

A crosslinguistic study into culturally motivated resemblances and variations in transferred epithet metaphors in Chinese and English

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It has been postulated that a cognitive approach may lend itself well to the study of transferred epithets, as this traditional rhetoric device possesses all the essences of metaphor from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics. Transferred epithet metaphors are gradually cognitively cultivated upon human beings' repetitive and recursive experiences of the real world and it has been well established that they cannot be separated from culture's limitations or reformulation. The coupling between experientialism and culture in transferred epithet metaphors necessitates the establishment of a double paradigm to comprehensively and profoundly delve into the twofold restraints.

Keywords: transferred epithet metaphor, experientialism, bodily experience, culture

1. Introduction

If we commence from the pristine perspective of rhetoric, transferred epithets are called *hypallage*, a name originating from Greek *ὑπαλλαγή*, which literally refers to internal or external changes within semantic patterns. According to the Chinese rhetorician Chen Wangdao (1976: 105), transferred epithets should be defined as “a common rhetorical device, through which speakers or writers are capable to impose their impressions about an object A onto another object B, on the premise that A and B are thought to be related with each other”. *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* records that “it is a figure of speech in which the epithet is transferred from the appropriate noun to modify another object (Cuddon 1979: 85).

Moreover, it is generally agreed that this rhetorical device exhibits a kind of odd syntagmatic relation due to the semantic tension of its immediate constituents.

It is true that some conservative studies designed purely for traditional rhetoric have long been confined in a shallow surface, such as establishing definitions, collecting linguistic data, explaining rhetorical effects, and so forth. Yet it is fair to praise that they went so far as to see the fact that similarity of a *Topic* and *Vehicle* could somehow trigger unconventional collocations, and that an appropriate degree of similarity could preserve the metaphorical salience and strengthen the aesthetic effects of linguistic expressions. A primary flaw of these works is the outright blindness to the enigma of cognition, in other words to how the features entailed to a vehicle can be successfully transferred to a topic. The overlook of mental aspects is particularly significant, since the recognition of vehicle and topic is to a large extent intermeshed with sentence structures. This being said, when we study languages with loose syntactic structures such as mandarin Chinese, the presentation of vehicles and topics may inevitably be dimmed and wrenched, which might result in the speakers not to be able to achieve coherent metaphorical recognition and further interpretation. Hence, it is promising to count on the cognitive context which does play an essential role in creating and processing metaphors.

Upon the unsatisfactory academic situation since the 1990s, traditional rhetoric has stepped into a widely-ranged and postmodern era that embraces diversified thoughts from multiple disciplines, such as philosophy, psychology, neural science and so forth. It seems that current academics are now more concerned about cognitive and pragmatic factors to illustrate the rhetorical shift in our brains. This study expects that these studies will lend themselves to the shift focus of rhetoric. Bearing this in mind, we believe that it is reasonable to study transferred epithets in the light of Cognitive Linguistics.

2. The metaphorical nature of transferred epithet

The beauty of transferred epithets is entailed in their abnormal collocative fashion: the compositional meaning of immediate constituents featuring a transferred epithet is at odds with conventional logic, yet the resulting semantic tension can effectively attract a receiver's attention, and further affirm the aesthetic effects once an appropriate context is provided. It is appropriate to say that the core of this figurative device is the transference of properties from a vehicle to a topic. The resulting semantic anomaly can be explained by Construction Coercion in terms of Construction Grammar: for a transferred epithet construction, a Vehicle signaler (Source Domain indicator), which is regarded as a coercing factor, will impose strong metaphorical force on the coerced term. Notably, this Coercion may lead

bundles of semantic features to deviate or diminish. If it can be proven to be true, the well-accepted semantic compositional principle will be invalidated.

Transferred epithets should be accounted for as one isotope of conceptual metaphors in the view of Cognitive Linguistics. Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 84) set two criteria of recognizing metaphors: (a) a difference in kind of activity; (b) partial structuring (use of certain selected parts). In the light of these two criteria, transferred epithets can be thought of as variables of conceptual metaphors. In the first place, such a figurative expression is involved with at least two different semantic fields featuring special image schemata. For example, the underlined phrase in Example (1) can be identified as a metaphorical expression, since it persuasively meets those criteria: For one thing, there are abundant images such as A WINDED UP WATCH, A CEASED CLOCK, OR A WINDED-UP TOY, etc. available in the semantic field of “发条” (a clockwork spring). Contrastingly, the conceptual field of “面临高考的孩子” (a high school senior) is filled with thoroughly different images such as EXAMINATION STRESS, NERVOUSNESS, ANXIETY, AND A SLACK PERIOD OF LEARNING, etc. In essence, the semantic incongruity of the expression of ‘winding up the children that have run out (of energy or power)’ is attributed to the contrast of imageries from these different conceptual fields. Parenthetically, one of those two fields is employed as the template for construing or defining the other one and we call the former the Source Domain and the latter the Target Domain. The second observation is that the mental domains involved in Example (1) just display a partial correspondence rather than an entire congruence. This suggests that the cross-domain mapping tends to highlight certain facets, while implicitly hiding others. In other words, the tenet of structural mapping is partial and selective.

(1) 高考临近，做父母的一定要上紧孩子的发条。

[With the college entrance examinations drawing near, parents must wind up the spring of their children.]

Croft & Cruse (2004: 97) propose “a dynamic construal approach” that stresses real-time and flexible construal operations. Based on their work, a three-staged dynamic construal program for novel metaphors can be developed: ‘metaphor cohesion’, ‘zone activation’ and ‘metaphor coherence’. It can be claimed that through these sequential, linear and indiscrete series of processes, a progressive and profound interpretation may finally be achieved.

At the first stage, readers and writers, with the consideration of structural aspects of language and of semantic compositional principles, may form some preparatory understanding to help allocate illogical aspects and semantic contradictions. The expression will not have been fully construed at this point, but have formed a pre-meaning structure involving a limited understanding and leaving a wide scope for further interpretation. Referring back to Example (1), the schema

of winding, nested within the cognitive domain of an alarm clock, can be hardly equalized to the domain of a high school senior. Indeed, “上紧孩子的发条” (‘wind up the spring of a senior high student’) will yield an odd compositional meaning that is prone to be overridden or abandoned after further interpretation.

At the second stage, a recipient will activate local facets of those two cognitive domains and selectively pick up corresponding features. In Example (1), we can infer that the topic of this expression, A STRESSED AND EXHAUSTED SENIOR, might be similar to the unstated vehicle, i.e. A WOUND-DOWN ALARM CLOCK, in the sense that they are both ‘exhausted’ and ‘refuse to work’. It is through this comparison that the implicit interconnection between topic and vehicle becomes explicit.

At the third stage, the entire range of cognitive contexts is globally involved and trains of associations are triggered. Subjective factors such as interpreters’ moods, emotions, and experiences stored in long-term memory may be superimposed on the pre-meaning structure. Impinged upon subjectivity, the eventual construal may be intertwined with a myriad of unpredictable factors which induce interpretation uncertainties. Hence, we can only assume that one of the possible construal interpretations is: ‘Since the entrance examination is coming, parents should carefully challenge and encourage their stressed and exhausted children.’

Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 154) notice that metaphors are grounded in experiential correlations which seem characteristically open to creative extensions. This means that metaphors, by no means, can be reduced to selections of properties or associations of these properties to a certain topic. Instead, metaphors create realities, breed emergent structures, even remold our previous experiential storage. As transferred epithets are built upon the underpinnings of experiential correlations which permit creative extensions, emergent structures will come into operation during interpretation. For instance, in Example (1), the juxtaposition of a high school senior and a clockwork spring may give rise to sets of emergent properties such as a passive status, poor performance, sluggish work, etc.

We are going to focus on the whole set of lexical items occurring in transferred epithets in the following, i.e. adjectives, verbs, adverbs, quantifiers and so forth, which generally reject direct image evocations of Source Domains. Additionally, we argue that the implicit presentations, which we shall refer to as *Source Domain Indicators*, are capable of triggering metaphorical forces and semantic tensions. What is more, attributed to the implicitness, interpreters will assume sets of vehicle or source domain candidates in accordance with their encyclopedic knowledge. We therefore pose to acknowledge the existence of a psychological process in which we attempt to search appropriate vehicles and to construct a relatively transparent picture of Source Domains, even if processed unconsciously in many cases. In this paper, we will coin Source Domain Construction as a new term to refer to this process.

In Example (2), a well-known quote by Storm Jameson, English novelist from the 20th century, the verb *assassinate* is associated with the schemata of the physical act of RELENTLESS KILLING. One of the most remarkable features entailed in the act of killing is that both agent and patient involved should both be living beings at the outset of the act. Nevertheless, in (2), this widely accepted principle is overridden by the mismatch of agent and patient. Food cannot per se be judged as a patient being relentlessly killed, which suggests that it is the verb *assassinate* that initiates a semantic anomaly. This is why we argue that the verb itself in this case should be recognized as the Source Domain Indicator. Subsequently, the imaginary action process SHE ASSASSINATES SOMEONE could be constructed to propel metaphorical mappings; This is how Source Domain Construction works.

