

# A Comparative Study of Metaphors for Pride In English and Chinese

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## ABSTRACT

In studying how metaphors reflect the nature of human emotions, this article investigates the emotion of pride in both English and Chinese. A comparative study has been made, as these two languages belong to very different language families and represent very different cultures of the world. By analyzing the data from the BNC and CCL corpora, it shows that there is a remarkable match between both languages on pride metaphors, which follows Lakoff's notion, that "metaphorical mapping is not arbitrary". Furthermore, taking reference of Kövecses' "physical experiences and cultural influences as two causes of metaphorical mappings", the article suggests a modification of the existed theory, and suggests three major types of metaphors: "physical experience" metaphor, "character of emotion" metaphor, and "cultural related" metaphor, then concludes that in a cross-cultural context, metaphorical variations appear in all three types.

**Keywords:** Comparative Study, Metaphor, Pride, English, Chinese.

## INTRODUCTION

As we know, language is part of culture, and metaphor is one of the most important features in language that reflects cognitive vision and epitomizes cultural context. Modern comparative linguistics believe a cross-language study of metaphors should shed some light on cross-cultural similarities and dissimilarities in ways of thinking and speaking. Given this consideration, the primary objective of this essay is to examine some important points in both fields of metaphor and culture, such as to what extent people of different cultures share similar metaphors; what aspects can influence the creation of metaphor; how metaphors reflect the nature of specific emotions, etc.

To answer these questions, I chose the emotion of pride for investigation, which is not a basic one, which means pride is closely related with several other emotions. But those close emotions were not much considered in this paper, as the focus of my research relies more on comparative study of metaphors.

Besides, I believe a comparative study of English and Chinese is also essential for examining the mentioned theories, because these two languages belong to very different language families and represent very different cultures of the world, which presumably did not have much contact with each

other when most of the conceptual metaphors were created. Besides, the concepts of pride in respective languages (in Chinese, they are Ji2 Du4 and Jiao1 Ao4) are of rough equivalence, and I will not especially distinguish any trivial differences in understanding either concept.

My results found a remarkable match between both languages on pride metaphors. Then by connecting with philosophical/psychological approaches of the target emotions, I conclude a support to Lakoff's theory, and suggest some modifications.

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As suggested in the introduction, this essay involves two important elements in a cross-cultural context, one is a comparative study of metaphor, and the other is the emotion of pride. Thus this section will be divided into two parts: section 2.1 starts from a cognitive linguistic approach, in which a picture of related theories and hypotheses on comparative studies of metaphors will be given. Then section 2.2 will take a philosophical/psychological approach on the study of "pride".

### 1. Cognitive Linguistic Approach

Metaphor is a relatively broad concept. The most commonly accepted definition of this term is literary

metaphor: language that directly compares seemingly unrelated subjects. *However, in cognitive linguistics*, there is a term of “conceptual metaphor”, “the understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:5). This concept was first extensively explored by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their work *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980, in which they argued that human emotions, which are abstract in nature, are “not arbitrary in metaphorical mappings” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:6).

In the following years, extensive studies have been made on the relation of emotional metaphor and our conceptual system, including anger, fear, happiness, sadness, love, lust, pride, shame, and surprise. Most of the research however, is based on English, and comparative studies on this topic between two languages, esp. those belonging to different language families, are relatively limited.

In 2000, Kövecses collected prior findings, and concludes in his work *Metaphor and Emotion* that emotion words can be seen as “more or less basic”, which means two things: they belong to the middle level in a hierarchy of concepts, and are more “prototypical” than others at the same horizontal level (Kövecses, 2000:3). Four emotion concepts are taken as “basic emotions” under the criteria: anger, fear, happiness, and sadness.

After that, comparative studies between various languages on basic emotions have been made to prove Lakoff’s “not-arbitrary” theory universal. Some of the important findings include first, correlation forms the basis of a linguistic and conceptual metaphor; Second there is a close relation between metaphor and our conceptual system. Thus the idea that “metaphor is a many-sided phenomenon that involves not only language, but also the conceptual system, as well as social-cultural structure and neural and bodily activity” began to be accepted more and more widely (Kövecses, 2005:9).

Lakoff divided conceptual metaphors into three types: “structural metaphors”, “orientational metaphors”, and “ontological metaphors”. Structural metaphors refer to the cases where “one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another”. In examples such as *argue fiercely*, *defend his argument*, and *constant arguing*, “arguing” is understood as

battle. Such metaphors allow us to focus on one aspect of the concept: the battling aspects of arguing; while hiding other aspects of the concept (e.g. rational, logical, etc.). In addition, “orientational metaphors” organize a whole system of concepts with respect to one another, and relatively spatial orientated. For instance, *happy is up* and *sad is down*. Emotional metaphors of this kind largely have a basis in our physical and cultural experience, and they arise from the function of our human bodies in the physical environment. Finally, “ontological metaphors” enable us to identify our experiences as entities or substances. Thus we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them. Examples include *his mind snapped*, *a beautiful catch*, *ugly side of his personality*, etc. (Lakoff, 1980:10-33).

