

Chou (Sadness) in Chinese and English Writings: an experimental study

CHOU (TRISTESSE) DANS LES OUVRAGES CHINOIS ET ANGLAIS : UNE ÉTUDE EXPÉRIMENTALE

漢語和英語文章中的“愁”（“悲傷”）：一次實證研究

Li Wenfeng
李文鳳

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Abstract: This paper is aimed at testing the contemporary theory of conceptual metaphor and the Embodiment Hypothesis in an empirical study. The Embodiment Hypothesis has been verified in a paper on CHOU in Chinese classical ci-poetry. This paper adopts a different way of data collection. By asking native speakers of Chinese and English native speakers to write about the emotions of CHOU in Chinese and SADNESS in English, the author wants to find out whether there exist metaphorical patterns in these writings, and, if any, whether these metaphors are experientially based; moreover, the paper attempts to investigate the similarities and differences of CHOU in Chinese and SADNESS in English in these writings in terms of metaphorical patterns and their experiential bases.

Key words: CHOU/SADNESS, emotion metaphors, the contemporary metaphor theory, the Embodiment Hypothesis

Résumé: Le présent article vise à tester la théorie contemporaine de la métaphore conceptuelle et de l'hypothèse de personnification dans une étude empirique. L'hypothèse de personnification a été vérifiée dans un article sur Chou dans la poésie-Ci classique chinoise. Le présent article adopte une façon différente de collection des données. En demandant aux Chinois natifs et Anglais natifs d'exprimer l'émotion de Chou en chinois et de tristesse en anglais, l'auteur voudrait trouver s'il existe des modèles métaphoriques dans ces écrits, et si ces métaphores sont basées sur l'expérience; d'ailleurs, l'article cherche à étudier les similitudes et les différences entre Chou en chinois et la tristesse en anglais dans ces écrits sur le plan des modèles métaphoriques et de leurs bases empiriques.

Mots-Clés: Chou/tristesse, métaphores d'émotion, théorie de métaphore contemporaine hypothèse de personnification

摘要: 本文的目標是在一次實證研究裏檢驗當代概念隱喻理論和“體驗性假說”。 “體驗性假說”已經在一篇關於中國經典詩詞的文章中得到驗證。本文採取了不同的方法收集資料。本文作者讓以漢語為母語的人和以英語為母語的人分別就中文中“愁”的感情和英文中“悲傷”的感情進行寫作，通過這種方法，本文作者想發現在這些文章中是否存在某些隱喻模式；如果有的話，這些模式是否有其體驗性基礎。再者，本文試圖找出，就隱喻模式和體驗性基礎而言，這些文章中出現的中文中的“愁”和英文中的“悲傷”有哪些異同。

關鍵詞: 愁/悲傷；情感隱喻；當代概念隱喻理論；體驗性假說

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is an empirical study on the conceptual metaphor theory and the Embodiment Hypothesis by analyzing the basic emotion concept 愁 CHOU in the informal writings of Chinese university students and

graduates. The informal writings by some native speakers of English on the emotion of SADNESS are analyzed, compared and contrasted with writings on CHOU.

The following four sections will be devoted respectively to the literature review, methodology, analysis of the data, and results & conclusion.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Metaphor, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 61), is something we live by: “Metaphors based on simple physical concepts-up-down, in-out, object, substance, etc. —which are as basic as anything in our conceptual system and without which we could not function in the world—could not reason or communicate—are not in themselves very rich”. Starting from this, the contemporary metaphor theory (Lakoff 1993) is developed, as is summarized and shown in the following table (adapted from Li 2006)

Who creates metaphor?	Laypeople
How is metaphor created?	Systematic mappings
Where does metaphor exist?	Both literary works & everyday conventional language
Functions of metaphor	Necessary (cognition)
Nature of metaphor	A matter of thought

The Embodiment Hypothesis is closely related to the contemporary theory of metaphor. Their relationship is established through experientialism. Embodiment is a key concept in experientialism, which emphasizes “the role of collective nature and experience especially bodily experience in the meaning.” (Zhou 2006:5). To sum up, thought is “embodied” or is “grounded in our perception and determined by the characteristics of our physical apparatus and our social environment.”(Lan 2003:28). The embodiment theory has been improved in recent studies with an emphasis on the rich sense of the term “embodied” (Fesmire 1994) —or, to be more specific, with an emphasis on both the biological and social & cultural aspects of meaning understanding. Metaphors, as a matter of thought, are also grounded in experience, as is demonstrated in a list of metaphors in Lakoff & Johnson (1999:49:54). As Lan (2003:28) points out, “cognition is embodied; we have the conventional metaphor we have because of our bodily and physical experience”.