(2) She did not so much cook food as *assassinate food*.

The creation and interpretation of transferred epithets, resembling two different information-processing devices of deliverers and receivers, do not converge on the same psychological states: the former, by employing certain words as vehicle signalers associated with mental events, can impose qualities onto the referents of topic terms. Meanwhile receivers, based on given implicit signs of vehicle signalers, are prompted to re-establish the imageries (quasi-)identical with those of the deliverers. Due to the irrefutable existence of disparities between deliverers' and receivers' cognitive states, it is not hard to see the potential misalignments of initially delivered imageries and the finally refurbished ones. However, such misalignments are not necessarily harmful to common ground being established, since the failsafe interpreting mechanism allows for appropriate fallbacks and ahead-forgings in interpretation. In Example (2), there exists a cline of open-ended understandings, such as the plain inference 'her cooking skill was very bad' and subtler one 'she was a rash-tempered cook'.

Is there any causality underlying the semantic contradictions? According to Davidson (1970: 207–227), "one event can be defined to be physical if it is describable in a purely physical vocabulary, mental if describable in mental terms". He supports Anomalous Monism which adheres to Materialism, and moreover claims that all mental events are identical to physical ones. Meanwhile, Anomalous Monism does not seem to merit the term Reductionism, while rather formulating three principles to describe the mutual influence between physical and mental events. The first two principles that of Causal Interaction, and that of Nomological Character of Causality, together imply that at least some mental events can predicated and explained by the deterministic laws. Nevertheless, the third principle, Anomalism of the Mental, emphasizing laws, attempting to sharpen the anomalous characters of mental properties. According to these principles, it is consis-

tent to some extent mental on characteristics are in some sense dependent, or supervenient off physical characteristics.

Returning to our main track, Xu (2011: 328) insists the epithet triggered in transferred epithet resembles qualities, or mental events aroused by perceived objects. As mental events resist outright casual laws, qualities seem tricky enough to reject determinism; hence they seem free rather than causal. In this vein, they appear to be more plausible to predicate and explain mental events by other relating mental events, such as desires, habits, knowledge and perceptions. For instance, without the mediation of the co-text and other mental events, we can hardly work out any sensible correspondences between the physical event “紫色缎子屏风” (‘a purple satin screen’) and the mental event “悒郁” (‘depression’) in Example (3):

- (3) 她是绣在屏风上的鸟 - 悒郁的紫色缎子屏风上, 织金云朵里的一只白鸟。年深月久了, 羽毛暗了, 霉了, 给虫蛀了, 死还死在屏风上。
(张爱玲《茉莉香片》)

[She is a bird on a satin screen. The bird is a white, one embroidered in a golden cloud, while the satin screen is a purple satin one troubled with depression. Over a long period of time, the little bird’s feather has faded away, wormed in places and gone mould on the surface; finally, she died on the satin screen (a selection from *Love – Reading Jasmine* by Zhang Ailing).]

It is apparent that the transferred epithet, instead of being a purely linguistic phenomenon, is initiated by deep-rooted conceptual operations, through which frames of one cognitive domain not only are permitted flexible themselves, but also may sketch properties of other domains. With a modifier transferred from conventional collocates to novel ones, transferred epithets at first sight might seem non-salient, but are prone to be reconciled by metaphorical thinking and appropriate contexts, which will facilitate a pragmatically harmonious and coherent interpretation. Nevertheless, we shall emphasize that, because of the unpredicted emergent properties and the cognitive inconsistencies between deliverers and receivers, an ultimately perfect construal is not achievable; acknowledging the fact that communication is a fault-to-learn device by nature, allowing for appropriate fallbacks and imperfect understandings, this caveat should, however, not significantly diminish our argument.

3. The classification of transferred epithets

Cameron (1999: 15) warned that the dominant norm of metaphor, A is B, used as a substitute to conceive other kinds of metaphorical expressions, may not sufficiently provide an overall view of cognitive mechanisms for all sorts of metaphors. An

explicit reason is that some figurative phenomena, such as are metaphors, being different from and thus typical forms, may have an unstated vehicle which needs to be recovered from clues in the surrounding context. An extensive point here is that syntactic elements, though being largely ignored by an extensive studies, do have a huge influence on the cognitive process of Source Domain Construction, thereby giving rise to unexpected variances in interpretation. Accordingly, other forms of transferred epithets might diversify backstage operations of the creation and interpretation.

Another obvious shortcoming of former studies is one inherited from classic rhetoric: this is the obstinate attachment to poetic expressions' surface, resulting in complete unawareness of any extra-linguistic happenings surrounding an utterance. In order to dissipate the above impediments, this study embraces a wide range of forms of transferred epithets, exposing the metaphorically used lexemes as associated through Source Domain Construction. We will decide which subcategory a given form is to be assigned to based on the word class of a metaphorically used lexeme.

Goatly (1997: 82–92) lists five subcategories of metaphors according to the word class of metaphoric lexemes, i.e. nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions. Shu (2000: 59–60) claims that syntactic structures play a critical role for metaphorical categorization. Following the same track, Wang (2007: 58–62) adds another category, the quantifier metaphor. Li & Zhao (2006: 38–40) subcategorize transferred epithets into four kinds: <adjective plus noun>, <participle plus noun>, <noun plus noun>, and <prepositional phrase with noun>. After close observation, this paper defines four major subcategories: patterns based on adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and quantifiers.

3.1 Adjective-based transferred epithets

Semantic contradiction on the linguistic surface is attributed to schemata-clashes occurring in our concepts. Schemata are typically thought of as general knowledge structures by which we organize what we know, experience etc. The range of these conceptual structures is very wide, from conceptual networks, scripted activities, narrative structures and to even theoretical frameworks. Schemata-clashes reflect strong interactions between Source Domains and Target Domains in creative metaphorical thinking.

For adjective-based transferred epithets, we believe that schemata-clashes occur within adjective-noun structures. Moreover, their two structural components, the adjective and the noun, can separately evoke images of the Source Domain and the Target Domain. Generally, if the adjective involves a Source Domain, then the noun will be the reference of an entity related to the Target Domain. We can describe

this structure by re-writing it into a formula with SDI (short for Source Domain Indicator) and TDI (short for Target Domain Indicator): $NP \rightarrow ADJ_S, N_T$. Whereas, if it is exhibited in a converse fashion, another rule follows: $NP \rightarrow ADJ_T, N_S$.

- (4) 无数奔流的山泉汇集成一条壮观的瀑布，多达四十多处，堪称瀑布之乡。
[Numerous rushing springs converge into more than forty spectacular waterfalls. It can be rated as a homeland of waterfalls.]
- (5) 楼市新政调控的靶心在一线城市。
[The new policy's targets of regulating property markets are first - tier cities.]
- (6) *Lazy clouds* drifted across the sky.

In Example (4), 奔驰的泉水 ('rushing springs') can be regarded as a transferred epithet. The corresponding Source Domain, FLOCKS OF RESTLESS AND RUSHED PERSONS, is evoked by the token of "奔流的" ('rushing'). Hence, the rewriting rule of Example (4) can be described as $NP \rightarrow ADJ_S, N_T$. In Example (5), "新政的" ('a new policy') is a topic term that indicates the Target Domain, A NEW REGULATORY POLICY. Additionally, the nominal "靶心" (the target) indicates the possible image of Source Domain as A FLYING ARROW. Thus the noun "靶心" contributes to the Source Domain Construction. For this reason, the rewriting rule for this example can be formalized as $NP \rightarrow ADJ_T, N_S$. In contrast, the modifier "lazy" in Example (6) is a signaler of the potential Source Domain, A LAZY PERSON; the rewriting rule of this expression is $NP \rightarrow ADJ_S, N_T$.

It is worth highlighting the special syntactic nature of the Chinese language, namely that the adjective-predicate structure can be employed as a form of transferred epithet. In Example (7), it is obvious that the noun "前途" ('prospect') is a reference to an abstract concept regarded as the Target Domain, and its collocation, the adjective-predicate "黯淡" ('bleak'), is the Source Domain Indicator. This phrase is therefore interpreted in a metaphorical manner. Similarly, for Example (8), as long as the concept MOOD, used as the Target Domain, is permanently abstract, we are aware that metaphoric tension is lying in the adjective-predicate "沉重" ('weighted down'). Example (9), metaphoric force yielded by the noun phrase "西天取经" ('a journey to the West'), as it indicates an explicit Source Domain, AN EXTREMELY HAZARDOUS PILGRIMAGE TO THE WORLD OF ULTIMATE BLISS. Besides, the adjective "不容易" ('uneasy') can evoke some images ascribed to the Target Domain, A MISSION OR A JOB. For these reasons, the recursive rule applicable to both (6) and (7) is $S \rightarrow N_T, V (ADJ)_S$, and $S \rightarrow N_S, V (ADJ)_T$ to (8).

