classes have different lives,’ shen1ru2 lan4chan2, cui3ru2tie3qian2 身如腐蠅，嘴如鉛鉗 ‘body-like-rotten-silkworm, mouth-like-iron-tongs = to blame someone who does not admit his mistake,’ etc. Trudgill (1974: 29-31 in Risch 1987: 353) explains that “Such words are not only considered inappropriate for a certain context, but are forbidden in most communicative contexts.” However, there is an underlying cognition that we adopt animal names as metaphorical vehicles and create a great quantity of animal expressions as part of our vocabulary.

11.4. Conclusion

The chapter begins with the analysis of animal underlying conceits then comes to the salient metaphorical tenors and their evaluation. Most of the animal expressions reflect human observation of the vehicles. Both Chinese people and Germans may observe and perceive animals from the same viewpoint and interpret what they see identically. i.e. they share the same underlying conceit. But in most cases they develop different underlying conceits and therefore generate different animal expressions.

Animal expressions are developed either from the animals’ appearances, behavior and habits both in Mandarin Chinese and German. Most of the underlying conceits in both languages are associated with the metaphorical vehicles’ attributes, for example, their appearances, habits or behaviours. But the Chinese tend to generate more animal expressions from animal appearances and apply them to the basic-need domain, while the Germans tend to generate more animal expressions from animal behaviours or habits and apply them to an emotional domain.

The corpora document the compliments and taboos that express the differences and the similarities between human beings and animals. Animal expressions are used not always for bad purposes but rather due to some ignorance with respect to the nature of the animal (Schenda 1998: 13). In other words, the metaphorical vehicles that people adopted to produce animal expressions and people’s knowledge of animals are often based on different cognitive levels. For example, we know monkeys are clever, but we have animal expression Affentheater ‘monkey-theater = complete farce’ and sich zum Affen machen ‘make a monkey of oneself = to make a fool of oneself.’ Zoological research (Grzimek 1988: 20 and elsewhere) reports that pigs are smart, but ben4zhu1 糗猪 ‘dumb pig; idiot’ is a popular animal expression. People use animal expressions as swearwords and as emphatic comparisons as Michel (1991:ii) states: … the silly donkey and the sharp-eyed falcon. We human beings imagine ourselves as above other animals because animals are merely

51 The original German text is: “nicht immer aus böser Absicht, eher aus Unwissenheit.”
controlled by their instincts. Nevertheless, we also envy other animals because of their excellent senses and abilities.\(^{52}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>values</th>
<th>values</th>
<th>criticism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>Animal Fixed Expression</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 11.1 Schema of animal expressions**

Animal expressions express positive and negative sanctions in the societies. Praise and reprimand help the process of adaptation to the standards and rules of the society. When one is called a *falscher Hund* ‘a false dog = a false man; a liar,’ he should know that his behaviour is considered to be “false, underhanded, insidious” and should change his attitude accordingly. When being called a *gen1pt4chong2* 跟屁蟲 ‘follow-butt-worm = bluebottle’ one knows that it is improper to cling to someone like a leech. Huang and Tian (1990: 83) explicate vocabulary with negative denotations as: “Modern linguistic taboo is chiefly due to regard for social etiquette, propriety in behavior …. Inhibition, rather than prohibition, is the key to understanding the very intricate nature of linguistic taboos in our time.”

To conclude, animal expressions are a vocabulary of peoples’ values used to express our values and to criticize human behaviours. Figure 11.1 shows the schema of the application of animal fixed expressions as human criticism or evaluation. People map their system of values subconsciously on animals and imagine how animals should be, then generate animal expressions accordingly, with the systematic underlying conceit and the metaphorical tenors surfaced, to criticize and to rule human beings themselves.

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52 The original German text is: “der dumme Esel und der scharfblickende Falke. Wir Menschen fühlen uns teils erhaben über die in ihren Erbkoordinationen befangenen Tiere; teils aber beneiden wir sie auch um ihre vorzüglichen Sinne und Anpassungen in lebensbedrohenden Umwelten.”
When we say, “He is in the flower of his youth,” we mean, “He is young and in the best and most active period of his life.” Here flower has a metaphorical meaning—the elite period of life. Plant names like ‘flower’ and ‘grass’ are not only plant names but also plant vehicles to express a speaker’s concepts. Plant names have a high axiological status in languages, because they name objects connected with the satisfaction of such basic human needs as nutrition and protection from a dangerous environment. Being the best candidates to represent new concepts, plant names are easily used metaphorically.

In linguistics, the methodological status of compositionality in semantics has been intensively investigated (e.g., Partee 1984, Janssen 1986, 1997). Books were compiled for the purpose of clarifying this issue (e.g., Machery, Werning and Schurz 2005). However, little has been done on the compositionality of idiomatic expressions like plant fixed expressions. This part of the monograph examines this issue.

As it has been shown in the previous two sub-topics of the embodiment in language, fixed expressions are a fixed and commonly used language device. For the embodiment in language, we should also know that plant fixed expressions are an integration of a biological organism and a human language. Through botany, such a language device expresses human minds. Langacker (1987, 1991) asserted that language in general is accurately likened to a biological organism. He assumed that language evokes other cognitive systems and must be portrayed as an integral facet of overall psychological organization. Plant fixed expressions play an important role in this overall integral organization. The vehicles are taken from a similar biological organism and have the capability of conveying the inner facet of another biological organism through a linguistic operation, just as animal expressions do (on animal expressions, see for example, Low 1988, Nesi 1995, Fontecha and Catalan 2003, Hsieh 2006).

A fixed expression, as stated in the above, is defined as a string of words behaving as a unitary lexical item. Various terms are used to describe fixed expressions, such as freezes, binomials and frozen locutions (Pinker and Birdsong 1979, McCarthy 1990, Landsberg 1995, Moon 1998). According to Moon (1998: 2), who proposes a broader approach to fixed expressions, they include metaphors, similes, proverbs, sayings, frozen collocations, grammatically ill-formed collocations and routine formulae.

This part of the monograph examines the fixed expressions that contain at least a plant name in which this vehicle has a metaphorical connotation. For example, in shu4da4chao1feng1 樹大招風, ‘a big tree attracts the wind = a prestigious person is vulnerable to attacks,’ the shu4 樹 ‘tree’
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

metaphorically indicates ‘a prestigious person.’ In *as fresh as a daisy* ‘very bright and cheerful,’ the *daisy* denotes ‘energy.’

The written data are collected from literature, dictionaries, or corpora. Spoken data are gathered from mass media, daily conversations and questionnaires. The data are then categorized by the plant names in alphabetical order in EXCEL to compile our Corpora of Plant Expressions. Different kinds of data relating to individual expression are recorded in up to thirteen separate fields, such as frequency, semantic feature of the metaphorical vehicle, metaphorical tenor of the expression, the underlying conceit, etc.
Chapter 12. Melon, Tea, Apple and Linguistic Frame

Plant names are used in embodiment in languages too. In different cultures, different plants seem to have different significance to people. Therefore, as the names of plants become the vehicles of metaphors, they might stand for different meanings in different languages. On the other hand, some plants seem to have the same core meaning in different languages. How do people compose the meaning of these plant names? How do we understand fixed expressions with plants? In this chapter, we compare three plant names, melon, tree and apple, in Mandarin Chinese and English. We will examine their underlying conceits to see how these plants generate their meanings in fixed expressions.

12.1. Introduction

This chapter presents plant fixed expressions in Mandarin Chinese and in English. We present the compositionality of core meanings of tea, melon, and apple and propose that to understand plant expressions needs the understanding of a linguistic plant frame. We will support the assumption of cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991) through the analysis of plant fixed expressions, and resumes Pustejovsky’s (1993, 1995) mechanism of type coercion from a syntactic coercion to a broader package-semantic operation.

The main bulk of this chapter is organized in the following way: (1) introduction, (2) research framework, (3) the linguistic frames of tea, melon, and apple, (4) the association, underlying conceit, between plant vehicles and human sense and human knowledge, and at the end (5) a conclusion.

12.2. Research Framework

In the essence of compositionality, Pustejovsky (1993, 1995) suggested a semantic operation that “converts an argument to the type which is expected by a predicate.” The operation is applied to a syntactic unit to complete a semantic function of the utterance with four semantic roles in a qualia

* The original version of the present chapter was published with Elena Kolodkina in 2007 in Odisea: Journal of English Studies 7:59-76, Spain: University of Almería.
structure (Lien 2000: 125): (1) a constitutive role, (2) a formal role, (3) a telic role, and (4) an agentive role, where the constitutive role designates part-whole relation, the formal role concerns what identifies the object in its pertained domain, the telic role indicates the function of the object, and the agentive role points out factors involved in the creation of the object.

As a matter of fact, Pustejovky’s mechanism gives a more profound linguistic exposition than he has proposed. Lien (2000: 126) tickled out an application of type coercion in the hidden verb of koan2(sia2)po3ko3 ၏ ሣ ໴ ܦ in Taiwanese. Koan2sia2po3ko3 means ‘to hurry with one’s term paper’ often with the verb sia2 ‘write’ missed. The missing verb coerces the noun (term paper) into its qualia structure in which that (1) the constitutive role has its subparts such as an introduction, the main body, a conclusion, and so on, (2) the formal role lies in being an integral part of fulfilling a semester course requirement, (3) the telic role (the purpose) of this term paper is to earn a credit, and (4) the agentive role is the student who is writing this term paper, but in another case, the coerced verb could be gai2 ႏ ‘to score’ instead of sia2 ႏ ‘to write,’ i.e., koan2sia2po3ko3 ‘hurry with scoring term paper,’ then the agentive role would be ‘the professor.’

In terms of plant expressions, Pustejovky’s mechanism of type coercion is also in operation. If we take the constitutive role as an example, we will see that each plant vehicle, either parts of plant like root and flower, or the plant itself such as grass, is selected from nature. They are chosen ones in nature, a part-whole relation, to present fleeting thoughts of human minds (part) which in turn is a part-whole relation, viz. the constitutive role, in order to express human cognition and culture (whole). For instance, the wood expression babes in the wood ‘inexperienced people in a difficulty’ is expressed with wood, a natural botanic part and a constitutive role in nature. It points out this part of language speaker’s fleeting thought, i.e. ‘calling for experience in a difficult situation.’ This study will delve into plant fixed expressions to reveal the purpose of the plant fixed expressions in human languages and to give a proposal for resuming Pustejovky’s (1993, 1995) mechanism of type coercion.

The analysis of our data in this chapter is based on Fillmore and Aktins’ (1992) frame semantics. Frame semantics links to people’s comprehension process, that is, how we understand meanings in context. Lexical meaning and grammatical characteristics “both with information about related words and with our general cultural knowledge about the world” (Goddard 1998: 69) work together in our comprehension process. The meaning of a word can be understood only against a background frame of experience, beliefs, or practices that “motivate the concept that the word encodes” (Fillmore and Aktins 1992). They give this set of verbs as an example: buy, sell, charge, pay, cost, and spend. To understand any of these verbs, we used to understand a complete ‘commercial transaction frame’: in which one person acquires control or possession of something from a
second person, by agreement, as a result of surrendering to that person a sum of money. The needed background requires an understanding of property ownership, a money economy, implicit contract, and a great deal more. (Fillmore and Atkins 1992: 78)

In other words, this frame is a complex yet compact linguistic base for words such as buy, sell, and charge in the given society. People who do not have this linguistic frame in mind will not understand the meaning of buying and selling. Tarzan, for example, would have such difficulty. Stated otherwise, by means of the compositionality of the concepts in the related words and the background knowledge of the society, we comprehend the words and expressions that we use in our daily life.

Likewise, to understand the vehicle of apple, tea, etc. in Mandarin Chinese and English requires a complete ‘linguistic frame’ in speakers’ minds.

12.3. The Linguistic Frames of Apple, Melon and Tea

Some plant vehicles are popular in both English and Mandarin Chinese, but some are popular only in one language. Tea is one of the both favored one; there are many tea fixed expressions in both languages. Apple and melon belong to the latter case. Apple ranks 17 (out of 171 plant vehicles) in our English corpus, whereas melon ranks 18 (out of 259 plant vehicles) in our Mandarin corpus. However, they are rarely applied/found in the other corpus. This section presents the linguistic frames of tea in Mandarin and English, melon in Mandarin, and apple in English in order to show the compositionality of the concepts in plant vehicles.

12.3.1. Tea

An array of core meanings forms a semantic frame of each vehicle. We first propose the frame and then give examples. The linguistic frames of Mandarin Chinese cha2 茶 ‘tea’ and English tea are given below:

Mandarin Chinese cha2 茶 is living essentials, a snack, a foodstuff and a tip. It represents a betrothal and denotes a casual time. Cha is also a measurement unit.

English tea is a light meal and a social gathering. Tea is very expensive and valuable but also stands for things of little value. Tea is the major
interest, a chosen or a preferred task, a company. Tea is a caring attitude, especially to somebody in trouble. Tea is an old maid. Tea is also a measurement unit.

The linguistic frames of cha ‘tea’ in Mandarin and tea in English are formed through the compositionality of the respective core meanings. The frames express speaker’s multiplex concepts of cha and tea. They are rooted in the native speakers’ minds, and are expressed in various cha ‘tea’ and tea fixed expressions. We give one example for each concept in these two frames below:

Mandarin Chinese cha2 茶 is living essentials (chai2mi3you2yan2jiang4cu4cha2 柴米油盐醋藜 ‘firewood-rice-oil-salt-sauce-vinegar-tea = the seven necessities of daily life’), a snack zao3cha2 早茶 ‘early-tea = morning tea and dessert’), a foodstuff cu1cha2dan4fan4 粗茶淡饭 ‘coarse-tea-thin-rice = bad tea and rice; simple food and drink’), and a tip cha2shuei3qian2 茶水钱 ‘tea-water-money = tip for the hotel page’). It represents gifts for a betrothal guo4cha2 给茶 ‘pass-tea = give the gifts for betrothal,’ hel1cha2 喝茶 ‘drink-tea = to be betrothed to’) and denotes a casual time cha2si1fan4xiang3 茶思放想 ‘tea-long for-meal-think = think while drinking tea and having meal; think of someone or something all the time,’ chi1hua1cha2 花茶 ‘flower-tea = to get tea served by prostitutes; to wench’). Cha is also a measurement unit cha2chi2 茶匙 ‘tea spoon’).

(Mandarin) tea taste drink living essentials, foodstuff snack casual time tip betrothal

Figure 12.1. The semantic development of Mandarin cha ‘tea’

Tea is a light meal, usually eaten in mid-afternoon (afternoon tea, high tea). It can also denote a substantial meal with tea (meet tea). It is also a hot drink made with a beef extract (beef tea). Tea is a social gathering held by people (tea-party, tea-dance, tea ceremony, tea fight ‘a humorous name for a tea-party’). Tea is very expensive and valuable (to go out for one’s tea ‘to go on military operations which might result in the death’; would not do for all the tea in China ‘nothing could persuade you to do something’). It can have quite the opposite connotations, standing for things of little value, bought on a regular basis (given away with a pound of tea ‘given free with a non-expensive purchase’). Tea is the major interest (one’s tea), chosen or preferred task (one’s cup of tea), company (one’s cup of tea). Tea is a caring attitude, especially to somebody in trouble (tea
Chapter 12. Melon, Tea, Apple and Linguistic Frame

and sympathy). Tea is an old maid (tea-bottle) and marijuana (tea grouter, tea head ‘habitual user of marijuana’). Tea is also a measurement unit (tea spoon).

Figure 12.2. The semantic development of English tea

In the above examples, both Mandarin cha and English tea play a role as a part in a whole and represent the whole setting, such as being the drink in the morning, it is chosen to as the diction of zao3cha2 早茶 ‘early-tea = morning tea and dessert’; being a drink in an engagement party or one of the betrothal gifts, the betrothal gift is named as guo4cha2 通茶 ‘pass-tea = give gifts for betrothal’; so is the English tea-party, tea and sympathy, etc. The part-whole relation is an essential generating point of the vehicle tea in both languages.

English has more diverse meanings to form the linguistic frame of tea than Mandarin Chinese where tea has for the most part to do with a foodstuff. Nevertheless, when we look into these core meanings carefully, we will see that they are almost all derived from the meaning ‘drink.’ The plant tea provides people a much-loved drink that is for long necessary at either casual social activities or at formal celebrations, such as in an engagement party. In other words, teas in both Mandarin Chinese and English are associated with the edibility/usage of this plant. Sitting together and drinking tea also gives people time to talk and care each other, hence showing a caring attitude (in English).

Tea spoon is a further extension of the usage of this plant. Exactly because it is a very popular drink, the spoon that is used to measure the quality of tea was later used as a standard measuring unit for other foodstuff. Teas in Mandarin and English possess the following concepts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tea</th>
<th>Mandarin tea : taste (drink)</th>
<th>isa (drink)</th>
<th>usability (gifts)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tea</td>
<td>English tea : taste (drink)</td>
<td>isa (drink)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Mandarin Chinese the plant vehicle tea resulted from the taste of a plant item tea, it is employed as a drink and as a gift. So is the vehicle tea in an English native speaker’s mind, but tea as a gift is not expressed. Such associations between plants themselves, the plant vehicles and
language speakers’ background knowledge of the world determine the meaning of the expression. This will be discussed in detail in the next section.

**12.3.2. Melon**

The frame of Mandarin Chinese *gua* 瓜 ‘melon’ is given below:

Mandarin Chinese *gua* 瓜 is a common crop and a common thing. It means a head or a woman. *Gua* denotes a mature period, a specific period of time as well as a cause and a result.

Mandarin Chinese *gua* 瓜 is a common crop (*lao3wang2mai4gua1, zi4mai4zi4kua1 老王賣瓜, 自賣自誇 ‘old-Wang-sell-melon self-sell-self-boast = old Mr. Wang over-boasting about the melons he’s selling; someone who exaggerates benefits or his own virtues’) and a common thing (*guen3gua1lan4shou2 滾瓜臘熟 ‘roll-melon-soft through-ripe = having something at one’s fingertips’). It means a head (*nao3dai4gua1 腦袋瓜 ‘brain-melon = head,’ *sha3gua1 傻瓜 ‘stupid-melon = a stupid fellow’) or a woman (*gua1zi4chu1fen1 瓜字初分 ‘melon-word-at beginning-divide = a sixteen year old girl’). *Gua* denotes a mature period, a specific period of time (*ji2gua1 及瓜 ‘attain-melon = season of ripe melons, harvest; girls reaching the age of sixteen, reaching adulthood’) as well as a cause and a result (*zhong4gua1de2gua1, zhong4dou4de2dou4 種瓜得瓜, 植豆得豆 ‘plant-melon-obtain-melon, plant-bean-obtain-bean = you plant melons, you get melons, sow beans and you get beans; As you sow, so will you reap’).

The concepts that a speaker of Mandarin Chinese has in mind for *gua* 瓜 is hence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mandarin melon</th>
<th>English melon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shape (ball-like)</td>
<td>shape (ball-like)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isa (common crop)</td>
<td>size (large)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agriculture (time of mature)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taste: sweet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality easy to be cut when ripened</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We see that melon, the plant item, is adopted into Mandarin as the plant vehicle *melon* whose concept in a Mandarin speaker’s mind is first its shape of being like a ball. Besides, its essence of being a common crop for a Chinese farmer, the time of its agriculture, its taste and quality are marked and documented in Mandarin Chinese.
Plant expressions with melon are not typical for English. *Melon dome* is a hemispherical dome having a circular plan and a ribbed vault. To *cut the melon* means ‘to divide a surplus of profits available for distribution by stockholders.’ *Melon* can also denote ‘large breasts.’ The concepts that an English speaker have in mind for *melon* are as shown above.

For the speakers of Mandarin Chinese the shape, the taste of melon, and its being a common crop made *melon* a salient Mandarin plant vehicle. For English speakers only the shape and the size of English *melon* are sufficient. Most melons are tropical or subtropical fruits; the geographical distribution gives a better chance for plant expressions in Mandarin Chinese.

### 12.3.3. Apple

The frame of English *apple* is given below:

English *apple* is any fruit or vegetable of a round shape. It is an object of a round shape. It is a healthy food. It is very precious or dear, but it incites conflicts. Apple is a typical American food. It denotes a person, a pupil, an offspring.
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

Apple is the typical name for fruit of a round shape (apple of love ‘tomato,’ apple of Peru ‘intensively poisonous tall tropical weed’). It denotes anything in the form of an apple (Adam’s apple ‘the front part of the neck that sticks out, especially in a man,’ valley apple, road apple ‘dung’). English apple is something very good or dear (to be apples ‘to be in good order and not worried,’ apple of one’s eye). It is anything that incites quarrelling or a conflict (apple of discord). Apple is a healthy food (an apple a day keeps a doctor away). It is a typical American food. Apple-pie is regarded as characteristic of U.S. values (to be as American as an apple pie). Apple is a person (the rotten apple injures its neighbors ‘a bad individual among many good ones spoils the group,’ apples and oranges ‘people or things that do not go together’). It is an offspring (the apple never falls far from the tree). It is a pupil (apple of my eye). Apple is an informal name of New York (Big Apple).

The concepts that an English speaker has in mind for apple is hence:

- melon $\rightarrow$ English apple : shape (ball-like)
- value (precious)
- snack (healthy, American)
- person (dear)

Figure 12.3 shows the semantic development of English apple. Apple fixed expressions are rare in Mandarin. There is ping2guo3lian3 青果臉 ‘apple face’ to describe a woman with a face of rosy cheeks’ that associates with the outer appearance of an apple. Qing1ping2guo3 青蘋果 ‘green apple = one of first awakening of love; inexperienced person’ where the taste of an unripe apple is connected.

Contrary to melon, English apple is much more productive than Mandarin apple. Again, the geographical distribution determines this linguistic variation. English apple renders its shape, taste, and value to various plant expressions. Each core meaning actually relies on the function or purpose of the plant or plant parts, and this function is associated, cast or matched to human society. This is a realization of mechanism of type coercion. Language is likened to a biological organism and is used to express our thoughts. We will elaborate this assumption in the last section of this chapter.
12.4. The Underlying Conceit

As we see from the above discussion, certain associations between the plant expressions, the plants and the human mind made certain plant expressions come into being and express certain meanings, such as tea being the beloved drink and made helcha2 喝茶 ‘drink-tea = to be betrothed to’ and high tea ‘(usually) a light meal in the late afternoon.’ The association is the underlying conceits that link the real world and the expressions. They are a mixture of human culture and cognition. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 205-6) explain a proverb: Ants on a millstone whichever way they walk, they go around with it ‘describes humans and their destinies’ and assert that “the choice of ants and a millstone is by no means arbitrary.” There is a certain correspondence or relation between an ant and a millstone to make this proverb meaningful: The virtual sizes of the huge millstone and the small ant, the motions of ants on the shape of the millstone, etc., all call out the meaning of the proverb. In other words, humans are like ants walking on a millstone: they can never escape destiny. The underlying conceit that joins the real world and the proverb is the size and the shape of the vehicles, viz. ants and millstone.

A range of plant expressions in both Mandarin and English envelops the underlying conceits of (a) the edibility of the plants and (b) customs or historical events. Plants are important suppliers of nourishment for people. The Chinese value comestibles in reality and often portrays this value in the language, for instance, culcha2dan4fan4 粗茶淡饭 ‘coarse-tea-insipid-rice = bad tea and rice; simple food and drink’ means metaphorically ‘having a simple life or bearing hardships,’ because rice and tea are basic food and drink for the Chinese. One can be contented with bad tea and insipid rice, i.e., he or she is having a simple life. Or when the speaker cannot afford better food, he or she
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

is bearing a hardship. *Chi4dou4fu3* 吃豆腐 ‘eat-bean curd’ infers ‘to harass a girl’ because *dou4fu3* is soft which implies the soft skin of a girl or her quality of easily being troubled.

The English plant expression *plum-in-the-mouth* means ‘to have a (British) rich-sounding voice or affected accent’ for the reason that people speak in a special way when having a plum in the mouth. It is a colloquial expression especially associated with the manner in which the British upper classes speak. The *apple-pie bed* is a bed which, as a practical joke, has been made with a sheet folded (like pie) so that the legs cannot stretch out.

As for those associated with peculiar customs or historical events, *san1zi3* 桑梓 ‘mulberry-catalpa’ alludes to ‘childhood hometown’ as mulberry and catalpa were planted beside houses in the old days. The leaves of mulberry were used for raising silkworm and the wood of the catalpa was for making family utensils. Later on, *san1zi3* was used to refer to one’s native village where one was born and brought up, even though mulberry and catalpa are not seen beside modern houses. Also in the old days, the cane was used as an implement of punishment at school. Although it is not used for this purpose any more, *teng2tiao2* 植杖 ‘cane’ is still used as an implication of punishment in Mandarin Chinese. It is linked with school history. The English plant expression *heart of oak* means ‘this wonderful year.’ It was a topical song written by Garrick in 1759 for a pantomime entailing the victories of Minden, Quiberon Bay, and Quebec. *Flower power* was the activity promoted by hippies in the 1960s and 1970s. They opposed war and encouraged people to love each other. The ideas were to change the world by means of peace and love and the vehicle *flower* was adopted.