In this theoretical framework, the framework of cognitive semantics or of conceptual metaphor, a lot of studies concerning emotions have been carried out. Studies on emotion metaphors are abundant. HAPPINESS in everyday language is investigated by Yu (1998), who found metaphorical patterns for this emotion. ANGER has also been studied by Kövecses (1986), who found that verbal expressions and idioms used to describe emotions could be traced back to a limited number of conceptual metaphors. Forceville (2005) has also carried out an investigation on ANGER.

Forceville (2005) focused his study on the non-verbal manifestations of anger in the Asterix comics album *La Zizanie*. His findings support Kövecses’s (1986) anger metaphor -ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER”. FEAR has also been studied by Kövecses (2000).

Likewise, the study of conceptual metaphors of SADNESS in English has also been fruitful: SAD IS DOWN –which is the major conceptual metaphor proposed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 15-18); in addition, a list of 14 metaphors of SAD/SADNESS in English is offered by Kövecses (2000:25-26). Ye (2001) describes and contrasts three Chinese terms, *bei*, *ai*, and *chou*. These terms are classified as representing sad-like emotions. Ye (2001) focuses on Chinese categorizations and conceptualizations in relation to social structure, emotional experience, memory, and the relationship between bodily experience and the conceptual structure.

These studies all seem to prove that metaphorical patterns exist for the basic emotions, which is in accordance with the statement made by Fainsilber & Ortony (1987), who claim that “one of the communicative functions of metaphors is that they allow people to express abstract ideas such as emotional states, which would be difficult or impossible to express only using literal language” (Fainsilber & Ortony 1987)

In the mean time, experiential, physical or social bases have been found for these emotion metaphors, providing evidence for experientialism and the Embodiment Hypothesis.

These studies have shed light on the metaphors for some basic emotions, however, Zhou (2006) identifies a basic emotion-CHOU, which is unique to Chinese culture and hasn’t been thoroughly analyzed in previous studies. To fill in the gap, he conducts a study, in which he seeks for and analyzes metaphorical patterns for CHOU in Chinese *ci*-poetry.

CHOU is defined as “sadness, loneliness and homesickness” by Ye (2001:380). According to Zhou (2006), though similar to the feeling of sadness, CHOU has its own characteristics, involving a little worry, anxiety, or depression. He also compares and contrasts CHOU in Chinese with SADNESS in English by employing Natural Semantic Meta-language.

Zhou (2006:15-16) believes that CHOU is one of the basic emotions in Chinese, and is supposed to be conceptualized metaphorically; moreover, the metaphors for this emotion are supposed to be “embodied” according to the Embodiment Hypothesis.

In his analysis of *ci*-poetry, some modern Chinese poetry and some Chinese popular songs, Zhou (2006) aims to find out, (1) whether conceptual metaphorical patterns exist in these materials; (2) whether the Embodiment Hypothesis holds true for Chinese classical poetry; (3) the similarities and differences between CHOU in Chinese and SADNESS in English in terms of metaphorical patterns; (4) the similarities

and differences between conventional and poetic metaphors.

In his findings, there exist substantial metaphors for both CHOU and SADNESS, the two basic emotions in Chinese and English respectively. The metaphors for CHOU and SADNESS are proved to be experientially grounded. They share some patterns and differ in others due to differences in geographic or cultural aspects between Chinese and Anglo-Saxon societies.

As Zhou (2006) focused on placed the focus of his study on CHOU in Chinese ci-poetry and mentioned only briefly a couple of modern Chinese poems and some Chinese popular songs, CHOU in everyday Chinese language, spoken or written, left largely unexplored in his study, and this will be the focus of my own study.

It is easy to see that the language employed for poetry is often highly polished as there are certain rules for poets to follow concerning the compositions of poems and great attention has been given to the language to make it look elegant. Therefore, poetic language is quite different from everyday writing or natural-occurring speech, through which people express their thoughts and emotional states in a natural manner. Also, the three figures of speech, namely, metaphors, personification and metonymy, all regarded as metaphors from a cognitive perspective, are frequently employed in formal and literary writing, including in poems. Therefore, it is inevitable that an overwhelming number of metaphors are found in poems.