- (7) 前途一片黯淡。
[The prospect is brimming with bleakness.]

(8) 伟人辞世，人民心情很沉重。

[The death of the great man makes people's minds weighted down.]

(9) 中国公司派出一批技术骨干赴美学习，西天取经不容易。

[It is difficult for technology experts who are sent out by Chinese companies to study in the United States, almost as difficult as going on a journey to the West.]

3.2 Verb-based transferred epithets

The mention of adjective-based patterns brings us to another subcategory, i.e. verb-based transferred epithets. This paradigm includes two subsets, i.e. transitive and intransitive verb patterns. On the basis of robust linguistic evidence, we would like to contend that metaphorically used verb phrases can to some extent evoke images of an action chain which contributes to Source-Domain Construction, further providing available sources for metaphoric mappings and creative extensions.

3.2.1 Transitive-verb-based patterns

A number of transferred epithet cases involve a relatively complete action chain encompassing the agent, the action, the patient, and sometimes the manner, which is the case in Example (10), covering the whole action chain of ENTANGLEMENT. Additionally, the agent is associated with a multitude of muddled stuff, such as yarn or nets; meanwhile the patient seems to be the entangled entity. Given that the stated agent “性丑闻” (‘sex scandal’) and the stated patient “这位美国总统” (‘the US president’) do not seem to match the verb “缠上” (‘entangle’), we conclude that the verb is used metaphorically. In (10), the verb should thus be recognized as the Source Domain Indicator and the subject and object as Target Domain Terms. Accordingly, the rewriting rule for (10) is $S \rightarrow N_T V_s N_T$. This rule is also applicable to (11): Although the Vehicle-related agent and patient are invisible, the action chain of BALANCE is exposed by the Source Domain Indicator, the verb *balance*. Meanwhile the subject *export* and the object *decreased imports* are both ascribed to the Target Domain. Apparently, there can be more than one lexemes (or wordforms) that can indicate what the Source Domain is.

In Example (12), the action chain of RETURNING HOME can be identified from the verb “回” (‘return’) and the noun “家” (‘home’). Both content words help establish the Source Domain. At the same time, we see the subject “发现号” (the ‘Discovery’) as the personified agent of the action chain. Parenthetically it directly evokes images of the Target Domain SPACE SHUTTLE. For these reasons, rewriting rule for (12) is $S \rightarrow N_T V_s N_S$. Similarly, this rule also fits Example (13), in which the subject *new tax law* is ascribed to the foregrounded Target Domain, and the

verb *narrow* and the object *income* expose the structure of the Source Domain with again the actual agent not being mentioned.

- (10) 性丑闻缠上了这位美国总统。
[The US president *has been entangled* in a sex scandal.]
- (11) Exports must balance decreased imports.
- (12) ‘发现号’踏上了回家的路。
[The ‘Discovery’ *embarks on her way home.*]
- (13) New tax law will narrow the income gap.

3.2.2 Intransitive-verb-based patterns

Expressions in (14) to (17) are typical cases of intransitive-verb-based patterns. In Example (14) the subject “价格” (‘price’) indicates that the Target Domain is A COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION, but the verb “反弹” (‘rebound’) conventionally evokes a reference to BALL. In the same manner, the verb “曝光” (‘lie bare’) in Example (15) conventionally refers to EXPOSURE. Here, the nominal “事件”, a piece of entertainment news, is used as the patient of the action of reporting. Celebrities are the scandal object of reports, which suggests a metaphorical usage centering on the verb.

The same is true for Example (16) where the verb form “shrunk” should be labeled as the marker of metaphorical force. An obvious reason is that the verb “shrink” conventionally collocates with *fabric*: e.g., “the pants will shrink in the wash”, “this soap will shrink woolen clothes” etc. are sensible expressions in conventional logic. Therefore, the verb *shrink* can indirectly indicate the schemata of the Source Domain and further prompt Source-Domain Construction.

Analogously, in Example (17), the metaphorically used verb *grow* is the Source Domain Indicator evoking images relating to PLANTS, i.e. TREES, FLOWERS, VEGETABLES, etc. All examples fit with the rewriting rule given above: $S \rightarrow N_T, V_S$.

- (14) 上海新开楼盘价格强劲反弹。
[The prices of Shanghai’s new real estate *rebounded* strongly.]
- (15) 明星吸毒事件屡屡曝光。
[Celebrities’ drug abuse scandals have been *lying bare* frequently.]
- (16) The number of students has largely *shrunk*.
- (17) The reputation of this product is *growing*.

3.3 Adverb-based patterns

Much of what we have said about verb-based transferred epithets is also true of adverb-based patterns. Generally speaking, the adverb pattern also relates to an action chain that is pivoted by the verb. The difference is that the metaphorical usage is usually rooted in the adverb. In Example (18), the metaphorical force is triggered jointly by the verb “坐” (‘sit’) and the adverb “安然地” (‘peacefully’). In fact, underlying the linguistic unit “安然地坐” (‘sitting peacefully’), there is something indexical about the images of the Source Domain A PERSON, just as smoke is an index of fire. Similarly, in (19), the verb “吹” (‘blow’) and the adverb “冷” (‘freezingly’) can be marked as the Source Domain Indicator for COLD WIND. Hence, if we put aside the word order of the occurring adverbs and verbs, the rewriting rule of (18) and (19) can be formulated as $S \rightarrow N_{TP} V_S ADV_S N_T$

- (18) 小提琴大师帕尔曼用过的一把名琴就安然地坐在我的琴房。
[A violin that master Perlman used to play *sat quietly* in my piano room.]
- (19) 经济萧条吹冷道琼斯指数。
[The economic depression *blows freezingly* at the Dow Jones Index.]

When we turn to Examples (20) and (21), the rule $S \rightarrow N_{TP} V_{TP} ADV_S N_T$ can better illuminate what roles each word plays in the creation of the transferred epithet. The reason is that the verb ‘爬’ (‘climb’) in (20) and the verb *follow* in (21) are in no conspicuous sense associated to the Source Domains. Meanwhile, the adverbs ‘竭尽全力地’ (‘vehemently’) and *sheepishly* in (20) and (21) are typical Source Domain Indicators, i.e. a monkey or squirrel climbing a tree in (20).

- (20) 蜗牛竭尽全力地向上爬，到达树梢，它一定欣喜若狂。
[The snail *vehemently climbs up*. When it reaches the treetop, it will go crazy with joy.]
- (21) John followed his mother *sheepishly*.

3.4 Quantifier-based patterns

For a quantifier-based pattern, the metaphorical force is specially enhanced by the unusual use of quantifiers. As we shift to Examples (22) to (25), we see that one inherent writing rule can be applied to these cases: $NP \rightarrow Q_S N_T$. In Example (22), the quantifier “一巢子” (‘one nest of’) masks the Source Domain Indicator, because it facilitates the evocation of images about the Source Domain ANIMALS; thus, the quantifier contributes to the metaphorical force of this expression. Analogously, in Examples (23) and (24), the quantifiers “the flood of” and “a thread of” both indicate the respective Source Domains FLOOD and LIGHT. Furthermore, these Source

Domain Indicators stimulate associations. For example, when a receiver comes across Example (23), they might link it to associated concepts such as A FLOOD DISASTER, THE BOUNDLESS SEA, OR A RUINED CITY and achieve rich interpretations. In the same manner, the quantifier “a gleam of” in (24) supplies sets of images, such as FLICKERING FLASH, FAINT FLAMES, WEAK LIGHT, and so forth. Thereby, we conceive that the metaphorically used quantifiers can provide very bountiful images of a Source Domain and thus generate many possibilities for open-ended interpretation.

(22) 你们是一巢子坑人官。(张一明《富官》)

[You are *a nest of* deceptive officers.]

(A selection from Zhang Yiming's *Rich Officers*)

(23) *A flood of tears* is pouring out of her eyes.

(24) These stories resurrect *a gleam of hope* of mine.

For another instance, the verb ‘下注’ (‘gamble with’) in (25) serves as a Source Domain Indicator that evokes a number of possible images of the Source Domain, like GAMBLER, CASINO, BET, MONEY, etc., thus yielding the whole action chain of GAMBLING. Here, the point is that Source Domain Construction is initiated by some Source Domain Indicators which only send out implicit and fragmentary information. It is from this information that a receiver can exploit the unstated components, and further complete the given defective outline of a Source Domain.

(25) 工作压力再大，也别用健康下注。

[Don't *gamble with your health*, even if you are under severe working pressure.]