Additionally, in Mandarin Chinese, the underlying conceits that associate most vehicles and the meanings of expressions are the growth characteristics and cultivation of the plants, the smell and the taste, and outer features of plants:

First, growth characteristics and cultivation of the plants are encapsulated into many Mandarin plant expressions, as the examples in (1) show. Example (1a) portrays the tough vitality of grasses; if the roots of the grass are not all rid of, it grows again next spring. This is used to mean that one should resolve problems by starting from the fundamentals and to solve the problem effectively and truly. Example (1b) is used for the reason that melons grow on the ground, and when one bends down in a melon-patch, one may touch the ripened melons. Because plums grow on a tree, if someone lifts up his arms when he is under a plum tree, he will reach a luscious plum. Therefore, this expression is used to warn people not to be found in a suspicious position. The underlying conceit implies the growing characteristics of melons and plums.

(1) growth characteristics and cultivation of the plants

a. *zhan3cao3bu4chu2gen1, chun1feng1chui1you4sheng1* 赤草不除根，春風吹又生 ‘chop-grass-no-eradicate-root spring-wind-blow-again-grow = one should resolve problems starting from the fundamentals to effectively and truly solve the problem ’
Chapter 12. Melon, Tea, Apple and Linguistic Frame

b. gua1tian2li3xia4 瓜田李下 ‘melon-patch-plum-under = to do up the shoes in a melon-patch and to put on a hat under a plum tree = do not bend down in a melon-patch, do not lift up your hands under the plum trees; to avoid anything that may bring aspersion’

(2). the smell and the taste of the plants
a. ru4zhi1lan2zhi1shi4, jiu3er2wen2qi2xiang1 入芝蘭之室，久而不聞其香 ‘enter-iris-orchid-zhi-room, long-and-no-smell-the-aroma = enter the room long that has irises and orchids will not smell the fragrance; pervading uplifting character of a moral gentleman’
b. zhong4gua1deshuo1gua1tian2 種瓜的說瓜甜 ‘sell-melon-say-melon-sweet = to brag about one’s own goodness’
c. jiang1shi4lao3dela4 萊是老的辣 ‘ginger-is-old-de-the spiciest = the more elderly with more experience do handle matters much better after all’

(3). outer features of plants
a. nao3dai4gua1 腦袋瓜 ‘brain-bag-melon = a brain’
b. guo3zipu4 果子鋪 ‘fruit-shop = the appearance of someone who just got beaten up, and is red and swollen’
c. pan2gen1cuo4jie2 盤根錯節 ‘coil-roots-wrong-(tree)knots = complicated matters intertwined amidst each other’

Second, the smell of plants and the taste of them have brought about many plant expressions too, such as (2). The fragrance of irises and orchids and the tastes of a melon and a ginger are associated in the examples.

Third, outer features of plants draw people’s attention. For instance, since the human brain has a round shape just like a melon, we therefore use (3a) nao3dai4gua1 in Mandarin to mean a brain. Example (3b) guo3zipu4 describes the appearance of someone who just got beaten up and is red and swollen. The association is due to the various colors of the fruits that resemble the colors of the skin after being beaten up. The expression in (3c) pan2gen1cuo4jie2 portrays a tree with twisting roots and intercrossing branches.

In English, most underlying conceits stem from the divisions of the plants, the usability of plants, or from Scripture or the classics. The divisions of the plants enjoy high productivity in English plant expressions. For example, (4a) and (4b) use stem and root, and (4c) takes leaf. This category of underlying conceits reveals a specific perception of English speakers and will be elaborated later.
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

(4). divisions of plants
   a. \textit{from stem to stern} ‘from the front to the back, especially of a ship’
   b. \textit{put down roots} ‘begin to lead a settled life in a particular place’
   c. \textit{turn down a leaf} ‘to cease for a time’

(5). the usability of plants
   a. \textit{dead wood} ‘useless and unproductive person’
   b. \textit{seed-thought} ‘fruitful or suggestive thought’
   c. \textit{hit the hay} ‘go to bed’
   d. \textit{cork something up} ‘not allow oneself to express one’s anger, anxiety or sadness’

(6). Scripture and the classics
   a. \textit{manna from heaven} ‘help that you get when you need it but are not expecting it’
   b. \textit{a grain of mustard seed} is ‘a small thing capable of vast development’
   c. \textit{offering an olive branch} ‘doing or saying something in order to show that you want to end a disagreement with someone.’
   d. \textit{sour grapes} ‘the attitude shows that the speaker is angry because he has not got or achieved something that he wanted’
   e. \textit{pulling someone’s chestnuts out of the fire} ‘succeeding in a hazardous undertaking on behalf of or through the agency of another’

Secondly, the usability of plants plays an important role, for instance, wood is useful for construction or burning, therefore plant expression (5a) \textit{dead wood} is used. A piece of dead wood is as useless as an unproductive person. When thoughts are compared to seeds, the usability of a seed is highlighted -- a seed gives life and produces crops, thus plant expression (5b) \textit{seed-thought}. The expression (5c) \textit{hit the hay} means ‘go to bed,’ because mattresses used to be stuffed with hay or straw, where a metonymic process is involved. To \textit{cork something up} (5d) suggests “not allow oneself to express one’s negative emotion” for a cork is a short cylindrical piece of stopper that is put into the top of a bottle to close it which is metaphorically broadened to not to let off one’s emotion.

Thirdly, Scripture and the classics give many plant expressions, e.g., (6a) to (6c) are from Bible. \textit{Manna} is written in Exodus 16:31 meaning the food that God granted to the Israelites when they wandered in the desert. A \textit{grain of mustard seed} alludes to Matthew 13:31-2 “mustard seed … indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs.” In Genesis 8:11, a dove brought an olive branch to Noah that shows that God’s anger was assuaged and that the flood had abated, thus \textit{offering an olive branch} means “doing or saying something in order to show that you want to end a disagreement with someone.” Expression like \textit{sour grapes} (6d) is cited from
Chapter 12. Melon, Tea, Apple and Linguistic Frame

a famous Aesop’s fable. The fox said it when he could not reach the high hanging grapes. *Pulling someone’s chestnuts out of the fire* (6e) is quoted from the fable of a monkey that utilizes a cat’s paw (or in some versions a dog’s paw) to rake out roasting chestnuts from a fire.

We have sorted out the most important conceits in Mandarin and in English, respectively. This is not to say that no English plant expressions are linked with the growth characteristics or the odor of a plant, and no Mandarin plant expressions are associated with the usability of a plant. For example, the underlying conceit ‘the smell and the taste of plants’ is discussed under Mandarin category, but there are also English plant expressions associated with this conceit, such as *sour grapes*. However, the data we have collected so far demonstrate a much higher percentage of this conceit in Mandarin than in English, i.e., ‘the smell and the taste of plants’ is a salient underlying conceit in Mandarin and it is therefore classified in Mandarin.

Moreover, as language contacts are more and more frequent and intensive, innovative expressions play an essential role in plant expressions. They may interrupt the distribution of the conceits when the borrowing goes on. Many expressions in our corpora are either loan translation or phonetic translation from other languages, for example, *bingo* came to Mandarin as a phonetic borrowing *bin1guo3 賓果 ‘guest-fruit = bingo (transliteration).* The American Dowling paper is translated as *dao4ling2zhi3 道林紙 ‘path-forest-paper = a paper made from timber of the Dowling Company.* *Dao4lin2* sounds similar to the English Dowling. As for the borrowed plant expressions in English, the bound feet of Chinese women, in allusion to their Mandarin alias *san1cun4jin1lian2 三寸金蓮 ‘one decimeter golden water-lilies,’ is known in English as *lily-footed*. The Yoga position, now introduced into English as *lotus seat*, has its origin in India.

Likewise, religion brought in many innovations. *Jin4guo3 禁果 ‘the forbidden fruit’ is from Christianity. Plant expressions of this kind are increasing in number. Yet there are still a lot more Buddhist terms in Mandarin than those from other religions at the present time, for example, *hua1he2shang4 花和尚 ‘flower-monom = a monk who does not obey the Buddhistic regulations,’ *liu4gen1bu2jing4 六根不淨 ‘six-roots-not-clean = the six roots of sensations (Buddhism) are still in control, have not been rid of entirely,’ and *zi4shi2er4guo3 自食惡果 ‘self-eat-bad-fruits = you deserve what you got.’

A lot of Mandarin plant expressions are coined with a group—two or more vehicles in an expression. Specific core meanings of the vehicles are highlighted through such collaboration of vehicles in an expression. At the same time, such collaboration yield specific culture implications, such as cultural customs and life philosophy. Let us take *cao3 ‘grass’ as an example.

When *cao3 ‘grass’ collocates with *hua1 ‘flower,’ the *cao3 represents ‘man to contrast the feminine property of a flower and the connotation of the collocation render to romance or more often to pornography, for example, *xian2hua1ye3cao3 稀花野草 ‘idle-flower-wild-grass = prostitutes or females with inappropriate behavior,’ *hua1hual1cao3 花花草草 ‘flower-flowergrass-grass = being dissolute and living easy,’ and *nian3hua1re3cao3 拈花惹草 ‘pick up-flower-
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

induce-grass = have many love affair; to be promiscuous in sex relations.’ When cao3 ‘grass’ and gen ‘root’ come together, the toughness of grass being growing everywhere and not being easy to get away is highlighted, as in zhan3cao3chu2gen1 斬草除根 ‘chop-grass-eradicate-root = to rid of the source of the trouble.’ Furthermore, the quality of ‘grass’ being-as-life-form is prominent when cao3 is juxtaposed with mu4 ‘wood,’ for example, yu4zai4shan1er2cao3mu4run4 玉在山而草木 璎 ‘jade-at-mountain-and-grass-wood-moist = the jade stored within the mountains makes the plants rich and splendid; if one gentleman has good virtues, it will help to bring morality for the world.’ Yet, a seeming feature of vegetation—emotionless, is imposed on the collocation like ren2fei1cao3mu4, shei2neng2wu2qing2 人非草木，誰能無情 ‘people-are not-grass-wood, who-can be-without-sentiments = everyone has feelings and emotions’ in which the emotions of human beings are paid tribute to.

We can put forward the following proposal that to understand plant expressions requires the understanding of a linguistic plant frame:

Speakers associate the appearances, growing characteristics, cultivation, smell, divisions of the plants, edibility, usability of the plants, or customs, historical events, and allusions of religious classics to express specific thoughts, cognition, and culture. Borrowings may introduce arbitrary expressions. Each plant vehicle has its core meaning. When two plant vehicles are collocated, specific salient features of the vehicles are highlighted.

12.5. Conclusion

This study examines the plant expressions of the plant vehicles tea in Mandarin and English, melon in Mandarin, and apple in English for the purpose of revealing their meanings and frames in their respective languages. It then goes on to present the underlying conceits that link the plant vehicles and human languages. We hope to have shown that plants are vivid and memorable and thus offer concrete image banks for languages to generate fixed expressions able to capture and compose mankind’s fleeting moments into words.

As a matter of fact, the discussion about underlying conceits and core meanings of the favorite plant vehicles also suggests a linguistic feature—the holistic perspective in Chinese and individual mode of thinking in English. English vehicles provide more divisions of a plant such as a leaf, a root, a stem, etc. while division of a plant is not a crucial underlying conceit of Mandarin. In terms of expressions with two plant vehicles, Mandarin have a great number of such proverbs and sayings to express a meaning in cooperation, whereas there are only limited numbers of such
Chapter 12. Melon, Tea, Apple and Linguistic Frame

expressions in our English corpus. The issue of the Chinese holistic mode of thinking and the English individual perspective has been concluded in detail in Hsieh and Chiu (2004). Though there certainly are other distinctions between Mandarin and English plant expressions, this chapter will bring to a closing from the viewpoint—the process and the purpose of using plant expressions.

Each plant vehicle has its specific semantic frame that varies from language to language, yet the single linguistic plant frame proposed in the last section is the base of every plant vehicle frame. A linguistic plant frame is composed of speakers’ background knowledge of the world, human cognition and culture. We produce and comprehend plant expressions in our daily life through this primary/basic linguistic plant frame. On the other hand, language contacts and culture contacts bring in innovations (examples like *bin1guo3* ‘guest-fruit,’ which is a transliteration of the game ‘bingo’). Phonetic borrowings and homonymic extensions are trendy nowadays in the globalization era and introduce more and more innovations into both Mandarin and English.

Let us now recall the mechanism of type coercion proposed by Pustejovky (1993, 1995) to complete cognitive grammar in a specific aspect. As mentioned above, Pustejovky’s qualia structure requires four semantic roles: a constitutive role, a formal role, a telic role, and an agentive role. The constitutive role designates part-whole relation, the formal role concerns what identifies the object in its pertained domain, the telic role indicates the function of the object, and the agentive role points out factors involved in the creation of the object.

Every individual plant vehicle is a chosen one from nature, a part-whole relation, to present fleeting thoughts of human minds (part) which in turn is a part-whole relation, viz. the constitutive role, in order to express human cognition and culture (whole). For example, *melon* is a chosen plant vehicle from the whole Chinese botanical setting/surrounding, a natural botanic part and a constitutive role in nature. *Guen3gua1lan4shou2* ‘roll-melon-soft through-ripe’ is produced to express this part of Mandarin speaker’s ‘having something at one’s fingertips’ and play a part in speaker’s whole scenario of human cognition.

We have identified core meanings for plant vehicles (the formal role). Each core meaning actually relies on the function or purpose of the plant or plant parts and this function is associated, cast or matched to human society (the telic role). For example, the core meaning ‘favorite’ of the English vehicle *apple* formal role, is identified. This core meaning ‘favorite’ is associated with ‘apple’ being an important fruit and a foodstuff. The telic role of the *apple* expression, say, *apple of the eye*, refers to a very important role in someone’s life, usually the person who someone loves the most and is very important; a similar role as apples among other plants and fruits for the given people.

All of the constitutive role, formal role and telic role are activated by language speakers—human beings (the agentive role). In a word, language speakers utilize suitable vehicles from the natural world to express their cognition and culture acquired in the human world. The
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

analysis of the four semantic roles makes it clear that the plant expressions in both Mandarin and English have the same ultimate function and purpose.

At this point, we may go on with Pustejovsky’s approach from a syntactic coercion to a broader package-semantic operation. We see from the analysis of core meanings of frames that though the plant vehicles are taken to express different semantic roles, they still perform constitutive roles that each one takes its own responsibility in the scenario of human cognition, which visualized invisible human thoughts through plant vehicles. There is a cognition scenario in our minds that varies from language to language and from culture to culture, but the mechanism that is activated in them points to the same direction—simply to express speaker’s cognition and culture.

To resume Langacker’s (1987, 1991) cognitive grammar that language in general is accurately likened to a biological organism, we see that plant fixed expressions play an important role in this overall integral organization. Plant vehicles are taken from a similar biological organism, linked with language speaker’s senses, such as the taste of tea, and the round shape of a melon or an apple, and world experience, such as agriculture characteristics of melons, and has the capability of uttering the inner facet of a more complex biological organism—human mind, through linguistic operation such as linguistic plant frame and type coercion, in the essence of/through compositionality.
Chapter 13. Flower, Grass, Root, Fruit and Linguistic Frame

Flowers, grass, roots and fruits are common plant vehicles too. We adopt these to express our concepts according to their core meanings in frame semantics. Though a certain plant presents the same quality to different language speakers, the meaning and the use of these vehicles vary from language to language and from culture to culture. For what reasons do these plant vehicles have such variations in different languages? Are these variations generated from the same underlying conceit? We will look into the fixed expressions that contain flowers, grass, roots and fruits and see how these plant vehicles are diverse in English and Mandarin Chinese.

13.1. Introduction

Languaculture is a conception that covers language plus culture (Agar 1994). According to Telia (1996: 14), languaculture studies and describes cultural semantics of language signs in their real, synchronous usage, reflecting the cultural-national mentality of the language speakers. Languaculture is being developed in the so-called anthropocentric paradigm, which is considered to be the mainstream of modern linguistics. Zalevskaya (2005: 204) suggests that a human being should be studied “as functioning in real conditions of a language and culture.” Studying language can reveal the national cultural meaning of language phenomena both universal and nationally specific, and the study on plant expressions are particularly interesting in this area in order to reveal what speakers have in mind about plants and embodiment.

This chapter delves into plant expressions of the top four plant vehicles, flower, grass, root, and fruit, in Mandarin Chinese and English, for example, in one’s flowers ‘the state or condition of greatest eminence,’ and cao3bao1 草包 ‘grass-sack = a blockhead.’ We look into the meanings that these expressions represent for the purpose of revealing different semantic dependencies and a cognitive model.

The main bulk of this chapter is organized in the following way: (1) introduction, (2) research framework, (3) the frames of the top four plant vehicles in Mandarin Chinese and English, (4) the

* The original version of the present chapter was published with Elena Kolodkina in 2008 in Studies in International Cultures 3(2):1-33.

53 He borrowed this term ‘linguaculture’ from Friedrich (1989).
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

semantic primes of the top vehicles, (5) plant-vehicle groups and cultural features, and (6) a conclusion. The frame semantic in section 13.3 and its further discussion of semantic primes in section 13.4 are to reveal concepts expressed by the respective languages. The plant vehicle groups in section 13.5 give cultural features via semantic dependencies.

13.2. Research Framework

Most of our raw data are collected from the *Academia Sinica Ancient Chinese Corpus, Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese, Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), and *Merriam-Webster OnLine*. The spoken data were gathered from conversations with native speakers.

We have collected 4842 Mandarin, and 1305 English plant fixed expressions. Their distributions are given in Table 13.1.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Mandarin</th>
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<th>English</th>
<th>numbers</th>
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<td>789</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>323</td>
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<td>willow</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>thorn</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13.1. The top ten plant vehicles in Mandarin and English (cf. Hsieh, Lien and Meier 2005: 116)

Table 13.1 shows that *flower* is the favorite plant vehicle in Mandarin. There are 789 fixed expressions and they take 16.3% in our Mandarin corpus. *Grass* also occupies a great amount (392 expressions, 8.10%) and ranks the second. We discuss four popular vehicles in Mandarin together with their English counterparts. They are *hua1* 花 ‘flower,’ *cao3* 草 ‘grass,’ *gen1* 根 ‘root,’ and
Chapter 13. Flower, Grass, Root, Fruit and Linguistic Frame

guo3 果 ‘fruit.’ We do not discuss wood and thorn for the following reasons: Mu4 木 ‘wood/tree,’ shu4 树 ‘trees,’ and lin2 林 ‘woods’ are often polysemous extensions of one another. For example, the common ‘tree’ can be expressed either with shu4 树 or mu4 木, and the juxtapose of shu4 树 and lin2 林—shu4lin2 树林—is the woods. Thus, a detailed distinction between these three vehicles should be presented before getting into a discussion. As for thorn, we avoided it because of the ambiguous identification of the vehicle. For example, one might argue whether the ci4 刺 in expressions like gu3ci4 骨刺 ‘bone-thorn = spur’ or ci4er3 刺耳 ‘thorn-ear = sharp or noisy sounds’ are derived from the plant vehicle thorn or the animal vehicle fishbone. In English, the top four vehicles are not corresponding with those of Mandarin, but flower, grass, root, and fruit also rank high in the list; root ranks fourth, flower seventh, fruit eleventh.

The theoretical framework of this chapter is frame semantics and linguaculture. Minsky (1975: 212) presented frame as a cover term for “a data-structure representing a stereotyped situation” in artificial intelligence. Fillmore (1968) adapted frame for the needs of linguistics. His frame semantics (1976: 28) takes as a goal a uniform representation for the meanings of words, sentences, and texts.

We also adopt Fillmore and Aktins’ frame approach (1992) as part of the theoretical background of the study in this chapter. Though they have been explained in the previous chapter (chapter 12), for a clear understanding of this study, we introduce it again below. Fillmore and Aktins (1992) propose that the meaning of a word can be understood only against a background frame of experience, beliefs, or practices that “motivate the concept that the word encodes” (1992). They give this set of verbs as an example: buy, sell, charge, pay, cost, and spend. To understand any of these verbs needs the understanding of a complete ‘commercial transaction frame’

in which one person acquires control or possession of something from a second person, by agreement, as a result of surrendering to that person a sum of money. The needed background requires an understanding of property ownership, a money economy, implicit contract, and a great deal more. (Fillmore and Atkins 1992: 78)

This is to say, this frame is a complex yet compact linguistic base for words such as buy, sell, and charge in a given society. People who do not have this linguistic frame in mind will have difficulty understand the meaning of buying and selling real estate. Peoples in some areas of Africa, Asia, and the Americas, for example, would have such difficulty. In other words, by means of the compositionality of the concepts in the related words and the background knowledge of the society, we comprehend the words and expressions that we use in our everyday language. Likewise, to understand the vehicle of flower, grass, root, and fruit in Mandarin and English requires a complete ‘linguistic frame’ in speakers’ minds.

229
Languaculture is a new theory that covers language plus culture (Agar 1994). It tries to overcome some limitations of frame semantics; for example, it considers a frame to be insufficient to describe human concepts in all their peculiarities, including cultural ones. According to the traditional definition of a concept in cognitive linguistics, it is a unit of some informational structure, reflecting knowledge and experience of a person in the consciousness of a personality (Kubryakova 1996: 90-94). In languaculture, the concept is treated not as an instrument of cognition, but as a real and functioning form of existence of a cultural phenomenon. It is important that concepts are “translated (transmitted)” into different spheres of human life, such as language, art, religion, etc. Languaculture tends to regard a frame as either a type of mental representation along with schemes, scripts, scenarios, gestalts, prototypes, and propositional structures (Boldyrev 2001: 36-38) or an element of a concept. Slyshkin (2000) and Karasik (2002) propose that a cultural concept is a multidimensional unit. Frames can be used to make models of concepts, but they are not sufficient to reflect all the peculiarities of cultural concepts. According to Jackendoff (1990: 10), one’s stock of lexical concepts is constructed from an innate basis of possible concepts, modulated by the contribution of linguistic and nonlinguistic experience.

Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (see e.g., Carroll 1977) already stated that it is the nature of a particular language that influences the habitual thought of its speakers. This idea challenges the possibility of representing the world perfectly with language, because it acknowledges that the mechanisms of any language affect its users. Weisberger (2004) supported Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in the conception of language as an intermediate world, situated between reality and consciousness. But the hypothesis of linguistic determinism needs re-examination, taking into account ideas of cognitive linguistics and languacultural approach. According to Wierzbicka (1980), “a naïve vision of the world” is represented in the lexis of a language, but language itself does not reflect the world, it reflects only the way of conceptualization of the world by the national language personality.

Languaculture focuses on the interaction of language, which is regarded as “a translator” of cultural information, and a human being, who creates culture, using language (Maslova 2001: 36). The most valuable source of information about the culture and mentality of a nation are set expressions like fixed expressions, because they contain elements of beliefs, myths, legends, and customs. Telia (1996: 9) compares the phraseological layer of a language to a mirror in which a languacultural community identifies its self-consciousness. Fixed expressions are closely connected to background knowledge of people and their practical experience, thus reflecting cultural and historical traditions of people speaking the given language (Vereshchagin and Kostomarov 1980: 34). Fixed expressions, as they are the result of the particular nation’s introspection and reflection of the most important concepts, demonstrate the originality of their language behavior (Kolshansky 1990: 108). For example, Vervaeke and Kennedy research (1996: 278-79) on Metaphors and Thought says that “… a core concept of people controls and guides our selection and generation of metaphors to suit the fleeting purposes of the moment.” This core concept defines the use of
Chapter 13. Flower, Grass, Root, Fruit and Linguistic Frame

metaphors and presents speaker’s minds in a concise way. Culture is encoded in idiomatic fixed expressions that mirror and shape the way we think.

13.3. The Linguistic Frames of the Top Four Plant Vehicles

In this section, the top four productive vehicles *hua1* 花 ‘flower,’ *cao3* 草 ‘grass,’ *gen1* 根 ‘root,’ and *guo3* 果 ‘fruit’ in Mandarin along with their English counterparts will be presented in their respective frames. An array of core meanings forms a semantic frame for each vehicle. We first propose the frame and then give examples for the purpose of looking into the interlexical relationships and cultural features later.

13.3.1 Flower

The linguistic frames of *hua1* 花 ‘flower’ in Mandarin and *flower* in English as well as other vehicles are formed through the compositionality of the respective core meanings. A core meaning is a unit of the frame and it is decided by the semantic properties accessed to through the following ways:

1. Unit A (compounds and shorter morphosyntactic unit), e.g., *cao3bao1* 草包 ‘grass-sack’ means ‘a blockhead,’ therefore, the Mandarin vehicle *cao3* 草 contains the semantic property ‘unlearned’ people.
2. Unit B (phrases), e.g., in *to put out to grass* ‘allow to eat grass on the pasture instead of working; force someone to retire,’ the English vehicle *grass* holds the semantic property ‘undesirable dismissal.’
3. Unit C (sentences and longer morphosyntactic unit), e.g., in *while the grass grows, the steed starves* ‘to not waste time by delaying doing something,’ the vehicle *grass* contains ‘develops very slowly.’

Furthermore, the semantic property will be identified as a core meaning to form the frame only when it is used repeatedly in different fixed expressions of the same plant vehicle. As a result, the frames of Mandarin *hua1* 花 ‘flower’ and English *flower* are as below:

*Hua1* is the quintessence of anything. The blossomy flower looks expansive. This most showy part of the plant can denote flourishing, dishonesty, or blurriness. It also represents a girl, a woman, and even a prostitute to Mandarin speakers.
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

Flower is the best time of human development. Flower is brilliant but brief. Flower is the best part or product of something. Flower is a decoration or embellishment. Referring to people, flower is the choicest individual of individuals, an attractive girl, and a hippie.