My study aims to find out, without very conscious additional efforts to polish the language as those in the poetry composition, whether there exist substantial metaphors as evidence to support the metaphor theory in this kind of speech, either spoken or written. My focus is also on CHOU in Chinese, and SADNESS in English is included for comparison and contrast.

Besides, Zhou (2006) indicated in the last part of his thesis that there might be some more comprehensive ways of data collection. In my research, I will adopt a method different from Zhou's corpus-based way of data collection. This will be elaborated in the following section.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Questions

My research questions are formulated on the basis of my contemplation of Zhou (2006)'s conclusion. I will test his conclusions in different contexts, to be more specific, in the writings of Chinese university students and graduates and English native speakers. The emphasis is also on CHOU in Chinese writings, and SADNESS in English is only used for comparison and contrast. The

research questions are as follows: (1) are CHOU/SADNESS conceptualized metaphorically or metonymically in Chinese university students' and English native speakers' informal writings (as opposed to academic writings)? (2) if metaphors/metonymies of CHOU/SADNESS are found in the writings, how are they based experientially in these writings? (3) what are the similarities and differences between CHOU in Chinese and SADNESS in English in the writings of both Chinese people and English native speakers?

3.2 data collection

About 18 Chinese native speakers were asked to write on the topic of "CHOU", while about 5 English native speakers were asked to write on the topic of "SADNESS". Both the Chinese and English participants are well-educated: they are either university students or graduates. They are supposed to have a good understanding of the meanings of CHOU and SADNESS. The essays will have about 500-1000 words. The emphasis of the writings will be on the description of CHOU and SADNESS respectively (how the participants acquired the feeling, how the feeling developed).

This method was inspired by Li (2006:253-254) and ways of data collection similar to this have been adopted in numerous studies. Clancy (1999) investigated the effect of metaphors in the language of business by collecting data from existing materials and asking some businessmen to write business proposals. Similarly, in order to find possible FEAR metaphors, Kövecses (2000) both collected short stories and essays on FEAR and asked his subjects to recall some experience in which they had felt fearful. This way of eliciting data is beneficial as it is easy to test whether a certain hypothesis, in this case, the Embodiment Hypothesis, holds true in natural and everyday life contexts.

Meanwhile, this way of data collection runs the risk of getting no results due to improper instructions or other factors such as inadequate length of the writings. Taking into consideration the time limitation and the schedules of the participants, a pilot study is not possible; instead, instructions will be designed with great care. They were listed as follows:

Write in Chinese/English, an essay (of 500- 1000 words) on the topic of the emotion of 愁 (for the Chinese)/"Sadness" (for the Americans), an experience or an event in which you feel sad or sadness.

CHOU can be homesickness, or "lichou-feeling sad because of farewell/departing), or any other kind of CHOU. (For SADNESS, this item is slightly different: Please distinguish "sadness" from grief and sorrow-though there might be some overlaps. Of course, I have confidence in the intuition of native speakers like you.)

Describe in very detailed language in English to

show how you acquired the feeling (emotion) of sadness, how the feeling developed, and how the feeling affected you, the experience or the result of the event.

The emphasis is on the description on ‘sadness’. How CHOU/SADNESS is embodied, or what is it like? (There can appear the character/word chou/sadness in the writing)

Please do not quote from any encyclopedia, dictionary or any printed materials. Use your very own language.

I don’t care about your writing style: the language of the writing doesn’t have to be elegant or polished; write in a natural manner, the way you like, whatever it is.

You can give this piece of writing a title of your own preference.

The instructions were similar to those given by Li (2006:253-254), but I added the second, fourth, and seventh items. The second and fourth item was added after I got requests for clarification from two participants who had no idea as to what they could and should write. The seventh item was added in order to put the volunteering participants at ease. I expected the language in these writings to be close or similar to natural-occurring spoken language. There are reasons for my expectation. In the first place, the seventh item aimed at making them relaxed so that the language they produced in the writings would be natural and would not be polished with additional efforts. Also, the language in written narratives is often close to spoken language. Moreover, they are all my good friends, and are likely to write in a more informal manner. Interviews are, in this sense, better than writing, but are not feasible due to the limited time and the issue of transcribing.

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This section is devoted to discussing the findings of the empirical study. It will examine whether there are metaphorical or metonymical expressions for CHOU/SADNESS in the Chinese and English articles, if any, the distribution of these metaphors or metonymies, and the patterns for these metaphors or metonymies with illustrating examples.