To briefly summarize Section 3, we have elaborated and discussed the extension of transferred epithets. Moreover, we have collected sufficient evidence to illustrate how syntactic factors and metaphorical thought work hand-in-hand to sustain metaphorical recognition and interpretation. As far as the study proceeds, it affirms and strengthens the claim that for many cases of transferred epithets, including at least the four patterns mentioned above, interpretation has to undergo a Source-Domain Construction process that is fueled by associative creative thinking. Thus, the interpretation of transferred epithets involves carving out the unstated images of the Source Domains. One fact that emerges is that Source-Domain Construction is an indispensable process to metaphorical mappings, because no metaphorical mapping will occur on its own if the outline of a Source Domain is too dim.

4. Cross-linguistic resemblance and its experiential roots

There is a movement afoot in cognitive science to grant the human body a central role in shaping cognition. Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 14–15) distinguish a first and a second generation of cognitive science according to different stances on the relationship between body and mind. The first generation was initiated in the 1950s and became prevalent in the decades thereafter. Rooted in Analytic Philosophy, it sticks to Objectivism and Dualism and claims an autonomy of cognition that is isolated from external ecological contexts. In this vein, it denies intersections of the sensorimotor system and the human mind, and further ignores the groundwork of metaphors in shaping human cognitive architecture.

With these assumptions in mind, Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 210–223), in their earlier work, *Metaphors We Live By*, conducted a thorough retrospection about the prevailing trends of disembodied philosophy. They (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3) also drew a compelling picture of the ‘interwovenness’ of human life and metaphor, and so deem it necessary to document the immense metaphor contributions on human cognition. Lakoff & Johnson’s work foregrounds the fact that cognition is a highly embodied and situated activity. Sequentially, in Lakoff’s later work, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, he strictly criticizes Objectivism overflow, heightens the banner of non-objectivism, and then of detailed interpretations about Experientialism (1987: 185–218). The gist of this benchmark literature is that human cognition, rather than being sharply distinct from ecological contexts, interacts its physical body with the environment. Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 16), in *Philosophy in the Flesh-The Embodied Mind and Challenge to Western Thought*, coined the notion of ‘Embodied mind’ to refute the underlying dualism of physical and masterpiece goes so far as to shake’s philosophical base take on the first generation and advance the zeitgeist based on a fresh mind-body relationship.

Embodiment is one of the central insights of experientialism. Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 4) state briefly that “all cognition, eventually, is grounded on embodiment”. For example, alleged centralized with abstract concepts are in fact grounded in embodied experiences. In the interview of the distinguished editor of *Edge*, John Brockman, Lakoff (1999: 4) asserts that “basic-level categories are structured in terms of gestalt perception, mental imagery, and motor schemas”. What Lakoff by means is that the structures of our conceptual schemata are primarily determined by practical criteria, rather than abstract or logical ones. In this way, the body, the sensory-motor system, and the environment can all enter centrally into our conceptual systems. More exactly, we claim that most conceptual structures and basic categories are obtained from our visual, auditory, and kinesthetic systems.

The central corollary of the above insight is that high-ordered cognition can be traced back to its bodily basis, which enables us to fathom metaphors in our mind:

Mapping is a set of epistemic correspondences. Lakoff & Johnson (2010: 115) use a typical form to delineate what the conceptual mapping really is: THE TARGET DOMAIN IS THE SOURCE DOMAIN. This being said, Wilson (2002: 625–636) stated that metaphors can be thought of as economic solutions to cognitive tasks. Similarly, Aristotle regarded metaphors as “the mark of genius”. In the metaphor TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN, some aspects of structure for SOURCE DOMAIN are superimposed upon the structure for TARGET DOMAIN, forming a complex cross-domain mapping. Metaphorical language is a surface manifestation of conceptual metaphor.

According to Objectivism, one will not understand an abstract concept unless one understands all its inherent properties. By contrast, embodied cognition assumes that one hallmark of human cognition is that we need not mentally store and manipulate all the relevant details of that entity, but can just physically store and manipulate the corresponding details of our body and the world with which it interacts. In other words, the physical body is one of the most important sources for metaphorical conceptualization.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 124) claim that the conceptual boundaries of categories are flexible in that “metaphorical definitions can give us a handle on things and experiences we have already categorized, or they may lead to recategorization” (ibid.). This suggests that metaphorical conceptualization can significantly remold the way we conceptualize ourselves and the world. If we take account of the experiential underpinnings of metaphors, our knowledge about abstract entities does not reside inside the so-called inherent properties, but corresponds to human bodies and their environment. Here, we are in a position to claim that embodied experiences and metaphorical thinking can pose far-reaching consequences for our cognition in general.

Mithen (1998: 165–191) suggests that the brain of humans before the Upper Paleolithic period in Europe (100,000 to 30,000 years ago) was a domain-specific brain. In other words, he believes that, at that time, cognitive domains were isolated from each other, and the early humans were not capable of figurative thinking. The great revolution, according to Mithen, took place in the Upper Paleolithic period when cross-domain mapping allowed primitive humans to interpret their knowledge about one domain in terms of their knowledge about another. This hypothesis is supported by some of the artwork and tools of the Upper Paleolithic period, for example, people used to represent themselves as animals in cave drawings. This seems to characterize early human beings, in virtue of cross-domain mapping, beginning to see animals as metaphorical alternatives to themselves. Furthermore, humans seemed to be capable of re-discovering themselves as an inclusive part of their world. Just as what Merleau-Ponty claims in *Phenomenology of Perception*, “every external perception is immediately synonymous with a certain

perception of my body, just as every perception of my body is made explicitly in the language of external perception” (2002: 239).

If mind is grounded in a body structure that is universal to all human beings, metaphors as a kind of higher-level cognitive power will, at least potentially, occur universally in all languages and cultures. As far as we know, the primary metaphor ABSTRACT CONCEPT IS PHYSICAL ORGAN is shared amongst various cultures, not only at a generic but also at a specific level. Take Examples (26) and (27): the underlying metaphor is VALUES ARE BLOOD AND SWEAT. This analogy is simultaneously instantiated as the verb phrase ‘吸干了工人的血汗’ and its English counterpart ‘sucks the blood and sweat out of workers’. Both of them display an anomalous collocation. By this, we mean the agent “资本主义社会” (‘capitalistic society’) to be a non-human concept, however the action “吸” (‘suck’) and the patient “血汗” (‘blood and sweat’) are related to both human and animalistic behavior and bodily fluids.

(26) 资本主义社会吸干了工人的血汗。

[The capitalistic society sucks the blood and sweat out of their workers.]

(27) Government *sucks the blood and sweat* of foreign workers.

In addition, there is another metaphor entailed, namely CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY IS A HUMAN CONSTRUCT. The Source Domain PEOPLE, instead of being directly exposed on the linguistic surface, is ‘hiding’ within the verb ‘吸干’ (‘suck’). This again requires the process of Source Domain Construction. In addition, for Examples (26) and (27), the process seems to be fueled by the cognitive context rather than the co-text.

In (28) and (29), the semantic contractions are separately located in the phrases “肱骨之师” and “military muscle”. There is a shared analogous root under the linguistic surface: THE ARMY IS THE BACKBONE AND MUSCLE OF A COUNTRY. Even if ‘肱骨’ (‘muscle’) can directly proclaim what the Source Domain is, we need to evoke more concrete images so to gather a more profound understanding. For example, knowing how essential muscles and bones are for living beings, we can understand these two phrases. Apparently, this process of linking those two domains is largely affected by ideological ideas about the role of the military.

(28) 我国自行研发的战斗机组将成为我国空军的肱骨之师。

[The combat unit developed by our country will be bound to the military muscle of air force.]

(29) US remains *military muscle* in Libya campaign.

In (30) and (31), the metaphorical apparatus is separately located in the adjective ‘跛脚的’ (‘crippled’), through which we can observe a universal metaphor in both

Chinese and English: GOVERNMENT INEFFICIENCY IS BROKEN LEGS. It is not tough to observe the shared common ground, if one has ever experienced the restrictedness of incapable governments and handicapped persons.

- (30) 旧瓶旧酒旧招数，跛脚政府究可哀。 (东方日报: 2011年2月24日)
 [Old wine in the old bottle, with no more tricks; the crippled government is doomed to be a pathetic one. (*Oriental Daily News*: February 24th, 2011)]
- (31) Haiti's *crippled government* sees 25% plunge in GDP. (BNC)

In (32) and (33), both of the underlined phrases express the metaphor A STRATEGIC POINT IS THE HEART. The image of HEART is evoked by '心脏' ('heart'). Again, further Domain Construction is required, even though we are aware of what the Source Domain is. If necessary, cognitive context, cultural background can be included to continuously enrich the current image about the Source Domain.

- (32) 北京是中国的心脏。
 [Beijing is the heart of China.]
- (33) Hollywood is *the heart of US's film industries*.