The frames express speakers’ multiplex concepts of hua1 and flower. They are rooted in the native speakers’ minds, and are expressed in various hua1 and flower fixed expressions. We give one example for each core meaning in these two frames below:

Hua1 花 is the quintessence (mo4dai4wu2hua1kong1zhe2zhi1 寫許無花空折枝 ‘don’t-wait for-no-flowers-empty-snap-branches = do not wait until you have no more flowers to snap; cherish the moment, enjoy fun on the spot’) of anything (you3xin1zai1hua1hua1bu4fa1 有心栽花花不發 ‘has-intention-plant-flower-flower-no-sprout = what you plan to do often does not get accomplished’). The blossomy flower looks expansive (huo3hua1 火花 ‘fire-flower = sparkle’). This most showy part (hua1qiao4 花俏 ‘flower-handsome = fancy’) of the plant can denote flourishing (mia04bi3sheng1hua1 妙生花 ‘wonderful-pen-produce-flower = ingenious writing’), dishonesty (tian1hua1luan4zhuai4 天花亂墜 ‘sky-flower-careless-fall = to say whatever he wants; to talk through one’s hat’), or blurred vision (lao3hua1yan3 老花眼 ‘old-flower-eye = presbyopia; disoriented eyesight, sometimes with the implication of being bedazzled’). It also represents a girl (ru2hua1si4yu4 如花似玉 ‘as-flower-like-jade = beautiful as the flower and fine as the jade’), a woman (nu3ren2si4shi2yi4zhi1hua1 女人四十一朵花 ‘women-forty-one-flower = women are the most stunning and charming at the age of forty’), and even prostitute (xun2hua1wen4liu3 寻花問柳 ‘flower-street-willow-alley = the red light district, brothels’) to Mandarin speakers.

In English, flower is the best time of human development (in the flower of one’s youth; in one’s flowers ‘the state or condition of greatest eminence, fame, prosperity, etc.’). Flower is brilliant, but brief (flower-time). Flower is the best part or product of something (the flowers of something). Flower is a decoration or embellishment (flower of the speech). Referring to people, flower is the choicest individual of individuals (flower of chivalry ‘the pick’), an attractive girl (flower), and a hippie (flower child).

Mandarin hua1 and English flower show different core meanings with only the tendency to describe ‘a woman’ and ‘the best part/product of something’ (Mandarin ‘flourishing’).

13.3.2 Grass

The frames of Mandarin cao3 草 ‘grass’ and English grass are given below:

Mandarin cao3 are common people, provincial people, unlearned people,
or incapable people. When *cao3* refers to something, it can be simple and humble, a trifling, a wasteland, but it can also be a protection. *Cao3* involves doing things in an informal, casual, or careless way, and thus brings in disorder.

English *grass* is common and ordinary. *Grass* develops very slowly, thus it becomes boring. *Grass* is an undesirable dismissal. *Grass* also represents an informer and a married woman whose husband is away.

*Cao3* are common people (*cao3ming2* 草民 ‘grass-people = a humble way for the people to call themselves when they greeted officials [in ancient days]’), provincial people (*a1cao3 阿草 ‘Mister-grass = criticizing an ignorant person or a clodhopper’), unlearned people (*cao3bao1 草包 ‘grass-sack = dullard’), or incapable people (*na2cao3gun4er chuo1lao3hu3debi2ziyan3er* 拿草棍兒戳老虎的鼻子眼兒 ‘take-grass-stick-poke-tiger-de [morphosyntactic particle, possessive]-nose-eyes = to take a grass stick to poke the nose and eyes of a tiger = not to know one’s own limitations’). When *cao3* refers to something, it can be simple and humble (*cao3yi1mu4shi2 草衣木食 ‘grass-cloth-wood-food = simple clothing and food; being poor’), a trifling (*cao3jie4 草芥 ‘grass-mustard = trivial matter’), a wasteland (*huang1yan1man4cao3 荒煙蔓草 ‘waste-smoke-tendrilled vine-grass = unworked acres’), but it can also be protective (*da3cao3jing1she2 打草驚蛇 ‘beat-grass-startle-snake = frighten away thieves by raising a scare; put enemy on guard by premature action’). *Cao* involves informal (*cao3tu1 草書 ‘grass-script = cursive script; marked by tendency to join strokes and economy of lines’), doing things in an informal, casual way (*cao3shu1 草書 ‘cursive script’) or careless way (*liao2cao3 草草 ‘without care-grass = rough’), and thus brings in disorder (*cao3shuai4 草藁 ‘grass-rash = without due care’).

English *grass* is common and ordinary (*grass roots* ‘ordinary people; the rank and file of an organization, especially a political party’). *Grass* develops very slowly (*while the grass grows, the steed starves*), thus it becomes boring (*to be like watching grass grow*). *Grass* is an undesirable dismissal (*to put out to grass [to pasture], i.e., allow to eat grass instead of working; ‘to force someone to retire’). *Grass* also represents an informer (*supergrass* ‘an informer’) and a married woman whose husband is away (*grass widow*).

Comparing the frames of English *grass* and Mandarin *cao3*, we see that they do not share many concepts. However, we will show later that the underlying semantic prime—*common or no value*—is the same in these two languages.
13.3.3 Root

The linguistic frames of Mandarin gen1 植 ‘root’ and English root are given below:

Mandarin gen1 is the base and groundwork. Gen1 is at the bottom or lower part of something. Gen1 represents our family/hometown, and country. It is someone to lean upon. It is also our senses, our lineage/descendants. Gen1 is the source, the truth and represents thoroughness.

English root is the base and the groundwork. Root is at the bottom or lower part of something. It is a family/hometown and an ancestor. Root denotes cause, origin, source and truth. Root is immovable. Root is completeness and thoroughness.

Gen is the base (gen1ji1 根基 ‘root-base = foundation’) and groundwork (gen1ju4 根據 ‘root-evidence = a basis’). Gen is at the bottom (shan1gen1 山根 ‘mountain-root = foothill’) or lower part of something (qiang2gen1 墻根 ‘wall-root = the foot of the wall’). Gen represents our family/hometown (luo4ye4gui1gen1 什麽根 comes from the soil will return to the soil’), and country (wu2gen1deyi2dai4 無根的一代 ‘no-root-one-generation = a migrating generation that has difficulty in identifying with the new culture, while also having lost their homeland’). It is someone to lean upon (wu2gen1wu2di4 無根無茎 ‘no-root-no-stalk = something that is based on nothing’). It is also our senses (wu3gen1qing1jing4 五根清静 ‘five-roots-quiet = the five basic senses are quiet [and thus allow one to adjust one’s powers when dealing with troubles’]), our lineage/descendants (duan4gen1jue2zhong3 斷根絕種 ‘cut off-root-exterminate-seeds = to exterminate and inhibit all progeny’). Gen is the source (xun2gen1 撻根 ‘search-root = looking for the sources of something’), the truth (zhu1gen1ju4di3 追根究底 ‘chase-root-probe-base = to trace and investigate the origins of a matter’) and represents thoroughness (gen1zhi4 植治 ‘find a basic cure for [disease’]).

English root is the base (the idea roots ‘the idea is based on something’; rooting interest is ‘the basic interest’) and the groundwork (to root around ‘to search, to find the ground’). Root is a bottom (root of a mountain) or lower part (root of a hair) of something. It is a family/hometown (to

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54 Gen1 植 also is also a classifier, e.g., yi4gen1chang2zhong4dao4di3 一根腸子通到底 ‘one-gen[classifier]-intestine-reach-bottom = to be very direct.’
Chapter 13. Flower, Grass, Root, Fruit and Linguistic Frame

go to the roots back; to be rootless ‘to not have a home’) and an ancestor (to search for one’s roots; root of the title). Root denotes cause, origin (to get to the roots of the problem ‘to find the cause of the problem’), source and truth (the root of the matter ‘the source of the matter’). Root is immovable (rooted to the spot ‘unable to move’). Root is completeness and thoroughness (to the roots; by the roots).

English root shares many concepts with Mandarin gen1 ‘root.’ The basic underlying concepts are base, groundwork, etc. Root and gen1 are also the bottom or lower part of something, family/hometown, ancestors and source and truth. Both root and gen1 can be applied to animate and inanimate objects and can carry concrete and abstract denotations.

13.3.4 Fruit

The frames of Mandarin guo3 果 ‘fruit’ and English fruit are given below:

As the pleasant outcome of a plant, guo3 is food for people. It is the result of an event and the completion of a religious pursuit. People make efforts and achieve a feat or get it wrong and deserve it. When guo3 refers to a person, that person is a bringer of joy.

English fruit is a result, often pleasant. Fruit denotes consequences or offspring. Fruit is a reward. Fruit is a man: a fellow, an eccentric or insane person, and a male homosexual. Fruit is also an elite group.

As the pleasant outcome of a plant, guo3 is food for people (mi3guo3 米果 ‘rice-fruit = a kind of biscuit made from peng-lei rice’). It is the result of an event (cheng2guo3 成果 ‘complete-fruit = result’) and the completion of a religious pursuit (xiu1cheng2zheng4guo3 修成正果 ‘work-become-upright-fruit = to accomplish achievements, success’). People make efforts and achieve a feat (sha1di2zhi4guo3 杀敌致果 ‘kill-enemy-get-fruit = killing enemy bravely and performing marvelous feat’) or get it wrong and deserve it (zi4shi2er4guo3 自食惡果 ‘self-eat-bad-fruits = you get what you deserve’). When guo3 refers to a person, that person is a bringer of joy (kai1xing1guo3 開心果 ‘open-heart-fruit = someone who has a tendency to create a happy atmosphere and cheer others up’).

English fruit is a result, often pleasant (first fruit). Fruit denotes consequences or offspring (the tree is known for its fruit). Fruit is a reward (he that would eat a fruit must climb the tree). Fruit is a man: a fellow (old fruit), an eccentric or insane person (fruit), and a male homosexual (fruit). Fruit is also an elite group (the fruit of Islam).
English *fruit* and Mandarin *guo3* have the same salient meaning of “result.” All the other concepts are different. Both English *fruit* and Mandarin *guo3* convey abstract and concrete denotations. But English *fruit* is more often used to denote people. Nevertheless, a single semantic prime is operating in these two different frames that will be discussed in the next section.

Thus the core meanings of the above discussed four plant vehicles are for the most part different. Table 13.2 lists them for comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant vehicles</th>
<th>Mandarin core meanings</th>
<th>English core meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flower</td>
<td>nice person/things, pattern/design, a woman, girl, prostitute, expansive, showy part, quintessence, flourishing, dishonesty, blurred vision</td>
<td>the best time of human development, brilliant but brief, the best part/product of something, decoration or embellishment, the choicest individual of individuals, attractive girl, hippie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>informal, do things in a casual/careless way, common people, trifling, people, provincial people, unlearned people, incapable people, in disorder, protection, wasteland</td>
<td>common and ordinary, developing slowly, boring, undesirable dismissal, informer, married woman whose husband is away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root</td>
<td>base, groundwork, source, truth, sense, lineage/ descendant, lower part, family/hometown, country, someone to lean upon, thoroughness, measurement</td>
<td>base, groundwork, family/hometown, ancestor, cause, origin, source, truth, immovable, completeness, thoroughness, bottom or lower part of something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>pleasant outcome, food, joy maker, feat, completion, deserved fate/just punishment</td>
<td>pleasant result, consequences, offspring, reward, elite group, fellow, eccentric or insane person, male homosexual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 13.4. The Semantic Primes of the Top Vehicles

We showed, using frame semantics, that each of the favorite plant vehicles has an array of core meanings that compose a unique frame for that specific vehicle. Nevertheless, there is an underlying semantic prime among these core meanings in each frame. The prime is an intralexical or interlexical relationship that links the core meanings together; that is, most of the core meanings of a vehicle are directly derived from the specific prime.
Chapter 13. Flower, Grass, Root, Fruit and Linguistic Frame

The semantic prime of Mandarin gen1 根 ‘root’ is base. It pictures a plant root that grows underground and provides botanic life. Almost all Mandarin root expressions involve this prime. For example, ‘bottom or lower part of an object’ is the base, ‘truth’ is the base of a fact, ‘sense’ is the basis of being organic, and ‘family’ is the basis of interpersonal relations. Even when gen1’s core meaning is ‘someone to lean upon,’ we see the support of human emotion. A metaphorical extension is operating when gen1 is applied to the lower part of an object or to the base of interpersonal relations. English root also possesses the prime base. Again, ‘bottom or lower part of something’ is the base and family is the base of interpersonal relations. The base is usually the most stable or the strongest part of the bulk, and only when the base is set up is a completion possible.

Grass also shares the same prime in Mandarin and English. Its being common and ordinary has to do with the fact that grass is a herbaceous plant, not woody but soft, and that some type of grass grows almost anywhere there is land and water. Mandarin focuses more on the metonymic extension of the prime in which the countryside offers more land for grass to grow. Grass is thus a metonym for ‘provincial,’ which describes both the place and the people from a rural area. In its turn, it leads to a metaphorical extension and entails the quality of provincial people’s being simple and not having the experience of urbanites. In English, ‘developing slowly’ is common and ‘boring.’ They are hyponyms of the same hypernym “the feeling of an impatient person.” The core meaning ‘married woman whose husband is away’ is a figurative development that focuses on the fact that, when a woman’s husband is always far away, it makes the wife common and apparently unimportant to her husband. The core meaning ‘informer’ is used in the expression supergrass, which means a person, usually a criminal, who informs the police of other criminals’ activities. This is derived from the sense that the ‘informer’ pretends to be common, does not behave differently from his fellow gangsters, and does not show that he is in fact the one who is betraying them.

Mandarin hua1 ‘flower’ in essence gives the prime charming. Florescence is the period before the outcome (fruit) and is expected when all efforts and labor are devoted to preparing for the fruit. The event in question can involve a change of state; it can either be positive-oriented or negative-oriented, e.g., ‘nice person’ versus ‘dishonest person,’ ‘a beautiful woman’ versus ‘a prostitute.’ For this reason, the vehicle flower in Mandarin is rendered as ‘charming’ but not ‘pretty.’ For an English speaker, the prime of flower is the best and is a decoration. It shows ‘the best time of human development,’ ‘the best part of something,’ and ‘the choicest individual of individuals.’ It is taken from the splendor of the florescence and also the function of flowers—embellishments for interior design. Both Mandarin and English pay attention to the outer appearance and growth characteristics of the flower, but with, to some extent, different focal points.

Similar to flower, Mandarin and English fruit also have primes of the same hypernym but different focal points. Mandarin guo3 denotes the result and completion; for instance, the ending of evil-doing is a ‘just punishment,’ the completion of crops is being a ‘food’ source, the completion of joining a battle is performing a ‘feat.’ In English, the result of the family system is an ‘offspring,’
the result of an endeavor is a ‘reward,’ and an ‘elite group’ is an expected fruitful result of training or educating people. In other words, English fruit and Mandarin hua1 are autoantonyms, words that can take two opposite meanings. Mandarin hua1 denotes a ‘nice person’ but also ‘dishonesty,’ while English fruit carries ‘elite group’ as well as ‘insane person.’

Furthermore, when comparing flower and fruit in Mandarin and English, we can see that, while English flower possesses the best of something, and Mandarin flower is either positively or negatively oriented, the vehicle fruit is the other way around. That is, English fruit implies a change of state, whereas Mandarin fruit points to a completion. The completion is a neutral finish line; it completes where it ends. But with English fruit, after the best stage (flower) has passed, the next is free from restraint. As a result, English fruit generates either a positive (‘elite group’) or negative connotation (‘insane person’). Due to lexical competition between synonyms, English flower came to mean the prime, the best, and Mandarin fruit, the completion.

To sum up, root and grass share the same semantic primes in Mandarin and English. Fruit in both languages has very close semantic primes. Both fruit and guo3 share the prime completion, stressing the end of a process in Mandarin, and its change of state in English. Mandarin flower denotes charming. English flower represents the highest degree of charm, its prime being the best. Table 13.3 lists the semantic primes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vehicles</th>
<th>Mandarin primes</th>
<th>English primes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>root</td>
<td>Base</td>
<td>base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>completion/end</td>
<td>completion/result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower</td>
<td>Charming</td>
<td>the best, decoration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.5. Plant-vehicle Groups and Cultural Features

In the previous sections we showed that semantic primes illustrate language universality and that the whole sets of examined core meanings illustrate language diversity, explained by the cultural specifics of Mandarin and English plant names. This section presents fixed expressions that contain more than one plant vehicle, i.e. plant-vehicle groups in order to show the specific life philosophies of each cultural group. We also give examples of plant vehicles other than the popular four in order to provide wider range of culture pictures.

Language and cultural diversity is clearly seen in plant-vehicle groups. Our Mandarin data show 7.54% plant-vehicle groups but English only 1.30%, which is to say that Mandarin has about six times as many such expressions than does English. It is interesting to note that Mandarin has a
lot of fixed expressions with two or more high-ranking plant vehicles, and English has only one: *grass root*, meaning ‘ordinary people’ as the basis, main body of any membership.

Mandarin plant-vehicle groups give more obvious linguistic and cultural features. Specific core meanings of the vehicles are highlighted through such collaboration of vehicles in an expression. Let us take only *gen1 ‘root’* and *hua1 ‘flower’* as examples.

Many *gen* expressions appear in connection with *cao3 ‘grass’,* the examples in (1) below show the simplicity of rural folk. The collocations of *gen1* and *cao3* also indicate that *gen1 ‘root’* is the source of *cao3 ‘grass’,* as (2) exemplifies. When *gen1* and *shu4 ‘tree’,* *hua1 ‘flower’,* or *di1 ‘the stalk of the fruit or flower’* are juxtaposed, the combination tends to underscore that the *gen1* is the source and base. The semantic prime ‘base’ of *gen* stands out, as the examples in (3) demonstrate.

(1). *gen1* and *cao3* expressions
   a. *cao3gen1 草根 ‘grass-root = the rural side of a person’s nature’*
   b. *cao3gen1xing4 草根性 ‘grass-root-nature = local-natured’*
   c. *cao3gen1da4shi3 草根大使 ‘grass-root-big-ambassador = ambassadors sent to the rural areas of foreign countries to promote fellowship and learn about agricultural skills’*

(2). *gen1* and *cao3* expressions
   a. *zhan3cao3bu4chu2gen1, chun1feng1chu1lyou4sheng1 斧草不除根，春風吹又生 ‘chop-grass-no-eradicate-root, spring-wind-blow-again-grow = one should resolve problems starting from the fundamentals to effectively and truly solve the problem’*
   b. *zhilcao3wu2gen1 茹草無根 ‘ganoderma-grass-no-root = the dead wood on which ganoderma lucidum (a medicinal wood fungus) lives on does not have roots; outstanding accomplishments are achieved by one’s own efforts.’*

(3). *gen1* and other plant vehicles
   a. *pao2hu4yao4xun2gen1 剃樹要尋根 ‘shave-tree-should-find-root = one should search for the original causes when a problem occurs’*
   b. *hua1gen1ben3yan4 花根本源 ‘flower-root-original-colorful = everything has its own nature and origins’*
   c. *gen1shen1di4gu4 根深蒂固 ‘root-deep-stalk-firm = deeply or firmly rooted’*

*Hua1* 花 is a favorite partner for collocations. It can also be combined with *shu4 ‘tree’, liu3 柳 ‘willow,’ ye4 業 ‘leaf,’ *zhil 枝 ‘branch,’ etc. When *hua1* goes with *shu4 ‘tree,’* flower as an outcome is stressed, as in (4). *Hua1*’s most common combination is with *liu3 ‘willow’* where *hua1* symbolizes woman and *liu3* symbolizes man, as in *hua1hong2liu3lu4 花紅柳綠 ‘flower-
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

red-willow-green = a profusion of garden flowers or pretty ladies.' A large number of hua1 and liu3 combinations tend to imply that hua1 is a prostitute and liu3 is a male prostitute or the prostitute’s client, as in (5). The contrast also calls out the unpredictable future and everlasting hope, as in (6).

(4). shu4shang4kai1hua1 樹上開花 ‘tree-top-open-flower = to make a profit by using one’s capital to invest’

(5). hua1 and liu3 expressions
a. xun2hua1wen4liu3 尋花問柳 ‘search-flower-require-willow = go round the sing-song houses/visit the brothels’
b. hua1jie1liu3xiang4 花街柳巷 ‘flower-streets-willow-alleys = red light district’
c. hua1liu3bing4 花柳病 ‘flower-willow-disease = venereal disease’
d. hua1liu3 花柳 ‘flower-willow = brothel’

(6). hua1 and liu3 expressions
a. liu3an4hua1ming2you4yi4cun1 柳暗花明又一村 ‘willow-dark-flower-bright-another-one-village = to be saved at a crucial moment, to survive a crisis’
b. you3yi4zai1hua1hua1bu4fa1, wu2xing1cha1liu3liu3cheng2yin1 有意栽花花不發, 無心插柳柳成陰 ‘has-intention-plant-flower-flower-no-sprout, no-heart-insert-willow-willow-become-shadow = what you plan to do often does not get accomplished, what you did not intend to cause sometimes returns surprising outcomes’

Cultural features, such as customs and life philosophy, are also revealed in plant fixed expressions. In Chinese culture, a mother should have a proper month-long postpartum rest and recuperation, hence zuo4cao3 坐草 ‘sit-grass = month-long postpartum rest.’ Cao3shu1 草書 ‘grass-script’ is the cursive script that is marked by a tendency to join strokes and an economy of lines. Chu1cao3 出草 ‘exit-grass’ is the head-hunting custom of Taiwanese aborigines in the old days. Example (7) gives some other plant expressions with cultural features.

(7). other plant expressions with cultural features
a. san1cun4jin1lian2 三寸金蓮 ‘three-inch-golden-lotus = the bound feet of Chinese women, in allusion to their Chinese designation kin-leen ‘golden water-lilies’
b. shi2nian2shu4mu4, bai3nian2shu4ren2 十年樹木, 百年樹人 ‘ten-year-tree-wood, hundred-year-tree-person = it takes ten years to grow a tree and a hundred years to bring up a generation of good men = a long-term plan’
c. liang2qin2ze2mu4er2qi1 良禽擇木而棲 ‘good-birds-choose-wood-to-perch = good birds choose their roosts; the able ones choose their leaders’

240
The life philosophy of the Chinese is expressed with plant expressions too. 

\[ \text{Cun4cao3chun1hui1 ITCH-GRASS-SPRING-LIGHT = parents' great love is not for children to pay back} \]

\[ \text{Yu4zai4shen1er2cao3mu4run4 玉在山而草木潤 = the jade stored within the mountains makes the plants rich and splendid} \]

\[ \text{expressions in (8) are used as aphorisms.} \]

\[ \text{(8). plant expressions as aphorisms} \]

\[ \text{a. tian1ya2he2chu4wu2fang1cao3 天涯何处無芳草 = there are nice plants and flowers everywhere; one does not need to be excessively obsessed with someone or something'} \]

\[ \text{b. tu4zibu4chi1wo1bian1cao3 兔子不吃窝边草 = rabbits do not eat the grass near their lair to protect their home from being seen; one does not harm his close ones or neighbors'} \]

\[ \text{c. mo4dai4wu4hua1kong1zhe2zhi1 等待無花空折枝 = one should enjoy instant, spontaneous pleasures'} \]

\[ \text{d. qin2shi4yao2qian2shu4, jian3shi4ju4bao3pen2 捨是搖錢樹, 儲是聚寶盆 = diligent-is-shake-money-tree, frugal-is-assemble-treasure-basin = hardworking is a money-spinning-tree, being frugal is a treasure-collecting-bowl; one must be hardworking and frugal at the same time to be able to accumulate wealth'} \]

\[ \text{e. shu4yu4jing4er2feng1hu4zhi3, zi3yu4yang3er2qin1bu2zai4 樹欲静而風不止, 子欲養而親不侍 = tree-desire-stillness-yet-wind-not-stop, son-desires-raise-yet-parents-not-remain = a son’s regret at not being able to serve parents in their old age'} \]

As mentioned, plant-vehicle groups are rather rare in English. They can be divided into two categories. The first and smaller category comprises plant names and names of plant parts. Grass roots is an example. Olive branch stands for ‘children.’ A grain of mustard seed denotes ‘a small thing capable of fast development.’ The second and larger group is proverbs and sayings, for example, He that would eat the fruit must climb the tree ‘He who wants to reap has to sow.’

Most English group-vehicle expressions are based on the principle of contrast, just as in Mandarin. When two different plants are compared, it is to make the expression more vivid and easier to comprehend and remember. Because the main function of proverbs and sayings is to preserve folk (the people’s) wisdom, and to explain what is right and what is wrong, all plant expressions with two plant vehicles in English are related to the sphere of human relationships and prescribe appropriate human behavior. The expressions in (9) are some examples.
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

(9). English group-vehicle expressions:

a. *When the oak is before the ash, then you will only get a splash, when the ash is before the oak, then you may expect a soak* ‘a traditional way of predicting whether the summer will be wet or dry on the basis of whether the oak or the ash is first to come into leaf in the spring.’

b. *A cherry year, a merry year; a plum year, a dumb year* ‘a good harvest of cherries or plums predicts good or bad harvest of basic crops and, hence, a good or a bad year.’

c. *Beware of an oak, it draws the stroke; avoid the ash, it courts the flash* ‘(A)advice on where to shelter from lightning during a thunderstorm.’

d. *Creep under the thorn, it can save you from harm* ‘(A)dvice on where to shelter from lightning during a thunderstorm.’

e. *Great oaks from little acorns grow* ‘said about organizations or plans which start off very small or simple and become extremely large or successful.’

f. *A reed before the wind lives on; while mighty oaks do fall* ‘great and small; strength and weakness.’