Another classification is provided by Joseph Grady, who suggests that there are “primary metaphors” and “complex metaphors”. The primary one refers to the basic connection that exist between vague experiences and concrete experiences. For instance, the concept of “good” usually correlates with concept of “up” in experience, so they form the primary metaphor *good is up*. On the other hand, primary metaphors make up the complex ones, which mounts one identification on another. For instance, in the expression “Death is a thief”, there is no close relationship between thieves and death, but a metaphor along the lines of “valued aspects of experience are precious possessions” could be used to explain it. (Joseph Grady, 1997).

Primary metaphors are usually based on embodied human experiences. Kövecses raised an example in his work on the metaphor of *affection is warmth*. He noted:

“...we metaphorically view affection as warmth because of the correlation in our childhood experiences between the loving embrace of our parents and the comforting bodily warmth that accompanies it. This gives us the conceptual metaphor ‘affection is warmth’. Thinking and talking of affection in terms of warmth arise naturally from our embodied experience...to learn such primary metaphors is not a choice for us: it happens unconsciously and automatically.”(Kövecses, 2005:2-3)

As we know, emotions are usually accompanied by certain bodily changes, and previous studies also prove that there are a large number of emotional metaphors related to physical reactions. But how

about people from different cultures? Do they have the same bodily changes under certain emotions?

In this regard, Paul Ekman, R.W. Levenson, and their colleagues have made an experiment. They proposed an “emotion-specific autonomic nervous system” (ANS) that is sensitive to bodily changes such as blood pressure, pulse rate, etc under certain emotions. By experiment, they proved that certain emotions are associated with “objectively measurable bodily changes”. Furthermore, Americans and Minangkabau of West Sumatra had the same physical reactions on various emotions. For instance, when they get angry, both Americans and Minangkabau subjects’ skin temperature and pulse rate rose (Levenson, Ekman, Heider, and Friesen, 1992).

The result of this experiment gives us a hint that physical reactions of emotions might be universal. Thus given that primary metaphors are usually based on universal bodily experience, a hypothesis would be that emotional metaphors corresponding to physical reactions may well be similar. In other words, universal primary experiences produce universal primary metaphors. (Kövecses, 2005:41-43). Kövecses concludes:

“metaphorical thought is based on bodily experience and neuronal activity in the brain... if metaphor is based on the way the human body and brain function and we as human beings are alike at the level of this functioning, then most of the metaphors people use must also be fairly similar, that is, universal—at least on the conceptual level...at least some conceptual metaphors should be found in many languages.” (Kövecses, 2005:34-35)

On the other hand, complex metaphors are more tied to cultural considerations. (Kövecses, 2005:11). For instance, the classic complex metaphor “*Achilles is a lion*” is based on “a conventional understanding of a certain behavior of a lion in terms of the courageous behavior of a human” (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). Social views of lions are brave might be the basis of this conceptual metaphor. But in China, the lion is considered as something lazy and cruel, while the tiger or the leopard symbolize the characteristic of courage, this conceptual metaphor turns into another version. For instance, *bao(4) zi(3) dan(3)* (leopard’s courage). The image domains, which are used to make mappings between animals and humans, differ with respect to particular cultures. To

be more specific, it shows different preferences for selecting domains in conceptual metaphors across cultures.

Finally, it is also worth noting that the “same” metaphor may differ in “major themes”. Kövecses raises a concept of “meaning foci” in 1995. He points out that a source domain may have a variety of target domains, but each mapping has different focus in the source domain. For instance, journey as a source domain has the idea of progress for its “major theme”. Thus two seemingly identical metaphors may have different focus in expressing the target. Or in another case, metaphors from different cultures may have the same “major theme”, but from different source domains, as the cases of “jealousy is weed” and “jealousy is enemy” show. Though both metaphors look different they have the same focus of “something to get rid of”.

According to Kövecses, the variation of metaphors between two different cultures can be of three kinds: congruent metaphors, alternative/preferential metaphors, and unique metaphors.

Congruent metaphors are those similar on the generic level, but different on the culture-specific level, in other words, they are similar, but not the same. For instance, the conceptual metaphor *an angry person is a pressurized container* can be seen in both English and Chinese. On the generic level, English and Chinese have the same conceptual metaphor, as the metaphor does not say what kind of container is used, how the pressure arises, whether the container is heated or not, what kind of substance fills the container, etc. But on the culture-specific level, this metaphor in these two languages differs. In English, emotion is thought to be in the form of fluid, such as “She was seething with rage” (*anger is a fluid in a container*). On the contrary, the Chinese alternative versions applies to gases, i.e. *anger is the hot gas in a container*. (e.g. ni3 bu2 yao4 qi4 wo3 – you don’t gas me – don’t get me angry again).

The second type, alternative/preferential metaphor, refers to the situation where a source domain in one language is used for a particular target domain while a different source domain for the same target is used in another language (Kövecses, 2005:70-86). For instance, in the Hmong language, there is a metaphor of “life is a string”, but English

seldom use string as the source domain for life. Instead, we say “life is a war/game/journey”. Thus different images or source domains may be used to conceptualize the same target domain in two languages. (Ibid: 70-86).