Table 1. Expressions supported by ABSTRACT CONCEPT IS PHYSICAL ORGAN

Transferred epithet expressions	Source Domain	Target Domain
吸千血汗/suck the blood and sweat	BLOOD AND SWEAT	SACRIFICE MADE BY WORKERS
肱骨之师/military muscle	BACKBONE AND MUSCLE	MILITARY FORCE
跛脚政府/crippled government	BROKEN LEGS	GOVERNMENT INEFFICIENCY
中国的 <u>心脏</u> / the heart of the film industry	HEART	A STRATEGIC POINT

Let us further elaborate on the connection of the two domains of BODY and ENVIRONMENT: Environment can act as an instrument for natural selection and promote the evolution of the animal kingdom as well as of physical conditions, such as, alimentionation, disease, death, etc. Although we cannot fully grasp all biochemical transformations involved in life, some concepts are prevalently used as potential metaphorical sources for conceptualization. It is worth noticing that PHYSICAL CONDITIONS are ever-changing and covariant with the health status of any animate body. Thus, the latter provides a good pathway to accentuate the dynamic nature of a Target Domain, and furthermore can plainly illustrate whether its corresponding system works effectively.

Taking Examples (34) and (35), the word '肥' and its cross-linguistic counterpart 'fat', as well as '瘦' ('lean') at first glance all appear hardly relevant to A

FINANCIAL SITUATION. Nevertheless, both concepts are intimately connected in our minds, as slimming down can be caused by poverty, and fattening up tends to be a phenomenon encountered in high income groups. The shared conceptual metaphor FINANCIAL SITUATION IS BODY SIZE emerges from the Primary Law of Association: Contiguity. This law says that ideas, memories, and experiences are connected when one is frequently experienced with the other.

(34) 一来二去，倒由多甫自己说出来：把房契押了出去，所以过了个肥年。 (老舍《正红旗下》)

[Then, Duo Fu said that he got a mortgage on his house and thus had a “fat” Spring Festival] (from a selection of Lao She’s Under the Red Banner)

(35) It was not surprising that the amount spent on exploration sank from \$760 million in the still relatively *fat year* of 1979 to between \$120 and \$150 million at the end of the 1980s and the size of known reserves remained static over a period of at least four years. (BNC)

In Examples (36) and (37), we unfold another principle of association: Similarity. This one claims that one memory primes another through their common properties. In (38) and (39), AILMENTS may prime a memory of FINANCIAL PROBLEMS through the common property of illness. In the same vein, SOCIAL PROBLEMS can also be associated to HEALTH STATUS, as displayed in Examples (40) and (41): in Example (40), “家庭暴力” (‘family violence’) is associated with “毒瘤” (‘cancer’), and, similarly, “adolescence crime” with “a cancer” in Example (41).

(36) 景气不佳台湾机关企业纷纷过瘦年。 (新华网2013年2月1日)

[Due to the recession, the institutions and enterprises in Taiwan had a lean year.] (Xinhua, February 1st, 2013)

(37) It had been an exceptionally *lean year*, all in all.

(38) 山西改革试点，为病态经济方式转型探路。 (新华网：2010年12月13日)

[Shanxi Province’s pilot reform paved the way for the ailing economy’s transformation.] (Xinhua, December 13th, 2010)]

(39) The government is trying to boost *the ailing economy* by converting the defense industry to civilian production. (BNC)

(40) 家庭暴力问题被视为文明社会的毒瘤，它腐蚀并危害着家庭的和谐及社会的稳定。

[It is believed that domestic violence is the cancer of our society, which will corrode the harmony of families and cause harm to the stability of the society.]

- (41) Nowadays, the society has more and more people realizing that adolescence crime is a *cancer of society*.

In, (42) and (43), a LOVELESS MARRIAGE is thought of as ‘being dead’. What we anticipate as one self-evident reason for this connection is that it is as passionless and hopeless as the concept of DEATH. A noticeable fact is that all these cross-linguistic expressions evoke the same metaphor, namely ABSTRACT CONCEPT IS PHYSICAL CONDITION. In this, Target Domains take on some properties of our familiar life, thereby in one way or another becoming more accessible to cognitive agents. The expressions and the underlying Source and Target Domains are listed in Table 2.

- (42) 结果, 应该活着的爱情死去了, 应该死去的婚姻却活着。
[Finally, the love which should be alive, died, while the marriage, which should be dead, lived.]
- (43) She and Lester continue in *their dead marriage* for their daughters’ sake and so they’ll look normal to the outside world.

Table 2. Expressions supported by ABSTRACT CONCEPT IS HEALTH CONDITION

Transferred epithet expressions	Source Domain	Target Domain
肥(瘦)年/ fat (lean) year	NUTRIENT LEVEL	FINANCIAL SITUATION
病态经济方式/the ailing economy	AILMENT	ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
文明社会的毒瘤/a cancer of society	CANCER	SOCIAL PROBLEMS
死去的婚姻/their dead marriage	DEATH	LOVELESS MARRIAGE

The following Examples (44) to (51) provide more instances of transferred epithets: the noun phrase “用工饥荒” (‘labor force famine’) in (44) and “labor-starved Japan” in (45) use VISCERAL SENSE OF HUNGER as a Source Domain to metaphorically represent the Target Domain, i.e. LABOR FORCE SHORTAGE. In cases of (46) and (47), DREAMING is described by the mediation of a more concrete concept, namely GUSTATORY SENSE OF SWEET. In Examples (48) and (49), the “痒痒的” and “itchy” are both ascribed to SKIN SENSE OF ITCH. Additionally, the Target Domain, DESIRE, is not directly referred to, but rather implicitly suggested by another Source: HEART. For Examples (50) and (51), both “心里一亮” and “bright ideas” describe the VISUAL SENSE OF BRIGHTNESS in order to represent a more abstract category, IDEA. The mentioned examples are given again in Table 3. They are all dominated by the generic metaphor ABSTRACT CONCEPT IS PHYSICAL SENSATION.

- (44) 惠州市政府负责人称，这是该市自改革开放以来出现的首次用工饥荒。
(2004年10月22日《汕头都市报》)
[The head of the Hui Zhou Government said that it is the first labor force famine in Hui Zhou city since reforming and opening up.]
(*Shan Tou City News*, 22 October, 2004)
- (45) Farming is not practical in *labor-starved Japan*.
- (46) 由于电热毯的催眠，舅舅做了一个甜甜的梦，梦里抱着一块冰凉的金砖。
[Due to the hypnotic effect of the electric blanket, my uncle had a sweet dream, in which he held a cold golden brick in his arms.]
- (47) He believes that such delights will never be encountered except in his own *sweet dreamland*, or wished-for world.
- (48) 人们心痒痒的，想买又怕涨价。
[People's hearts are itchy about it, wish to buy it, yet fear the increases in its price in the future.]
- (49) *Is it your heart itchy about curl hair, but afraid to look like aunt?*
- (50) 忽然心里一亮，拍着大腿，高兴地叫道“有了。”
[Suddenly a bright idea occurred to him; he cheerfully shouted out “Gotcha!” and slapped his thighs excitedly.]
- (51) Please contact me with any *bright ideas* for a venue.

Table 3. Expressions supported by ABSTRACT CONCEPT IS PHYSICAL SENSATION

Transferred epithet expressions	Source Domain	Target Domain
用工荒/labor-starved Japan	HUNGER	LABOR FORCE SHORTAGE
甜甜的梦/sweet dreamland	SWEETNESS	DREAMLAND
心痒痒的/heart is itchy about	ITCH	DESIRE
心里一亮/bright ideas	BRIGHTNESS	IDEA

We are going to dedicate the upcoming section to the perception of kinesthesia, i.e. such expressions centered on physical motion. Kinesthesia is the awareness of the position and movement of the parts of one's body using sensory organs, or in other words, the perception of the strength and effort being employed during movement. The recurring nature of this individual perception, through constant repetitions, can get structured and form schemata. Piaget (1997: 24) believes that it is through schemata that we develop our own cognitive structures, and by accommodating and assimilating information that we reconstruct our preliminary

concepts. Accommodation creates new schemata or adjusts the current ones to fit new environments. Meanwhile assimilation is achieved when one reuses current schemata to understand one's world. This confirms that schematic operations can somehow contribute to a successful solution when cognitive agents are blocked by complex cognitive tasks.

If we focus on the following verb-based cases in (52) to (59), such as “抓住中心思想”, ‘grasp the main idea’, “推高价格”, ‘push up prices’, “掌握股份” ‘hold the share’, “消化技术” ‘digest technologies’, we will notice that basic schemata from kinesthesia are metaphorically extended so to refer to more complex and non-physical processes, thus forming sets of imaginative action chains, as shown in Table 4. These chains, designed to simulate embodied movements, are impossible to be carried out in physical fashion, yet can be regarded as completely sensible. Moreover, the components involved in the chains are to be conceived in a metaphorical fashion. As Wilson & Gibbs (2007: 723–724) emphasize, “people ordinarily conceive of abstract entities like concepts, ideas, pride, argument and so forth in embodied metaphorical terms as physical objects which can afford actions like grasping, pushing, chewing, and so forth”.

