

***Ways of Meaning, Ways of Life:
A Semantic Approach to Chinese
Ethnopsychology***

Zhengdao YE

(November, 2006)

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
(Linguistics)**

The Australian National University

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was supported by the
Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

through the Australian Research Council
and the Australian Government

I declare that this thesis is my own work, and that all the references
to the relevant sources have been acknowledged
(November 3, 2006).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was undertaken with an Australian Postgraduate Award from the Australian Government Department of Education, Science, and Training (DEST).

I owe to my mentor, Professor Anna Wierzbicka, also the chair of my Supervisory Committee, a profound intellectual debt. Her influence is visible in each page of this thesis, and extends beyond the approach and methodology that she originated and inspired. Her persistent belief and commitment toward scholarship and new ideas, and her unassuming and caring manner towards her students made my doctorate journey an intellectually satisfying and life-enriching experience. I benefited greatly from numerous discussions with her throughout the course of my PhD candidature. She read and provided detailed comments on earlier versions of each chapter. Her emotional support throughout my time in Australia has been invaluable to me.

I wish to thank Professor Cliff Goddard for his encouragement, care and generous support. He invited me to the University of New England in the middle of my PhD candidature to discuss the progress of my work, at a time when most PhD candidates would feel overwhelmed.

My thanks also go to the staff in the Linguistics Program, Drs. Cindy Allen, Avery Andrews, Harold Koch, and Phil Rose. In particular I wish to thank Dr. Phil Rose for many congenial discussions on the Chinese language. I also wish to thank Professor Andy Pawley for his encouragement.

Bevan Barrett read and commented on several chapters. Discussion with him has been useful, and has improved my thesis. My heartfelt thanks go to him.

I have also benefited immensely from my teaching experiences at the Linguistics Program at ANU over the last few years. I wish to thank Professor Anna Wierzbicka and the staff for giving me these valuable teaching opportunities, and for supporting me in teaching.

Friends and colleagues from Australia and overseas also provided much support to me in my endeavours. In particular, I wish to thank Dr. Monica Aznarez, Marcus Brauchli, Anna Brotherson, Annabelle Cassells, Cong Changxin, Yi and Jonathon Evans, Fu Yuan, He Jing, Dr. Alanna Hurne, Ann Johnston, Dr. Ian Langford, Ian and Courtney Macintosh, G elle Patin-Laloy, Hedda Ransan-Elliott, Dr. Kyung-joo Yoon, for their friendship, support and help in various ways.

Finally, I wish to thank my mother for her understanding of what I am doing, and my husband, Tim, for his unfailing support and for a life outside academia.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, Ye Dongquan, who passed away during my PhD candidature, and to my daughter, Audrey Mei, born in August 2005.

Earlier versions of some of the chapters in this thesis were presented at workshops and conferences in Australia and overseas over the last few years, and subsequently appeared in journals or as book chapters. I wish to thank many colleagues for their helpful, insightful comments at the workshops and conferences.

Chapter 2 was first presented at the *Second Symposium on Intercultural, Cognitive and Social Pragmatics (EPICS) II*, held at the University of Sevilla, Spain, May 26-28, 2004. I wish to thank Professors Mark Elvin, Cliff Goddard, and Istvan Kecskes for their valuable comments. A shorter version of the paper also appeared in *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 1(2), pp. 111-130, special issue on Cultural Scripts.

An earlier version of Chapter 3 was first presented at the *Workshop of Ethnopragmatics* at the Australian Linguistics Institute 2000, held at the University of Melbourne, Australia. A subsequent, expanded version is included in the volume *Ethnopragmatics: Understanding Discourse in Cultural Context*, edited by Cliff Goddard (2006, Mouton de Gruyter). I wish to thank Dr. Felix Ameka for his helpful comments. Material from this chapter has also been adapted on a number of occasions for teaching subjects relating to both emotion and cross-cultural communication. These pedagogical presentations have proved to be useful in real-life. I wish to thank all the participants at these occasions, and for their warm and encouraging responses.

An earlier version of Chapter 5 was presented at the *International Language and Cognition Conference (ILCC)* held by the University of New England at Coffs Harbour, Australia, September 9-12, 2004.

An earlier version of Chapter 6 was delivered at the *Workshop on the Semantics of Memory in a Crosslinguistic Perspective* held at the University of New South Wales, Sydney, November 22-23, 2003. I wish to thank Dr. Mengistu Amberber for inviting me to the workshop. My heartfelt thanks also go to the participants, and to Professor Hilary Chappell and Dr. Andrea Schalley for their helpful comments.

Several other papers were published in refereed journals and edited book volumes during the course of my PhD candidature. They can be found in the references section of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to identify some key aspects of Chinese indigenous psychologies as reflected in the Chinese language and to investigate and reveal their meanings from a culture-internal perspective. An in-depth examination and analysis of key Chinese words and expressions reveal the conceptual basis of Chinese social organisation and social interaction, distinctive ways of emotion expression (both verbal and non-verbal) in relation to underlying cultural values and attitudes towards emotion, the relationship between sensory experience and the conceptual structure (especially with regard to the role of 'taste' in Chinese conceptual formation), as well as the folk model of learning in relation to 'memorisation' and knowledge formation. The theory of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) is employed as a culture-independent conceptual tool for meaning analysis so that the ways of thinking, knowing, feeling and behaving that are fundamental to the Chinese way of life can be made easily accessible and intelligible to cultural outsiders. The 'Cultural Scripts' theory, a branch of the NSM theory, is also employed as a conceptual framework for cultural notations, aiming at a closer integration between language, culture and psychology. This study will make an empirical and conceptual contribution not only to the growing field of the study of Chinese indigenous psychologies, but also to the study of the commonality and diversity of human experience and cognition in general. It will have practical implications and applications for intercultural communication and will be of interest to cognitive linguists, anthropologists, psychologists, and anyone who is interested in Chinese language, culture and cognition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration *i*