Thus, comparison of plant-vehicle groups in Mandarin and English verifies the postulate of Languaculture that fixed expressions are the unique source of information about the culture and mentality of a nation, because they contain elements of beliefs, myths, legends, and customs. Plant-vehicle groups demonstrate the originality of the language behavior, as they reflect cultural and historical traditions of people speaking Mandarin Chinese and English, being the result of the particular nation’s introspection and reflection of the most important concepts.

13.6. Conclusion

This study starts with the plant expressions of four favorite plant vehicles, *root, grass, flower,* and *fruit,* in Mandarin and their corresponding vehicles in English. Specific linguistic frames of these plant vehicles are proposed in both languages with their core meanings. From the core meanings, we extracted the semantic primes of the vehicles in order to look into the interlexical relationships that link the core meanings together. At the end, we list plant expressions of more than one vehicle in order to present some linguistic and cultural features.

The research described here shows that the semantic primes basically reflect the characteristics or functions of the plant or parts of the plant—a nature-dependent selection: from root comes a botanic being; root is the source and base of a plant, and therefore the meanings that are derived from the semantic prime of *root* is base. For the speakers of Mandarin, flowers are at the stage before bearing fruit. Though the flowers are pretty, the result is not promised yet. Once the fruit is at hand, the completion is warranted. Therefore, the vehicle *fruit* has the semantic prime
Chapter 13. Flower, Grass, Root, Fruit and Linguistic Frame

completion. For English, a nature-dependent selection is also operating; thus, root is the base of a plant and fruit is the result. The difference is that in English the presentation of the florescence is much more appreciated than in Mandarin; therefore, it is considered to be part of the result, while in Mandarin fruit is the representation of the result.

The nature-dependent selection decides the generating point of the plant fixed expressions, but the developments vary with specific languages and cultures. Therefore, although both the English and Mandarin flower take the florescence of the plant as a starting point, English flower signifies the best of something and Mandarin flower is an autoantonym that carries both a positive and a negative meaning. The fruit vehicles in these two languages have exactly opposite developments, namely, Mandarin fruit denotes completion, but English fruit became an autoantonym.

According to languaculture, which focuses on the interaction of language and a human being, who creates culture, language is regarded as “a translator” of cultural information (Maslova 2001). Nature provides the same linguistic material to speakers of different languages, who then project their own cultures and life experiences to create interesting linguistic differences.

The discussion about vehicle groups shows different semantic dependencies in different languages, i.e., particular collocations of vehicles are responsible for specific meanings and culture features. On the other hand, the same section further demonstrates the linguacognition that while Mandarin-speakers have a collective mode of thinking, English-speakers have an individualistic one, because Mandarin has a great many such proverbs and sayings (7.54%) to express meanings that stress cooperation, but English has only a few (1.30%). Also social behaviors of both cultures give light to the different modes of thinking. When recording the date in Mandarin, min2-guo2 jiu3-shi2-yi1 nian2 ba1 yue4 er4-shi2 ri4 xing1-qi2 yi1 ‘民國九十一年八月二十日星期一’ (2002, August 20th, Monday – Monday, 20th August, 2002) use the year-month-day order, leading with the larger time span—a holistic and collective way of thinking. Day-month-year order is written in English ‘Monday, 20.08.2002’: the individual part is indicated first. The same format as above is used when writing addresses. Mandarin speakers write in the order of city-road-lane-number with the larger area mentioned first, for example, tai2-bei3 shi4 da4-ming2 lu4 er4-shi2-ba1 xiang4 er4-shi2 hao4 台北市大明路28巷20号 (Taipei City, Da-ming Road, 28 Lane, 20 Number – Number 20, Lane 28, Da-ming Road, Taipei City), while a English speaker uses the opposite format.

55 The issue of the Chinese holistic mode of thinking and the English individualistic perspective has been discussed in detail in Hsieh & Chiu (2004).
At this point, we may propose a special construct of the languacultural concept, one which combines both frame semantics and languaculture, to interpret plant expressions in Mandarin and English (see Figure 13.1). The core element of our model is the semantic prime of a frame, which demonstrates the general universality in the Mandarin and English images of the world. The upper (outer) layer of the construct comprises culture-specific plant expressions. The intermediate layer consists of core meanings, which demonstrate both language universality and differences, with the language differences increasing at the upper layer of our model. Some representatives of cognitive linguistics oppose the use of frames, schemes, scenarios, and other forms of scientific description of the representation of reality (Zalevskaya 2005). Our model, with its universal stable core element (semantic prime of a frame) and unstable periphery reflecting languacultural specifics, can be regarded as a dynamic cognitive model of one of the possible forms of representation of the plant world in Mandarin and English. Thus, this model of a languacultural concept overcomes some of the limitations of frame semantics.
Chapter 14. Woody Plants and Frame Semantics

And how about the role of woody plants in languages? We know that people adopt many woody plant names to generate fixed expressions according to what they know about the biological nature and characteristics of particular plants. On the other hand, these plant metaphors also reflect people’s values toward the world, nature, and society. In this chapter, we study the plant fixed expressions that contain ‘trees’ in Mandarin Chinese and English. We will see how people of different cultural backgrounds think of these plants, and what cultural values the vehicle ‘trees’ reflect in both languages.

14.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a semantic analysis of a range of plant expressions in Mandarin Chinese and English, such as *grow on trees* ‘be plentiful or easily obtained’ and *cao3mei2zu2* 插滿族 ‘strawberry-clan = describing how the new generation of young people in Taiwan cannot withstand pressure, just like strawberries can be easily squashed.’ We first apply Fillmore and Aktins’s (1992) frame theory to *tree* fixed expressions to reveal the cultural concepts of the plant name in Mandarin Chinese and English. Then we identify popular vehicles (plant names) to explore which plant names are rooted in the given languages. Finally, we look into underlying conceits (the relations between the vehicles and the meanings of the plant expressions) to confirm the findings.

In Lakoff and Turner’s conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, people are viewed as plants in connection with the life cycle: “[People] are viewed as that part of the plant that burgeons and then withers or declines” (1989: 6). This is examined in the poems of writers such as Shakespeare and Emily Dickinson. The stages of plants, as well as parts of plants in their annual cycle, correspond to the periods of life—bud to youth, full leaf to maturity, and withered leaf to old age. The differences of two systems, plant and human (or human society and human activity), are conceived as isomorphic, although one is situated in nature, and the other in culture.

* The original version of the present chapter was published with Chiu, Yuan-Ling in 2005 in the 2004 Proceedings of Language Education International Conference, English Group, pp. 63-83. Tainan: Southern Taiwan University of Technology.
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

Language provides a code that enables humans to express isomorphic properties between nature and culture. Culture is encoded in idiomatic expressions that mirror and shape the way we think. Just as Kramsch (1998: 91) indicates that “different languages predispose their speakers to view reality in different ways through the different metaphors they use,” Vervaeke and Kennedy say that “… a core concept of people controls and guides our selection and generation of metaphors to suit the fleeting purposes of the moment.”

The bulk of this chapter is organized as follows: (1) introduction, (2) literature review for this chapter, (3) research framework, (4) the linguistic frames of trees, (5) plants in languages, and (6) conclusion.

14.2. Literature Review

The association of language and culture in language study is currently one of the most investigated issues, because language involves the way we think, the way we behave, and the way we cope with society and the world (Kramsch 1998: 79). “The culture of everyday practices draws on the culture of shared history and traditions” (Kramsch 1998: 7).

Radcliffe-Brown (1929 in Lévi-Strauss 1963) believed that people attached a built-in importance to plants because they were supposed to rouse man’s spontaneous interest as food. As a matter of fact, plants are vivid and memorable and thus offer concrete image banks for languages to generate fixed expressions able to capture and compose mankind’s fleeting moments into words. There are various foci when studying plant expressions. Röhrich (1991) focuses on etymological epics and the development of plant expressions. Beuchert (1995) probes into the German symbolism of plant metaphors. Liu and Qin (2001) compare Mandarin Chinese and English plant expressions to promote better communication between these two peoples.

Treatises that delve into plant concepts in human cognition are worth noticing. Li (1959) recounts historical events and folklore that mold the Chinese concept of trees. Chen and Ku (1999) explore children’s cognition of prototypical plants from an experimental approach. Wen (1986), Meng (2001), and many others study Shijing (The Book of Odes) and reveal the standard of living as well as historical cultural life in the Zhou Dynasty (about 1045 BC-256 BC).

Atran (1990: 217) says that “totemism, myth, religion and other speculative activities of the mind do constitute well-defined cognitive domains.” Nerlich, Clarke, and Dingwall (2000: 225) say that there are various reasons to describe plants and features of farming to describe humans.
14.3. Research Framework

Trees are essential vegetation. “[I]f a language has only one botanical life-form word… this term can be roughly glossed as ‘tree.’” (Brown, 1977: 317). Also Laughlin (1975: 29) says that “if a species that would normally be classed as a ‘plant’ … grows with great vigor, it may be identified as a ‘tree.’” We will have a close look at trees in both languages before we further examine other vehicles.

The notion of compositionality, say Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow (1994), is “the degree to which the phrasal meaning can be analyzed in terms of the contributions of the idiom parts.” They determine the semantic compositionality of idioms or fixed expressions. One given example is the English idiomatic expression spill the beans. Language users know or learn that spill the beans means ‘divulge the information’ through the compositionality of this expression. “We can assume that spill denotes the relation of divulging and beans the information that is divulged, even if we cannot say why beans should have been used in this expression…” (Nunberg, Sag and Wasow 1994: 497). The availability of these meanings for each component relies on the presence of another lexical item.

Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow (1994: 511) also specify “noncompositional flexibility in German,” which adds a credit to German noncompositional idioms. Most German idiomatic expressions are as compositional as English idiomatic expressions, only that German has a syntactic flexibility that when an idiomatic expression (e.g., ins Gras Beissen) is noncompositional, it is marked with or given the liberties of object fronting and verb-second construction (Pollard 1984; Reape 1996). The present study will also deal with noncompositional expressions; the meaning of the entire expression will then be accounted for to disclose the cognition shown in plant expressions.

In this chapter, we use Fillmore and Aktins’ (1992) frame semantics, which links to people’s comprehension process, that is, to how we understand meanings in context. Lexical meaning and grammatical characteristics, “both with information about related words and with our general cultural knowledge about the world,” (Goddard 1998: 69) work together in the comprehension process. Fillmore and Aktins (1992) propose that the meaning of a word can be understood only against a background frame of experience, beliefs, or practices that “motivate the concept that the word encodes.” They give this set of verbs as an example: buy, sell, charge, pay, cost, and spend. To understand any of these verbs needs the understanding of a complete ‘commercial transaction frame’:

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56 One of the examples given is ins Gras beissen (in-grass-bite = die), the meaning of which cannot be analyzed from the parts of the idiom. The entire verb phrase binds the meaning.
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

in which one person acquires control or possession of something from a second person, by agreement, as a result of surrendering to that person a sum of money. The needed background requires an understanding of property ownership, a money economy, implicit contract, and a great deal more. (Fillmore and Atkins 1992: 78)

In other words, this frame is a complex yet compact linguistic base for words such as buy, sell, charge… in the given society. People who do not have this linguistic frame in mind, will not understand the meaning of buying and selling. Tarzan, for example, would have such difficulty.

14.4. Linguistic Frames of Trees

Likewise, to understand the vehicle tree in Mandarin Chinese shu and in English tree requires a complete ‘linguistic tree frame’ in speakers’ minds.

14.4.1. The Tree in Mandarin Chinese

Mandarin Chinese shu (tree) is the general term for woody plants. Chinese culture, from ancient times till now, has developed a conceptual frame of shu. To have a complete picture of shu in Mandarin Chinese, we call for the incorporation of the following linguistic shu frame:

Shu (tree) represents plants. It is the fountain of life, benefit and wealth. It is also a base. Shu is used most commonly to represent people, young men, children, brother or husband and wife. Shu can also stand for an artifact, an institution, an event or a difficult circumstance. The nature that trees root onto the ground makes shu a pronominal subject of any display and is often used as a verb meaning to plant or to set up.

This linguistic frame is rooted in native speakers’ minds and it is expressed in various shu (tree) fixed expressions. We give one example for each concept in this frame as follows: Shu (tree) represents plants (shu yi ‘tree-skill = to sow and cultivate’). It is the fountain of life (bu si shu ‘no-die-tree = the immortal tree in legends, which can bring longevity to those who eat it’), benefit (gian ren zai shu, hou ren cheng liang ‘front-person-plant-tree, back-person-relax = to benefit from the efforts of one’s predecessors’) and wealth (gin shi yao qian shu, jian shi ju bao ‘diligent-is-
shake-money-tree, frugal-is-assemble-treasure-basin = hardworking is a money-spinning-tree, being frugal is a treasure-collecting-bowl; one must be hardworking and frugal at the same time to be able to accumulate wealth'). It is also a base (lao3shu4pan2gen1 老樹盤根 ‘old-tree-twist-roots = roots of an old tree are intertwined in the soil; solid foundation’). Shu is used most commonly to represent people (chun1shu4mu4yun2 春樹暮雲 ‘spring-tree-dusk-cloud = remembrance of a friend far-away’), young men (yu4shu4玉樹 ‘jade-tree = praises the fine complexion or decent traits of a youth’), children (shu4yu4jing4er2feng1bu4zh3i, zi3yu4yang3er2qin1bu2dai4 樹欲靜而風不止，子欲養而親不待 ‘tree-desire-stillness-yet-wind-not-stop, son-desires-raise-yet-parents-not-remain = a son’s regret at not being able to serve parents in their old age’), brother (san3zhu1shu4三珠樹 ‘three-pearl-tree = a laudatory name for brothers’) or husband and wife (lian2zhi1shu4連枝樹 ‘connected-branch-tree = a married couple much in love with each other’).

Shu can also stand for an artifact (chiang1yun2wei4shu4 希雲為樹 [name of a river]-tree = parting a solid, deeply-rooted, close and affectionate friendship’), an institution (shu4dao3hu2sun1san4樹倒猢狲散 ‘tree-topple-macaque-disperse = monkeys disperse when a tree falls; associated members run away when a family breaks apart or an institution loses power’), an event (feng1bu4yao2, shu4bu2dong4風不動, 樹不動 ‘wind-no-shake, tree-no-move = the tree will not move without the wind; everything has its cause’) or a difficult circumstance (huang2lian2shu4xiz4tan2qin2黃連樹下彈琴 ‘Chinese goldthread-tree-below-play-string instrument = to find happiness amidst a predicament’). The nature that trees root onto the ground makes shu4 a pronominal subject of any display (huo3shu4yin2hua1火樹銀花 ‘fire-tree-silver-flower = bonfire display or brilliantly lighted garden’) and is often used as a verb meaning to plant (shu4li4樹立 ‘tree-stand = to establish, to set up’) or to set up (shu4bei1li4chuan4樹碑立傳 ‘tree-stele-stand-pass = carve someone’s achievements and merits on a stele; write a biography of someone’s life’).

Shu as one kind of plant can be used to represent plants, such as shu4yi4樹藝 ‘tree-skill = to sow and cultivate.’ This is an example of metonymy, i.e., a part-for-whole substitution. Metonymy is an essential mechanism of metaphor in Mandarin Chinese so that Huang (1994) calls Mandarin Chinese a metonymic language.

A tree blooms and grows fruits that support mankind to live. This brings shu4 a denotation—source. Guangya 廣雅 (227 AD-232 AD)57 contains the expression ‘shu4ben3ye3樹本也’, which means that a tree is a source. This denotation is particularly expressed as fountain of life, benefit, and wealth as exemplified above.

The interaction between tree and wind is highlighted in the following plant expressions. When we look into them, Chinese culture and philosophy are exposed: shu4yu4jing4er2feng1bu4zh3i, zi3yu4yang3er2qin1bu2dai4 樹欲靜而風不止，子欲養而親不待 ‘tree-desire-stillness...
yet-wind-not-stop, son-desires-raise yet-parents-not-remain = a son’s regret at not being able to serve parents in their old age; feng1shu4zhi1gan3 風樹之感 ‘wind-tree-of-feeling = expresses the sadness of offspring at not being able to take care of one’s parents after they are deceased,’ feng1bu4yao2, shu4bu2dong4 風不搖, 树不動 ‘wind-no-shake, tree-no-move = the tree will not move without the wind; everything has its cause’ and shu4da4zhao1feng1 树大招風 ‘tree-big-beckons-wind = those more reputed are more often the target of slanders.’ They reveal Chinese cultural teaching, such as the importance of filial piety and of being modest, and Chinese philosophy, such as ‘a thing has its cause.’ Such cultural features will be discussed later.

Shu as a verb occupies more than 31% of collected Mandarin tree expressions. This verb was already popular in ancient Chinese, for example, in Shihjing 詩經 (The Book of Poetry and Songs, 1000 BC-500 BC), Fangyan 方言 (Vernacular Language, 5 BC-18 AD), Guangyun 廣韻 58 (Common Sounds, 601 AD), etc. This sense of shu4 ‘to plant’ is inherited and has become one of its core meanings in Modern Chinese. The following expressions indicate that people learn to play the percentages and to strive for a career in Chinese culture: xie2peng2shu4dang3 挟朋樹黨 ‘hold-friend-tree-party = collaborating with the same type of people to form a clique,’ shu4de2wu4zi1 树德詐 ‘tree-virtue-affairs-grow = to advocate and practice virtue and moral conduct,’ shu4bei1li4chuan4 树碑立傳 ‘tree-stele-stand-pass = carve someone’s achievements and merits on a stele; write a biography of someone’s life,’ shu4gong1li4ye4 树功立業 ‘tree-merit-establish-business = to accomplish great deeds,’ shu4di2 树敵 ‘tree-enemy = to make an enemy of someone, to alienate others,’ jian4shu4 建樹 ‘establish tree = to make a contribution (permanent results); plant seeds of (hatred, love, etc.),’ zhong1shen1zhi1ji4, mo4ru2shu4ren2 終身之計. 棄如樹人 ‘lifelong-plan, might as well-tree-person = to cultivate the talent in people is the top priority in life, for it will give the most in return for your investment,’ du2shu4yi4ge2 立樹一格 ‘solo-tree-one-square = being unique in style and taste,’ shu4en1 树恩 ‘tree-favor = to create favors that morally oblige gratitude; to consolidate relationships by bestowing favors,’ shu4li4 树立 ‘tree-stand = to establish,’ biao1shu4 標樹 ‘mark-tree = setting a standard.’

Shu as a verb also brings up the fact that Chinese emphasize interpersonal relationships, as in xie2peng2shu4dang3 挟朋樹黨 ‘hold-friend-tree-party = collaborating with the same type of people to form a clique.’ This shu-expression records a historical event about Zhu Bing 朱屏, who collaborated with his bad friends and abused his power tyrannically during the Liang dynasty (see Lian Shu 梁書, History of Liang dynasty).

Some features of trees are profiled and some are given semantic elaboration and emphasized; however, some are ignored in the language. A Mandarin speaker’s attention is drawn most by a tree that stands and grows up like a person. This is the personal pronominal function of Mandarin shu4. The personification of shu4 also hints at a variety of Chinese traditional teachings. No matter

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58 Guangyun is a book about the phonology of ancient Chinese.
whether the teaching is about friendship, love between husband and wife, showing respect to other people, or a man’s reputation, all involve an interpersonal relationship.

The conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS posited by Lakoff and Turner (1989) can as well be applied to Mandarin Chinese as PEOPLE ARE TREES. “Tree” here denotes specifically young and successful people, a kind of “growing” mankind. In other words, Chinese feelings about a young man or a capable man conform to their feelings about a growing tree. Not only are men and trees both living creatures, their other shared feature of ‘stand in full-length’ is not even common among the other important creatures—animals. Nature provides a ready source for our minds and concepts. The creature ‘plant’ is used automatically and unconsciously at the conceptual level of mankind and is conventionalized in everyday expressions. There are also rich tree fixed expressions in English. However, they reveal a very different concept and linguistic frame in the English speaker’s mind. Let us now turn to examine English tree.

14.4.2. The Tree in English

The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology notes that a tree is “a perennial plant having a woody stem and of considerable height and size; piece of wood” (Hoad 1996). Do tree fixed expressions echo this? The linguistic frame for English tree is:

- **English tree** represents wood. **Tree** is a source of life and knowledge.
- Most often a tree is a diagram in an academic field or a computing domain in which the spreading of branches on the tree diagram is spotlighted. **Tree** can also be a frame for shoes, a house, and a pivot.
- **Trees** root in the ground and are therefore a well-ordered set, or, on the contrary, mean “much too fixed” and convey a negative meaning.

This linguistic frame is rooted in native speakers’ minds and is expressed in various English tree fixed expressions. As with Mandarin Chinese tree, we give one example for each concept in the frame: English tree represents wood (tree ‘any large piece of timber’). Tree is a source of life (grow on trees ‘be plentiful or easily obtained’), and knowledge (tree of knowledge ‘[in the Bible] the tree in the Garden of Eden bearing the forbidden fruit which Adam and Eve disobediently ate’). Most often, tree is a diagram in an academic field (phrase-structure tree ‘A tree diagram which shows the division of a form’) or a computing domain (optimal binary search tree ‘A binary search tree constructed to be of maximum expected efficiency for a given probability distribution of search data’) in which the spreading of branches on a tree (tree diagram ‘any branching diagram in which different branches are connected only at a point of origin, and all are connected, directly or
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

indirectly, to one node which is the origin of the whole’) is spotlighted. From the same grounding, tree can be a frame for shoes (shoe tree ‘a shaped block inserted into a shoe when it is not being worn to keep it in shape’), a house (roof-tree ‘the ridge piece of a roof,’ tree house ‘a small building, platform, or shelter built among the branches of a tree’), and a pivot (as the twig is bent, so is the tree inclined ‘How you prune your tree during its first few years will affect its shape, strength, and life span; A poor start to a child’s education will lead to an unfavorable future’). A tree roots in the ground and is therefore a well-ordered set (search tree ‘a binary tree in which the data values stored at the nodes of the tree belong to a well-ordered set, and the value stored at any nonterminal node’), or, on the contrary, means “much too fixed” (You cannot shift an old tree without it dying ‘spoken by a Man who is loath to leave a place in his advanced years, in which he has long lived’) and convey negative meaning (up a gum tree ‘in a predicament; in great difficulties’).

The etymological statement of tree accentuates a tree’s size and height. English tree fixed expressions do not pick up the size but develop the height, for example, at the top of the tree (in the highest position). The etymological record tells that the tree is a piece of wood in Old English. This is also illustrated in modern English fixed expressions, such as tree ‘any large piece of timber.’ In comparison with Mandarin Chinese, the mechanism of metonymy does not operate in English. The opposite is the case, that is to say, in English, tree (whole) is used in lieu of a cut-off piece of it (part). English tree can be used to represent wood, and also branch. The importance of ‘parts’ in English will be further discussed shortly.

Christianity and the Bible have influenced English speakers for more than 1500 years. Tree of knowledge and tree of life are found in Genesis 2:9 and 3:22, respectively. Trees thus signify foundations of knowledge and life in English culture. The effect of religion is also expressed in Mandarin Chinese plant expressions, but Buddhism is preached, as in qi2shu4y6ou3yuan2 神樹有緣 (god-tree-has-fate = to be destined to encounter and to be affiliated with the Buddha dharma) and jian4shu4dao1shan1 剣樹刀山 (knife-mountain-sword-tree = treacherous and hazardous conditions) is a view in Hell described in the sutras.

Tree of Knowledge not only signifies a religious culture but also the importance of knowledge or scientific knowledge in an English-speaking society. We mentioned that Mandarin Chinese has a conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE TREES. English fixed expressions do not agree with it. English tree expressions express the conceptual metaphor SCIENTIFIC DIAGRAMS ARE TREES. This is noted in the definition of a tree in one English etymological dictionary (Merriam-Webster), in which a tree is a woody perennial plant “having a single usually elongate main stem generally with few or no branches on its lower part.” Said otherwise, a tree is concerned with its fixed single stem and stretching branches, as can be seen in every tree diagram. Many of our collected data give evidence of this, such as tree search ‘any method of searching a body of data structured as a tree,’ tree network ‘a network topology,’ and syntax tree ‘parse tree.’
Chapter 14. Woody Plants and Frame Semantics

The scenario of a tree’s growth is focused in English *tree* fixed expressions. The scenario is conceptualized in an English speaker’s mind: a tree first has a fixed base and then branches over a space. However, in Mandarin Chinese, the way that a tree stands stably in the ground is not underscored, although this tree is “growing” in a Mandarin speaker’s mind as well. People may observe the nature of the growing of a tree from the same standpoint, but develop different concepts and expressions. English *tree* and Mandarin *shù* map onto different conceptual domains.