Finally, the unique metaphor is one that has both a culturally unique source domain and a culturally unique target domain. This kind of metaphor variation is relatively limited, and will not be discussed in this paper.

Given metaphorical variations across cultures, Kövecses states two main causes for the variation: differential experience and the differential application of cognitive processes.

On the one hand, people who live in different cultures and places have different experiences, which include awareness of context, history, and different concerns or interests.

First, examples of awareness of context include physical environment, i.e. particular geography, landscape, fauna and flora, dwellings, other people, and so forth. For instance, in societies where people live near the sea there is a greater likelihood that life or time will be conceptualized in terms of sailing. Another example is cultural context. For instance, there are cultural bases for the difference that in English *anger is a fluid in a container*, while in Chinese *anger is hot gas in a container*. Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) note that the classical-medieval notion of the four humors/fluids (phlegm, black bile, yellow bile, and blood) determines the “fluid” metaphor in western countries; while the ancient theory of two gases (yin1 and yang2) leads to the “gas” metaphor in Chinese. Finally, social context and communicative situation also belong to awareness of context, but they are better dealt with as metaphoric variation within the same culture, i.e. intra-cultural variation. (Kövecses, 2005: 231-241)

Second, social history, or events that have occurred in the past can be embodied in language. Deignan (2003) points out that there is a “past-oriented” nature of language, i.e. many of the metaphors we use may reveal a certain time lag between our experiences of the world today and the experiences of the source domain in the past. The Chinese “jealousy is vinegar” metaphor found by this

paper is one example of this sort. I will explain and analyze it in the result section.

Finally, certain social concerns and interests may affect the entire society. For instance, Frank Boers and Murielle Demecheleer (1997, 2001) suggest that concepts of *sleeve* and *food* are more productive of metaphorical idioms in French than in English, which reflects the popularity of fashion and cooking in France.

On the other hand, our metaphors vary because the cognitive preferences and styles we put to use for the creation of abstract thought also vary. An example of this kind was suggested by Paul Chilton (cited by George Lakoff, 2006) concerning the notion of “house”. They noted that in the United States and most western countries, the image of a house is a free-standing boxlike structure on its own fenced land with a family living in it. However, the typical Russian house (*dom*) is more of an apartment, which has several units with families of tenants living in them. Such a different notion of house lead to misunderstandings when the last Soviet leader Gorbachev used the metaphor “a common European house”. By using this metaphor he wanted to emphasize common responsibilities and common structure (with a plurality of independent living units), so Russian view themselves and the rest of Europe as belonging to the same international community, which “excludes the United States”. But the western interpretation is a house of single unit, no internal separations, no common structure, and walls around the house. With such a difference, this metaphor makes a large number of westerners feel puzzled.

In the above, I’ve introduced various studies on how culture has influenced the use of metaphors. But it can also be more: it can produce certain Whorfian effects, as Lera Boroditsky (2001) proposed. Using a particular language and its metaphors may influence the way people think, or the views about certain abstract concepts such as life and time. I can think of one example that may be able to support Boroditsky’s idea: the “*Life is a Play*” metaphor mentioned by Kövecses in analyzing American culture. Such a metaphor includes expressions like “it’s curtains for him”, “that’s not in the script”, “it’s Showtime”, etc.. The play metaphor of life can be seen in many different forms of entertainment, such

as movies, cartoons, lyrics, etc. Kövecses argues that with the popularity of Hollywood and the spreading of other American entertainments, such an understanding of life is spreading to many other cultures. And the audiences of different cultures, even though they haven't been to America, begin to accept a kind of "light-hearted" view of life that "life is a play and an entertainment" (Kövecses, 2005:184-189). Here the obvious role of metaphor in the process of "American globalization" proves that metaphors can influence people's ways of thinking, the "Whorfian effect".

## 2.2. Philosophical & Psychological Approach

According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, Proud comes from late Old English *prud*, which has a sense of "having a high opinion of oneself". It may reflect the Anglo-Saxons' opinion of the Norman knights who called themselves "proud", like the French knights *preux*. There are also a number of scholars having remarked on the concept of Pride. For instance, Spinoza, the philosopher, argues that "pride is pleasure arising from a man's thinking too highly of himself". He says:

*"...if we see that anyone rates us too highly, for love's sake, we are apt to become elated, or to be pleasurably affected; the good which we hear of ourselves we readily believe; and therefore, for love's sake, rate ourselves too highly; in other words, we are apt to become proud."*

— the Ethics Prop. XLIX: 295<sup>yp</sup>.15

Spinoza defines this emotion with "over-estimation of oneself by reason of self-love", and has a relatively "disparaging" view of pride. His definition focuses on the notion of "knowing one's place". Pride consists in knowing one's merits, and ignoring its limitations.

David Hume, the 18<sup>th</sup> century Scottish philosopher, also points out the "pleasurable" quality of pride. He states:

*"everything related to us, which produces pleasure or pain, produces likewise pride or humility...it is a passion betwixt two ideas of which one produces it and the other is produced by it..."*

— A Treatise of Human Nature (B2.1.2)

In his view, pride is itself a feeling of pleasure, and this pleasure must be "closely related" to the self. A

contemplation of or focus on some objects or traits may make one feel joyful, and this joy leads to another feeling of pleasure which is called "pride".