Acknowledgements *ii*

Abstract *iv*

Typographical Conventions *ix*

Abbreviations *x*

List of Tables *xi*

List of Figures *xi*

1. Introduction: Ethnopsychologies and the Linguistic Approach	1
1. The need for an indigenous Chinese perspective	2
2. Indigenous psychologies, ethnopsychologies, and problems concerning meaning description	7
3. A linguistic methodology for a culture-internal perspective	18
4. Cultural scripts and Chinese cultural models	28
5. Scope, data and readership	33
6. Caveats	37
2. The Conceptual Basis of Chinese Social Organisation and its Implications for Chinese Social Interaction	40
1. Some fundamental categories in the Chinese conceptualisation of interpersonal relationships	41
1.1 <i>Shēngrén</i> ('stranger') vs. <i>shúrén</i> ('acquaintance')	42
1.2 <i>Zìjǐrén</i> ('insider/one of us') vs. <i>wàirén</i> ('outsider')	45
1.3 Why are 'insider', 'outsider', 'in-group', and 'out-group' not good descriptions?	49
2. Two 'master scripts' of Chinese social interaction	49
2.1 <i>Nèiwàiyǒubié</i> ('insider and outsider have difference')	49
2.2 <i>Yóushūzhìqīn</i> ('from far to close')	51
3. How does Chinese cocneptualisation of interpersonal relationships affect Chinese social interaction?	52
3.1 <i>Dǎ zhāohu</i> ('greeting')	52
3.2 <i>Tóng X</i> ('fellow X')	58
3.3 <i>Lǎo X</i> ('old X')	60
3.4 To be or not to be 'polite'?	62
4. Theoretical and practical implications	64
3. Why the 'inscrutable' Chinese face? Facial Expressions, Cultural Values, and Emotion Scripts in Chinese	67
1. What makes the Chinese face 'inscrutable'?	68
2. Methodological issues	69
3. Data	73

4. Reading the messages conveyed by the face on a semiotic basis	77
4.1 Characteristic Chinese facial expressions and their meanings	78
4.1.1 <i>Tǔ/shēn shétou</i> ('put out/stretch one's tongue')	78
4.1.2 <i>Piězuǐ</i> ('corner of the mouth falls to one side')	80
4.1.3 <i>Sǐméidèngyǎn</i> ('dead eyebrows and staring eyes')	81
4.2 Facial expressions with culture (Chinese)-specific interpretations	83
4.2.1 <i>Mùdèngkǒudāi</i> ('eyes wide open with strength, mouth dumbstruck')	83
4.2.2 <i>Yǎoyáqièchǐ</i> ('bite the molars, gnash the teeth')	85
4.2.3 <i>Dèngyǎn</i> ('open eyes wide, stare, glare')	86
4.2.4 <i>Chóuméikǔliǎn</i> ('sad/worried eyebrows, a bitter face')	87
4.2.5 <i>Yángméi</i> ('raising eyebrows')	89
4.2.6 <i>Méifēisèwǔ</i> ('eyebrows fly, facial expression dances')	90
5. Understanding cultural rules for Chinese facial expressions.....	93
5.1 Showing good feelings in Chinese – <i>xiào</i> ('smile/laugh')	95
5.1.1 <i>Duīxiào</i> ('piling up smiles') as a greeting to people one knows	96
5.1.2 <i>Péixiào</i> ('to accompany with a smile/laughter') as 'respect' and 'compliance'	98
5.1.3 <i>Péixiào</i> ('to compensate by a smile') as an 'apology' to one's superior	99
5.2 Facial expressions and cultural values	102
5.2.1 <i>Rěn</i> ('tolerance/endurance') as a key Chinese emotional attitude and its related cultural scripts	102
5.3 Showing bad feelings – <i>kū</i> ('cry')	108
6. Looking beyond the 'inscrutable' Chinese face.....	114

4. Describing Emotions via Tastes 117

1. Describing emotions via taste: illustrative examples.....	118
2. Data	122
3. The meanings of different tastes in the Chinese emotional world.....	123
3.1 <i>Kǔ</i> ('bitter')	123
3.1.1 <i>Xīnlǐ hén kǔ</i> [feel bitter in one's heart] ('feel anguish') and Chinese attitudes toward emotion	124
3.1.2 <i>Kǔ₂</i> ('suffering from physical hardship') and the important cultural value of <i>chīkǔ</i> [eat-bitter] ('to endure hardship')	135
3.1.3 <i>Kǔsè</i> [bitter-puckery] ('feel regret')	140
3.2 <i>Suān</i> ('sour')	142
3.2.1 <i>Suānchǔ</i> ('feel sad')	143
3.2.2 <i>Xīnsuān</i> [hot/spicy-sour] ('feel grieved')	146
3.2.3 <i>Xīnsuān</i> [heart-sour] ('feel pity/compassion')	149
3.2.4 <i>Suān₂</i> ('feel envious/jealous')	156
3.2.5 Tears and <i>suān</i> -related emotion concepts	157
3.3 <i>Là</i> and <i>xīn</i> ('hot/spicy')	159
3.4 <i>Gān</i> and <i>tiān</i> ('sweet')	160
4. A comparative perspective.....	162
4.1 <i>Feel bitter</i>	162
4.2 <i>Feel sour</i>	164

4.3 Sweet	165
4.4 General discussion	166
5. 'Taste' as a Gateway to Chinese Cognition	172
1. Background and objective.....	173
2. Examples of Chinese 'taste'-related words.....	174
3. Methodological issues: problems of Conceptual Metaphor Theory in the Chinese cultural tradition	178
4. Semantic analysis of Chinese 'taste' terms.....	181
4.1 <i>Zīwèi</i> ('taste/feeling')	181
4.2 <i>Huíwèi</i> [return to-taste] ('to enjoy in retrospect')	184
4.3 <i>Rùwèi</i> [enter-flavour] ('full of flavour'; 'be absorbed in doing something')	189
4.4 <i>Tīwèi</i> [body-taste] ('to understand through thinking about experience') vs. <i>tīyàn</i> ('to experience firsthand') and <i>tīhuì</i> ('to understand intuitively')	192
4.5 <i>Pǐnwèi</i> (v. 'to taste in order to appreciate'; n. 'taste')	199
5. A Chinese model of cognitive states in relation to <i>wèi</i> and its theoretical implications for the study of conceptual systems.....	202
6. The Notions of <i>bèi</i> ('auditory memorisation') in the Written Chinese Tradition and the Chinese Cultural Model of Learning	207
1. The paradox of the Chinese learner and the need for a culture-internal perspective	208
2. The importance of 'memorisation' in Chinese learning: illustrations	211
3. Focusing on <i>bèi</i> –what is it?.....	218
3.1 Dictionary translations	218
3.2 Semantic analysis	219
3.2.1 <i>Bèi</i> ₁ ('auditory memorisation')	220
3.2.2 <i>Bèi</i> ₂ ('reproduce by reciting')	231
3.2.3 Words on <i>zì</i>	235
3.2.4 <i>Jì</i> ('try to remember/write down')	241
3.3 Words of memorisation in English	248
4. Why is <i>bèi</i> an emphasised learning practice?.....	251
4.1 The Chinese context	253
4.1.1 'Sound' and Chinese language learning	253
4.1.2 Hearing and the reception and internationalisation of knowledge	259
4.1.3 Memorisation and understanding	260
4.1.4 'Familiarity' and repetition	261
4.1.5 'Modelling', memorisation, and creativity	263
4.1.6 Memorisation and the literary tradition	264
4.2 Amidst the modern Anglo context	265
5. Theoretical and methodological implications	268