Generally speaking, the expressions in Examples (52) to (57) are supported by a couple of cooperative metaphors: ABSTRACT PROCESS IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT AND ABSTRACT CONCEPT IS MATERIAL OBJECT. The imaginary movements also enlighten us about the notorious gulf between imagination and our rational capacity to find significant connections, to draw inferences, and to solve cognitive problems. To quote Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 77), “reason is imaginative in that bodily inference forms are mapped onto abstract modes of inference by metaphor”.

- (52) 注意抓住文章的中心思想。
[Pay attention to grasp the central idea of this article.]
- (53) *Grasp the central idea* of this article.
- (54) 劳动力成本上涨推高了日用品价格。
[The rising cost of labor pushes up commodity prices.]
- (55) The war has *pushed up oil prices*.
- (56) 他掌握了公司一半以上的股份。
[He holds more than half of the company's shares.]
- (57) He *holds a half share* in the company.
- (58) 我们要消化国外先进技术。
[We should digest the foreign advanced technologies.]
- (59) Our company should *digest advanced technologies*.

Table 4. Expressions supported by ABSTRACT PROCESS IS PHYSICAL MOVEMENT

Transferred epithet expressions	Source Domain	Target Domain
抓住中心思想/ grasp the main idea	PHYSICAL PROCESS: GRASP A MATERIAL OBJECT	NONPHYSICAL PROCESS: KNOWING THE MAIN IDEA WELL
推高价格/push up prices	PHYSICAL PROCESS: PUSH A MATERIAL OBJECT	NONPHYSICAL PROCESS: PRICE INCREASES
掌握股份/hold the share	PHYSICAL PROCESS: HOLD A MATERIAL OBJECT	NONPHYSICAL PROCESS: OWN STOCKS OR SHARES
消化技术/digest technologies	PHYSICAL PROCESS: DIGEST FOOD	NONPHYSICAL PROCESS: KNOWING THE TECHNOLOGIES WELL

We have been trying to make sense of the claim that unrelated languages used in ideologicalized communities, such as Chinese and English, demonstrate numerous similarities despite their distinct linguistic structures. It is conclusive that, without the constraining effect of embodiment, it is very difficult to assert how such non-salient conceptual and linguistic similarities emerge. In light of embodied cognition theories, we are capable, however, to allege one remarkable reason for the claim that the actual physiological process may be universal, so the universal bodily experiences might lead to similar physiological relations, and spark those similarities that we find in Chinese and English transferred epithet expressions.

5. Cross-linguistic variances and cultural motivation

If we are inclined to understand metaphor, transferred epithets included, as an indispensable feature of the human minds capacities, we cannot follow Descartes in regarding the mind as separable from the body and the world. Simultaneously, we should be cautious regarding the prevailing cognitivist stance that equates body and mind, with the latter as an autonomous device aimed to manipulate symbolic representations in the isolated brain. Besides, here is another fair warning against one of the most popular strands of Cognitive Linguistics, i.e. cognitive psycholinguistics, which, generally speaking, solely draws upon research of categorization, prototypes, memory, attention and other mental procedures underlying individual behavior, yet disregarding collective behavior and social cognition. We agree with Croft (2009: 395) that “they [cognitive linguists] are too solipsistic, that is, too much ‘inside the head’. In order to be successful, cognitive linguistics must go ‘outside the head’ and incorporate a social-interactional perspective on the nature of language”.

There exists a long-standing separation of the social and psychological dimensions in the study of human behavior. This gap must be bridged in order to achieve progress in understanding the nature of transferred epithets. This study, besides drawing on research in cognitive psychology, is based on the belief that the human body does not function in isolation; but functions in a variety of contexts including social and cultural backdrops. The same applies to transferred epithets; hence we tend to conclude that a well-embodied transferred epithet is not just borne out of bodily nature but also intimately embedded in the cultural nurture.

On the basis of anthropology, the term *culture* encompasses the range of human phenomena that cannot be attributed to genetic inheritance. In line with some current thinking in Anthropology, Kövecses (2005: 1) sees culture as “a set of shared understandings that characterize smaller or larger groups of people”. He, while pointing out that “this is not an exhaustive definition of culture in that it leaves out real objects, artifacts, institutions, practices, actions and so on, that people use and participate in any culture, but it includes a large portion of it: namely, the shared understanding that people have in connection with all of these ‘things’”.

Over the last decades, linguistic analysis within Cognitive Linguistics has all too often been implemented at a level of the closed and static head. Nevertheless, more scholars have attempted to surpass the bounded brain and have evolved an inspiring dynamic circle involving mind, body, and social cultural environments. Nowadays, it is well worth appreciating that Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 22) actually had noticed that “the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture”. Quine (1991: 57) advocates that “unfortunately, the case of metaphor illustrates a uniform tendency for linguists and other cognitive scientists outside of anthropology to neglect altogether the organizing role of culture in human thought, or to grant culture, at best, a residual or epiphenomenal place in their accounts. That, on the contrary, culture plays a central, profound role in human understanding much recent research in cognitive anthropology”. In this vein, Kövecses (2005: 283–292) summarizes six ways to demonstrate how the study of metaphor and that of culture are intimately connected and furthermore illuminates three distinct types of coherences and conflicts in accordance with that body-culture-mind involved cycle.

More recently, Clark (2008: xxviii) has coined the notion of “The Extended Brain” to emphasize “some goings-on (mind relevant events), if EXTENDED is correct, don’t stay neatly in the brain. They don’t even stay neatly within the biological body. On the contrary, they prove perfectly and productively able to span brain, body, and world.”

In order to forge ahead towards a more diversified academic direction, scholars from different backgrounds were gathered in 34th International LAUD

Symposium in 2010. They rethought whether cognitive studies should stay in a homogeneous and idealized speech community, or should enhance the bedrock of the emerging coalescence of cognitive psychology, Sociolinguistics, and other usage-based approaches. On the pursuit of reviving interests in complex interactions of language, culture, thought and world-view, the 35th International LAUD Symposium in 2011 again brought together specialists from various areas, including linguistics, psycholinguistics, and anthropological linguistics, who investigate the relationship between language and cognition in bilingualism, cross-cultural studies and communication research. The central tenet of all these engagements, at least to our mind, is to reiterate and emphasize that human cognition should not be reduced to sets of neural activities that occur solely in the brain or solely within organismic skin-bag, rather, it is intermeshed with the so-called “loops”, a notion quoted from Clark (2008: xxviii), referred to and identified as “inextricable tangles of feedback, feedforward, and feed-around loops: loops that promiscuously criss-cross the boundaries of brain, body, and world”.

Cognitive Anthropologists hold that the schemata learned in specific cultural contexts, or say culturally formed cognitive schemata, deserve in-depth study with regard to actional goals. For instance, Strauss (1992: 3) notes that “culturally formed cognitive schemas can have motivational force because these models not only label and describe the world but also set forth goals (both conscious and unconscious) and elicit or include desires”. Quine & Holland (1987: 4) refer to culturally formed schemata as ‘cultural models’. They point out that “cultural models are presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other, alternative models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it”. Similarly, Kövecses (2005: 193) defines cultural models as “any coherent organizations of human experience shared by people”.

The legitimization of cultural schemata indicates that not only the physical experiences but also the cultural models can exert an influence on humans’ structured cognition. When we understand culture models in this vein, the close connection between metaphor, bodily experiences and culture models emerges in a straightforward manner within the cognitive linguistic framework initiated by Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 56–68): That is, human cognition is grounded in embodied experiences which encompass both bodily and social-cultural experiences; moreover, metaphoric mappings, in essence, rely equally on the structural projection of bodily and cultural schemata. To sum up, embodiment itself can be of two kinds: purely physical and cultural. We are advancing that the human body does not function in isolation; rather, it functions in a variety of fleshed-out cultural contexts. Hence, it is appropriate to claim – in agreement with Kövecses (2005: 293) that, “Metaphor is inevitably conceptual, linguistic, neural-bodily, and social-cultural

all at that same time”, or more precisely, metaphorical expressions are equally the product of cultural and bodily experiences.

The figurative similarities in conceptualizing the world discussed as much as in this paper demonstrates that surprising cross-cultural uniform does exist in Chinese and English other transferred epithets. Nevertheless, we tend to speculate that in fact tremendous diversification also exists in cross-linguistic cases, since metaphorical expressions are simultaneously shaped by both universal bodily sense and diversified culture experiences. Given the particular role of embodied sensations in the production of transferred epithets, we should not expect to find the cases that strongly contradict universality. Attributed to the built-in dissimilar bodily and cultural basis, it would be to assert that cross-cultural expressions are either outright universal or totally distinct. Our goal in paper has been to offer a dual-dimensioned viewpoint that is capable of dealing with the fact that some transferred epithet expressions are potentially universal and the fact that others appear to vary in different cross-cultural style.