On the other hand, Aristotle understands pride as something "magnificent". He argues that pride is "the pillar that supports one's mind" in his *Nicomachean Ethics*:

*"Pride is the virtue of respecting oneself. It is a human need to think highly of oneself. Without it, one would have no reason to trust one's ability to live. One would have no reason to accept that one's life is worthy of living...It has the secondary consequence of making a person want to improve himself in order to feel greater pride. This secondary effect, though, is not the reason for accepting pride as a virtue. Pride is virtuous because one needs it to live. It is the pillar that supports one's mind. Without it, one would constantly question one's ability to make rational judgments. It would undercut reason, man's primary means of survival."*

—Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 4.3

<http://www.bu.edu/english/levine/Aristotle.htm>

Though these three scholars have different perceptions on whether pride is a sin or a virtue, three aspects in their understandings they share: it is (1) a quality which (2) is approved or considered desirable and (3) is judged to belong to oneself. If we analyze it in a prototypical model, it will be as follows:

- a. A made it true that x is F;
- b. That x is F is of value;
- c. Because of p!and q!A's worth is confirmed or enhanced.

(Gabriele Taylor, 1980:392)

Here we can see two things are essential for pride: one is the object achieved, or the "x" in the prototypical model above; the other is the person himself, or the "A". And at least three perspectives are needed to be clarified:

*First, what we are proud of are usually things comparatively rare. A virtue can bring admiration, and admiration pleases. But to be proud of the virtue is still another thing. To get what you desire is joy, but if it brings you pride, this thing must be also have the recognition of society, or in other words, it is rare and hard to be achieved. (Arnold Isenberg, 1980:255-257)*

Second, what we are proud of must relate to ourselves. What A is proud of is something he is responsible for or possesses. A hostess can be proud of the dinner she has made; a gardener can be proud of the flowers he grows. And in other circumstances,

people can be proud of their country's football team, though he need not to be a member of it. That's because by identifying with their countrymen, they can vicariously share their achievement. Thus the victory is "closely related" to them. (Gabriele Taylor, 1980:393)

Third, it is the agent's view that matters. That is to say, how valuable is "x is F" (phase b) depends on A's view of things other than x's own worth. If a person considers himself to be generally below what he takes to be normal, then he could be proud of any possession that puts him into the group of "normal people". For instance, a person of bad health expends a lot of effort to become as strong as other people, and this person can be proud of his health, even though it is just "normal" to other people. (Gabriele Taylor, 1980:391)

However, Hume also states that a man who is "proud of many things need not be a proud man". So here comes to the notion of "proud the passion" and "proud the sin" (Gabriele Taylor 1980, p.394). I think Aristotle's description of pride is more connected with "proud the passion". To be proud one must have some quality or something valuable. On the other hand, "proud the sin" is usually regarded as something we should avoid. A modest and reasonable person knows his position very well: he will not only concentrate on what he has achieved, but also knows his limitations and demerits; but in reality, it is quite easy for one to exaggerate his/her trivial accomplishments, while forgetting the necessity of other qualities besides. In other words, "addicted to comparisons of itself with other minds instead of being devoted to positive and objective conclusions" (Arnold Isenberg 1980, p.363). Even more, this person may take his/her own superior worth for granted, and think certain things are due to him/her. Take Mr. Darcy in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* for instance, as the owner of Pemberley and with 10,000 pounds a year, Mr. Darcy is accustomed to taking his wealth as a matter of course. He does not think of his high position as adding to his worth, but takes it for granted that he seems to think of it as partially constitutive of his worth. Thus subconsciously, he views himself superior to others not only financially, but also intellectually and morally. On this basis, the proud Mr. Darcy has a lot

of expectations, e.g. he expects to be treated in a certain way and wants to get special treatment in society. Such psychological motivations make Mr. Darcy a proud man instead of a person who is merely proud of his business. Such related phenomenon is the reason why people believe "losing one's mind" is closely connected to the emotion of pride, and it is also widely reflected in metaphorical expressions such as *a proud person is blind* or *a proud person will lose his/her mind*.

Another emotion related to pride is pleasure or joy. Hume suggests that pride is itself a feeling of pleasure in his *A Treatise of Human Nature* (B2.1.2). Arnold Isenberg in analyzing Hume's words on pride states that, "to have or to get something which you desire is joy; but in pride there is something more—the recognition, the thought: 'I have this thing'" (Arnold Isenberg 1980, p.356). Moreover, if looking at what kinds of things people are proud of, one may conclude that only "good" things can be the object of pride. One can be proud of success, achievement, or a possession of valuable items, which could lead to an increase in self-esteem. In other words, pride is different from mere pleasure, which is a much broader concept than pride. And at least two elements must be involved in pride besides pleasure: a desirable quality, and a relation to the person.