7. Conclusion: Semantics, Linguistic Evidence and Empirical Universals of Language – Key to the Study of Cultural Psychology	274
1. Linguistic evidence as an entry point into a culture’s psychology	274
2. The value of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage for linguistic and cultural notation	278
3. A comparative perspective: directions for future research	279
Appendix 1: Explications and Scripts in Chinese	283
References	298
Chinese References	330

TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

Romanisation

The *pīnyīn* romanisation system is used in this thesis for Modern Standard Chinese (Mandarin) (generally referred to in the thesis as Chinese). It is the official phonetic annotation, adopted by the Chinese state in 1958 (see Norman, 1988; Chen, 1999). Other romanisation styles appearing in various publications have been altered to *pīnyīn*. In quotes, I have kept the original romanisation style, but have also included the corresponding *pīnyīn*, which appears in square brackets (i.e. []). Well-established names of Chinese scholars if known in another transcription system have not been changed to *pīnyīn*.

Following Chinese custom, the surname is always given first, followed by the given name.

Format of Examples

All original Chinese data is quoted and represented in simplified characters, *jiǎntǐzì* 简体字. Considering that Chinese characters are written without spaces in between, I have chosen to represent the original data without any segmentation. With fixed expressions and textual examples that are relatively short, a tripartite glossing convention follows: (a) *pīnyīn* (which does not reflect tone sandhi), (b) morpheme-by-morpheme glossing (presented in square brackets if the example is incorporated in the body text); (c) free English translations. With relatively long textual examples or where examples are used mainly to provide context, only idiomatic English translations will be given. Otherwise indicated, all English translations are mine.

Other notations

- * unacceptable or ungrammatical utterances
- ? questionable utterances

ABBREVIATIONS

BA	<i>bã</i> construction
EXT	marker of a post-verbal extent complement
EXP	experiential
CL	classifier
COMP	comparative marker
DUR	durative aspect marker
INC	inceptive or change of state marker
INCL	inclusive form of 1 st person plural
INTJ	interjection
LIG	marker of ligature in dependency relations – <i>de</i>
LOC	locative
NEG	negative marker
NOM	nominalising use of the particle <i>de</i>
PART	particle (including adverbial words)
PFV	perfective aspect marker
PL	plural
RDP	reduplication
SG	singular

List of Tables

Table 1	Semantic Primes – English and Mandarin Chinese Exponents	20
Table 2	Frequencies of Taste Words in Chinese and English	167

List of Figures

Figure 1	Chinese Social Organisation	48
Figure 2	Illustration of character stroke order (Source: DeFrancis, 1964, p.393)	272
Figure 3	Illustration of <i>yuèpǔ</i> ('musical score') (Source: Jin, ed., 2000, p.4)	273
Figure 4	Illustration of <i>qípǔ</i> ('diagram for recording the sequences of moves in chess') (Source: QY, 2005, p.39)	273

***Ways of Meaning, Ways of Life:
A Semantic Approach to Chinese Ethnopsychology***

Zhengdao YE

[L]ike the spider's web, a people's behavior, infinitely complex though it may appear from a distance, has a common thread and a clear design. When that design and its ramifications are understood we shall find that its disparate elements may be interconnected by unsuspected links and its seemingly contradictory activities to be manifestations of the same substructure. (Hsu, 1972, p.9)

The knowable world is incomplete if seen from any one point of view, incoherent if seen from all points of view at once, and empty if seen from nowhere in particular. Per this maxim, one should stay on the move, seeking out and engaging alternative points of view. (Shweder, 2003)

Given that psychology is so immersed in culture, it must be organized around those meaning-making and meaning-using processes that connect man to culture. ...By virtue of participation in culture, meaning is rendered *public* and *shared*. Our culturally adapted way of life depends upon shared meanings and shared concepts and depends as well upon shared modes of discourse for negotiating differences in meaning and interpretation. (Bruner, 1990, p.13; original emphasis)

Semantic representation worthy of the name—that is meaningful representation of human thought—must be self-explanatory to a human being. If our descriptions of meaning are not anchored in something which is *per se* comprehensible—they would always be futile. (Wierzbicka, 1980, p.13)

Chapter 1

Introduction: Ethnopsychologies and the Linguistic Approach

Harry Triandis opens his *Foreword to The Handbook of Chinese Psychology* (Bond, 1996) with the following words:

Almost all contemporary psychology is based on data obtained from the swiftly decreasing 6 per cent of humanity that lives in North America, north of the Rio Grande. Yet more than 20 per cent of all humans are Chinese. (Triandis, 1996, p.v)

The glaring gap between the two figures mentioned in the above quote points to the reality that, given the size of the population, the psychology of the Chinese people is under-researched. The significance of the handbook, as pointed out by Triandis (*ibid.*), was that it could help correct the situation with Chinese data.

This thesis seeks to rectify this imbalance, too. But it will do so with a new approach – a linguistic, in particular a semantic, approach. It hopes to add new empirical and conceptual knowledge to the study of Chinese psychology, and to illustrate, on the basis of the experience of this language- and culture-specific case study, that a linguistic perspective and approach can give us an important new insight into the psychology of people in a given society.

This introductory chapter sets the scene for the remaining thesis. It will explain the rationale and methodology of the thesis, as well as define its scope and intended readership, along with some caveats.

1. The need for an indigenous Chinese perspective

The starting point of this thesis is that the quest for understanding the universals of human psychology and experience requires an in-depth examination of what is culturally specific and salient in a wide range of cultures. That is to say, for cross-cultural studies of human experience to be truly meaningful, researchers have to pay attention to those ways of experiencing that are meaningful and important to the members of a given cultural group.

This basic premise of the thesis aligns it very closely with the method that adopts an indigenous perspective to the study of human psychology, often referred to as the 'emic' (as opposed to 'etic') approach. It "utilizes a culture-specific orientation" (Sue, 1983, p.584; see also Pike, 1967; Berry, 1969), with the aim of revealing the psychological constructs and, in general, ways of knowing, thinking, feeling and behaving that are characteristic of, and salient and important to, a given cultural group.