4.1 CHOU in the Chinese writings

16 essays were collected from the 18 Chinese participants. Most of them sent back articles of 500-1200 words which they had written following the instructions. In total, 35 metaphors for CHOU and its synonyms (for example: homesickness) were found in these essays while no metonymies were found. No metaphors were found in 4 of the 16 pieces of writing, though the character 愁 was found in some of them; one metaphor was found in 3 pieces respectively. The rest of

the writings contained 2 metaphors or more.

4.1.1 Distribution of CHOU and the CHOU metaphors

The 35 metaphors found in the data are classified into two general categories: (1) ABSTRACT-ABSTRACT, i.e. CHOU as an abstract concept is the target domain, with other abstract concepts as source domains; (2) CONCRETE-ABSTRACT, i.e. CHOU as an abstract concept is the target domain, with concrete concepts as the source domain. The classification of the two general categories is based on the division in Zhou (2006: 30) with some revision.

The first category ABSTRACT-ABSTRACT is divided into two sub-categories, with two different source domains: 1, QUANTITY; 2, STATES; the second general category CONCRETE-ABSTRACT falls into two subcategories: NATURE and DAILY LIFE, with several source domains. These categories and sub-categories are listed in the following table (Table 1)

Table 1 Classification of metaphorical patterns

ABSTRACT TO ABSTRACT (20%)	QUANTITY	QUANTITY	1
	STATE	THOUGHT	5
	CONTAINER	BEING A CONTAINER	1
CONCRETE TO ABSTRACT (80%)	NATURE (22.86%)	FLUID	3
		WEATHER	3
		FLOWER	1
		RIPPLE	1
	DAILY LIFE (57.14%)	HUMAN BEING	4
		THREAD	2
		FOOD	1
		DEBT	1
		FIREWORKS	1
		DISEASE /VIRUS	3
		PILL	1
		TEARS	1
		SKIFF	1
		KITE	1
		SWORD	1
		MARK	1
		BURIAL OBJECT	1
		KNOT	1

4.1.2 Metaphorical patterns

As is shown in the table, most of the metaphors fall in the general category CONCRETE-ABSTRACT (80%), and over half of them belong to the subcategory of DAILY LIFE (57.14%). These metaphors will be shown by concrete examples and the experiential bases for these metaphors will also be included in the following sections. To guarantee the confidentiality of the participants, the initial letters of their names (in pinyin or in English) will appear in place of their full names.

The metaphors concerning ABSTRACT-ABSTRACT category will be explained in details, as there are fewer instances found for this category, whereas the metaphors of the CONCRETE-ABSTRACT category will be illustrated by some of the examples because there are too many of them to be listed here.

4.1.3 Metaphorical patterns with examples for the ABSTRACT-ABSTRACT category

4.1.3.1 QUANTITY

-----QUANTITY (in general)

EXAMPLE: MUCH CHOU OR LITTLE CHOU

為什麼有些人多愁，有些人則愁得少？(W.X.H.)

In this sentence, the contrast between much CHOU (sadness) and little CHOU (sadness) indicates that the less CHOU, the better. Why is this so?

Experiential basis: It indicates that CHOU is regarded as a burden; therefore, the less CHOU, the better. It is easy to see the logic here. The more CHOU, the more discomfort. CHOU is viewed as a negative emotion.

4.1.3.2 STATE

-----THINKING

EXAMPLE: CHOU IS THOUGHT

心情就會變得相當糟糕，然後愁緒就會湧上來了，會不停地想不好的事

This sentence contains two metaphors: CHOU is THOUGHT, and CHOU is FLUID. I will focus on the first one here. Judging from the context of the metaphor CHOU as THOUGHT, we can see that CHOU (sad thought) is regarded as something that causes one to think about bad things.

Experiential basis: When one feels terrible, one invariably thinks of something that makes him/her feel worse and recall or think about bad or unhappy things. That “something” can never be a positive thought, because it comes only when you feel upset, and makes you think of unhappy things.

4.1.2.3 CONTAINER

-----BEING A CONTAINER

EXAMPLE: CHOU IS A CONTAINER

來不及分辨這其中的豐富，又陷入了不可自拔的愁思中 (L.S.)

“Sinking inextricably into sad thoughts” contains two metaphors: CHOU is A CONTAINER, and CHOU is STATE. The second metaphor is the focus of my analysis here.”

Experiential basis: People invariably feel uneasy or uncomfortable when they are confined in a certain space, just like in a cell of the prison. This shows the negative nature of CHOU.