Finally, pride also appears in both western and eastern religions. In Christianity, it says that although God created the world and made everything, he is not proud, but takes an interest in the least event of our lives. So one should be "like a child who craves attention above everything else". On the other hand in China, the ancient "*Tao Te Ching*" of Taoism cautions people that "Pride and greed are human errors". It is believed that intelligence may cause pride, and pride can make people despise others (恃才傲物), which will bring jealousy or disasters. That is why Chinese view humility highly. One interesting example is that western employers sometimes are puzzled to find that in striving for promotions, their Chinese employees tend to say "I'm not sure whether I can do it". Actually the meaning behind such an expression is not "a lack of confidence", but is a possession of virtue—modesty.

## METHODS

Samples of metaphorical expressions are chosen from corpora available online. For English, I chose the BNC corpora: the British National Corpora, which could be freely accessed through <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>. In order to make the study of the two languages comparable, I restricted the data to fiction category, and searched two parts of speech on the investigative emotion: pride as a noun and proud as an adjective. I got 1682 results in all: 824 for pride as a noun, and 858 for proud as an adjective.

For Chinese, I used the CCL corpora of the contemporary literature section. This corpora was built by Peking University, and is one of the most prestigious corpora for Chinese. Its free access could be reached through [http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl\\_corpus/jsearch/index.jsp?dir=xiandai](http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/jsearch/index.jsp?dir=xiandai). As "Jiao1 Ao4" (pride) in Chinese could be used both as noun and adjective, I only searched once, and got 1727 results for Jiao Ao.

The next step involved categorizing the remained metaphorical expressions. I took the categorization methods of George Lakoff and Zoltan Kövecses as a point of reference, and put similar source domains into the same group, while ignoring one or two unimportant metaphors. The neglected metaphors will be listed as an attachment at the end of my paper.

Finally it is also worth mentioning that in order to hold the flavor of the "original" metaphor, I give a "word to word" translation of the Chinese metaphors I selected, i.e. focusing on the "literal meaning" of the word. The translation has been checked by other Chinese speakers.

## RESULT: A METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PRIDE

There are a large number of conceptual metaphors for pride in both languages, of which 6 stand out in importance, namely "physiological effects" metonymy, "body languages" metonymy, "container metaphor", "protection metaphor", "up metaphor", and "negative emotion" metaphor.

### 4.1. Physiological effects

Pride can affect many aspects of one's body. The following are examples related to the face, eyes, and mind respectively.

## Face

(18) English

- a. His face is glowing with pride.
- b. He blushed with pride and pleasure.
- c. He flushed with pride.

In English, the face is red when one is proud, but in Chinese, Jiao'ao (pride) makes people's face turn white (example 18-a). Besides, there are also a large number of metaphors in Chinese describing the changing of expressions in the face when one feels pride.

(19) a. ta(1) de lian(3) cang(1) bai(2) leng(3) mo(4) er(2) jiao(1) ao(4)

His face pale chilly distant (so...that) pride  
*"He is nonchalant with pride."*

- b. Lian(3) shang(4) liu(2) lu(4) chu(1) jiao(1) ao(4) de qing(2) xu(4) Face on reveal proud mood  
*"pride in one's face."*
- c. Jiao(1) ao(4) de mian(4) kong(3) Proud face  
*"pride in one's face."*
- d. Mian(4) shang(4) jiao(1)ao(4) de biao(3)qing(2) / shen(2)qing(2) / shen(2)se(4) Face on proud expression  
*"pride in one's face."*
- e. Jiao(1) ao(4) zhi(1) se(4) yi(4) yu(2) yan(2) biao(3) proud color overflow word expression  
*"Pride in words and expressions"*

In English speaking countries, when one's face gets pale, it usually represents bad health, or severe fear. Chinese has similar expressions. But I'm still puzzled and curious on the reasons why Chinese turn pale, while Westerners flush with pride. Maybe that is the face color of nonchalance and pride for yellow races. To prove this hypothesis, a further study should be done on the differences in face colors associated with emotions across various Asian countries.

In addition, by comparison of examples in (17) and (18), one can see Chinese uses the "expressions on face" to express emotions. This is also the same with my analysis of the metaphor for jealousy in the previous chapter (Examples 2-a & 2-c). It is worth noticing that Chinese frequently adopts the saying of "expressions in the face" to convey various emotions while English seldom does so, though it is

still unacceptable to conclude that Chinese pay attention to a more “overall” level of expression in the face in understanding certain emotions.

### Eyes

The connection between pride and eye light is quite similar in English and Chinese: the eyes reveal emotions in both languages.

(20) English:

- a. He had seen pride and admiration in her eyes
- b. Tears of pride stung her eyes.
- c. She bursts into tears of pride at the very mention.
- d. ...lighting her eyes with a fierce, proud joy.
- e. He saw those fierce, proud eyes closed before this moment.
- f. Pride and defiance turning her eyes a stormy grey as she stared back
- g. She tried to change the anxiety in her eyes to a proud gleam
- h. He sat glaring at them in defiance and pride.
- i. He looked back at us with a proud, black look.