This 'emic' approach, which emphasises an indigenous or 'ethno' perspective, is seen as becoming all the more important and pressing in current psychological research programs, which tend to be dominated by the 'etic' approach. The 'etic' approach itself, with its goal of emphasising "universals" or "core similarities" (Sue, 1983, p.584), is a necessary step in scientific inquiry. But when most of the data and tested universal models of human experience available to the international

intellectual community are derived from the English language and the cultural experience associated with that language (recall the staggering figures pointed out by Triandis above), it becomes so problematic that it significantly limits, and even gravely distorts, researchers' understanding of the similarities and differences that lie in human experience. To quote Kim:

Although existing psychological theories and concepts are assumed to be objective, value free, and universal, in reality they are deeply enmeshed with Euro-American values that champion rational, liberal, individualistic ideals...As such, they can be characterized as *imposed* or *pseudoethics* and not as true universals. (Kim, 2001, p.52; original emphasis)

If the *raison d'être* of cross-cultural psychology is, as Adamopoulos and Lonner (2001) describe, to "extend the range of variations of psychological functioning" (p.15), each cultural perspective, and not exclusively the 'Anglo-American psychological functioning', ought to be a legitimate source of knowledge and be worthy of a place in the search for the commonality of human psychology.

Over the last two decades, many American-trained Chinese psychologists, speaking from their personal experience, have voiced their concerns with respect to the practice of uncritically applying American psychology to the Chinese social context.

For example, Yang Kuo-shu, one of the most ardent advocates of adopting an indigenous perspective in the study of Chinese psychology, and the initiator of the 'Sinicisation' movement of psychological research in Taiwan, describes in the

following paragraph what made him turn to an indigenous Chinese psychology. He says:

After all those considerations and reflections, I finally found the reason why doing Westernised psychological research with Chinese subjects was no longer satisfying or rewarding to me. When an American psychologist, for example, was engaged in research, he or she could spontaneously let his or her American cultural and philosophical orientations and ways of thinking be freely and effectively reflected in choosing a research question, defining a concept, constructing a theory, and designing a method. On the other hand, when a Chinese psychologist in Taiwan was conducting research, his or her strong training by overlearning the knowledge and methodology of American psychology tended to prevent his or her Chinese values, ideas, concepts, and ways of thinking from being adequately reflected in the successive stages of the research process. *Research of this kind resulted in an Americanised Chinese psychology without a Chinese 'soul'*. Research findings in such an imposed, 'soulless psychology' would not do much good in explaining, predicting, and understanding Chinese behaviour, simply because the imported, Westernised concepts, theories, methods, and tools habitually adopted by Chinese psychologists could not do justice to the complicated, unique aspects and patterns of Chinese people's psychological and behavioural characteristics. (Yang, 1997, p.65; emphasis mine)

Based on his research experience of the Chinese personality, and with the aim of constructing a 'Chinese psychology with a Chinese "soul"', Yang made the following unequivocal call for an 'emic' approach:

An 'etic' approach using universal categories or constructs, no matter how carefully executed, will be unable to unravel those psychological characteristics that are unique to, and most representative of, Chinese people as a cultural group. In order to understand Chinese personality better, *an 'emic' approach using specific Chinese categories or constructs should be given more weight in future research.* (Yang, 1986, p.166; emphasis mine)

David Ho, another prominent figure in the 'indigenous psychology' movement, voices a similar concern in his review of the available literature on Chinese socialisation. He writes:

[W]hen cross-cultural comparisons are made, the group with which Chinese are compared is, more often than not, American. Not surprisingly, some dramatic differences have been found between the two groups in the ways in which children are socialized. It happens that Americans have been the most intensively studied national group – to the point where they have almost come to be taken as a standard reference group against which other national groups are compared. The point should be made, however, that the American pattern may be more atypical than typical in a world-wide perspective. This is yet another reason why

other cultural or national groups should be included in cross-cultural studies. (Ho, 1986, p.34)

Over the last two decades, the 'Sinicisation' movement has become an important force in studying Chinese psychology (e.g., Centre for Chinese studies, ed., 1992; Gao and Yang, eds., 1991a, b, c; Hwang, 1987, 1999; Ho, 1988, 1998; Li and Yang, eds., 1988; Qiao and Pan, eds., 1998; Yang and Wen, eds., 1982; Yang, 1988a; Yang and Ho, 1988).

Seen in a broader context, this movement forms part of the increasing 'indigenisation' of psychological research in Asia, and, in general, around the globe, owing to similar dissatisfaction (such as that voiced by Yang and Ho, see above) in applying pseudo universal models of personality studies – derived mostly from individualistic societies, such as that of America – to those where human relations take on a radically different form (e.g. Paranjpe, Ho, and Rieber, eds., 1988; Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Enriquez, 1993; Kim and Berry, eds., 1993; Sinha 1997; Triandis, 2001).

This thesis represents an effort towards 'indigenous psychology'. By bringing in a linguistic perspective, it hopes to make a strong case for an integrated approach to the study of Chinese indigenous psychologies, and the study of human psychology in general. Furthermore, it will illustrate how this can be done.

But exactly how is this linguistic perspective of relevance to the goal of researching indigenous psychologies? What does this perspective entail? How does it work? In order to answer these questions, we must first have a clearer idea of what

indigenous psychologies refer to and in what way language and meaning come into play.

2. Indigenous psychologies, ethnopsychologies, and problems concerning meaning description

There seems to be general agreement among researchers of indigenous psychologies that their central task is to uncover and analyse the psychologies of a group of people as they are understood by these local people. Ho's definition of 'indigenous psychology' represents such a view – "indigenous psychologies aim to study behavioural patterns and mental processes from the natives' own standpoint" (Ho, 1998, p.94). Kim and Berry (1993), in their introduction to the volume *Indigenous Psychologies*, expressed a similar view with regard to the objective of studying indigenous psychologies: "to document, organize, and interpret the understanding people have about themselves and their world" (p.3).

In this regard, the objective of studying indigenous psychologies, as espoused by psychologists, converges with that of ethnographic studies in anthropology in that both give primary concern to what Geertz (1984[1974]) calls "the native's point of view", that is, to how people within a culture interpret and make sense of their own behaviour, feelings and emotions, and mental processes. Speaking from an anthropological point of view, Heelas (1981), for example, defines 'indigenous psychologies' as "the cultural views, theories, conjectures, classifications, assumptions and metaphors – together with notions embedded in social institutions – which bear on psychological topics" (p.3). "These psychologies", as Heelas further

explains, “are statements about the nature of the person and his relations with the world” (ibid.).