4.1.4 Metaphorical patterns with examples for the CONCRETE-ABSTRACT category

4.1.4.1 NATURE

4.1.4.1.1 FLUID

EXAMPLE: CHOU IS FLUID

然後，讓憂愁靜靜流淌過去吧……(J.T.X)

“Let the sadness flow away” indicates that the writer wants CHOU to flow away just like FLUID.

Experiential basis: It is common that one hopes that unhappiness or discomfort will be carried away by water or they will simply fade away so as not to disturb him/her any longer. In this example, the negative nature is indicated when the writer expects CHOU to flow away like fluid

4.1.4.1.2 RIPPLE

EXAMPLE: CHOU IS RIPPLE

愁就像湖面的漣漪樣蕩漾在心底，不斷地擴大。(X.Y.L)

CHOU (Sadness) is like ripples of lake, spreading all the time in one’s heart. The RIPPLE metaphor indicates that CHOU is disturbing.

Experiential basis: If one watches the ripples spreading, one can understand that the ripples ruffle the surface of the lake or pond; in other words, the ripples disturb the smoothness or evenness. Comparing CHOU to RIPPLE shows the disturbing nature of CHOU.

4.1.4.2 DAILY LIFE

4.1.4.2.1 PILL

EXAMPLE: CHOU IS A PILL WITH COLOR SUGAR-COATING

“愁”就像是一粒彩色糖衣的藥片，……而當我們真正把它放進口中，味道就會由甜變澀直至變苦。(L.W.Y)

CHOU is like a pill with sweet color sugar-coating, whose taste will change from sweet, to rough and eventually bitter. The taste of CHOU is in nature bitter, or CHOU IS BITTER.

Experiential basis: In reality, one is not like to like bitterness. Bitterness is associated with roughness and hardship and is seldom welcome. Bitterness is usually views as something negative; the metaphor-CHOU IS BITTER indicates its negative nature.

4.1.4.2.2 SWORD

EXAMPLE: CHOU IS A DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD

愁是一把雙刀劍 (W.X.H)

CHOU as SWORD indicates that CHOU can hurt people as a sword does.

Experiential basis: Sword is a weapon that can hurt others badly. It is not for peace but for war. The metaphor of CHOU IS SWORD indicates that CHOU is something negative, something that can cause physical pain.

4.1.4.2.3 KITE

EXAMPLE: CHOU IS A KITE WHOSE STRING IS BROKEN

但是，我憂愁，我的愁緒如斷線的風箏，終日誠惶誠恐。 (L.T.T.)

My sad thought is like a kite whose string has been broken.

Experiential basis: If the string of a kite is broken, it will fly nowhere and eventually falls down and breaks as well. A kite whose string is broken indicates the lack of sense of belonging or guidance. One can't live if he/she has no sense of belonging and has nobody to guide him/her. This metaphor CHOU IS A KITE WHOSE STRING IS BROKEN indicates the negative nature of CHOU.

4.2 Metaphors in the English writing

4 pieces of writing were obtained from 5 American participants. 6 metaphors have been found in the essays. They all belong to the CONCRETE-ABSTRACT category. The majority of them are related to nature: There are metaphors like SADNESS IS SEASON, SADNESS IS AUTUMN LEAVES, SADNESS IS FLAME, SADNESS IS CLOUD, SADNESS IS FLOOD, except for one metaphor related to DAILY LIFE: SADNESS IS ACHE THAT NEVER GOES AWAY. The metaphors all seem to be able to find experiential bases to explain the negative nature of SADNESS: for instance, SADNESS AS CLOUD---cloud is often an indicator of gloomy weather; SADNESS IS FLOOD---flood is a natural disaster; SADNESS IS AUTUMN LEAVES---autumn

leaves will fall down and thus indicate something downward; SADNESS IS AN ACHE THAT NEVER GOES AWAY---an ache is definitely something negative and hurting. These metaphors have much in common with those found in the Chinese writing. However, due to the limited number of English writing, it is not possible to find adequate English metaphors for further comparison and contrast with the Chinese ones.

4.3 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

At first sight, it seems that the findings can serve as positive answers to the first two research questions: in other words, the numerous metaphors found in the writing seem to show that (1) CHOU/SADNESS are conceptualized metaphorically in the informal writing of Chinese university students and graduates and English native speakers; (2) the metaphors of CHOU/SADNESS are grounded in people's physical, social and cultural experience. However, the English data is too limited for more findings to be found, compared and contrasted with the Chinese date. To be more specific, The English metaphors and the Chinese metaphors are very alike in terms of their experiential bases.