The same grounding that trees span on a fixed spot and extend also support fixed expressions in which *trees* convey either ‘frame,’ ‘ridge’ or ‘a well-ordered set’ such as *shoe tree* (see more examples in the linguistic frame). Having a steady base and further development are valued in English culture. Maintaining vitality is essential, otherwise ‘an ordered set’ can turn out to be much too fixed and carry negative connotations, as shown in the expression *You cannot shift an old tree without it dying* ‘spoken by a Man who has to leave a place in his advanced years, in which he has long lived.’ The collocation “old” assists the meaning of this expression. The collocations of *tree* fixed expressions as well as other fixed expressions are important for collaborating and reaching the meanings of fixed expressions.

14.5. Plants in Languages

This section delves into other plant vehicles in Mandarin Chinese and English to see if the personification of *shù* in Mandarin Chinese and the pragmatism of *tree* in English work any further in other plant expressions. We first investigate how both peoples associate plant names with specific fixed expressions, and then list the favorite plant vehicles of Mandarin Chinese and English.

14.5.1. The Underlying Conceits

People observe and perceive the world and generate fixed expressions. The observation and fixed expression is linked by association. For instance, English speakers look at a tree and perceive it as having a fixed single stem with stretching branches, just as every tree diagram has. *Syntax tree* ‘parse tree’ is thus derived. This association, i.e., underlying conceit, in *syntax tree* is the branch span on a fixed spot. As mentioned in the previous chapter, underlying conceits link the real world and the expressions. They are also a mixture of human culture and cognition. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 205-6) explain a proverb: *Ants on a millstone whichever way they walk, they go around with it* ‘describes humans and their destinies’ and assert that “the choice of ants and a millstone is by no means arbitrary.” There is a certain correspondence or relation between an ant and a millstone to make this proverb meaningful: The virtual sizes of the huge millstone and the small ant, the motions of ants on the shape of the millstone, etc., all call out the meaning of the proverb. In other words, humans are like ants walking on a millstone: they can never escape destiny. The underlying conceit...
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

that joins the real world and the proverb is the size and the shape of the vehicles, viz. ants and millstone.

We have raised the issue of underlying conceits in plant fixed expressions in Chapter 12. We will elaborate on this issue below, and some of the examples will be mentioned again to confirm the findings in analyzing the tree linguistic frames so as to reveal whether Mandarin plant expressions focus more on the outer appearance of the plants while English plant expressions have more underlying conceits associated with other features.

The underlying conceits of plants and fixed expressions inevitably connect to human concepts, society, and culture. A variety of plant expressions in both Mandarin Chinese and English are associated with two underlying conceits: (a) the edibility and usability of plants, and (b) customs or historical events. They are illustrated below.

The edibility and usability of plants have generated much attention. Plants are important suppliers of nourishment for other living creatures; people, therefore, describe much about this function of plants in languages, e.g., 嚼菜根 ‘chew-vegetable-root = to eat old-leaf vegetable’ means metaphorically ‘to bear hardships’ because old leaves are not tasty at all. Someone who has to eat old leaves is pictured as bearing hardships. The English plant expression a bite at the cherry catches the juiciness and taste of a cherry to mean ‘an attempt or opportunity to do something.’

The underlying conceits associated with peculiar customs or historical events can be traced back to history and tradition. In ancient China, bamboo cane was used as an implement of punishment at school. Though it is not used for this purpose any more, 腿条 ‘cane’ still has an implication of punishment in Mandarin Chinese. It is remembered in school history. The English plant expression carrot and stick means ‘promising to reward or punish someone at the same time.’ According to the Oxford Dictionary of Idioms, this fixed expression is generated from the idea of handing over a carrot to a donkey in order to encourage it to move forward, or otherwise using a stick to beat it if it will not move. This combination has been used. A quotation from the New Scientist (30 May 1998, 53/3) says that “and if your powers of persuasion prove insufficient, here’s a carrot and stick policy.”

In addition, in Mandarin Chinese the underlying conceits that associate most vehicles and the meanings of the expressions are:

1. Growth characteristics and cultivation: e.g., the plant expression 瓜田李下 ‘melon-patch-plum-under’ means literally ‘to do up the shoes in a melon-patch and to put on a hat under a plum tree.’ Since melons grow on the ground, when one bends down on a melon-patch, he may touch the ripened melons. Because palms grow on a tree, if someone lifts up his arms under a plum tree, he will reach a luscious plum. For these reasons and associations, the plant expression is used to warn people not to be found in a suspicious position. The underlying conceit uses the growing characteristics
of melons and plums.

(2). Odor: the fragrances of flowers have caused many plant expressions to come into being, such as niao3yu3hua1xiang1 鳥語花香 ‘bird-language-flower-fragrant = birds’ twitter and the fragrance of flowers, an idyllic scene,’ jia1hua1na3you3 ye3hua3xiang1 家花那有野花香 ‘home-flower-how-wild-flower-fragrant = an indoor flower is not as fragrant as a wild flower; women outside (or mistresses) are more attractive than wives at home’ and ru4zhi1lan2zhi1shi4 入芝蘭之室 ‘enter-iris-orchid-zhi-room = enter the room that has irises and orchids = the pervading uplifting character of a moral gentleman.’

(3). Outer features of plants: e.g., the human brain has a round shape just like a melon. We therefore have nian3dai4gua1 脳袋瓜 ‘brain-bag-melon’ in Mandarin Chinese to mean a brain. Xiang1gu1tou2 香菇頭 ‘mushroom-head’ is a hairstyle. When someone has it, he looks as if he is wearing the cap of a mushroom.

In English, most underlying conceits stem from:

(1). Divisions of the plants: there are a variety of English plant expressions that have found their existence in parts of a plant, e.g., from stem to stern ‘from the front to the back, especially of a ship’ and put down roots ‘begin to lead a settled life in a particular place’ where stem and root are cited. This category of underlying conceit reveals an important perception of English speakers and will be elaborated in the next section.

(2). Usability of plants: For instance, dead wood and seed-thought. Wood is useful for construction or burning. Dead wood implies that wood that is as useless as an unproductive person. When thoughts are compared to seeds, the usability of a seed is highlighted—a seed gives life and produces crops; therefore, seed-thought means fruitful or suggestive thought. Full of beans means feeling energetic or in high spirits. The underlying conceit of this expression refers to the good condition of a horse because beans are used as horse feed.

(3). From Scripture or the classics: e.g., manna ash is a biblical quote from Exodus 16:31 meaning the food that God granted to the Israelites when they wandered in the desert. Also, the above-mentioned tree of knowledge and tree of life are from Scripture. The expressions sour grapes, from a famous Aesop’s fable, was used by a fox unable to reach high hanging grapes.

To summarize, most Mandarin underlying conceits connect with the growth characteristics, cultivation, and odor of plants or flowers, and with the outer features of the plants, whereas those of English tend to correlate their plant expressions to the divisions and usability of the plants, and also with Scripture and the classics. Again, this is not to say that no Mandarin plant expressions are cited from Chinese classics and no English plant expressions are associated with the growth
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

characteristics or the odor of a plant. The higher percentage of collected data supports the above statement.

From our examination of underlying conceits, we see that the speakers of Mandarin Chinese perceive the outer appearance of plants and compile “sensible or visual” Mandarin expressions—those related to plants’ outer features and odor. English speakers pay attention to the division of plants and emphasize pragmatism by adopting the usability of the plants in their plant expressions. This confirms our findings from analyzing tree linguistic frames.

14.5.2. Favorite Vehicles

People observe and perceive plants from different standpoints, and, as a result, also use different plant vehicles to produce their expressions. We list the plant metaphorical vehicles that are most productive in Mandarin Chinese and in English in Table 14.1. Each vehicle “grows” in the speakers’ minds differently. The ranks in Table 14.1 are not completely the same as that presented in Table 13.1 in the previous chapter. The reason is that we have now collected more data and the new collection modifies the rank. Nevertheless, the research outcome in chapter 13 remains true because the vehicles that are chosen for examining stay at high rank.

The favorite plant vehicles in English disclose more information than those in Mandarin Chinese. When comparing Mandarin with English vehicles in Table 14.1, the individualism and pragmatism of English are brought to light.

Two clues in Table 14.1 indicate the individualism in English. First, while in English the general terms for the whole plant, such as grass and tree are at the top of the list, many plant divisions, such as leaf, stock, root, stem, straw and thorn are ranked top in the English list. Second, the individual plants, for example, rose and reed are at the top ten of the English list. In fact, apple and onion are also ranked high at twelve and fifteen, respectively. The Mandarin top ten, on the other hand, has only one plant division (thorn) in the list. English individualism not only shows in Tables 14.1, where the favorite plant vehicles are listed, but in the above discussion about tree fixed expressions, more individual cultural concerns show in English, while interpersonal relationships are emphasized in Chinese. The concluding section focuses on this finding.

Two important cultural plants in their respective languages should be mentioned, namely, the rose in English and the willow in Mandarin. Let us compare how these two cultural plants are portrayed in the respective languages. Shakespeare’s verse “What’s in a name? That which we call a rose by any other word would smell as sweet” in Romeo and Juliet (II, ii, 43-44) keeps the odor of a rose everlastingly. The Rose has been a symbol of love for centuries in Western culture. It is presented to express love and respect or love and desire. The rose is mostly attributed to femininity. “The red rose belongs with Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love and lust. The white rose symbolizes the pure, innocent and unselfish love of Mother Mary” (Heij 2004). Its thorns have a
more negative connotation in Mandarin Chinese than in English. English *Rose* fixed expressions incorporate the semantic features “nice event or object, achievement, completion, romance, optimism and cheer.”

Chinese writers and poets love to write about the willow. The willow has also been popularly used in ceremonies and sacrificial rites since ancient times. According to Chang (2001) and Tsai (2003), the willow produces buds in early spring and is a symbol of spring. Its tenacious vitality is viewed as is created by gods. Poets adore willow also for its graceful and elegant image, which is associated with the willow’s hanging strips that are seemingly natural and at ease in their own ways. The famous writer Wu Liu (Mr. Five-Willows, Tao Yuanming, 365 AD-427 AD) himself and his poetry will never be forgotten. *Willow* is also used to express parting sentiments, because the phonetic value of liu3 柳 (willow) sounds like liu2 留 (stay) and thus denotes a willingness to keep the one who is leaving and a reluctance to let go.

The difference between the adoration of the rose in English society and the affection for the willow in Chinese society can be seen in the modern electronic world—World Wide Web sites. When we get online and search the top plant names, it is 柳 in Mandarin Chinese (http://www.yam.com/) and rose in English (http://www.google.com/). The top twenty Mandarin websites display 柳 used in literature, searching for love, religion, apart from those of place names, surnames, and names of institutions. Meanwhile, English websites present more of rose cultivation, rose picture appreciation, searching for love, first names, and names of institutions. The topics of the websites, let alone profit-making concerns, show the spiritual pursuits of Chinese speakers and the practical engagements of English speakers.

| Table 14.1. Favorite plant vehicles in Mandarin Chinese and English |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Ranking | Plant vehicles in Mandarin Chinese | Plant vehicles in English |
| 1 | hua1 花 (flower) | wood |
| 2 | cao3 草 (grass) | leaf |
| 3 | gen1 根 (root) | stock |
| 4 | mu4 木 (wood/tree) | rose |
| 5 | lin2 林 (woods) | root |
| 6 | ci4 刺 (thorn) | tea |
| 7 | guo3 果 (fruit) | tree |
| 8 | shu4 树 (tree) | flower |
| 9 | zhi1 枝 (branch) | stem |
| 10 | mi3 米 (rice) | reed |
14.6. Conclusion

The real world provides a starting point for plant fixed expressions by offering metaphorical vehicles to languages, but the choice of salient features, and the meanings and implications attached to those specific features vary from language to language (Nesi 1995: 276). The discussion about underlying conceits and popular vehicles sharpens our observation of tree frames. From the linguistic frames of Mandarin shu4 and English tree, we know that Mandarin and English speakers observe and perceive trees from different standpoints and have different concepts of them in their minds. The examination of trees in Mandarin and English suggests that Mandarin speakers encode shu4 personally with the association that a shu4 stands and grows up as a person does. The cultural features revealed from the meanings of plant expressions further support this notion of personification. Chinese speakers emphasize interpersonal relationships, such as filial piety and being modest to other people. Their life philosophy stresses that ‘a thing has its cause’ and that one must ‘play the percentages,’ etc. Spiritual pursuit is emphasized in this society.

In an English-speaking community, people hold the belief that each individual has a steady base from which to further develop. This notion of individualism permeates every aspect of their lives. English speakers are more concrete and practical on every subject and place importance on scientific knowledge. Mandarin speakers, however, call upon the realm of the supernatural to help explain, define, and formulate their opinions of the real world. This way of thinking allows them to associate plants with humans.

By comparison, popular plant vehicles in English also stress individualism in the English speaker’s mind. Many plant divisions are adopted to produce English plant expressions whereas Mandarin Chinese has only a few. Most English plant vehicles in the top ten list are either edible or are useful in everyday life. This confirms that pragmatism is stressed more in an English-speaking than a Mandarin-speaking society.

Whether personification, individualism or pragmatism, the role of plant names in languages is substantial. Lévi-Strauss (1963) believed that plants are nature’s material for mankind’s languages and assumed “their ability to serve as symbols expressing contrasts and oppositions” (1963: 2). Investigating and understanding plant expressions is essential for exploring conceptual frames of how we provide a code that enables humans to express isomorphic properties between nature and culture, and how we attempt to grapple with the world. It is a focal point in the research of language and culture.
Chapter 15. Plant Fixed Expressions in Taiwanese Southern Min

How about plant expressions in Taiwanese? Plants are closely related to human life. People not only live with plants, but our lives are also sustained by them. Therefore, many plants play a crucial role in our society and culture as we will reveal via studying Taiwanese. It seems that not all of the plants in the Taiwan are valued and deeply bonded to our life. Some plant names convey the meaning of ‘as valuable as treasure,’ while other plants, on the other hand, are given the meaning of ‘nothing.’ Why do these plant names express different meanings in Taiwanese? From examining the plant fixed expressions in Taiwanese, we see how different plant names play different roles in various dimensions.

15.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we examine plant fixed expressions in Taiwanese Southern Min. Again, this plant name not necessary refers to the plant itself, but it has other implications. The meaning of a fixed expression is usually generated together with the collocation of the expression. Therefore, although in some fixed expressions, the plant name is not the focus of the meaning, they are still used and discussed in this chapter because they conform to our definition of plant fixed expressions. For example, the meaning of chit8kichhau2chit8tiam2lou7 草可以被浸濕 by a drop of dew = everything is good for something does not focus on the plant chhou2 草 ‘grass,’ but chit8tiam2lou7 草可以被浸濕. Since this expression conforms to our definition of plant fixed expressions and it is used commonly. Therefore, we will discuss it and other expressions of this type in the study of this chapter.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) addressed the idea of conceptual metaphor and explained that metaphor is seen everywhere in our daily life. It exists not only in our languages but also in our thoughts and actions. Contrariwise, our thoughts and actions are also presented with metaphor. The interior concepts and exterior behaviors work and interact with each other. This chapter, therefore, aims to look into Taiwanese plant fixed expressions and the concepts that those expressions reveal.

To provide a clear understanding, we should state again that the written characters of Taiwanese are still controversial. Therefore we may see different written forms of the same plant expression in this chapter, because we do not change the characters after we collect the data. For
instance, the fruit (guava) has different names in different plant fixed expressions, such as pata2 芭 芙, liampata2 林拔仔 and liampata2 如抱阿. We will make notes for it if there is a necessity.

When there is a need to explain the meanings of the plant fixed expressions, the expressions will be translated first literally. The metaphor meanings come next to the literal meanings with the equal sign (=) between them. For example, chhiu7toa7iaN2toa7 樹大影大 ‘a bigger tree has a bigger shadow = if you make more money, you spend more as well’ A plant fixed expression usually carries more than one metaphorical meaning. We will not list all of them in this chapter. Moreover, there are several versions for a plant fixed expression sometimes. For instance, too7chheng5chhiu7 khaho2im3iaN2 大樹樹好隆影 ‘a big and exuberant tree can block the heat of sun and the rain = a wealthy and powerful person can give shelter to others’ are also said too7chhiu7e7im4iaN2 大樹會隆影, chhiu7toa7e7im7lang5 树大會隆人, too7chhiu7e7im3lang5 大樹會隆人, too7chheng5 chhiu7ho2im3iaN2 大松樹好隆影, and too7chheng5 chhiu7ho2im3iaN2 大榕樹好隆影. We will adopt one of these versions for the discussion.

The bulk of the chapter is as follows: (1) introduction, (2) meanings of plant fixed expressions, (3) the underlying conceits of plant fixed expressions, and (4) conclusion.

15.2. Meanings of Plant Fixed Expressions

In the first section, the core meanings of plant fixed expressions are analyzed. Most Taiwanese plant fixed expressions convey the thought of the speakers with the core meanings as well as their lexical environments. In the second section, we examine a few major plants vehicles: grains, vegetables, fruits, trees, and flowers. Through our examination, we can see what value Taiwanese people express with these plant vehicles. In the next section, we will look into the underlying conceits of these plant fixed expressions. Finally we will analyze these conceits accordingly.

15.2.1. Core Meanings

The core meanings of Taiwanese plant fixed expressions focus on four major plants: trees, flowers, rice and sweet potatoes. These four core meanings play the key roles: trees (as tall as trees), flowers (as beautiful as flowers), rice (as good or as important as rice) and sweet potatoes (as common or as indifferent as sweet potatoes). Most Taiwanese plant expressions convey people’s ideas and values toward events and surrounding which is achieved by the core meanings as well as the lexical

59 There are some Taiwanese plant fixed expressions convey the core meanings “as week as grass” and “as ugly as bitter gourd.” However, the number of them is not as many as these four. This section discusses only the four major vehicles and their related expressions.
environments of this expression. For example, the core meaning “as tall as trees”\(^{60}\) collocating with “umbrage” and other lexical elements forms the plant fixed expression \textit{toa7chang5chhiu7khah2im3iaN2} 大憔樹腳好營 影’a big and exuberant tree can block the heat of sun and the rain = a wealthy and powerful person can give shelter to others.’ This expression expresses the idea that it is easier for a wealthy person to practice charity. The plant fixed expression \textit{chhiu7koan5}, \textit{khah8siu7hong} 樹懸, 卡受風‘a tall tree is effected by wind easily = fame causes bad things easily’ also adopts the core meaning “as tall as tree” and the fact that trees swing when the wind blows to show the fact of human society that one who has fame is easily attracted other people’s jealousy and attack. There are some other examples, such as \textit{toa7chang5chhiu7phoa3u7chha5} 大憔樹剖有柴 ‘it is easier to get more benefits from richer or bigger people or objects’; and \textit{bo5hongho5io5}, to2\textit{toa7chang5chhiu7} 無風無搖, 倒大憔樹 ‘the tree fall over without any wind = a bolt from the blue.’

We can conclude that \textit{tree} refers to “tall and strong” and conveys the tenors such as abundance, nobleness and family. As to other major vehicles, \textit{flower} stands for “beauty” and “aroma.” It is usually used to imply beautiful objects or women. \textit{Rice} represents “things that are precious and important.” On the other hand, \textit{sweet potato} is the vehicle of “indifference” and “insignificance.” The examples are as below:

(1). as tall as trees: abundance, nobleness and family

\begin{itemize}
  
  \item a. \textit{toa7chang5chhiu7khah2im3iaN2} 大憔樹腳好營 影’a big and exuberant tree can block the heat of sun and the rain = a wealthy and powerful person can give shelter to others’
  
  \item b. \textit{chhiu7koan5}, \textit{khah8siu7hong} 樹懸, 卡受風’a tall tree is effected by wind easily = fame causes bad things easily’
  
  \item c. \textit{toa7chang5chhiu7phoa3u7chha5} 大憔樹剖有柴 ‘you can get bigger firewood from bigger trees = it is easier to get more benefits from richer people or bigger objects’
  
  \item d. \textit{bo5hongho5io5}, to2\textit{toa7chang5chhiu7} 無風無搖, 倒大憔樹 ‘the tree fall over without any wind blowing = a bolt from the blue; people die accidentally’
  
  \item e. \textit{chit8chang5chhiu7boe7khamtitchhiantoban7tokham2}, \textit{chit8e5lang5boe7kham} titchhiansiaN ban7siaNma7 一憔樹未得千刀萬刀砍, 一個人未得千聲萬聲罵 \‘a tree can not bear being chopped many times and a person can not bear public insult = it is impossible to ignore the influence from other people’
  
  \item f. \textit{chian5lin5chaichhiu7au7jin5khia7iaN2} 前人栽樹後人樹影 ‘the former people plant trees and the later people enjoy the shadow of the tree = one sows and another reaps; the
\end{itemize}

\(^{60}\) Chen and Ku (1999: 12-) studied aboriginal children’s concepts of botanical prototype and found that “tree” is the most typical botanical concept for children.
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

later one enjoy the result of the former effort’

g.  *chhia7toa7iaN2toa2* 樹大影大 ‘a bigger tree has a bigger shadow = when one makes more money, one spends more as well’

h.  *chhia7toa2chang5tioh8hunoaiN* 樹大條就大 **‘when a tree grow tall, it will grow branches = a well running business will found branch company; a big family will be separated when it get bigger’**

(2). as beautiful as flowers : women, something beautiful

a.  *bo5chhai2ho2hoechahahu5sai2* 無形紅花插牛屎 ‘it is a pity that a beautiful flower is put on bullshit = it is a pity that a beautiful woman matches with an ugly man’

b.  *sui2hoepat8lang5chang5, sui2bou2pat8lang5pag5* 嫩花插人穀, 嫩花插人房 ‘the flowers which are planted by others are more beautiful. Other men’s wives look more beautiful than oneself’s wife = other people’s something is always better than oneself’s something’

c.  *hoaputbi5lin5lin5chu7bi5* 花不迷人自迷 ‘flowers do not charm people, people make themselves attracted by beautiful flowers’

d.  *hoe5tioh8chhahthau5cheng5boe7tang3chhahau7ping5* 花著插頭前不插後旁 ‘wear the flower on the front of you. Do not wear it on the back = to show your ability at the right moment’

e.  *chian5lin5chaichhoeau7jin5chhah* 前人栽花後人插 ‘the former people plant flowers and the later people enjoy the beauty of the flowers = one sows and another reaps; the later ones enjoy the result of the former effort’

f.  *lakhoalau5chui2* 落花流水 ‘falling petals fall in the running water = unrequited love’

g.  *khoa3hoeiong5s7, oe7huelan5* 看花容易, 畫花難 ‘it is easy to just watch the flowers, but it is hard to draw them = to see is one thing; to do is another’

h.  *sioh4hoechhahku2cha2, ai3geh8ia7bin5ti5* 惜花春易老, 愛月夜難嬌 ‘to appreciate flowers, one has to get up early in spring to watch the blossoms; to watch the moon, one should not go to bed early’

i.  *sioh4hoelian5phun5, sioh4kiaN2lian5sun* 惜花無益, 惜花煩人 ‘because of loving flowers, one loves the pot as well; because of loving children, one loves their grandchildren as well = love me, love my dog’

j.  *gim2siong7thiNhoa* 錦上添花 ‘add flowers on beautiful brocade = to knock at an open door’

k.  *oe7chui2bo5phokhangchohlong7, siu3hoe2uiko2putbun5hiang* 畫水無波空作浪, 畫花難好不開言 ‘the water drawn on the paper can only show the appearance but shows no real wave; although the embroidered flowers look beautiful, they do not have any aroma = the fake can not replace the real one’
Chapter 15. Plant Fixed Expressions in Taiwanese Southern Min

1. be7ie5kong2te5phang, be7hoekong2hoecang5 買茶講茶芳, 買花講花好 ‘tea seller says his tea has good flavor and flower seller says his flowers are red = every potter praises his pot; every salesman boasts about his own ware’

m. hoeb05chho3jhuian5bo5chho3tui3 花無價開緣無緣對 ‘flowers blossom follow the season timing and people match because of the destiny = the destiny matches lovers’

n. si5kau3hoechiu7khai 時到花就開 ‘flowers blossom in the flower season = everything has its timing’

(3). as good or as important as rice: preciousness, importance

a. batsng3putbattu5, thio3bi3aooN7hanchu5 算算不除, 瞑米穀養著 ‘knowing how to count, but not knowing how to divide; exchange rice for sweet potatoes = do not know how to run a business, or losing money in doing business’

b. chit8liap8bi2, lau5kui2pahliap8oaN7 一粒米, 瞑幾百粒千 ‘a grain of rice costs hundreds of dews of sweat = a simple achievement takes a lot of effort; no pain, no gain’

c. chit8khoan2bi2chhi7pahiuN7lang5 瞑軟米靱百樣人 ‘hundreds of kinds of people are raised with the same kind of rice = there are all kinds of people in the world’

d. phaN3chhekstiloh8ho2bi2loa5 有孽收落好米糧 ‘bad rice is collected into a good basket = having no good ability but being appreciated’

e. chiah8bi2, m7chaibi2ke3 食米, 嚇知米價 ‘eating rice without knowing the price of the rice’

f. oaichhui3kechiah8toa7liap8bi2 正嘴雜食大粒米 ‘inferior crooked-bill chicken wants to eat the best sort of rice = to overestimate oneself or one’s strength; fools rush in where angels fear to tread’

g. thauliah8keia7iioh8chot8pe2bi2 撒嘴雜食一把米 ‘if you want to steal a chicken, at least you have to prepare a handful of rice to be the bait = no pain, no gain’

h. chhengchui2chu2peh8bi2 清水煮白米 ‘cook rice with clear water = without any faults’

i. chhoukhngchhu2tou7iu5 糧糟取都有油 ‘even the rice bran can be refunded into oil = everything is precious, do not waste anything’

j. bo5bi2kiamlun7goeh8 無米兼閏月 ‘It has been difficult enough to have no rice to cook. The worst of all is that this year is a leap year. = double whammy’

(4). as common or as indifferent as sweet potatoes: indifference, insignificance

a. theh8hanchu5putchun2ngou2kok 拿著不準五穀 ‘do not treat sweet potatoes as important as grains; in the lean year, sweet potatoes are the staple; however, in the plenty year, sweet potatoes are forgotten = treating others well when there is a need to use them but neglecting them when they are useless’
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

15.2.2. The Vehicles: Grains, Vegetables, Fruits, Trees and Flowers

Now, let us look into each plant. The vehicles that the Taiwanese plant fixed expressions adopt are mainly grains, vegetables, fruits, trees and flowers. The grains which are adopted are bi2 米 ‘rice,’ tiu7 稻 ‘the plant of rice or rice with shells,’ chhek 米 ‘unripe rice,’ hanchi5 薯 ‘sweet potato,’ ou7a2 豆 ‘yam’ and thou5tau7 土豆 ‘peanut.’ Among these, rice, sweet potato and yam are the most common vehicles in Taiwanese plant fixed expressions.