‘The native’s point of view’ reflects first-person knowledge of the actor rather than the third-person knowledge of the observer. Therefore, to pursue such a viewpoint is to pay close attention to the folk (i.e. non-expert) theories and beliefs of life. To quote Lutz (1985), “ethnopsychology is concerned with the way in which people conceptualise, monitor, and discuss their own and others’ mental process, behaviour, and relationships” (p.36). And the task of ethnopsychological study is, as Lutz (ibid.) further explains, “to examine both what people say and do in everyday life which indicates that a cultural knowledge system for interpreting self and other is at work” (p.39).

Given that researchers from different disciplines share a similar view of what is involved in researching indigenous psychology, terms that are often used by them, such as indigenous psychology (indigenous psychologies), folk psychology (folk psychologies) and ethnopsychology (ethnopsychologies), are treated as synonymous in this thesis, and they are therefore used interchangeably.

It is one thing to recognise and appreciate the need for paying attention to indigenous psychologies and to understand them from an insider’s perspective, but quite another to achieve such a goal. Two issues stand out. First, how can those modes of psychological functioning indigenous to a given people be identified in the first place? And second, how can this culture-internal understanding be explained in terms that will be clear and intelligible to outsiders from other language and cultural backgrounds? It is the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate that the use of linguistic

evidence and a well-developed semantic theory can provide solid answers to these questions.

Linguistic evidence, which refers to language usage, includes cultural key words, conventional expressions and sayings, commonly used words and expressions, phraseological patterns, and speech routines.¹ The practice of relying on linguistic evidence to study the psychology of a people recognises the close link between the mental life of a people and the language spoken by it. The ways of thinking and feeling, and the ways of doing things of a people (their 'practices') are reflected in, and to some degree shaped by, language. This classic view of language as an expression of ways of life (i.e. culture) has been articulated time and again by some of the best-known students of language (see e.g. Humboldt, 1971; Sapir, 1949; Whorf, 1956; Wierzbicka 1992a). The following quote from Franz Boas in his famous introduction to the *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Boas, 1911) provides an example:²

¹ Wierzbicka (1997) defines 'key words' as "words which are particularly important and revealing in a given culture" (pp.15-16; see also Williams, 1976). She further gives several criteria for establishing key word status. They include a word being a common word, very frequently used in a particular semantic domain, central to a whole phraseological cluster, frequently occurring in proverbs, in sayings, in popular songs and in book titles (ibid.). Forms of linguistic evidence characteristics of the Chinese language, which this thesis uses extensively, will be discussed in Section 5 of this chapter.

Phraseological patterns refer to distinctive lexical and grammatical collocations. Collocations constitute a powerful source of linguistic evidence, because, as aptly explained by Stubbs (2001), "our knowledge of a language is not only a knowledge of individual words, but of their predictable combinations, and of the cultural knowledge which these combinations often encapsulate" (p.3).

² We will leave to one side Boas' views regarding language evolution and mental development.

[L]anguage seems to be one of the most instructive fields of inquiry in an investigation of the formation of the fundamental ethnic ideas. ... Judging the importance of linguistic studies from this point of view, it seems well worthwhile to subject the whole range of linguistic concepts to searching analysis, and to seek in the peculiarities of the grouping of ideas in different languages an important characteristic in the history of the mental development of the various branches of mankind. (Boas, 1911, pp.70-71)

There is no doubt that members of a society may not always think in the same way. However, despite variation across genders, education, class and so on, there are nonetheless certain fundamental ideas that members of a society are intimately familiar with. In other words, there are certain 'thought patterns' that are readily recognisable to the people of a given group, a point that will be further elaborated in sections 5 and 6.

By studying the language that a people use to talk about their experiences, in particular by studying those concepts that are frequently used, researchers can have direct access to, and gain valuable information concerning their thoughts, emotions, values, attitudes, as well as their ways of thinking about the world and about other people. This is especially so with regard to the lexicon of a particular domain, which reveals "the grouping of ideas" (ibid.). As succinctly put by Wierzbicka (1997), "some words can be studied as focal points around which entire cultural domains are organized" (p.16).

In his explanation of the methodology of ethnopragnmatics, an emergent and vibrant field of linguistic research, Goddard (2006a, pp.14-16) lists three important

reasons for basing ethnopragmatic study on linguistic evidence such as cultural key words, common words and expressions, phraseological patterns, and speech routines. Firstly, it is a plain fact that they form an important part of everyday life. Secondly, they are often used unconsciously. As Goddard writes, with references to Boas (1911), Whorf (1956) and Slobin (1996, 2000), “in a very real sense, linguistic usage functions as an ‘index’ of routine ways of thinking” (Goddard, 2006a, p.15). Thirdly, linguistic evidence, if analysed with appropriate tools, allows researchers to stay close to an insider perspective. Commenting on the differences between kinds of linguistic and nonlinguistic evidence such as those produced in ethnographic and sociological studies, Goddard further remarks that the latter “often ‘re-code’ indigenous terms and viewpoints into those of the external observer, thereby losing touch with the indigenous viewpoint” (ibid., p.15).

The above three reasons for attaching importance to linguistic evidence in ethnopragmatic studies apply equally to the present study – the study of Chinese indigenous psychologies.

As a matter of fact, relying on the lexicon (especially descriptors such as the emotion-describing adjectives like the English *happy*, *sad*, and *angry*) of a particular domain for developing research tools (for example, questionnaires and research questions) has its tradition in psychology. A primary example can be drawn from personality studies. As Yang and Bond (1990) note, psychologists often rely on the lexicon describing personality traits in a language for developing research questions in order to find out the fundamental dimensions underlying the ways in which its speakers perceive persons (p.1087).

Indeed, researchers interested in indigenous psychologies, in particular, recognise the guiding role of language, which leads them to concepts that are important to the people under investigation. They often base their studies and analysis around culturally important concepts and ideas. For example, many scholars have approached the Chinese personality by focusing on such ‘famed’ concepts as *xiào* 孝, which Yang Ku-Shu (1988b) describes as “中国文化最突出的特色 the most prominent characteristic of the Chinese culture” (p. 31) (see e.g. *ibid.*; Yang and Ye, 1991; Ho, 1994; Hwang, 1999), and which is often known as ‘filial piety’ in English (see also Ho, 1996 for a synthesis on the literature of the psychological study of *xiào*).³ They have also studied the psychological functioning of *yuán* 缘 (‘predestined relationship’), another important cultural concept, as evidence pointing to a relation-oriented, rather than individual-oriented, Chinese social psychology (e.g. Yang, 1988c; Yang and Ho, 1988).