Emotions, for instance, are commonly said to be so private and heavily-culturally dependent that they are generally inaccessible to other people. For this reason, emotion-related cases of transferred epithets are expected to be highly culture specific. In our previous studies (Sun Yi 2011: 125–129; Sun Yi 2013: 105–111), we have noted that some emotive metaphors are built up on primary metaphors such as LOVE IS PLANT, LOVE IS FOOD, LOVE IS PRODUCT, and so forth. The point is that at some primary and generic level: cross-linguistic metaphors are likely to be universal, whereas the complex ones structured upon them are much less likely to be so. A plain explanation for that is that generic metaphors might be filled with culturally specific instantiations that can result in obvious cross-cultural variations on the linguistic surface. Accordingly, it is possible to see the fact that some cross-cultural cases, in spite of taking on the same Target Domain, might in a way correspond to totally different subsets of culturally specific Source Domains.

Based on cross-cultural cases related to LOVE, we are in this section going to show how and to what extent cultural schemata are embedded in cross-linguistic transferred epithets. At first glance, the expressions in (60) to (65), even if assuming the same Target Domain LOVE, still appear in such random styles that it seems impossible to maneuver them in the organized manner. Actually, there is a coherence underlying these expressions, namely the universal metaphor LOVE IS LIVING BEINGS. However, problems emerge when we ask precisely what sort of living beings are referred to here. In Example (60), phrase “合欢情” (‘an albizia feeling’) uniquely occurs in Chinese. An obvious the reason is that *albizia* is a plant native to Asia, especially widespread in China. Perhaps due to its pitiful short lifespan, ALBIZIA BLOSSOM, in Chinese culture is commonly used to represent the likely doomed bitterness and tragic traits of LOVE.

(60) 御热含风细，临秋带月明。同心如可赠，持表合欢情。

(李峤《扇》)

[The cool breeze blows away the summer heat. When the autumn comes, the round fan and the round moon cast beautiful reflections of each other. This round fan could be given to our soul mates, which will pass on an albizia love to them.]

(Li Qiao's *Fan*)

In Example (61), the underlying motivation of “红豆相思” (‘yearning between lovers’) is that in China beads of red sandal wood has long been thought of as a symbol of **LOVESICKNESS**. Commonly, folks put them in the slogan of “Xiang Si Dou” (相思豆) (‘emotions of red petals of the peach tree’).

(61) 晚莺娇咽，庭户溶溶月。一树桃花飞茜雪，红豆相思暗结。

(周密《清平乐·再次前韵》)

[Little nightingales are tweeting constantly and lamentably in the evening. The moonlight cast on the yard is like a string of melting water. The red petals of the peach tree are falling down like snowflakes whirling and drifting in the sky. At this time, I deeply miss my lover.] (Zhou Mi's *qing ping le. zai ci qian yun*)

Next, let us consider “鸳鸯伴” (‘company of the mandarin duck couple’) in Example (62). In Chinese folklore, “鸳” and “鸯” respectively stand for **MALE AND FEMALE MANDARIN DUCKS**, reminiscent of **COUPLES IN LOVE, WEDDED BLISS** and **FIDELITY**.

English speaking communities are familiar with a very similar metaphor, i.e. lovebirds. When it comes to **ROMANCE** as a concept, western countries often represent this with the red rose. Hence, the concepts related to **RED ROSES** are commonly used as the symbol of **LOVE** and **ROMANCE** as shown in (63). In addition, Example (64) supports the claim that in English speaking countries, the **MYOSOTIS**, mundanely named as “Forget-Me-Not”, is another plant that functions as an expression of **LOVE** and **ROMANCE**.

The expression “puppy love” in (65) is also a culturally salient phrase. In western countries, pet dogs are kept for humans’ company rather than for economic reasons. Many people even believe in the physical and emotional benefits of owning a pet. A **JUVENILE DOG** is one of the most popular pets for its attractive appearance and playful personalities. Perhaps these characteristic features are in a way reminiscent of **PREMATURE LOVE**. We claim that all of the above points seek to argue that the mentioned cases are endowed with the identical Target Domain, namely **LOVE**, but are permitted to employ cross-culturally varied Source Domains, as described in Table 5.

- (62) 酒阑歌罢两沈沈，一笑动君心。永愿作鸳鸯伴，恋情深。
(毛文锡《恋情深》)
[The atmosphere is gradually quieting down after the feast. That girl's smile touches my heart deeply. We'd like to be a couple of mandarin ducks and be in love forever.] (Mao Wen xi's *lian qing shen*)
- (63) *Love is a red rose bud*, by summer's ripening breath, may prove a beauteous flower when next we meet.
- (64) *Love of forget-me-not* lasts forever, even in the toughest places and at the most unexpected times.
- (65) That's a pretty normal feeling. It means you are "in love" – kind of. It is *puppy love*, not real love – not true love, yet.

Table 5. LOVE AS AN ANIMATE THING and its Expressions

Expressions of transferred epithet	Source Domain	Target Domain
合欢情/an albizia feeling	ALBIZIA BLOSSOM	LOVE/ROMANCE
红豆相思/emotions of red petals of the peach tree	BEADS OF RED SANDALWOOD	LOVE/ROMANCE
鸳鸯伴/ company of the mandarin duck couple	MANDARIN DUCK	LOVE/ROMANCE
love in a red rose bud	ROSE	LOVE/ROMANCE
love of forget-me-not	MYOSOTIS	LOVE/ROMANCE
puppy love	JUVENILE DOG	LOVE/ROMANCE

Moving on to another Target Domain, dietary habits are defined as individual or collectively habitual decisions when choosing what to eat. Although humans are omnivores, different cultural communities hold their special food preferences or taboos based on considerations of healthy, regional and religious issues. This being said, dietary habits are an indispensable component of cultural models that might affect metaphoric thought. We have observed several cases in which a particular Source Domain is conceptualized differently across cultures despite being attached to a nearly universal generic metaphor. Here, the notion of FOOD can be conceptualized in different ways across cultures. In other words, within the generic metaphor LOVE IS FOOD, the Source Domain FOOD can be instantiated into distinct versions in the bearings of cultural models.

We proceed to show cross-cultural differences in prototypes of FOOD that we find in diverse conceptual metaphors. In different cultures, the prototypes of FOOD may differ considerably. When these different counterparts are implemented as Source Domains, the resulting conceptual metaphors will also differ

a lot. As an example, let us consider a conceptual metaphor in which the notion of BASIC FOODS (e.g. rice, vegetables) functions as the Source Domain in Chinese and English. An important matter to consider, with regard to Chinese culture and history, is that Chinese people have long been struggling for food and chaff was one of the cheapest foods for the extremely poor in Old China. So, the concept of CHAFF is labeled as a sensational symbol for a tough but touching life, especially when a man and a woman fall in love with each other and endure financial hardship to get married. It is clear that an ode of a plain life and pure love appears to be cross-culturally universal, except for different choices of symbols that represent hardship. In contrast to CHAFF, the Western world conceptualizes bread and cheese as the prototypical case of BASIC FOODS and SIMPLE LIFE. These different cultural and ideological traits will fuse into metaphorical thinking, thus affecting the instantiation choice of Source Domain, and will eventually result in cultural variations in cross-linguistic metaphorical expressions, such as in the transferred epithets in (66) and (67): the Source Domain for “糟糠之情” is CHAFF, in contrast to BREAD AND CHEESE for “a bread and cheese marriage”.

- (66) 其妻薛媛，善书画，妙属文；知楚材不念糟糠之情，别倚丝萝之势，
对镜自图其形，并诗四韵以寄之。 (范摅《云溪友议》)
[Chu Cai's wife Xue Yuan was adept at drawing and writing, especially doing
well in composing pieces of prose. She was afraid that her husband would
no longer care about her because of the poverty [lit. chaff affection] they
were living in, and will go away with another woman. Thus she drew a self-
portrait from her reflection in the mirror and that he would run away and
sent four poetries to Chu Cai.] (Fan Shu's *yun xi you yi*)

- (67) It is a bread and cheese marriage.

The conceptualization of FOOD SEASONINGS also displays cross-cultural differences. For example, the invention of vinegar dates back to more than 2,000 years ago in China. The harsh flavor assuredly defines the Chinese cooking culture. Besides, on account of food health and flavor, Chinese consider vinegar an indispensable cooking seasoning. Given these reasons, VINEGAR in Chinese folklore is the very prototype of FOOD SEASONING, which lends itself to further application in metaphorical thought. Shared knowledge about the firm tart taste of vinegar is saliently associated to jealous women who might also give tart utterances. Therefore, in Example (68), the notion of VINEGAR is used as a metaphorical substitute for JEALOUS OF DESPERATE LOVE.