Grains

In addition to what we have mentioned in the previous section that bi2 米 ‘rice’ use to express “preciousness and importance,” people also use the unripe rice, chhek 米, to make the expressions such as phaN3chheksiuholoh8hoa2bi2loa5 有粟收落好米糧 ‘bad rice is collected into a good basket = having no good ability but being appreciated’ and hongchhoephaN3 chhekpo8hokchia2siu7 風吹有粟糧福糧受 ‘the wind blows and the unripe rice float; poor one has to bear the difficulty = if anything bad happens, the poor one is the first victim’ tiu7a2 稻麥 ‘the grain of rice’ and tiu7 kok 米穀 ‘rice with shells’ also are adopted to generate fixed expressions, for example tiu7sui7pa2tiN7tioh8se7thau5 稻穗飽滿香垂頭 ‘growing more rice grains, the head of the rice plant will hang lower = the erudite one is humbler,’ hoahie5tiu7a2be2 割下的稻穗尾 ‘to reap without sowing = to steal others work’ and chhoukhng, sosoha2 稲穀, 握索 Họ ‘to get nothing from hard-working.’
Chapter 15. Plant Fixed Expressions in Taiwanese Southern Min

When bi2 米 ‘rice’ and hanchi5 芋著 ‘sweet potato’ are juxtaposed, the idea that the rice is precious and the sweet potato is cheap shown. Sweet potato is the symbol of insignificance in Taiwanese. For example, si5kau3si5ting, bo5bi2chu2hanchi5thng 時到時換，無米煮番薯湯 ‘when it comes the time that people do not have any rice, they still can cook sweet potato soup for eating = cross the bridge when you come to it’ and batsng3putbattu5, thio3bi3oaN7hanchu5 抱草 不捨除，番薯換番薯 ‘knowing how to count, but not knowing how to divide; exchange rice for sweet potatoes = do not know how to run a business, or losing money in doing business.’ Sweet potato and yam are both bulbous plants. They look similar and are often juxtaposed. They both express the meaning of insignificance. For instance, hanchi5khuaN3choe3ou7 芋著煮做芋 ‘mistake sweet potato for yam = to make a mistake of identifying something,’ m7batchit8e8ou7a2hanchi5 不批一個芋仔番薯 ‘can not tell a yam to a sweet potato = not know chalk from cheese,’ and chiah8ou7a2, thou3hanci5 吃芋仔，番薯著 ‘eat the yam but spew sweet potato = gaining something but losing others.’ thou5tau7 土豆 ‘peanut’ conveys similar meaning to sweet potato, or even “less insignificant.” This can be seen from the following examples: lam5chu2han3, thou5tau7hu 男子漢，土豆顧 ‘An adult man is as weak and spineless as peanut bran’ and chai7sengchiah8 chit8iap8thou5tau5, khiahiaN5si2liau2pai3chit8e8tithau5 在生吃一粒土豆，較贏了拜一個豬頭 ‘to provide a piece of peanut when the parents are alive is better than to dedicate a pig head after parents die = to provide simple care for one’s parents when they are alive is more meaningful than to commemorate them with sumptuous feast after they die.’

Vegetables

As to vegetables, chhai3 蔬 ‘vegetable’ is the most commonly adopted vehicle in Taiwanese plant fixed expressions. Other commonly used vegetables are kua3chhai3 萝蔔 ‘colewort,’ chhai3thau5 萝蔔 ‘radish,’ chhai3koe 萝蔔 ‘sponge gourd’ and chhang 綠 ‘green onion. chhai3 蔬 ‘vegetable’ is usually as the opposite of hun 肉 ‘meat dish,’ implies “something usual and ordinary” or “simple and kind hearted behavior.” For example, chiah8hi5chiah8bah, ma7tioh8chhai3kah 吃肉食，輸著蔬菜 ‘eat meat, but also have to eat with vegetables = do not just aspire after things that are special,’ chhai3nihkhiho7tioh8bah 蔬裡拾著肉 ‘find a piece of meat in a dish of vegetable = to get something good from a ordinary group,’ ke3tioh8tiang, bo5iu5chu2chhai3ia7phang 嫂著蔬菜，無油香菜也利 ‘marrying to the butcher, you can cook delicious meal without oil = a simple and happy life/ marriage,’ ami5to5hu8t8, chiah8chhai3bo5 pai5put8 阿彌陀佛，食菜無拜佛 ‘Amitabha Buddha, eat vegetable without worshiping Buddha = a Buddhist who only cares about the ceremony but not the faith,’ and chiah8chhai3, chiah8kau3tou2chiae5ui5kai3 蔬食，食到肚臍為界 ‘being a vegetarian but not following the monastic discipline’

Other than chhai3 蔬 ‘vegetable,’ kua3chhai3 萝蔔 ‘colewort’ and chhai3thau5 萝蔔 ‘radish’ are the second popular plant vehicles used to generate plant fixed expressions. The
meaning of colewort in the expressions is composed according to the growing characteristics of this plant. For example, lak8goeh8kua3chhai3, ke2u7sim 六月芥菜, 有心 ‘colewort in June has no core = false-hearted,’ chap8li2goeh8kua3chhai3, u7sim 十二月芥菜, 有心 ‘colewort in December has core= truehearted.’ They both describe the fact when a colewort grows in June or in December. Other examples of this kind are listed below: kua3chhai3bo5pakputseng5chang5 芥菜無剝不成長 ‘a colewort without being stripped some leaves can not grow well = children would not be honest if the parents do not correct their misbehavior when they make mistakes’ and kua3chhai3tui3lai7 pakchhutlai5 芥菜對內剝出來 ‘Stripping the colewort from inside = put the carriage before the horse.’

On the other hand, chhai3thau5 菜頭 ‘radish’ usually refers to commonplace dishes or objects. For instance, chiah8png7phoe3chhai3pou2, khiam7chiN5khaichabou2 食飯配菜脯, 借錢開支票 ‘having a meal with pickles in order to save money to wench; pinching and scraping, but use the money to wench,’ anga2pou2chiah8chhai3pou2 翁仔貧食菜脯 ‘husband and wife eat pickle radish = it does not matter what to eat as long as the husband and wife love each other.’

The vehicle chhai3koe 菜瓜 ‘sponge gourd’ impressed people by its curly tassels, therefore the fixed expression tit8, ka2na2chhai3koechhiu 菜瓜當坐騎, 故若菜瓜臥 ‘as straight as the sponge gourd tassels = ironically saying someone who is as straight as sponge gourd tassels; the person is not integrity at all.’

The vehicle chhang 菜 ‘green onion’ is similar to the vehicle chhai3 菜 ‘vegetable.’ They both refer to “something common and ordinary” or “simple and kind behavior.” For example, ke3tioh8poah8kiau2ang, chit8chhiu2kuaN7bahcit8chhiu2kuaN7chhang 嫁著敗翁, 一手揹內一手揹蔭 ‘marrying to a gambler, one can have feast when he wins, but have almost nothing when he loses,’ ke3tioh8be7chhai3ang, saNtng3m7si7chhai3tioh8si7chhang 嫁著賣蔭翁, 三頓不爭蔭就是蔭 ‘marrying to a greengrocer, you can only have either vegetable or green onion for three meals.’

In addition, although there are not many expressions that are generated from the vehicle hing3chhai3 菜 ‘pigweed’ and the vehicle kiam5chhai3 菜薑 ‘Chinese pickle,’ the following two expressions are commonly used, chiah8bo5saNpe2hing3chhai3, tioh8bechchuiuN7sethian 食無三把蔭薑, 就欲上西天 ‘a person who has not yet eaten three bunches of Nymphoides peltata would dare entering the Western Paradise = not to know one’s own limitations; to reach the sky in a single bound’ and ang5ku, paukiam5chhai3 紅龜, 包鹹薑 ‘red turtle cakes stuffed only pickled vegetables = trumpery.’ It seems that not all the names of vegetables can be adopted to derive plant expressions. Taiwanese speakers usually use the names of common vegetables to generate fixed expressions. However, special features of some vegetables, no matter the feature of the vegetable itself or its growing characteristics often fall in the speaker’s mind.

61 Many plant fixed expressions are generated from plants’ growing characteristics. Therefore, it is
Chapter 15. Plant Fixed Expressions in Taiwanese Southern Min

**Fruits**

Fruits that are chosen to generate plant fixed expressions are *pata2 ‘guava,’ sikoe 西瓜 ‘watermelon,’ kam榴 ‘tangerine,’ kamchia3 甘蔗 ‘sugar cane,’ leng5geng2 龍眼 ‘longan’ and kinchho 菌 ‘banana,’ etc. The vehicle *guava* is the most popular one. The expression *ciah8iu7a2 chiah8pata2pang3chheng3chi2 ‘to have the pomelo would have the excretion like a dried shrimp, but to have guava would have the excretion like bullets’ focuses on the botanic feature of the fruit guava. People usually regard guava as a kind of foreign fruit and it is inappropriate to present a foreign fruit like guava at formal occasion. For example, *liampata2boe2chiuN7tohteng2 林按仔味上卓顶* ‘guava can not be an offering when offering sacrifices to gods = a worthless person in imposing attire,’ *liampata2, ciuN7samkai3toann5 玲按阿, 上三界壇 ‘guava is not Chinese fruit, therefore it can not be the offering, but now it can be offered to god, to the earth, and to great men = the inferior comes to appear before the noble; The unimportant person stands out among the fellows.’

The vehicle *kamchia3 甘蔗 ‘sugar cane’ represents happiness, completion, mature, and mellowness because of its being sweet. Some examples are listed as follows: *chap8li2goeh8 kamchia3, to2be2tiN 十二月甘蔗, 到尾甜 ‘the sugar canes in December are sweet at the other end = people and things would become better and perfect when getting older,’ *kamchia3 lau7thu5tiN 甘蔗老頭甜 ‘the sugar canes grow out of the old one are sweet = the older, the better reputation’ and *kamchia3siangthou5tiN 甘蔗雙頭甜 ‘sugar canes taste sweet from both ends = to ingratiate from all directions, to be pleasant all round.’

The vehicle *leng5geng2 龍眼 ‘longan’ is also used in a particular way because the seed of the longan looks like the eyeballs of human beings: *bak8chiu 个多小时5geng2khakoan7khi3 目瞭, 互龍眼眼換去 ‘eyeballs are changed to longan seeds = ca not see things clearly and can not see the truth.’

**Trees**

Generally, the tree expressions and flower expressions are derived from the generic names of the plants, such as *chhiu7 樹 ‘tree’ and *hoe 花 ‘flower’ instead of a particular names of different kinds of trees or flowers. In addition to presenting the tallness of the tree, the tree expressions also show that *root, such as chhiu7thau5 樹頭 ‘the root of the tree,’ implies the foundation and origin of something or someone. For instance, *chiah8kue2chi2pai3chhiu7thau5 食果子拜樹頭 ‘when
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

eating fruits, we think of its source = to be full of gratitude, to cherish the source,' bo5kinbo5ti3 無
根無蒂 ‘there is no roots, there is no stalks = having no foundations and having nothing; to be
alone,’ cham2chhau2ti5kin 斷草除根 ‘to root out when weeding = to rid of the scum, to rid of the
source thoroughly first,’ iap8lok8kiu2chiukintong5itchhu3 落九州根同一處 ‘the leaves fall
everywhere, but they are from the same tree = the descendants get married and start their careers
outside of the family, but they are from the same ancestor,’ and chhiu7thau5kou3hou7chai7,
m7kiaNchhiu7be2cho3hongthai 樹頭顧互在，無驚樹尾做風馳 ‘if the stem of a tree is solid, we
do not need to be afraid of the trembling of a tree when typhoon comes = to be not afraid of the
obstacle if the foundation is firm and stable.’

Moreover, the vehicle chhiu7im3 樹枝 ‘the shadow of the tree’ stands for benefits, like
chian5lin5chaichhiu7au7jin5khia7iaN2 前人栽樹後人行影 ‘the former people plant trees and the
later people enjoy the shadow of the tree = one sows and another reaps; the later one enjoy the
result of the former effort’ and toa7chang5chhiu7khalo2im3iaN2 大樹樹腳好陰影 ‘a big and
exuberant tree can block the heat of sun and the rain = a wealthy and powerful person can give
shelter to other people.’

The vehicle branch, such as chhiu7toaiN 樹枝 branches will grow when it gets bigger.’ Parts of a tree, such as ki 枝 ‘brench’ and hioh8 葉 ‘leaf,’ likewise, are popular vehicles for Taiwanese plant expressions. The vehicles brench and leaf
represent separate parts of something, however, when they are used in one expression, they
represent the meaning of completion or the whole. For example, chhingkiban7hioh8 千枝萬葉
‘the branches and leaves are luxuriant but well-spaced = to be luxuriant and complicated,’
sengkhoathioh8 生枝發葉 ‘branches and leaves grow = to exaggerate a story,’ u7kibo5hioh8 有
枝無葉 ‘there are branches but no leaves = not enough and not perfect’ and cho7kau7khu7hioh8 遭
到有枝有葉 ‘to do things as luxuriant as the branches and leaves of a tree = to do things well.’

The by-product chha5 篝 ‘firewood’ is usually used as a plant vehicle to mean just
something or a certain matter, such as he7chha5thiamhoe2 下柴添火 ‘to inflatable by adding
firewood = to fan the flames,’ phoa3chha5sian5chha5tiam 破柴連柴點 ‘to split the chopping
board when splitting the firewood = heavy drug would hurt; to have an exactly opposite effect’ and
hoaiN5chha5jip8chau3 懶柴入灶 ‘it is impossible to put the firewood into the kitchen range
horizontally = to ride roughshod; to tyrannize over; to dominate; to play the bully.’

Flowers

The beauty and amora of the flower are what people praise the most. Taiwanese people like
to adopt hoekhui 花開 ‘blossom’ to explain the coming of an opportunity, such as hoeb5
chha3khuiian5bo5chho3tui3 花無錯開緣無錯對 ‘flowers blossom follow the season timing;
people match because of the destiny = the destiny matches lovers,’ 

‘flowers blossom in the flower season; everything has its timing,’ and 

‘rotten flower could blossom as well = the poor could be rich one day.’

Nevertheless, when an expression combine hoe 花 ‘flower’ with liu 柳 ‘willow,’ it implies

affection or amativeness. For instance, 

‘what you plan to do, often does not get accomplished, what you
did not intend to cause sometimes returns surprising outcomes.’

On the other hand, if the name of a particular kind of flower is identified, it represents a
certain purpose, such as chhiu7mui5u2 梅雨 ‘plum rain.’ This kind of shower usually takes
place when plum blossoms, therefore, mui5 梅 ‘plum flower’ is adopted.

Although ‘flower’ is the representation of beauty, people do not seem to applaud

bachelor’s button much because this flower is commonly seen, people generate this
expression: iN5a2hoem7chaibai2 圖仔花不知養 ‘the Bachelor’s Button does not know how ugly
itself is.’

In addition, chhau2 草 ‘grass’ is the vehicle of children, tiny things and bucolic. For example, 

‘a small shoot of grass can be moistened by a drop of
dew = everything is good for something,’ 

‘the pointed tip of the grass is pointed when it is still a young shoot = smartness and cleverness are shown from
one’s childhood,’

‘grass land = a rural area’64 and chhau2kau5 草猴 ‘grass-
monkey = praying mantis = frivolous.’

In short, the tenor of each plant is as follows: the vehicle rice is the precious and valuable
things; sweet potato is common and indifferent; yam is indifferent; peanut is trivial; vegetable
represents something usual and ordinary, or simple and kind hearted behavior; green onion is also
something usual and ordinary, or simple and kind hearted behavior; radish is commonplace dishes
or things.

The fruit vehicle guava is foreign fruit and it is inappropriate to present guava at formal
occasion; the sweetness of sugar cane is happiness, completion, mature, and mellowness. The

64 When the Han people first came to Taiwan, the island was covered with forests and wild weed. 
The frontiersmen lived in the field and built houses with thatch and made fences with bamboos. Therefore, Taiwanese people call a rural area cao3di4 草地 ‘grass land = a rural area’ (Yi 1977: 66, Lian 1992: 67).

65 This expression is just like mu4hou2 沐猴 ‘a monkey dressed like a human being’ in the book Xiangyubenji 項羽本紀 (The Biographic Sketches of Xiang Yu). Mu4hou2 沐猴 ‘a monkey dressed like a human being’ is used to describe people of Chu and imply that these people are just like monkeys that dress like people but in fact animals; meaning people of Chu are impetuous (Lian 1992: 72).
vehicle tree means abundance, nobleness and family; the root of the tree implies foundation and the origin of something; the shadow of the tree means the benefits; branch stands for the division or department of a family or a business; the combination of the vehicles branch and leaf in an expressions refers to a completion or the whole; firewood means something or a certain matter. The vehicle flower symbolizes beauty; blossom implies the coming of an opportunity; the combination of flower and willow implies affection or amativeness; and grass stands for children, tiny things, and bucolic.

15.3. The Underlying Conceits of Plant Fixed Expressions

The underlying conceits of plant fixed expressions play a crucial role on generating these expressions. There are four basic categories: the farming and growing characteristics of plants, the utility functions of plants, the outer appearance of plants, and homonym or assonance of the plant name, or the mentality of Taiwanese people.

The first one is the farming and growing characteristics of plants. As we have mentioned above, the colewort in June has not grow the heart and the bottom of sugar cane in December is the sweetest. Besides, the expressions like sikuetin5tahtichhai3kuepiN5nih 西瓜藤搭波菜瓜棚 ‘the stem of water melons climb over the shed of the sponge cucumber = because there is no way out, to make use of other tools to find a way,’ koatian5putlap8li2, li2ha7putcheng2koan 瓜田不納履, 李下不整冠 ‘Do not do up your shoes in a melonpatch; do not arrange your cap under the plum tree = do not bend down in a melonpatch, do not lift up your hands under the plum trees; to avoid anything that may bring aspersion’ are formed based on the farming and growing characteristics that the sponge gourd needs a trellis and the watermelon has curly binds.

The second one is the utility functions of plants, which is developed in the interaction between human being and the plants. The morphologic units like 排 ‘the shadow of the tree,’ 火柴 ‘firewood,’ 花 ‘flower arrangement,’ 配菜 ‘side dish’ and the staple 米 ‘rice’ are adopted due to this underlying conceits. For example, ho2hoechhahti7gu5sai2piaN2 སྤྲ ‘it is a pity that a beautiful flower is put on bullshit = it is a pity that a beautiful woman matches with an ugly man’ and u7hoebo5chhaithou5cheng5, khiokchhahkachiahau7 有花無種兩 ‘wear the flower on the front of you, do not wear it on the back of you = to show your ability at the right moment; incongruous; irrelevant.’

The third one is the outer appearance of plants. People have observed that the peanut is small, the guava has many seeds, the tree is tall and big, the flower is beautiful and fragrant, the bitter gourd is bitter, pepper is spicy and the leaf of Lin-tou has thorns, etc. Therefore, there are expressions based on this underlying conceits. For example, e2khou2, chiah8khou2koe 喋口, 嚴苦瓜 ‘to be unable to express one’s discomfort, like a dumb person tasting bitter herbs,’ hou5chio loah8bian2che7 胡椒辣見湯 ‘no need to have much pepper = incongruous; irrelevant.’ The
appearance of a plant is always the focus of plant fixed expressions. Sometimes, the plant name is calqued to describe something because their shapes or the appearances are alike. For example, hanci5a2 藕薯仔 ‘sweet potato people’ stands for Taiwanese people because the shape of Taiwan island is similar to that of a sweet potato. Moreover, in bak8chiu, hou7leng5geng2khakoan7khi3 目瞪, 互瞪眼眸換去 ‘eyeballs are changed with longan seeds = cannot see things clearly and can not see the truth,’ the longan seeds are used to compare with human eyeballs because they look alike. Basically, what people can see, smell, taste and touch about one plant are the major linguistic materials for Taiwanese people to create plant fixed expressions.

The fourth one is about homonym or assonance of the plant name, and the mentality of Taiwanese people. Many of Taiwanese plant fixed expressions are generated because of homonym or assonance. For example, in ang5kamkhak, he7ti7hamkhangkak 紅柑穀 下仔菇 孔角 ‘put the skin of the tangerine under the flowing gutter = confusing pronunciation would become a joke,’ ang5kamkhak 紅柑穀 and hamkhangkak 菇 孔角 are collocated because they sound similar. Beh8 麥 and beh8 藥 are homonyms, people combine them together in beh8khoa3no3kua2chhai3 藥當做韭菜 ‘to take wheat as leeks = cannot read the pulse but dare to prescribe for the patients.’

Moreover, in lou7gio5, chhang, bo5seng5soan3 蘜蔥, 蔥, 無所謂‘laugiu and green onion make no garlic = these plants and things are not qualified,’ bo5seng5soan3 不成蔥 ‘make no garlic’ has the same pronunciation with bo5seng5soan3 不成蔥 ‘being unqualified’; in lou7gio5, chhang, ke2toan7pan7 蘜蔥, 蔥, 假大扮 ‘to masquerade laugiu and green onion as garlic = to masquerade; to offer something bogus,’ toa7pan7 大扮 ‘big clove of garlic’ sounds similar to toa7pan7 大方 ‘beau geste.’ Rhyming is also found in plant fixed expressions. For example, tau7 豆 and thau5 頭 rhyme in chai7sengchiah8chit8lau5tau5, khahian5sia2liu2pau3chit8 e5thau5 在生食—粒土豆, 較贏死了拜一個福頭 ‘to provide a piece of peanut when the parents are alive is better than to dedicate a pig head after the parents die = to provide simple care for one’s parents when they are alive is more meaningful than to commemorate them with sumptuous feast after they die.’

The custom is also the underlying conceit of plant fixed expressions. For example, io5chiN5chhiu7io5titkoan5, seNkiaN2seNsutiong3chiung7goan5 搖錢樹搖得懸, 生田生孫中狀元 ‘the higher the legendary tree [that sheds coins] was shaken, the better the offspring would be = congratulatory speech’ and si2niautiau3chhiu7thau5, si2kau2pang3chui2thau5 死貓吊側頭, 死狗放水流 ‘the corpse of a cat should be hung on the tree, the corpse of a dog should be thrown into the flowing stream.’ In addition, thiau3chhai3kou2chhoo7ho2hu7 跳柴殮妻好婦 ‘You can get a good wife if you jump over the vegetable bed’ is the convention of Lantern Festival and Moon Festival. Besides, Taiwanese plant fixed expressions are bucolic and entertaining, as the following

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66 The meaning of this expression is cited from Chen (1998: 51).
67 The writing 大扮 ‘big clove of garlic’ can be pronounced as tua7ban7 or tua7pan7.
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

examples show: *bo5chiah8outau7, kio3ipang3outau7sa2‘to force someone to excrete black soy beans without having eaten soy beans = to force someone to do something against his will,’*  
*sitloan5chiah8kengchiophe5 失戀食蕉皮 ‘to eat banana peel when breaking up with one’s beloved ones = to describe the bitter feeling of the disappointment in love,’*  
*chiah8bo5saNpe2hing3chhai3, tioh8behchiuN7sethian 食無三把青菜，就欲上西天 ‘a person who has not eaten three bunches of Nymphoides peltata would like to enter the Western Paradise = not to know one’s own limitations; to reach the sky in a single bound,’ and* *cheNa2chang5 胆仔爛 ‘an areca = a rash fellow; a reckless guy, etc.*

### 15.4. Conclusion

To sum up, the underlying conceits of Taiwanese plant fixed expressions emphasize on people’s perception of the plants, such as tall trees, small grass, fragrant flowers, waving trees and sweet sugar cane and so on. Taiwanese people combine botanic features of the plants with the utility function and generate plant fixed expressions that are demotic, bucolic and entertaining. This is different from the plant fixed expressions of Mandarin Chinese, which usually convey unworldly ideas such as *zhu2 竹‘bamboo’ standing for gentlemen and integrity.*

Let us now look into the cognitive base that Taiwanese hold when they use Taiwanese plant fixed expressions in their daily life. These expressions are used to express Taiwanese people’s opinions about society, indicate their ways of handling things and point out their values. For instance, *chit8kichhau2chit8tiam2lou7 草技草腳點露 ‘a small shoot of grass can be moistened by a drop of dew’ describes that ‘everything is good for something’ and toa7chang5chhiu7khaho2 大樹腳腳藤藤影 ‘a big and exuberant tree can block the heat of sun and the rain’ points out that ‘a wealthy and powerful person can give shelter to other people.’