(21) Chinese

- a. ta(1) yan(3) li(3) chong(1) man(3) le jiao(1)ao(4) he(2) man(3) zu(2)  
Her eyes in full of pride and satisfaction  
“Her eyes are full of pride and satisfaction”.
- b. yan(3) li(3) shan(3) zhe xing(4) fu(2) jiao(1)ao(4) de guang(1)mang(2)  
eyes in glittering happy proud light  
“Her eyes are glittering with happiness and pride”.
- c. Yan(3) guang(1) li(3) liu(2) lu(4) chu(1) jiao(1)ao(4)  
Eyes light in reveal pride  
“Her eyes are gleaming with pride”.
- d. Jiao(1) ao(4) zi(4) da(4) mu(4) kong(1) yi(2) qie(4)  
Pride arrogant eyes empty everything  
“He is arrogant”.
- e. Yan(3) zhong(1) man(3) shi(4) jiao(1)ao(4) zhi(1) se(4)

Eyes in full of is pride is color

“Her eyes are glittering with pride”.

### Mind

In English, a person overwhelmed by pride is usually described as silly or losing one’s mind. Such belief can get evidence from psychological understanding of pride in the section of “theoretical background”, which argues that a proud person can exaggerate his/her trivial accomplishments, while ignoring failures. When the proud person views himself/herself as superior to others, others might begin to consider him as having lost his/her mind because of pride (Arnold Isenberg, 1980:363).

(22) English

- a. He is dizzy with pride.
- b. childish pride / silly pride
- c. She concluded with naïve pride.
- d. Hanna is feeling ashamed of her foolish pride.
- e. she wouldn’t have let her stupid pride or injured dignity become a barrier between them.
- f. it was stubborn pride that was making her stay...

Only two similar such expressions have been found in the chosen corpora of Chinese:

(23) Chinese

- a. jiao(1) ao(4) shi(4) wu(2) zhi(1)  
Pride is lack knowledge  
“Pride is out of a lack of knowledge.”
- b. Mang(2) mu(4) de jiao(1)ao(4)  
blind eyes are pride  
“blindly pride”

Two possible reasons for the absence of “losing one’s mind” in Chinese pride metaphor are: Chinese do not “losing their mind” when they are proud; or the psychological analysis of pride is not widely accepted in China. I believe the latter is the answer. In China, where Buddhism is the dominant religion, a person without emotion is considered to be of ideal character. This can be proven from the fact that gods in Buddhism are nonchalant and free from any influence of the emotions; while in comparison, Gods or Goddesses in Greek Mythology are full of passions. Given such a belief, in facing negative



emotions, Chinese people tend to control or “get rid of” the emotion, instead of tracing its origin. This might also be one of the reasons why modern psychology has never been as popular here as in the West.

#### 4.2. Behavior & Body Languages of Pride

A large number of metonymies are used to describe pride in both languages. It is widely accepted that body languages are sometimes different in a cross-cultural context. In the case of pride, in English, the image of a proud person is one with head up, chest out or swelled, standing straightly, and sometimes smiling. While in Chinese, a proud person will raise his/her head; look up the sky or squint at people; lips curled, and chest out.

##### Head & Eyes

(24) English

- a. Pride raised her head and flashed in her eyes.
- b. the privet bird lifted its proud head.
- c. His eye had regained its clarity, and his head in its proud poise.
- d. His head jerked up with pride.
- e. His chin rose quickly in a proud gesture

A proud Chinese also raises his/her head and looks up to the sky. If one sees a Chinese squint, probably he/she is sending a message of pride.

(25) Chinese

- a. ta(1) jiao(1) ao(4) di huang(4) zhe tou(2)  
He pride shake head “he shaked head with pride.”
- b. Ta(1) jiao(1) ao(4) di ang(2) zhe tou(2)  
He pride lift up head  
“He raised his head with pride”.
- c. Ta(1) yan(3) jing(1) zhang(3) zai(4) tou(2)  
ding(3) shang(4)  
his eyes are on kalvaria (the top of head)  
“His eyes are looking up with pride”.
- d. shen(2) me (4) ren(2) ye(3) bu(2) fang(4)  
zai(4) ta(1) de yan(3) li(3)  
anybody neither not put her eyes in  
“She has no body in her eyes”, “She is so proud that she looks down upon everybody”.

##### Voice & Lips

In English, one can not only “see” pride from gestures and expressions, but can also “hear” pride from people’s voices. I think the “tone” of pride is closely connected with the “pleasure” nature of this emotion indicated by many philosophers.

(26) English

- a. The pride was evident in her voice.
- b. His voice tinged with quiet pride.
- c. There was pride in his voice.
- d. There was an unmistakable note of pride in the man’s voice.
- e. She sounded perversely proud of her increased value
- f. the smile of pride

Similar expressions also exist in Chinese.

(27) Chinese

- a. ta(1) sheng(1) yin(1) li(3) chong(1) man(3)  
jiao(1)ao(4)  
His voice in full of pride  
“proud voice”
- b. Yu(3) qi(4) zhong(1) han(2) zhe jiao(1)ao(4)  
tone in with pride  
“*Speak with pride*”
- c. jiao(1)ao(4) de kou(3) qi(4)  
proud manner of speaking  
“*Speak with pride*”
- d. Jiao(1)ao(4) di pie(3)le(4)pie(3) zui(3)  
proudly curl lips  
“he curls his lips with pride”.
- e. Jiao(1)ao(4) de wei(1) xiao(4)  
proud smile
- f. Jiao(1) ao(4) de yi(1) ju(4) hua(4) ye(3) bu(4)  
shuo(1)  
pride one sentence not say  
“he is proud and distained to speak.”