Meanwhile, CREAM in much of the carb-heavy Western cuisine is used widely enough to be marked as a prototypical sample of FOOD SEASONING. Its sweet taste and agreeable scent can easily remind people of LOVE, thus playing a constitutive

role in the construction of the cognitive structures of SWEET LOVE. As in (69), the Source Domain CREAM furnishes us with rich images to tell how happy someone's life is when another person shares it with them. See all these applied Source Domains and the corresponding Target Domain LOVE in Table 6.

(68) 美女公关自然是含情脉脉、秋波频频，惹得身边的人无端生出些醋意来。

[The beautiful PR staff casts sheep's eyes at him, which makes the people around him feel inexplicably jealous.]

(69) You *add cream into my life*.

Table 6. Expressions supported by LOVE IS FOOD

Transferred epithet expressions	Source Domain	Target Domain
醋意/ inexplicably jealous	VINEGAR	LOVE
糟糠之情/affection originated from poverty [lit. chaff affection]	CHAFF	LOVE
a bread and cheese marriage	BREAD AND CHEESE	LOVE
Your love adds cream to my life	CREAM	LOVE

Taking (70) and (71), the modifier “情” (‘love’) in “情网” (‘tangled love net’), is transferred to modifying a non-emotive category “网” (‘net’). The underlying metaphor is LOVE IS A FISHING NET. The choice of NET as the Source Domain on the one hand takes into account cultural preferences; A TANGLED NET, on the other hand, neatly resembles the notion of LOVE and emotional entanglement; in “一丝爱” (‘a ray of love’), the semantic contradiction allocates in the colligation of the quantifier “一丝” (‘a ray of’) and the noun “爱” (‘love’). This expression is motivated by LOVE IS SILK, which also seems congruent with the folklore understanding of silk being adequate to represent the extremely small amount or the mildest degree of something.

The Western world has long been dominated by commercial economy, which partially explains why the concepts closely related to TRADE, such as MONEY, PAYMENT, PROPERTY, and TREASURE, offer optimal metaphorical resources for LOVE, as presented in Examples (72) and (73). All these culture-specific options for the Source Domains are listed in Table 7.

(70) 人生上寿不过百年，夫妻好合最浓情时不过一二十年，怎如跳出情网，归入仙班，夫妻长生，万年常昭，何等不美？

[Human lifespan is usually less than one hundred years; the best time a couple may share often lasts no more than a decade or two. If only a couple could jump out of “the net of earthly love” and be immortal together, then they could live forever with each other. How wonderful it is to be in love!]

- (71) 主动关怀周遭友人，更是希望在冷漠疏离的生存空间中，注入一丝爱与暖意。
[Care for friends, because that could be a hope that may fill the world with love and warmth.]
- (72) *Only love* can be paid in good faith.
- (73) It is deemed the best because it can evoke at once the *treasure of pure love* for Krishna.

Table 7. Expressions supported by LOVE IS DAILY LIFE STUFF

Transferred epithet expressions	Source Domain	Target Domain
情网/ tangled love net	FISHING NET	LOVE
一丝爱/a ray of love	SILK	LOVE
pay with love	MONEY	LOVE
treasure of pure love	TREASURE	LOVE

The expressions (74) to (75) are all rooted in the primary metaphor SEX IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON. It is a well-known fact that NATURAL PHENOMENA are thought of as another source for metaphorical conceptualization and it appears that conceptual preference also dominates the instantiations of this Source Domain. Generally, certain natural phenomena evoke suitable images for Chinese folklore's understanding of SEX, but these images might not be congruent with their western counterparts. For example, since ancient times, faint and rainy images associated to CLOUD AND RAIN, and tranquil and profound images associated to WUSHAN MOUNTAIN have been perfect choices for the metaphorical conceptualization of SEX. Just as the expressions in (74) and (75) show, the relative images evoked by “云雨” (‘cloud and rain’) and “巫山” (‘Wushan Mountain’) both show the typical reference to SEX in Chinese culture. Meanwhile, “a burning sexual desire” and “the flame of sexual desire” in examples (76) and (77) can roughly delineate how the westerners tend to understand the notion of SEX. The underlying conceptual metaphor entailed in these expressions is SEX IS FLAME. It is certainly fair to add that SEX for much of the Western world is construed in a more passionate and untrammelled way, which is in sharp contrast to the implicit, elusive, or even self-oppressed understanding of sex in Chinese culture. The reason might be that the central gist of Confucianism is self-control, which includes the unfettered emotions. What is more, Chinese people generally prefer to eulogize tenderness, solemnity and the implicit beauties of sex, rather than bluntly referring to nudity, lust, or licentiousness. On the contrary, the large scale movement of Sex Liberalization initiated in the 1960s has massively challenged traditional codes of behavior throughout the

Western world. Under this backdrop, many people are firmly convinced that there is detrimental impact of sexual repression and wholeheartedly endorsing a new sexual culture called 'free love', which praises passionate and free-spirited sex as a segment of ordinary and enjoyable life. Again, we organize all these expressions and cross-linguistic comparisons in Table 8.

- (74) 一字字冰雪之清，一句句云雨之情。 (汤舜民《一枝花·春思》)
 [Every word is like the pure snow in the winter, and every sentence reveals the idea of the cloud and the rain.] (Tang Shunmin's *yi zhi hua-chun si*)
- (75) 陈圆圆被仆人带骗带恫吓的言语说得芳心犹豫不定，那仆人明明欺她是个女流，乘势搂住圆圆，做他巫山的好梦。
 (许啸天《明代官闱史》)
 [The servant's coaxed words made Chen Yuanyuan very upset. After realizing that she was only a delicate woman, the servant threw his arms around Chen and dreamed of having sex with her.] (Xu Xiaotian's *ming dai gong wei shi*)
- (76) He oppressed his *burning sexual desire*.
- (77) Desire of going to work, debauchery after going off work, the *flame of sexual desire* starts gobbling up the cold resisting PASOUL of the winter personal inside party is much more than only a vogue, also wanting sexy every Wednesday and Thursday, dissolute bath the fire will burn the whole winter!

Table 8. Expressions supported by SEX IS NATURAL PHENOMENON

Transferred epithet expressions	Source Domain	Target Domain
云雨之情/feelings of the cloud and rain	CLOUD AND RAIN	SEX
巫山的好梦/sweet dreams of Wushan Mountain	WUSHAN MOUNTAIN	SEX
the flame of sexual desire/ burning sexual desire	FLAME	SEX

In general, on the basis of the expressions presented above, we may conclude that different languages might share a congruent metaphorical thinking at a generic level, as both Chinese and English people are familiar with primary metaphors such as LOVE IS AN ANIMATE THING, LOVE IS FOOD, LOVE IS DAILY LIFE STUFF, and so forth. Whereas, when we shift to the specific choices for a Source Domain, cross-cultural variances might emerge in a seemingly unpredictable way, yet easy to be understood once we comprehend more about its fundamental socio-cultural motivations.

6. Conclusion

We claim that this study has covered some ragged but promising terrain towards remedying the relative neglect of the mental aspect of transferred epithets. As far as underlying cognitive mechanisms are concerned, the most significant conclusion of our study is that: transferred epithets possess all the essences of metaphors, hence the framework of conceptual metaphor theory is the very solution to the study of transferred epithets.

Another point we have made is that all transferred epithet metaphors are gradually cultivated upon the certain universally embodied experiences and cannot be divorced from culture's limitations and reformulation. As demonstrated, a large abundance of cross-linguistic cases shares an identical Target Domain, yet taking on different Source Domains. This seems to be happening when some notions are very commonplace in one culture, but less widespread in another. However, in a number of other cases, the potential notions of Source Domains are equally widespread in all societies. This provides us with the insight that sometimes the cross-cultural variance is only a matter of a preferential choice of certain conceptual metaphors, rather than a matter of availability or a lack of certain Source Domains. In other words, culture-specific expressions may be determined by a culture's simply "choosing" from equally well conceptualized candidates. Clearly, the notion of TRADE and the related event structure of PURCHASING are straightforwardly communicated and performed in all societies. For this reason, some relative notions, such as MONEY, PROPERTY, TREASURE, and so forth, are all conceptualized well enough to metaphorically conceive of abstract notions. Nevertheless, these Source Domain notions are not equally entrenched in Eastern and Western conceptual systems when applied to the metaphorical understanding of LOVE or ROMANCE. In Chinese culture, people tend to opt for other daily life objects as the metaphorical source, e.g. items like FISHING NETS and SILK. It seems that these culturally specific preferences spring readily and naturally to mind. We would expect that one reason for this is that folk life in ancient China was marked by a large-scaled agricultural economy.

It seems difficult to overstep the fundamental and preferred life styles of each community. Therefore, the option of Source Domains for a particular Target Domain also shows culturally specific tendencies. Taking full account of the coupling between experiential basis and cultural reinvention, we wish to emphasize that it is presumptuous to assert that cross-linguistic cases are either outright universal or entirely different. Our goal has been to establish a double-paradigm that is capable of dealing with the perceived cross-linguistic similarities and variations in transferred epithet metaphors.

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