Nonetheless, by probing into the essays, I have found that the findings couldn't adequately support the contemporary metaphor theory, and so couldn't serve as satisfactory answers to my research questions.

Firstly, I have found that there is a conspicuous phenomenon: that is, a large proportion of the Chinese writing (7 out of 16 pieces---approximately 43.75%) have no metaphors or only one metaphor while half of the 4 English articles have no metaphors.

Secondly, the metaphors are not evenly distributed. A high percentage of the Chinese metaphors appear in two articles: 7 for each. These 14 metaphors take up about 40% of all metaphors. In the English writing, one participant's writing contains 4 metaphors, taking up about 66.67% of the total.

Thirdly, for the essays where metaphors abound, several reasons other than any drawn from the contemporary theory can be found. There are several intervening variables or factors in each case.

For instance, 7 metaphors were found in essay written by J.T.X. (20% of the Chinese metaphors), a participant who's asked me several times for clarification. When asked, she told me that she actually discussed my instructions with her friend to figure out what I want her to write. These events might have had some effect on her writing. Therefore, her writing and the metaphors found in it couldn't serve as valid evidence to support the statement made by Fainsilber & Ortony (1987).

In the case of the writing of L.S.(7 metaphors---20%), there exist different intervening factors. As far as I know, L.S. is a lover of Chinese

literature and takes a great interest in reading as well as writing in a style that is quite literary and elegant. Her essay is quite neatly arranged, with appropriate format, paragraphing and punctuations. No mistakes in spelling have been found in her writing. This forms a sharp contrast to other pieces of Chinese writing with fewer or metaphors, where I found the format, paragraphing, spelling or punctuations not quite appropriate or correct.

Meanwhile, some of these pieces, which have fewer or no metaphors and that don't look very neat, are quite informal in style, in the sense that the authors write in a manner similar to that of telling a story of his or her own; sometimes they even mention my name or "you" (e.g. "我只能說你是失策呀失策"—Y. Y. M; "You may ask"—A.P.) as if they were talking to friends. On the contrary, the essays written by L.S., J.T.X., and S.M.(4 English metaphors---66.67%) are more literary or formal in the sense that a great proportion of them are devoted to descriptions of the landscape or emotions. This applies to both the Chinese and English essays.

To sum up, it seems that the large number of metaphors found in the relatively small amount of writing can't be adequately explained by the contemporary theory of metaphor alone. According to the theory, metaphor is necessary for thinking; therefore, it is expected that the emotions of CHOU/SADNESS would be conceptualized metaphorically, or expressed in metaphorical terms, when people think of them. However, the research has shown that, the more informal pieces of writing, whose language is supposed to be closer to spoken language, the fewer CHOU/SADNESS metaphors. The more formal, polished essays that contain more metaphors are not representative of natural-occurring speech, because, as is stated earlier, the language in this kind of writing is closer to literary language. As metaphors, personification, and biyu (simile), all regarded as

metaphor from a cognitive perspective, are frequently employed figures of speech in formal, literary writing, the finding of metaphors in the formal writing can be attributed to the literary traditions or writers' additional efforts to polish the language. The less formal writing that contains only one or no metaphors in this research are more representative of everyday or natural-occurring speech. Due to the presence of such informal writing, which took up 43.75% of the Chinese writing and 50% of the English writing, the first research question must be answered with great caution: CHOU/SADNESS are not necessarily conceptualized metaphorically. The second question can be answered with greater confidence: the metaphors of CHOU/SADNESS are based experientially. The third research question can't be answered before further investigation produces more examples of metaphorical patterns in the writing or speech of English speaking people.

5. CONCLUSION

The current research has some similar findings to those of previous studies, especially to the results of Zhou (2006). However, other intervening factors have been detected that might have had important effects on the results of the research. To conclude, the finding of relatively few or no metaphors in the more informal pieces of writing (both the Chinese and the English writing), whose language is closer to natural-occurring speech, undermines the claim that metaphor is a matter of cognition (Lakoff 1993) and is necessary for expressing emotions (Fainsible & Ortony 1987). It needs further investigation to give support the contemporary metaphor theory and the Embodiment Hypothesis.

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THE AUTHOR

Li Wenfeng(李文鳳), Research for SEMANTICS, MA Program in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics.
Beijing Foreign Studies University. Beijing, 100089, China.
E-mail:hello-cherry@163.com