Examples 25-a, b, c are Chinese pride expressions related to voices, while 25-d,e,f are connected with lips. A Chinese proud person will slightly smile, be distained to talk, and sometimes curl his/her lips.

##### Chest & Gesture

English and Chinese share the same gesture of chest out when one is proud. A comparison is as follows

## (28) English

- a. She stood proud and upright
- b. proud as a peacock
- c. He swelled with pride.

## (29) Chinese

- a. ta(1) jiao(1) ao(4) di ting(3) zhe xiong(1) pu(2)  
He proudly out chest  
“My chest is out with pride”
- b. Ta(1) xiang(4) zhi(1) jiao(1) ao(4) de gong(1) ji(1)  
He is like a proud rooster  
“He is like a proud rooster.”

One single difference here is, English use peacock as a source domain for chest out with pride, while Chinese use rooster/cock *yto* express the same meaning. This variation belongs to the type of “congruent metaphor”. Both expressions have the same “major theme” of chest-out, but from different source domains

**4.3. Container Metaphor**

Pride as an emotion, also shares the conventional metaphor of “human body is a container for emotion”.

## (30) English

- a. Anna said loudly, full of pride and shame.
- b. Such love, such trust, such brimming pride...
- c. She’s bursting with pride!”
- d. The Lord of Naggaroth then unleashed his pride
- e. His breast is filled with pride.
- f. Mario almost burst with pride.
- g. She was swept by waves of pride at the gift that had been given and received
- h. I have an ounce of pride and sanity left.

In this kind of metaphor, human body is the “container”, while emotion is the “thing(s)” inside. But it does not specify what kind of “thing” is in the container. The English examples above suggest emotion is more like a kind of “liquid”. What then about Chinese?

## (31) Chinese

- a. xin(1) zhong(1) chong(1) man (3)le jiao(1)ao(4)

heart in filled pride

“His heart is filled with pride”

- b. Ta(1) you(3) yi(4) ke(1) jiao(1)ao(4) de xin(1)  
He has a proud heart
- c. Ta(1) xin(1) li(3) shuo(1) bu(4) chu(1) de jiao(1)ao(4)  
Her heart in unspoken proud  
“She is secretly proud.”
- d. Ta(1) jiao(1) ao(4) qing(2) xu(4) hen(3) nong(2) hou(4)  
She proud emotion very dense thick  
“She is very proud.”
- e. Yi(1) zhong(3) jiao(1)ao(4) de qi(4) fen(1) long(3) zhao(4) zhe ta(1)  
a kind of proud atmosphere bemist him  
“He has an air of pride.”

Although examples between English and Chinese share several similarities to some extent, it is still worth noticing that in English, the human body is the “container”, while in Chinese, the “heart” is the container. Because Chinese people believe the heart is the most important organ for emotions, while brain is only for thinking. In addition, examples in 28 *yshow* that English views the emotion of pride as a kind of fluid (brim, burst, waves, ounce, etc.), while Chinese sees pride as a kind of gas (example 29-d,e: dense, atmosphere). Finally, in English, the emotion is something inside the human body, while in Chinese, the human body can also bemist the “atmosphere” of emotion.

**4.4. Vulnerable Creature vs. Precious Possession**

In both English and Chinese, pride is something that needs to be protected. The difference is, In English, the source domain is something animate, which has a life, and is like a sort of vulnerable creature. It can be hurt, injured or wounded. In Chinese however, pride is non-animate, which has no life, and is more of a “thing”. In Chinese, people never say “pride is hurt” (shang hai le jiao’ao), but say “dignity is hurt” (shang hai le Zi’zun) instead. Thus we can say in Chinese, pride is more like some valuable belongings (worth, keep, lose, etc.).

(32) English

- a. He hurt my pride.
- b. She waited while injured pride battled with hope in Rose's surly face.
- c. You've wounded my pride.
- d. At least she could salvage her pride.
- e. Pride was a puny thing compared to the feelings rioting inside her.
- f. He added with a trace of pride.
- g. Perhaps it was her own pride reawakening after all these weeks.

## (33) Chinese

- a. zhe(4) shi(4) zhi(2)de(2) jiao(1)ao(4)de yi(2)jian(4) shi(4) (commonly used)  
This is worth pride one thing  
"it is worth of being proud".
- b. dai(4) zhe can(2) yu(2) de jiao(1)ao(4)  
take with remaining pride  
"...with her remained pride".
- c. ta(1) sang(4) shi(1) le jiao(1)ao(4)  
He lost pride  
"He lost his pride".
- d. ta(1) bao(3) cun(2) zhe zi(4) ji(3)de jiao(1)ao(4)  
She keep herself pride  
"She kept her pride".

**4.5. Pride is Up / Supreme or inflated**

The conventional metaphor can also come from the primary metaphor: *happy is up*, given the close relationship between pride and pleasure. In English, pride is supreme or inflated, while in Chinese, pride is light and flying.