Whilst researchers of Chinese indigenous psychology recognise the important role that key cultural concepts play in accessing and revealing the psychological functioning characteristic of the Chinese people, it also appears that the concepts that have been included in research programs so far are largely confined to personality studies (cf. Li and Yang, eds., 1988; Yang, Cheung and Leung, 1998; Zhang and Bond, 1998; Cheung et al., 2001). Many more culturally significant concepts from

³ From a linguistic point of view, *xiào* forms the focal point of a wealth of commonly used words, phrases, and sayings such as *xiàodào* [xiào-principle] 孝道 (‘The Filial Way’), *xiàojìng* 孝敬 (‘to show filial respect and action/to give presents to the elders’), *jìngxiàoxīn* 尽孝心 [exhaust-xiao-heart] (‘to fulfil one’s filial duties’), *xiàoshùn* 孝顺 [xiào-follow/not against] (‘be filial/to show filial obedience’), *bùxiàoshùn* 不孝顺 (‘unfilial/not show filial obedience’), *diàoxiào* 带孝 (‘be dressed in mourning when one’s elders die/in mourning’), *xiàozi* 孝子 (‘a filial or dutiful son’), *bùxiàozi* 不孝子 (‘an unfilial son’), and 百善孝为先 *bǎishānxiàowéixiān* (‘of the hundred good deeds, *xiào* comes first’).

other domains, such as 'emotions', 'memory', and cognitive style, remain to be uncovered and explored. A major goal of this thesis is to venture into the much less studied domains of Chinese psychology by undertaking a systematic investigation and analysis of the language that Chinese people use to talk about their and others' experiences.

Despite the fact that many scholars have stressed the importance of conceptual analysis that cannot be simply replaced by experiment-based, quantitative analysis (typically using university students as research objects) (e.g. Kim, 2001; Matsumoto, 2001; Yang, 1988b, c; Yang and Ho, 1988), and have approached Chinese psychology from the point of view of some culturally important concepts such as *xiào* mentioned earlier, the exact meanings of these concepts have still not been dealt with owing to a lack of a sound linguistic methodology. Yet an accurate understanding of the meanings of these concepts is indispensable if researchers want to fully understand the psychological functioning embodied in them. Given that the expression 'filial piety' – the usual gloss of *xiào*, which Ho describes as "an emic concept to which there is no real conceptual equivalent [...] in non-Confucian cultures" (Ho, 1996, p.164) – is hardly mentioned or spoken about in everyday English discourse, it is clear that relying on labels supplied by the English language to understand the meaning of *xiào* is of little help to researchers from other language and cultural backgrounds. This is not simply a question of the validity and accuracy of the translation.

It appears that researchers often have no other means but translation (in most cases into English) to explain the meanings of the concepts under investigation to researchers who do not have intimate knowledge of the Chinese language or of the

language spoken by the research subjects. However, relying on shorthand translations alone creates some major obstacles for arriving at an accurate and comprehensive understanding of indigenous concepts.

For one thing, translations could give an inaccurate picture of the issues under investigation. As an example, in a survey that compared traditional Chinese and American cultural values relying on self-reporting data (Pan et al., 1994), indigenous concepts such as *shùncóngzūnzhǎng* 顺从尊长 [not go against-follow-respect-senior], which is closely related to the notion of *xiào*, is translated as ‘submission to authority’. From the point of the view of the English language, words like *submission* convey a strongly negative tone, and the attitudes reflected in this word are at odds with the egalitarian Anglo ethos (and in the Australian context especially, against the anti-authoritarian cultural ethos, e.g. Wierzbicka, 2002b; Goddard, 2006b). However, from the point of view of the Chinese language and Chinese people, *shùncóngzūnzhǎng* does not convey any trace of negativity. On the contrary, it has a very positive meaning.

Translations often tend to be too simplistic or too vague to capture the full, precise meanings of the concepts in question. Let us return to the example of ‘filial piety’, the conventional translation of *xiào*, in terms of which most English speakers come to know something about it. Even though ‘filial’ indicates that *xiào* refers to a relationship within a family – children to parents, it does not convey the sense of lifelong indebtedness on the part of the children to their parents for their very existence – the cornerstone of the concept of *xiào*. Neither can the word ‘piety’ convey accurately and faithfully the many aspects of the meaning encapsulated by *xiào*, which contains the elements of feeling, knowledge, intention, and action

(e.g. Yang, 1988b; a full definition of *xiào* will be given in the next section). *Piety*, as Wierzbicka's analysis shows, is a concept restricted to the religious domain in everyday modern English usage and is primarily about feelings and behaviour towards God. As such, for many speakers of English, it is tinted with a pejorative tone (see Wierzbicka, 1992b, pp.184-186). Clearly, to describe the meaning of *xiào* through the prism of the English word *piety* is not just simplistic, but also erroneous and misleading. It goes against the very spirit of 'indigenous psychology'.

The following example illustrates further the inadequacy of translations as a method for meaning description. It is drawn from the widely known project called the 'Chinese Culture Connection' (hereafter CCC) – a comparative survey of Chinese values conducted in 22 countries around the world with the aim of identifying pan-cultural dimensions of cultural variations that can add to and balance out those derived from Hofstede's (1980) classic study (CCC, 1987). In this survey, *xiào* is included in, and in fact, tops, the 40 values on the survey list. Commenting on this study, Ho (1996) made the following remark:

One methodological difficulty encountered in this study was that the filial piety item (translated into English) was presented as: 'filial piety (obedience to parents, respect for parents, honouring of ancestors, financial support of parents)'. The expressions within the parentheses were regarded as synonyms for the main term. Certainly, the item contains some components of filial piety; however, as I have taken pains to point out, filial piety is an encompassing ethic, much more than what the item expresses. This methodological point should be borne in mind

particularly when research on filial piety is conducted outside Confucian cultural contexts. (p.164)