This chapter also indicates the cognitive feature of plant fixed expressions. When we compare the animal expressions, that we have examined in Part II of this monograph, with Taiwanese plant expressions, we see that while plant expressions are used to express Taiwanese people’s opinions about society, ways of handling things and values in their mind, animal expressions are usually words to insult others. Taiwanese animal expressions are of no exceptions. There are plenty of examples: *long5simkau2hi3 狼心狗肺 ‘as cruel as a wolf and dog = cruel and unscrupulous,’ lan2gu5tosi2liao7 懶牛多屎屎 ‘a lazy cow excrete more excrement and urine = a lazy person always declines things with all sorts of excuses,’ kau5si2gin2a2 猿吼孩仔 ‘children who are as naughty as monkeys = bad naughty children,’ chhi7niuau2chhi2ka7pou3te7 刷鷹電咬布袋 ‘to raise rat to bite through the sack = rooting out, otherwise trouble will always come,’* *si2aha2nge7chhui3phe2 死鴨仔頭嘴巴 ‘the mouth of a duck is still hard when it is dead = to stick to one’s own point of view’ and hai2leng5song5si5chu12 – ke2se3li7 海難王辯水 – 假細膩 ‘the
god of the ocean declines water = hypocritically; unctuously.’ These expressions are very judgmental and they are usually billingsgates that criticize people and the society.

As we have shown in the discussion of this chapter, plant expressions are impartial and informative without scolding with harsh tone. These expressions teach people the value and virtue of humanness with humble judge and mild advice. We list some of them below as examples:

- *kaki7cheng3chit8chang5, khahiaN5khoaN3pat8lang5* 家己種一棗，卡贏看別人 ‘to grow a tree by oneself is better than to care for other people’s trees = to possess by oneself rather than to admiring other people’s belongings,’
- *toa7chang5chhiu7phoa3u7chha5* 大樹樹有柴 ‘it is easier to get more benefits from richer or bigger people or objects,’
- *chian5lin5chhiu7au7jin5khia7uN2 鬼人栽樹後人盈影 ‘the former people plant trees and the later people enjoy the shadow of the tree = one sows and another reaps; the later one enjoy the result of the former effort,’
- *chiah8kue2chi2pai3chhiu7thau5* 乖果子拜樹頭 ‘when eating fruits we think of its source = to be full of gratitude; to cherish the source,’
- *siohhoelian5kisioh* 情花連枝情 ‘love the flowers, love their branches and leaves as well = love me, love my dog,’
- *ka3kiaN2oh8sui5, m7thangka3kiaN2pe5* chhiu7 教訓學四，不當教訓爬樹 ‘to teach children swimming, but not to teach them climbing trees = to teach children useful skills,’
- *bok8oan3thai3iong5phian, chu7hun7kibu5hioh8* 惡怨太陽偏，自恨枝無葉 ‘to complain about trees that have no luxuriant leaves rather than to complain about the setting sun = to blame for the ability of oneself rather than to blame others,’
- *tiu7sui7pa2 tiN7tioh8se7thau5* 榕樹飽滿者垂頭 ‘the erudite one is humbler’ and *chit8khoaN2bi2chhi7 pahiuaN7lang5* 罵款禾祠百種人 ‘hundreds of kinds of people are raised with the same kind of rice = there are all kinds of people in the world.’

Of course, there are still some plant expressions used to scold people, such as *lam5chu2han3, thou5tau7hu* 男子漢，土豆麪 ‘An adult man is as weak and spineless as peanut bran’ and *iN5a2hoem7chaitai2 圖仔花不知要* ‘the Bachelor’s Button does not know how ugly it is,’ but most Taiwanese plant fixed expressions are impartial and moderate statements.

The reason why more plant expressions are humble judge and mild advice, whereas most animal expressions scold people with a harsh tone will be further researched on in the next chapter.
Chapter 16. Animal and Plant Expressions: Language and Nature

At the end, we ask ourselves, is there a reason why plant expressions are used to give mild advice whereas most animal expressions are harsh insults? In other words, what cognitive base is behind this semantic autonomy? Can we reveal the cognitive base in light of linguists’ approaches? We will compare these two different life-form expressions and see how human experience of interacting with the environment influences the derivation of the live-form expressions. This chapter will close the presentation of my research on embodiment in language, and also open a new topic for further research. Two unrelated languages, Mandarin Chinese and German, are chosen to demonstrate the psychobiological base and the conceptions work in language.

16.1. Introduction

Lakoff (1987: 221) argues that metaphors become conventionalized through repeated use. They become central to cognition through framing the abstract in terms of the concrete. In Lakoff’s view, metaphor exists at a deeper generating level than other linguistic expressions. Can this level be located more precisely? On the other hand, Kövecses (2000: 27) contends that metaphors which express emotion are stable through time. Kövecses, however, does not provide a rationale to explain why these metaphors are resistant to diachronic change. This chapter aims to investigate the cognitive level of animal and plant metaphors in human minds, and the reasons for stability of these metaphors. We will answer these two research questions by reviewing the approaches of Lakoff (1987: 221) and Kövecses (2000: 27) based on the present research.

Two historically unrelated languages, Mandarin Chinese and German, were selected to demonstrate that the psychobiological basis and the conceptions of these metaphors work in languages by processes of analogy.

Important treatises showed the interesting cognitive level of plant concepts in human cognition. Lévi-Strauss (1963: 2) noticed that animal and plant names are consistently used as cultural symbols. In Lakoff and Turner’s (1989) ‘Great Chain of Being’ metaphor, human beings are ranked at the highest order, followed by other animals, and finally, plants. Animal and plant

* The original version of the present chapter was published in Languages across Cultures, pp. 131-149. Taipei: Bookman.
metaphors play important role in languages. Atran (1990: 219) shows that plant names are convenient choices for describing human society. We will compare plant and animal expressions, two different life-form expressions, and see how human experience of interacting with the environment influences the derivation of the live-form expressions with which I close the presentation of my research on embodiment in language in this monograph.

Linguists have also examined the cognitive foundation of animal metaphors in languages just as we have reviewed in part II of the monograph. Some of the related works should be briefly introduced again for the research purpose of this chapter. Nesi (1995) discusses conventional animal metaphors in different cultures and highlights the problems that second language users may have when using English animal metaphors. Ahrens and Say (1999) examine animal metaphors in English and Mandarin, and propose that animals’ appearance and behavior are usually anthropomorphized. Hsieh (2003a) examines animal expressions in Mandarin and German and suggests that animal expressions tend to reflect cultural values. Much research has focused on the negative connotations of animal expressions. For example, Fraser (1981) has investigated insulting terms that encode animal names. Low (1988) and Newmark (1988) show that animal metaphors are largely used to describe inferior or undesirable human habits and attributes. Fontecha and Jiménez Catalán (2003) look into cow and fox expressions in English and Spanish dictionaries. They found that the main metaphorical meanings of the female terms have more negative connotations than those of the male terms.

Little research, however, has been conducted about the intrinsic property and the cognitive level of the negative usage of animal metaphors as well as the use of plant metaphors.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: (1) introduction, (2) research framework, then (3) I examine how animal and plant metaphors are generated; from laypersons’ views rather than being based on scientific knowledge. (4). The characteristics of animal and plant metaphors are discussed to show how lay views overlap with nature. (5) A section answers the research questions raised in this chapter and reviews cognitive scientists’ assumptions.

16.2. Research Framework
Significant related theories about human cognition should first be mentioned. Kövecses (2000: 18) proposed that lay views can influence and determine scientific theories, and vice versa. This assumption can be illustrated and further developed in terms of animal and plant metaphors, as will be shown below.

Further, human conceptualization is fundamentally structured by metaphors consisting of mappings from our bodily experiences (Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987, Gibbs 1994, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999), such as visual perception, smelling, or feeling. In other words, the overall image and the metaphorical reasoning is shaped by the human body. For example, Yu (2004: 680)
pointed out that the English idiom *with one’s eyes shut* means ‘without full awareness’ where a bodily experience “shutting one’s eyes” has developed into a cognitive reasoning. Mandarin has a parallel development.

In Halliday’s (1985: 101-, 1994: 106-) model of verbal processes, the semantic attribute of the verbs or nouns in expressions is identified to distinguish different lexical process that an expression aims to achieve. For example, the verb “pleased” in *the gift pleased Mary* shows that this expression goes under a mental process, while the verbs ‘caught’ in *the lion caught the tourist* indicates an action that shows this expression is going through a material process, and the ‘knit’ in *knit one’s brow* describes the behavioral process of this expression. I believe that animal and plant metaphors perform specific semantic roles by their different verbal processes and will delve into this issue shortly.

The data that we will be used for the study of this chapter are listed in Table 16.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicles</th>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plant</td>
<td>3558</td>
<td>3232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>2890</td>
<td>2548</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 16.3. Semantic Autonomy versus Scientific Knowledge

Lakoff and Turner (1989) wrote *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* “in service of helping the study of poetry function to promote ethical, social, and personal awareness” (p.214), because “it is vital that we understand our own worldviews and the processes that guide both our everyday understanding and our imagination” (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 214). This idea and the issue from which it arises finds inspiring support from animal and plant metaphors. Animal and plant metaphors that speakers use every day is for the most part generated from creative speakers, such as poets, novelists, and laypeople, such as farmers. For example, some metaphors, as those shown in (1a) and (1b) appear in classical literature. Those in (2) were created by farmers. Speakers now use all of them in daily life.

1. From classical literature
   a. *wang4mei2zi3ke3* 望梅止渴 ‘watch-plum-quench-thirst = to slake thirst by thinking of plums; wishful thinking, imagined satisfaction’ (*Shishuoxinyu* 新世説新語 *New Account of Tales of the World*)
   b. *Nicht alle Blütenträume reifen* ‘not-all-blossom-dreams-ripen = not all hopes will be fulfilled’ (*Prometheus*, by Goethe)
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

(2). From farmers
   a. *yang2mao2chu1zai4yang2hen1shang4* 羊毛出在羊身上 ‘sheep-hair-produce-on-sheep-body-aspect = after all, the wool still comes from the sheep’s back; in the long run, whatever you are given, you pay for it’
   b. *seine Schäfchen scheren bringen* ‘his-lambs-shear-bring = to bring one’s sheep to sheepshearing; to feather one’s nest’

Animal and plant metaphors typically reflect laypeople’s understanding, which may be at variance with scientific knowledge. No scientific evidence can indicate that pigs are lewd. No biological research proves that the root of a mandrake can bring luck. However, the grunts of a pig and its seemingly nasty sight for some people, together with the character *zhu1ba1jie4* 猪八戒 (as in 3a) in the Chinese novel *Journey to the West*, make it “natural” for Mandarin speakers to use the animal metaphor *zhu1ge1* 猪哥 (as in 3b) to refer to someone who is lewd. Germans say *Der hat eine Alraune* ‘he-has-a-mandrake’ to mean “one who became rich within a short time.” The root of a mandrake has a shape like a human and is supposed to be a magic plant that can bring luck and wealth for the Germans. A linguistic manifestation, or more precisely, semantic autonomy is operating here, as will be discussed below.

(3). Two pig metaphors in Mandarin
   a. *zhu1ba1jie4* 猪八戒 ‘pig-eight-precept = one of the chief characters in pilgrimage to the west, who was supposedly incarnated through the spirit of a pig, a symbol of man’s cupidity and lust’
   b. *zhu1ge1* 猪哥 ‘pig-brother = lewdster’

These examples reflect semantic autonomy, that is, there is no scientific reason to explain their meanings. Semantic autonomy is based on a specific person’s experience and not necessarily on every speaker’s experience. The use of animals and plants in expression of human thought comes from human beings’ biological and habitational intimacy with them. Farmers develop notions about nature when they cultivate plants and raise animals. What plants are like and how animals behave are from farmers’ personal experience, knowledge, and associations. Poets express their emotions through the natural world and frequently express their sentiments based on their experiences with plants and animals. Metaphoric understanding of a given emotion will therefore be articulated through plants and animals. If they are widely circulated, these expressions then became part of everyday use.

Table 16.2 lists the associations between the animals/plants and their meanings in both languages. The corpora indicate that a great number of metaphors are generated from the “appearance” of animals and plants. For example, beans are small and apples have round shapes.
These appearance-based metaphors account for 25.6% (Mandarin) and 20.0% (German) animal corpus; 42.3% (Mandarin) and 30.6% (German) plant corpus. Not to be overshadowed this, even more plant metaphors are generated from their “function” used by men: 41.6% in German, and 24.9% in Mandarin, for example, wood is construction material, thus Holzbau ‘wood-construction = wood-frame construction’ and liang2mu4 樁木 ‘beam’ are used metaphorically in German and Mandarin respectively.

Table 16.2. The associations of animal and plant metaphors in Mandarin Chinese and German corpora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Associations</th>
<th>Mandarin</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANIMAL METAPHOR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human-animal relation</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultural association</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PLANT METAPHOR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>function</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
<td>41.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultural philosophy</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hsieh, Lien and Meier (2005: 115-16) suggest that Mandarin speakers produce more plant metaphors based on what they see; the appearance of plants. The Germans, on the other hand, tend to have a more functional standpoint and use more fruits and vegetables (usability and edibility) to mark their metaphors. It is noted that “appearance” and “function” can be connected to different cultural ideologies of the peoples. Trees, for instance, can be observed and interpreted from different standpoints in these two cultures. The German plant metaphor der ganze Christbaumschmuck ‘the-whole-Christmas-tree-decoration = all of one’s medals of honour’ observed the function of a tree that serves as a Christmas tree, then a connection between the multi-colored Christmas decorations and the multi-colored badges and medals a general wears. But

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68 As mentioned, a metaphor can be categorized into more than one type when we analyze its associations, e.g., qian1xi1chong2 千禧蟲 ‘millennium-bug = y2p; year 2000 computer problem’ can be associated with the small size of the bug – appearance, and the harm that it brings – behavior. Therefore, the total percentage of the associations of, for example, animal metaphors in Mandarin is 110%, in German is 105%.

69 Associations such as “behavior” and “habit” etc. are not listed in this Table so to present the necessary data more clearly.

279
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

Mandarin  shu4yu4jing4er2feng1bu4zhi3, zi3yu4yang3er2qin1bu2dai4 树欲静而风不止，子欲养而亲不待 ‘tree-desire-stillness-yet-wind-not-stop, son-desires-raise-yet-parents-not-remain = a son’s regret at not being able to serve parents in their old age’ sees the move of tree and leaves when the wind blows. The associations have to do with the respective cultures. The Germans celebrate Christmas while the Chinese value filial piety. Metaphors are rooted in culture; many metaphors that are categorized under ‘appearance’ etc. are also associated with “culture” and their association with “appearance” is arbitrary to people of other cultures.

We see that the cultural association enjoys 27.9% in Mandarin and 20.7% in German animal metaphors, and 10% in Mandarin and 24.9% in German plant metaphors. They are the associations with legends, religions, customs, life philosophy, or simply for comparison (e.g., xiao3shu4 yao4kan3, xiao3hai2yao4guan3 小樹要砍, 小孩要管 ‘small-tree-should-hack, small-child-should-discipline = one should educate and discipline children starting from a young age’). They are arbitrary inventions that has no intrinsic relationship between the chosen vehicles and the meaning of the metaphors. The association “human-animal relation” in animal corpora takes 21.1% in Mandarin and 18.8% in German. This has to do with watchdogs, cow trailers, horse riding, etc. Examples are like der Fisch hat angebissen ‘the fish took the bait = a person took the bait,’ and niu2che1 牛车 ‘cow-car = a very slow car.’

Whether “appearance,” “human-animal relation” or “function,” all are generated from human experience, either from visual perception, eating habits, or other aspects of animal and plants. Historically, Lay people’s knowledge became a source of language and common sense; later on it became general linguistic cognition. Language users readily accept usage of familiar words like animal and plant names that do not convey their normal meanings, i.e., plant names do not refer to plants, animal names do not stand for animals. Animal and plant metaphors are often used in funny, imaginative, or memorable ways, and, therefore, popular.

Human experience, in particular those of farmers, poets and novelists, is the base of animal and plant metaphors. However, the experience is different from the impressions that people have toward the respective animals or plants. Although language and culture are inseparably intertwined, they are not identical;70 i.e. although Germans speak about cats as false, flattering, gluttonous etc., they might consider the animal cat rather as cuddly, soft and intelligent. How people perceive an animal/plant and how people use that specific animal/plant name metaphorically in their linguistic code lie on different levels in speakers’ minds. Our daily-life language has semantic autonomy.

However, there is interaction between language and conceptions backed up by science which is summarized in Table 16.3:

70 Strictly speaking, if they were identical, they could not be intertwined: nothing can be intertwined with itself.
Table 16.3. Lay people's view and scientific view in languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possibilities / Interaction of the views</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. farmer’s knowledge and understanding, poet’s imagination and rhetoric determine people’s language usage, views, and conceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. a. scientific discoveries influence people’s views</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. scientific discoveries determine people’s language usage and conceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. scientific discoveries change people’s views and conceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. coexistence: farmer’s knowledge and understanding, poet’s imagination and rhetoric, and scientific discoveries coexist in people’s language use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16.3 (I) shows that animal and plant metaphors typically reflect laypeople’s understanding that may be at variance with scientific knowledge. However, when scientific discoveries contradict what metaphors say a language user’s views and concepts can be influenced (IIa). Take metaphors in (4) for examples. Germans have a metaphor to describe people who cannot get along well with each other, (4a) ‘living like dogs and cats,’ and Mandarin speakers mock at a dirty place as a ‘pigpen’ (4c), although zoological research found that dogs can get along well with cats and that pigs are clean (e.g., Grzimek 1988: 20). Language users’ knowledge may change accordingly, but their language use need not be. For this reason, we have not found metaphors relating that pigs are clean or that dogs can get along well with cats.

(4). Laypeople’s view and animal metaphors
a. *wie Hund und Katze leben* ‘as-dog-and-cat-live = they cannot get along with each other’
b. *chong2ya2* 蠟牙 ‘worm-tooth = a carious tooth’
c. *zhu1juan4* 猪圈 ‘pig-pen = pigpen; hog pen’
d. *Schweinestall* ‘pigpen = pigsty; a mess’

On the other hand, scientific discovery may offer new metaphors and thereby determine folk-language usage and conception (Table 16.3, IIb); for example, (5a) *qian1xi3chong2* 千禧虫 was coined and used in Mandarin. It is the millennium bug translated from English. It was feared that in the year 2000, many computers would develop problems because most computer programs were designed to store only the last two digits of the year on all dates. Many people said that when the year 2000 came, these programs would be unable to distinguish the 00 for the year 2000 from the 00 for the year 1900. This discrepancy was believed to be going to cause widespread technical
problems in worldwide legal and financial domains. Although these fears were not realized, they entered speakers’ minds via this term. When such a new metaphor spreads, people’s conceptions can change (Table 16.3, IIc). They gain a new concept and the new science-based metaphors coexist with other metaphors (Table 16.3, III).

(5). Scientific knowledge and animal metaphors

a. qian1xi3chong2 千禧蟲 ‘millennium-worm = [computer] y2k millennium bug’

b. Kleeblatt ‘cloverleaf [intersection] = a special intersection shaped like a cloverleaf’

16.4. Metaphors and Nature

Animal and plant metaphors have different generic levels from that of science; however, the macro essence of language and nature seems to overlap. That is to say, the linguistic manifestation of animal metaphors coincides with an animal’s ability to move from place to place, and plant metaphors correspond with a plant’s lack of this ability. Most animal names are used to denote active motions and activities, such as (6a) quan3ma3zhi1lao2 大馬勞 meaning ‘work like a dog or a horse.’ Most plant names imply motionless states, such as (6b) yi2ye4zhi1qiu1 一葉知秋 meaning ‘one falling leaf is indicative of the coming of autumn; everything is part of a whole.’ This section discusses the observation that animal metaphors are active expressions whereas plant metaphors are static for the purpose of revealing the overlap between nature and these expressions.

(6). Active motions and activities

a. quan3ma3zhi1lao2 大馬勞 ‘dog-horse-[modifier marker]-labor = work like a dog or a horse’

b. yi2ye4zhi1qiu1 一葉知秋 ‘one-leaf-know-autumn = one falling leaf is indicative of the coming of autumn; everything is part of a whole.’

The word “animal” is coined as dong4wu4 動物 (moving object) in Mandarin. Middle High German Tier (animal) meant wild beasts. We see animals jump, run, swim, and fly. Both Mandarin and German like to associate fish with swimming and birds with flying, as the metaphors in (7) show. Animal metaphors express rich motions, more than human beings are capable of. Plants are seen as motionless; they do not move about, and though they grow, blossom, and bear fruit, their motions are not as obvious as those of humans and other animals (Tompkins and Bird 1973). This trait of seeming motionlessness is coined in languages to show the steady and staid, such as in (8).

In (8a), for example, gang4yi4mu4na4 剛毅木訥 describes someone as resolute and steadfast,
honest but perhaps slow-witted. It is used especially for a man who does not talk much but is reliable.

(7). Fish swimming and birds flying
a. *fu3di3you2yu2* 鱼底游鱼 ‘caldron-bottom-swim-fish = a fish swimming in the bottom of a cauldron; a person whose fate is sealed’
b. *schwimmt wie ein Fisch* ‘swims like a fish = an excellent swimmer’
c. *lao2yan4fen1fei1* 鸸鹌分飛 ‘bird-swallow-separate-fly = be like birds flying in different directions; separation’
d. *der Vogel ist ausgeflogen* ‘the bird has flown out = the criminal ran away and cannot be caught’

(8). Steady and staid
a. *gang1yi4mu4na4* 剛毅木訥 ‘sturdy-resolute-wood-honest = a tough, steadfast, determined, simple and honest person’
b. *Song1bo2zhi1mao4* 松柏之茂 ‘pine-cypress-[modifier marker]-exuberant = the ongoing; dateless’
c. *ein Körnchen Wahrheit* ‘a-grain-truth = a bit of truth’
d. *ein Gemüt wie ein Veilchen haben* ‘a-mind-like-a-violet-have = to have the mind of a violet; to be rough and emotionless’

Our corpora give evidence of the activity of animal metaphors and the stasis of plant metaphors from many aspects. Halliday’s (1985) model of verbal processes can be the basis for the description of predicates in metaphors. Observing the verbal process of the metaphors in our corpora, animal metaphors are involved more in behavioral processes, but the plant corpus has more perception words that are associated with mental processes (see Table 16.4). For the behavioral processes, verbs like laugh, dance, spring, etc. are used, while perception words such as eyes and ears are used for the mental processes.

**Table 16.4. Verbal processes of animal metaphors and plant metaphors in German**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verbal processes</th>
<th>Metaphors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| behavioral process | - da lachen ja die Hühner (This makes the chicken laugh = Don’t make me laugh);  
- *tanzen* wie ein Hirsch (*dance* like a stag = dance very well [of a man]);  
- *Hechtsprung* (pike-jump = flying dive);  
- das hat der Fuchs *gemessen*, und den Schwanz dazugegeben (the fox |
|
Part III. Plants and Embodiment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mental process</th>
<th>measured this, including his tail = the distance is larger than expected); - wie ein Pinguin laufen (walk like a penguin = to waddle)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- danken mit einer Träne im Knopfloch und einer Nelke im Auge (thank with a tear in one’s buttonhole and a carnation in one’s eye = thank someone ironically moved to tears); - einem ein Dorn im Auge sein (one a thorn be in the eye = to be a thorn in one’s flesh); - Tomaten auf den Augen haben (to have tomatoes on the eyes = to overlook something); - Bohnen in den Ohren haben (to have beans in one’s ears = not to be hearing very well); - Da bleiben soviel Äpfel als Birnen (there remain so many apples as pears = this question is not decidable); - Er ist keine faule Birne wert (he is not even worth a rotten pear = he’s a good-for-nothing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subsequently, observing meanings of these metaphors, aspects of experience like “harm,” “intensity,” and “desire” appear more in the corpus of animal metaphors, whereas “existence,” “control,” and “difficulty” emerge more in the corpus of plant metaphors. Furthermore, not only are the meanings of the metaphors that have motions, such as diligence (example 9), expressed in terms of animal names, but those meaning modesty or patience (example 10) that describe less physical motion, are full of actions in their verbal processes. The metaphors are therefore mainly based on the main mappings in which animal metaphorical vehicles relate to active expressions, while plant metaphorical vehicles relate to static expressions.

(9). Diligence:
   a. *wen-ji-qwu* (務勤起舞) ‘hear-chicken-get up-dance = to wake with the rooster; diligent and full of enthusiasm’
   b. *emsige Biene* ‘busy bee = a busy person’

(10). Modesty or patience:
   a. *man-zhi-tu-ya* (滿紙塗鴉) ‘full-paper-draw-crow = very poor writing; to scrawl’
   b. *jemandem zu reden wie einem lahmnen Esel* ‘to persuade someone like a lame donkey = to keep on persuading with high patience’
Noticeably, however, almost all animal metaphors are active, i.e., their idiomatic meanings have to do with action and motion. But a large number of animal names have no referential meaning; they serve merely as intensifiers in their metaphors. “Intensifier” is a universal semantic primitive (Wierzbicka 1995). In examples (11a) and (11c), the word Affen ‘monkeys’ works as an intensifier in each case. Such animal names now have abstract meaning and serve to increase the tone or mood. They gradually undergo grammaticalization, i.e., they lose or mitigate their semantic functions and work more as grammatical units.