## (34) English

- a. how could she lower her pride so far as to approach the girl she had been so scornful of.
- b. She is as proud as a queen.
- c. He was in fact increasingly proud of him.
- d. A swell of pride swept over George.

## (35) Chinese

- a. sheng(4) li (4)de jiao(1) ao(4) zhu(3) zai(3) zhe ta(1)  
victorious pride dominate him

"He is overwhelmed by the pride of victory".

- b. wo(3) de(4) xin(1) zai(4) jiao(1) ao(4) di(4) ao(2) xiang(2)  
my heart is proudly soaring  
"I am so proud that I feel like flying."

**4.6 Weed & Enemy: Pride as a Negative Emotion in Chinese**

Having been influenced by Confucius philosophy and Buddhism Religion for hundreds of years, humility is a virtue in China, while pride is criticized. Here, pride is compared with weed (same with jealousy as a negative emotion) and enemy.

## (36) Chinese

- a. Ta(1) lu(4) chu(1) jiao(1)ao(4) zi(4) man(3) de miao(2) tou(2)  
He show pride self-content seedling  
"He is a little proud".
- b. Zhe(4) hui(4) zi(1) zhang(3) jiao(1) ao(4) zhi(1) xin(1)  
this will grow proud 's heart  
"This will lead to pride".
- c. Zhe(4) hui(4) pei(2) yang(3) ta(1) de(4) jiao(1) ao(4) xin(1)  
this will cultivate his proud heart  
"This will make him more proud".
- d. Wo(3) men(2) ying(1) jie (4)chu(2) jiao(1)ao(4) zhi(1) xin(1)  
We should get rid of proud heart  
"We should not be proud."
- e. Ta(1) zhong(1)jiu(1) mei(2)you(3) zhan(4) sheng(4) zi(4)ji(3)de jiao(1)ao(4) xin(1)  
he at last did not conquer himself proud heart  
"He could not conquer his pride at last."
- f. Qing(3) ke(4) zhi(4) ni(3) de(4) jiao(1) ao(4)  
please restrict your pride  
"Please control your proud emotion."

Both jealousy and pride as negative emotions can be compared with weed. Probably because China is historically an agricultural nation, and the majority of the population are peasants. To farmers, weeds are very common in their daily life, and are annoying plants that need to be got rid of. This metaphor does not appear in English, thus it can be categorized as an "alternative/preferential metaphor"—resulting

from differential experiences between China and most of the western world.

## CONCLUSION

In this article, I have made a comparative study of metaphorical expressions of pride in English and Chinese. In conceptualizing pride, English and Chinese share the same “*pride is up*” metaphor. In addition, they differ slightly in the “*physiological effects stand for pride*”, “*body languages stand for the mood*”, and “*container*” metaphors. Furthermore, they use different source domains (though with the same “central theme”) to describe one of the most important features of pride: something needs to be protected. In English it is a vulnerable creature, while in Chinese it is a precious possession. Finally, there are a lot of metaphors in Chinese expressing pride as a negative emotion. Basic source domains include weed and enemy.

My research shows that English and Chinese share a majority of conceptual metaphors for the emotion pride. By analyzing orientations of various metaphorical expressions, my results support Lakoff’s hypothesis that “metaphorical mapping is not arbitrary”. Furthermore, taking reference of Kövecses’ “physical experiences and cultural influences as two causes of metaphorical mappings”, I suggest three major types of metaphors: “physical experience” metaphor, “character of emotion” metaphor, and “cultural related” metaphor. In a cross-cultural context, metaphorical variations appear in all three types.

The “physical experience” metaphors coincident with Mark Johnson’s findings in 1987, i.e. concrete bodily experience not only constrains the “input” to the metaphorical projections, but also the nature of the projections themselves. Although my results are largely in agreement with this account of universality, the data I’ve found lead me to suggest some modifications to this general mode of explanation. For instance, the English unique metonymy “stomach pain stands for jealousy” shows that bodily experience or behavior is only **selectively** adopted in the creation of metaphors. Furthermore, physiological effects across cultures are not always the same. One reason is that body language varies, metonymy of the same emotion also varies; and

another is that the “same” bodily phenomenon may be interpreted differently in terms of various local body knowledge.

Furthermore, the “character of emotion” metaphor refers to those which concentrate on the nature or features of the target emotion. For instance, “pride is up” can support the philosophical and psychological analysis that “pride is pleasure”.

Finally, there is a close relationship between culture and metaphor, i.e. cultural differences can be reflected in our languages. At least three aspects of cultural influences can be drawn from the results. First is “physical environment” suggested by Kövecses, which refers to the living environment, geography, landscape, etc. In this essay, the “weed” metaphor for pride in Chinese reflects the culture of farming in this country. Second is cultural history, esp. literary. As mentioned in the theoretical background, the influence of cultures on metaphor is always lagging behind, i.e. metaphors reflect “past cultures” instead of the current culture. The last basis for the relationship between culture and metaphor is local philosophy or world understandings. Examples include “emotion is fluid” (the four humor) in English and “emotion is gas” (theory of yin and yang) in Chinese. Also, the more negative metaphors of pride in Chinese can be connected with the doctrine of Taoism and Buddhism.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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