A central task of the CCC project, as the researchers stated, was to “develop a measure of values that reflect indigenous themes and concerns of Chinese culture” (CCC, 1987, p.145). To this end, “the survey was written in Chinese, using Chinese concepts”, while an English version was given that was “as faithful a representation of the Chinese as possible” (ibid, p.146).⁴ Well aware that there was no exact equivalent word of *xiào* in the English language and that using Chinese culture-specific concepts as pan-cultural variables to research universal dimensions of values would subject researchers to the same kind of “theoretical egocentrism” that the very CCC project tried to avoid, the researchers attempted to deconstruct the meaning of *xiào* into several components. This potentially provides a solution. However, as Ho (1996) points out, each isolated component only gives a partial picture of the meaning of *xiào*. His critique suggests that a unified definition is necessary in order to represent fully the meaning of *xiào*. At the same time, however, Ho fails to note that each proposed component of *xiào* is still explained via the English language, which cannot be culturally neutral because it carries with it the cultural values and attitudes associated with that language (see e.g. Wierzbicka, 2006). Words like *obedience*, which is somewhat marginal in modern English and which does not always inspire a positive reading by native English speakers, distort the true meaning

⁴ The value items of the survey list were compiled by asking a number of scientists to list at least 10 “fundamental and basic values for Chinese people” (CCC, 1987, p.146). The reliance on culturally important concepts by these ‘informants’ again supports the point made earlier that language, in particular key words and expressions, play an important role in identifying indigenous psychologies.

of *xiào*, and convey the opposite attitudes to those expressed by it. Therefore, those components cannot be regarded as “culture-free dimensions of culture” that the CCC project claims to search for. Since it uses English as the metalanguage to represent and interpret Chinese indigenous concepts for cross-cultural investigation, the CCC project cannot be said to be free from the very methodological problem that it aspires to overcome.

If the ultimate goal of indigenous psychologies is compatible with that of cross-cultural psychology, that is to search for pan-cultural variables underlying the commonality of human psychology (e.g. Berry and Kim, 1993), it is obvious that the measuring tool used to achieve such a goal cannot be dependent on any one human language or culture. A language spoken by a society carries with it ideas and values associated with that language. To use any language of a particular culture or society as a common yardstick for cross-cultural comparison is bound to produce biased results.

It is clear that linguistic evidence alone is not up to the task of revealing the ways of living and thinking of a people if it is not assisted by an appropriate tool for meaning description and analysis. Such a tool should overcome the problem linked to the second question raised earlier: how can indigenous modes of thinking and feeling as they are reflected in language be explained to cultural outsiders without meaning loss?

As we have seen, translation fails to provide a satisfactory answer to this question. The reason is simple and it was summed up succinctly by Bateson and Mead (1942) in the introduction to their book *Balinese Character*: “the words which one culture invested with meaning are, by the very accuracy of their cultural fit, singularly

inappropriate as vehicles for precise comment upon another culture” (p.xi; quoted by Miller and Hoogstra, 1992, p.94).

It appears that the only solution lies in a culture-independent metalanguage because only such a metalanguage can allow meaning description to be carried out from a neutral position. It also appears that in the contemporary linguistic landscape, Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) is the only semantic theory available that has not only long been concerned with such issues as how to describe meaning from a neutral position, but also developed sophisticated techniques for dealing with meaning and cultural notations based on three decades of empirical investigation of a wide range of languages. NSM will be used as the main method for meaning description in this thesis. How this linguistic method works will be explained in the next section.

3. A linguistic methodology for a culture-internal perspective

The theory of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), originated by Anna Wierzbicka and later developed in collaboration with Cliff Goddard and colleagues (e.g. Goddard and Wierzbicka, eds., 1994, 2002; Wierzbicka, 1972, 1980, 1996; see also Goddard, 2003), is the only existing semantic theory that can help to achieve the goals of the present study – analysing meaning from a culture-internal perspective, while at the same time making it clear and intelligible to people from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds. NSM makes it possible to achieve these twin goals largely because the set of semantic primitives – lexical units that are so basic that they cannot be further defined – that make up the metalanguage are believed to be universal. Through continual investigation of a wide range of typologically different

and unrelated languages over a period of more than three decades, NSM researchers have discovered that approximately sixty primitives, such as I, KNOW, THINK, FEEL, GOOD, HAPPEN, SEE and BECAUSE, are universal. Because these semantic primitives are indefinables and are derived from natural language, they can form the building blocks of more complex ideas, and can be understood without explanation. The universality of the primes enables maximum translatability across languages. This means that the metalanguage can have its equivalent version in any natural language.

In recent years, the search for universal primes has been carried out in tandem with the search for a 'universal grammar' that governs the combinatorial behaviour of these primes (see in particular Goddard and Wierzbicka, eds., 2002). In a sense, the sixty or so primes and their canonical use form a mini-language that can be matched across languages. Being the irreducible core and conceptual intersection of all languages, the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, as the distinguished anthropologist Roy D'Andrade (2001) put it, "offers a potential means to ground all complex concepts in ordinary language and translate concepts from one language to another without loss or distortion in meaning" (p.246).⁵

Investigation of the (Mandarin) Chinese version of the metalanguage – both the primes and their syntax – has been undertaken by Hilary Chappell (1994, 2002). Her studies have shown that the exponents of proposed primes and their universal syntax can be successfully identified in Mandarin. Chappell (2002) remarks that "the fact that the predicted syntactic frames are available in Mandarin for each prime indicates

⁵ For recent reviews of NSM theory and its related work, see the special issue of *Theoretical Linguistics*, 29 (3) on 'Natural Semantic Metalanguage' (Krifka, 2003), Lander, 2005, and Lehrman, 2006. See also McCawley (1983), Matisoff (1996), Palmer (2000), and Allan (2001, pp.275-281),

strongly that it is feasible to find cross-linguistically valid statements about universal syntax based on patterns of meaning combination” (p.312). Table 1 below lists the full set of semantic primes in both English and Mandarin Chinese.