(11).  Intensifiers:
   a.  *hou-ji* .Linked: ‘monkey-rush = very impatient’
   b.  *niu-yin* 牛瞰 ‘oxen-drink = booze’
   c.  *Affenhitz* ‘monkey-heat = sizzling heat’
   d.  *saubillig* ‘sow-cheap = very cheap’

The vocabulary offers clues about how speakers conceptualize the world, how they organize their knowledge, and how deep their knowledge goes in specific areas (Johnson 1996). When examining plant metaphors, Hellsten (2000: 217) says that they “had many features in common from which to select … the use of metaphors may have been, in this case, purposeful rather than unconscious.” Whether consciously or unconsciously, the sharing features speak for the agreement of this level of metaphors and nature. As Talmy (2000a: 414) points out, language marks a two-way distinction: “the tendency is either toward motion or toward rest—or, more generally, toward action or toward inaction.” This statement wins support in the contrast of animal metaphors and plant metaphors.

16.5. Conclusion

I have shown that linguistic cognition works on a different plane than scientific knowledge, and that there is an overlap between nature and linguistic cognition, which relies much on laymen’s perceptions.

At this point, we may review cognitive scientists’ approaches as follows:

i. Lakoff (1987: 221) declares that metaphor exists at a deeper level than linguistic expression. This chapter demonstrates that animal and plant metaphors have different generic levels from that of science and are mostly created by laymen. The generating point of such metaphor and the impression that speakers have toward that specific animal or plant is often in different generic levels. Questions like “why is cat (or dog …)

71 See Lakoff and Turner (1989: 89) for a different point of view.
chosen” are often posed by language learners, scientists as well as linguists. For example, the Germans have hangover expressions that encode different animal names, such as *einen Affen sitzen haben* (a-monkey-sit-have = they have a monkey [sitting in one’s head]; they are drunk) and *einen Kater haben* (a-tomcat-have = they have a tomcat; they have a hangover). But why are monkey and tomcat chosen here? Linguists have different explanations or speculations. A popular German student joke says that when someone is drunk, *einen Affen sitzen haben* (a-monkey-sit-have = to be drunk). When he is sober, *einen Kater haben* (have-a-tomcat = to have a hangover). These students mock that turning from a monkey to a tomcat overnight is a zoological miracle.

ii. Kövecses studies metaphors that express emotions and suggests that most of these metaphors are stable through time (2000: 27). What is the rationale that makes metaphors stable? I venture the claim that the reason is because these metaphors are associated with nature in essence; i.e., in both Mandarin and German, animal metaphors are used as active expressions whereas plant metaphors are used as static ones. For example, animals tend to be adopted for attributes like diligence (see examples in 9) and intensity (see examples in 11), and plants are more for static mental process (see Table 16.4).

iii. Moreover, Atran (1990: 219) assumes that plant names are convenient choices for describing human or human society. Based on the above study, we add that both animal and plant names are commonly used to encode humans and human society. They work in different domains, just as they do in nature, and function complementarily in language as a whole.

Animals and plant species have biological features similar to those of humans. They jointly play important roles in our languages. While animal metaphors are active expressions, plant metaphors are static ones. Language has the quality of nature. It is changing in its speed and in its way; allows minimum human control. Languages make good use of material from nature based on human bodily experiences to influence human cognition.

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72 See linguists’ different explanations for why is Kater ‘tomcat’ used in many expressions to express sobriety, e.g., Röhrich (1991), and Hsieh (2001).
Chapter 16. Animal and Plant Expressions: Language and Nature

Closing Remarks of the Monograph

This monograph is a cognitive linguistic exploration of life-form expressions examining human, animal and plant expressions in Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese Southern Min, German, English, and Russian in seventeen chapters. Part I covers six chapters and focuses on human, body, and mind in languages. Part II contains five chapters and presents animal and embodiment, while Part III of the monograph covers five chapters and deals with plants and embodiment.

Different cognitive processes operate when human, animal, and plant vehicles are used, and these three types of expressions have varying effects on hearers of different cultures. Therefore, they have designated jobs semantically and pragmatically. We now give summaries of the above chapters:

Chapter 1 discusses the Mandarin lexeme xin1 “heart” and its expressions based on Sweetser’s mind-as-body hypothesis (1990). The meaning of Mandarin heart can be categorized into two groups: physical action and mental activity. According to pragmatic discourses, xin-expressions can be classified into four categories: (1) individual behavior or character, (2) interpersonal behavior, (3) people and event, and (4) people and community. Furthermore, we examined xin-expressions in two Sinica corpora to illustrate the pragmatic evolution of xin1. The result shows that the use of xin-expressions in individual discourse becomes more frequent. There are innovations in the discourse of interpersonal behavior; those in the discourse of people and event change over time, and xin-expressions in the discourse of people and community are used for keeping up with the changing social values. All these are developing toward the tide of globalization.

Chapter 2 focuses on body-part expressions containing face and foot in Mandarin and in Taiwanese. The theoretical framework is THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff 1987) and EMOTION IS FORCE (Kövecses 2000). We present evidence in support of the claim that while emotion is a reason for action, human beings can integrate actions into expressions to either reduce or relieve emotion.

The feelings of anger, shame, coldness, happiness, sadness, shamelessness, and shyness are most expressed in Mandarin face, and that anger and cheerfulness are focal emotions expressed in Taiwanese face. In the case of feet, agitation, anger, anxiety, nervousness, rush, satisfaction, and worry are focal emotions expressed in Mandarin, and anger, happiness, and satisfaction, are often shown with Taiwanese feet. Feet and faces involve different spatial transference. Feet have stronger force like stamping or moving, while face involves more visual/tender space like color, thinness, fullness, etc. Emotion, reasoning, self-control, or emotional response is either an outer or inner force of the body. Either the outer force or inner force is Agonist or Antagonist: one will win in a
certain situation in which a certain emotion is expressed. Still, expressions of emotions can be an outlet to prevent us from behaving like animals.

Chapter 3 examines the body-part expressions containing eye(s) and hand(s) in Mandarin, Russian and English. Conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) and THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff 1987) are our theoretical background. It is found that (1) the emotion expressed is the function of that body part, (2) there are different conceptions in three languages, and (3) The BODY AS FUNCTION is equally displayed in all three analyses languages, but BODY AS EMOTION as a particular conceptual model is characteristic only of Mandarin. In Russian, BODY AS EMOTION is subcategorized in BODY AS FUNCTION.

Chapter 4 presents synaesthetic metaphors in Mandarin, Russian and English with the focus on the synesthetic sense ‘vision’. We investigate linguistic data of these three languages and compare them with data of psychology and other sciences. It is found that emotion, sound, and touch are major target domains for visual synaesthetic metaphors. It contradicts Ullmann's (1959) hypothesis of “hierarchical distribution,” but is backed by the cognitive theory of metaphor and interdisciplinary studies of intermodality. Our material proves Ullmann's hypothesis that the adjective has the largest potential to form synaesthetic metaphors. However, we found that the number of synaesthetic metaphors expressed by other parts of speech, such as verbs, nouns, and adverbs, is also noticeable. We also disagree with the traditional point of view that the typical grammatical model of synesthesia is an attributive word-combination. On the contrary, we prove that synaesthetic metaphors have a variety of structural features and manifest themselves in language expressions of different size (a word, a word combination, a sentence, a micro-context), exclusive Mandarin with a different syntactic structure.

Chapter 5 presents synaesthetic metaphors with the focus on the sense ‘taste’. The theoretical background is in light of Day’s (1996) hypothesis of “hierarchical distribution” and Cytowic’s (1993) approach about neurological synaesthesia. Mandarin and Russian are examined with data taken from dictionaries and literature texts. The research outcome shows that (1) all senses that we investigate (touch, vision, hearing, temperature, smell, and emotion) can be transferred to taste in both Mandarin and Russian, and (2) emotion and touch are the most active senses for this transfer. In addition to linguistic universality, our data indicate the following language diversity: (i) Mandarin synaesthetic metaphors are mostly done through compounding while many synaesthetic metaphors in Russian are achieved through sense transfer in an attributive word combination, (ii) Most of Russian synaesthetic metaphors are attributive word combinations, while Mandarin has no such linguistic feature because the so-called part-of-speech in Mandarin is context dependent.

Chapter 6 studies the referent pronoun ‘I’ (the speaker) in Taiwanese, including its semantic applications and social implications, with spoken data recorded from twenty different speakers, on different topics, and in different settings. The referent ‘I’ has at least the following forms in
Taiwanese Southern Min: gua2, gun2, guan2, and lan2. It has four distinct usages: propositional, fixed expression, and two kinds of non-canonical deictic uses. Propositional use is the typical reference to the speaker; when using ‘I’ to mean ‘I’, e.g., gua2 si7 tai5 uan5 lang5 ‘I am a Taiwanese’. In a fixed expression, ‘I’ can be used as an interjection or to express surprise, such as gua2 piang3 a. Non-canonical deictic use can replace gua2 ‘I’ with li2 ‘you’, il ‘he/she’, lan2 ‘we’, or lang5 ‘someone’ to refer to the speaker him/herself by appealing to an addressee-oriented strategy. All these usages are integrated into a complete ‘speaker identity’ when the speaker intends to show humility, objectivity or subjectivity, emotion, or power, or give an implication, show responsibility, etc.

In addition, male speakers are inclined to exercise more propositional use and fixed expressions, while female speakers tend to adopt more non-canonical deictic use, which shows male confidence and female subordination in Taiwan. Furthermore, academic articles written in Taiwanese use ‘I’ much less frequently than do academic articles written in English. The intention to humble oneself and not stand out is a Taiwanese cultural feature.

Chapter 7 gives an overview of important animal vehicles and their semantic functions in Mandarin and German, including the vehicles of domestic animals, wild animals and mythical animals. Since human beings and domestic animals live closely together and come into everyday contact, the concepts of their expressions relate to [normal, insignificant]. Because those animals depend on human beings, these animal expressions also convey the concepts of the [good-hearted, weak]. On the other hand, the concepts of wild-animal expressions tend toward [big, crude] or [great, dangerous], since wild animals are difficult to tame. There are some new development in mythical-animal expressions. Furthermore, While there are many newly invented animal expressions, such as those related to computer (Maus ‘mouse = the computer equipment mouse,’ qian1xi1chong2 ‘thousand-year-worm = millennium bug’), the tendency of fading animal expressions is also invasive. The reasons for the disappearing or replacement of a semantic function can be traced from the development of the technology and society. Language contact also changed the structure of a language.

Chapter 8 aims to study the metaphorical meaning of bird expressions in Mandarin. First the expressions are presented in accordance with birds’ names, then three aspects of the Chinese culture in Taiwan are discussed: (1). The aesthetics and the values of interpersonal relations between men and women; (2). Taiwanese’s daily activities in schools and in society, reflected in the customs, thinking or superstitions. It also shows that cars and computers are popular in Taiwan and many people engaged themselves in stock market and commerce; (3). Languages contact extensively in Taiwan. People in Taiwan transfer their values and thinking unconsciously to their bird expressions which conversely present the culture and social structure in Taiwan.

Chapter 9 examines wild-animal expressions. The real world provides a starting point for this kind of animal expressions. The concepts of the metaphorical vehicles in terms of wild animal
names suggest that big, strong or dangerous are the metaphoric source of vehicles of big sized, wild animals such as bears, whereas tiny, insignificant and restless are those for small sized, wild animals like insects. Moreover, a variety of speech acts utter the emotive function of animal expressions, such as exclamations and intensifiers.

Chapter 10 aims at exploring the origins, lexical changes, and meanings of dragon lexemes in Mandarin. The dragon is a mythical animal. Dragon lexemes are generated from legends, literary works, and quotations from celebrities and media. They either describe the character of the referent, the dragon, or the records of ancient customs, or are results of language contact. Dragon lexemes underwent lexical changes in both meaning broadening and semantic shift. Chinese wish for the capability to fly, and they long for luck and value interpersonal relations. These desires are all written with dragon lexemes. The lexical item long2 (dragon) now is not only a semantic unit denoting ‘positive, super, strong/strengthen, best person, holy’, but also serves as a popular phonetic representation that stands for the phonological unit [+liquids] + [−front vowels] + [±nasal C.]. As a result, long2 has developed this way: semantic element > phonetic element > morphological unit > syntactic marker, all triggered by social changes and a new Mandarin structure.

Chapter 11 focuses on the animal vehicles and their underlying conceits. These expressions are developed from the animals’ appearances, habitats, and their relation to people (Wierzbicka 1985) that are observed on the basis of different cultural backgrounds. The result shows that the Chinese tend to generate more expressions from animal’s appearances and apply to a basic-need domain. Whereas, the Germans tend to generate more expressions from animal’s habitats and apply to an emotion domain. Animal expressions are vocabulary of peoples’ values, because about 80% of them are used to scorn or warn people. They convey values of the respective societies.

Chapter 12 examines plant fixed expressions in Mandarin and in English. We present the compositionality of core meanings of tea, melon, and apple and propose that the understanding of these plant fixed expressions needs the understanding of a linguistic plant frame. This study supports the assumption of cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991) through the analysis of plant fixed expressions, and resumes Pustejovsky’s (1993, 1995) mechanism of type coercion from a syntactic coercion to a broader package-semantic operation. Although the core meanings that compose the semantic frame of a specific plant vehicle vary from language to language, the frames can be built on the basis of the same underlying conceit. For example, both teas in Mandarin and in English are derived from tea being the favorite drink. When the vehicles are different, Mandarin gua ‘melon’ and English apple, also the same underlying conceits decide the generating points of the fixed expressions. Plant vehicles visualize invisible human thoughts into expressions. There is a cognition scenario in our minds that varies from language to language and from culture to culture, but the mechanism that is activated in them points to the same direction—simply to express the speaker’s cognition and culture.
Chapter 13 presents plant fixed expressions in Mandarin and English to reveal language diversity as well as its interaction with universality. We focus on the top four plant vehicles, *flower*, *grass*, *root*, and *fruit*, to examine their core meanings in frame semantics (Fillmore and Atkins 1992), and then look into their semantic primes to explore semantic dependency and the specific culture features. The nature-dependent selection decides the generating point of the plant fixed expressions, but the developments vary with specific languages and cultures. Each of the four plant vehicles has its linguistic frame. The core meanings that compose each frame in Mandarin and English are for the most part different (e.g., Mandarin fruit ‘feat’, and English fruit ‘offspring’). The semantic primes are either the same (e.g., root, grass) or are hyponyms of the same hypernym (e.g., flower) because a nature-dependent selection is in operation. Nature provides the same linguistic material to speakers of different languages who then project their own cultures and life experiences to create interesting language diversities. A proposed dynamic cognitive model with a universal stable core element (semantic prime of a frame) and unstable periphery reflects languacultural specifics and overcomes some limitations of frame semantics.

Chapter 14 delves into fixed expressions that contain plant vehicles in Mandarin and English with the aim of revealing different cultural concepts of both languages in the light of frame semantics. The linguistic frames of *trees* show that Mandarin perceives trees as human beings, viz. a prospect of personification, whereas English is functional in its *tree* expressions. The usability and edibility of plants are accentuated in the top ten lists of popular plant vehicles in both languages. It is a lot stronger, however, in the English list than in the Mandarin one. This confirms that English focuses on function. On the other hand, Mandarin vehicles fall mainly into general terms like tree, grass, and flower, while English vehicles provide more divisions of plant such as leaf, root, stem, etc. This suggests the holistic perspective in Mandarin and individual perspective in English. Cultural features implied in plant fixed expressions further support these findings.

Chapter 15 collects popular plant fixed expressions in Taiwanese and examines their core meanings, underlying conceits and people’s cognition when using them. Most plant fixed expressions are generated from four core meanings, i.e. “as tall as a tree”, “as beautiful as a flower”, “as common as a sweet potato” and “as valuable as rice”. These core meanings are allocated to collocations to express people’s thoughts and outlooks on life. The metaphorical vehicles of plant fixed expressions are grains (rice, peanuts, sweet potatoes, taros), vegetable (leaf mustards, radishes, snake melons, green onions), fruits (guavas, water melons, tangerines, sugar canes, longans, bananas), trees and flowers. The underlying conceits seed in: (1). the growth characteristics and the cultivation, e.g., the leaf mustards have no hearts in June, and the sugar cane that is close to the root is sweet in December; (2) the outer features of the plants, e.g., small peanuts, seedy guavas, big trees, sweet flowers; (3). the usability of the plants, e.g., the shallow of a tree, firewood, flower arranging; (4) the edibility of the plants, e.g., vegetables, grains; and (5) homophones and mentality. Cognitively, most plant fixed expressions are vocabulary of neutral statements used to express
people’s outlook on life and the society peacefully. This is different from animal fixed expressions that are for the most part abusive words used to utter people’s values rudely.

Chapter 16 compares animal and plant metaphors to show the semantic autonomy of language and the cognitive level of using these metaphors in light of lay views vs. scientific theories (Kövecses 2000) and verbal processes (Halliday 1985). We found that (1) metaphors are not scientific, (2) but the essence of metaphors and nature seems to overlap: in the natural world, animals are moving creatures while plants are motionless life forms; (3) in our languages, animal metaphors are active expressions whereas plant metaphors are static. Language makes good use of natural species via mappings from bodily experiences. Based on this research, we review cognitive scientists’ approaches at the end.

From the above chapters, we see that verbal expressions achieved through perceptual representations, as well as other sense transfers, are outlets for human emotions expressed by body posture, movement, facial expression, and so on. In other words, a spatial kind of reasoning, an inherent biological mode of thinking, functions in human cognition and expresses itself through language. Sweetser (1990), who studies the semantic changes in the field of English sense perception verbs, claims that “the path of semantic change are one-way and lead from the external (social-physical) domain to our internal (emotional, psychological) domain and these two domains are linked by means of metaphor.” Though human senses, which are produced by sense organs, seem to carry subjective features, they are not uninterpreted but motivated directly in experience (Ibarretxe-Antunano 1999).

A person’s ego is often shown by how he/she indicates his/herself. When “I” not necessarily indicates the speaker, “you” not necessarily indicates the listener, and “they” don’t necessarily include the third person, the abounding expressiveness of language emerges. Therefore, the norms and expectations of the society can be seen more clearly, and the speakers can flexibly use personal pronouns in their own ways to perform the art of speech. This is the locus of the advantage, viability, and mobility of language. That is, there are series of language material in humans’ brains available to be chosen.

The integrity of human perception and the interconnection of feelings with the dominance of emotions can explain the interplay and sometimes inseparability of several different synaesthetic meanings within one verbal representation. People can easily and consciously select proper terms, according to the people, event, time, location, subject, and social standard, to express themselves. The mobility of language offers abundant material, which allows people to express self, attitude, concept, and culture in space and time.

Ultimately, human, animal and plant expressions allow human beings to engage in social interaction. Social-force interaction proceeds when one either shows emotion by shouting out an animal expression or takes control by uttering a plant expression. The former breaks communication down and the interpersonal relationship will become worse, while the latter
facilitates communication and the relationship either remains unchanged or becomes better. This is
to say, semantic organizations, human, animal and plant expressions, have functions of legitimating
social norms. They show moral norms and self-regulation in the social environment and are stimuli
for interpersonal interaction.

We would like to make a further remark to conclude this research on embodiment in
language. Some languages have the same tendencies in their human, plant and animal expressions
as demonstrated above. A universal psychobiological basis of generating and using such
expressions is evident. Without doubt, certain of their specifics are culturally determined. As
Kövecses (2000: 187) noticed in examining emotional meaning, Mandarin shares with English all
the basic cognition in expressions about happiness: It is up, it is light, and it is fluid in a container
(Yu 1995), although perhaps it is only the Chinese who conceptually spread out their anger to body
parts rather than pointing it toward wrongdoers (King 1989). Perhaps it is only Hungarians who
conceptualize the angry body as a pipe consisting of a burning substance (Kövecses 2000: 188).
And it is probably only Tsou, the Austronesian language spoken in the highlands of southwestern
Taiwan, that makes a distinction between interpretations “where bodily actions precede and cause
the onset of emotion and interpretations where emotions precede and lead to bodily actions” (Huang
2002: 179). The social constructivism of emotion theory proposed by Goddard (1998) and the
body-based constructionism expressed by Kövecses (2000: 183) are two important approaches to
launch emotions in society.

The generation and use of human, animal and plant expressions in human society is an
integration of natural supplements, human cognition, and society. We can therefore sketch a
diagram (Figure 17.1) that shows nature (animals and plants) perceived and embodied in people's
bodily experiences. People encode linguistic formations and social elements, such as values or
social judgments, to produce expressions that are then applied to people themselves for the
formation of human society. “Societies are also understood as having natural attributes that lead to
natural behaviors” (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 204), so each system performs a special task and work
as a whole. There are subtle differences in this process in various cultures; the system is set within
larger contexts and present in this picture.
Life-form expressions are used pervasively in Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese Southern Min, German, English, and Russian. They jointly define and constitute what we human beings experience as emotion and rationality and communicate in human language. Languages make good use of material from nature based on human bodily experiences for social communication. The life-form, human, animal and plant expressions, show moral norms and self-regulation and are stimuli for interpersonal interaction. The comparison between these languages explored cognitive semantic and pragmatic attributes of embodiment expressions and explained the different modes of thinking and life perspectives of the different people groups.
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296


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Index

academic article, 115, 124, 127, 128, 129, 177, 181, 184, 240, 255, 282, 283, 289
active expression, 282, 284, 286, 292
addressee-oriented strategy, 122, 289
animal metaphor, 133, 134, 199, 276, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 292
apple, 178, 211, 213, 217, 218, 219, 220, 224, 225, 226, 256, 290
arbitrary, 136, 159, 172, 177, 178, 183, 187, 188, 200, 201, 202, 219, 224, 253, 280
bear, iv, 131, 134, 142, 144, 156, 160, 170, 173, 174, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 191, 254, 261, 264, 282
biological organism, 209, 218, 226
birds, 137, 142, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 164, 166, 175, 176, 177, 181, 184, 240, 255, 282, 283, 289
bird-species, iv, 149, 199
bodily experience, iii, iv, 13, 33, 49, 51, 65, 66, 78, 276, 286, 292, 293, 294
body as emotion, iv
body-part expression, iv, 36, 49, 50, 52, 53, 58, 59, 78, 79, 287, 288
broadening, 83, 193, 194, 290
classifier, 38, 42, 234
cognitive grammar, 211, 225, 226, 290
cognitive level, v, 206, 275, 276, 292
cognitive linguistics, 98, 230, 244
cognitive model, iv, 52, 53, 57, 79, 172, 227, 244, 291
communication, 50, 162, 167, 246, 292, 294
compositionality, 13, 209, 211, 213, 214, 226, 229, 231, 247, 290
conceptual structures, 29
concrete, 13, 18, 24, 29, 33, 34, 35, 45, 47, 64, 84, 85, 98, 99, 103, 142, 182, 185, 196, 198, 224, 235, 236, 246, 258, 275
core meaning, iv, 19, 211, 213, 214, 215, 218, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 231, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 242, 244, 250, 260, 290, 291
corpus, 27, 28, 30, 86, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139, 178, 201, 202, 213, 225, 228, 279, 283, 284
cross-linguistic, iii, 49, 53, 85, 87, 105
cultural association, 279, 280
cultural feature, 158, 228, 231, 239, 240, 242, 250, 258, 289
deictic use, 115, 117, 119, 123, 289
derivation, 138, 187, 190, 193, 202, 275, 276
diachronic, 17, 28, 85, 275
divisions of plant, 222, 291
domestic animal, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 150, 171, 175, 199, 289
dragon, 59, 132, 136, 137, 139, 144, 145, 156, 157, 165, 171, 174, 181, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 203, 204
dragon lexeme, 138, 190, 191, 192, 193, 198, 290
edibility, 215, 219, 224, 254, 279, 291
ego, 115, 292
embodiment, iii, iv, v, 13, 133, 149, 158, 166, 199, 200, 209, 211, 227, 275, 276, 287, 293, 294
emotive function, 177, 184, 290

exclamation, 162, 183, 184, 185, 188, 290

eyes, iv, 15, 18, 19, 44, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 88, 89, 95, 96, 108, 111, 155, 156, 160, 163, 165, 173, 189, 197, 200, 233, 277, 283, 284

face, iii, iv, 13, 15, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 52, 54, 55, 62, 65, 88, 97, 107, 109, 112, 123, 153, 154, 159, 171, 172, 218, 287

feet, 13, 15, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 64, 159, 164, 172, 189, 205, 223, 240, 287

fish, 62, 132, 137, 138, 142, 143, 145, 152, 153, 156, 170, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 186, 189, 192, 200, 202, 204, 205, 280, 282, 283


frame semantics, 212, 227, 229, 230, 236, 244, 247, 291


generation, 190, 230, 234, 240, 245, 246, 293


grammaticalization, 32, 174, 185, 195, 196, 197, 285


gustatory synaesthetic metaphors, 101

hands, iii, 19, 39, 40, 49, 50, 53, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 177, 221, 270

319