TABLE 1: SEMANTIC PRIMES – ENGLISH AND MANDARIN CHINESE
EXPONENTS (after Goddard, 2006c and Chappell, 2002)⁶

Substantives:	I, YOU, SOMEONE/PERSON, SOMETHING/THING, PEOPLE, BODY	wǒ 我, nǐ 你, shéi 谁 ~ yǒurén 有人, shénme 什么 ~ yǒushì 有事 ~ dōngxi 东西, rénmen 人们 ~ rén 人, shēntǐ 身体
Relational Substantives:	KIND, PART	zhǒng 种, bùfen 部分 ~ X yǒu Y PART X 有 Y
Determiners:	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER/ELSE	zhè 这, tóngyàng 同样 ~ tóngyī 同一 ~ yīyàng 一样, bié (de) 别 (的)
Quantifiers:	ONE, TWO, MUCH/MANY, SOME, ALL	yī (gè) 一(个), liǎng 两 ~ èr 二, (hěn)duō (很)多 ~ xǔduō 许多, yǒude 有的 ~ yǒuxiē 有些 ~ yīxiē 一些, dōu 都 ~ suǒyǒu(de) 所有(的)

⁶ This Table is an updated version of the one presented in Goddard (2002a). The newly proposed primes – BE (SOMEWHERE) (*‘be of location’*) and BE (SOMEONE/SOMETHING) (*‘be of specification’*), TOUCH (*‘contact’*) and MOMENT – are marked with an asterisk (*) (see also Goddard, 2002b). Some key points to note about the primes are that (a) primes exist as the meanings of lexical units (not at the level of lexemes), (b) exponents of primes may be words, bound morphemes, or phrasemes, (c) they can be formally, i.e., morphologically, complex, (d) they can have different morphosyntactic properties, including word-class, in different languages, (e) they can have combinatorial variants (allolexes), (f) each prime has well-specified syntactic (combinatorial) properties (see, e.g. Goddard, 2006a).

Evaluators:	GOOD, BAD	hǎo 好, huài 坏 ~ bùhǎo 不好
Descriptors:	BIG, SMALL	dà 大, xiǎo 小
Mental Predicates:	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR	xiǎng 想, zhīdào 知道, yào 要, gǎnjué 感觉, kàndào 看到, tīngdào 听到
Speech:	SAY, WORDS, TRUE	shuō 说, zì 字 ~ huà 话, zhēn 真
Actions, events, movement, contact:	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE, *TOUCH	zuò 做, fāshēng 发生, dòng 动, *jiēchù 接触
Location, existence, possession, specification:	*BE (SOMEWHERE), THERE IS/EXIST, HAVE, *BE (SOMEONE/SOME- THING)	*zài 在, yǒu 有, yǒu 有, *shì 是
Life and death:	LIVE, DIE	shēnghuó 生活 ~ huó 活, sǐ 死
Time:	WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, *MOMENT	shíhou 时候, xiānzài 现在, yǐqián 以前, yǐhòu 以后, hénjiǔ 很久, yīhuìr 一会儿, yǒuyīduànshíjiān 有一段时间, *yīshà 一刹

Space:	WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE	shénme dìfāng 什么地方 ~ nǎr 哪儿 / dìfāng 地方 ~ nàr 那儿, zhèr 这儿, shàngmian 上面 ~ -shang 上, xiàmian 下面 ~ -xia 下, yuan 远, jìn 近 ~ de shēnbiān 的身边, -biān 边 ~ pāngbiān 旁边, -lǐ 里 ~ lǐmiàn 里面
Logical concepts:	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF	bù 不 ~ méi 没, kěnéng 可能, huì 会, ⁷ yīnwèi 因为, rúguǒ 如果
Augmentor, intensifier:	VERY, MORE	hěn 很, duō 多
Similarity:	LIKE	xiàng 像 ~ zhèyàng 这样

⁷ Chappell (2002, p.306) proposed *néng* 能 to be the exponent of CAN. It seems that although *néng* can readily combine with prototypical agentive predicates such as *do* and *move*, it cannot be readily combined with HAPPEN (e.g.? *Huàishì néng fāshēng zài wǒ shēngshàng* [Bad things can happen to me]). The use of *néng* seems to be restricted to human subjects. With non-human subjects, *huì*, which can also be combined with prototypical agentive predicates, is more appropriate. This may explain why *néng* is questionable in sentences like ?*Zhège dōngxi néng dòng* ('This thing can move'). Further investigation into this matter concerning the Mandarin exponent of *can* is required (cf. Tien, 2005).

The English version of the metalanguage based on this set of primes will fulfil two functions in this thesis. The first is to write explications. Meanings of numerous complex concepts can be explicated as configurations of these primitives. As an illustration, the contemporary meaning of *xiào* can be explicated as follows:

[A] *Semantic explication for xiào* ('filial piety')

- (a) everyone can think about their *fùmǔ* ('father and mother')_[M] like this:
 "I exist because of them
 because of this when I think about them I can't not feel something very good"
 people cannot think about other people like this
- (b) it is good if a person thinks about their *fùmǔ*_[M] at all times
 it is good if this person feels something because of this
- (c) it is good if a person thinks about their *fùmǔ*_[M] like this:
 "I want them to feel something very good at all times
 because of this I have to do many good things for them
 I want to do these things
 I don't want these people to feel anything bad at any time
 because of this I cannot do some things
 I don't want to do these things"
 it is bad if a person doesn't think like this about their *fùmǔ*_[M]
- (d) it is good if a person does many things
 because this person think like this about their *fùmǔ*_[M]
- (e) when a person is with some other people, if these other people are like this
 person's *fùmǔ*_[M] because they have lived for a long time
 like this person person's *fùmǔ*_[M] have lived for a long time
 it is good if this person thinks about these other people in the same way
 it is good if this person does many good things for these other people
 because of this

At the core of *xiào* is the notion that a person owes a unique lifelong debt to his or her parents. The components grouped under (a) establish the focus on one's parents and on their special role in bringing an individual into the world and sustaining his or her life. It is this paramount 'precondition' upon which the concept of *xiào* firmly rests, and it forms the basis on which the individual has a special emotional attitude towards them. The two components in (b) state that a person should always keep

one's parents in mind and maintain a certain attitude towards them, the content of which is spelt out in (c). Overall, the components in (c) show a deep concern for the parents' satisfaction and peace of mind, such that one feels compelled to do certain things to make them feel good, and to refrain from doing certain other things which could make them feel bad. The components in (d) specify that it is considered good if a person puts this attitude into practice in a substantial way. The components in (e) indicate that *xiào* serves as the model for one's appropriate attitude and behaviour towards elder people (that is, people who are like one's parents). They can be either family or non-family members.

Notice that the explication does not specify which particular kinds of action are to be pursued or avoided. These could vary from situation to situation, ranging from looking after the parents' material well-being to things that can bring mental satisfaction and peace of mind, such as achieving success in business and scholarship, bringing honour to the family name, and so on (cf. Yang, 1988b).

The contemporary meaning proposed here for *xiào* is consistent with findings from psychological research, such as that carried out by Yang (1988b), whose study shows that *xiàozhī* 孝知 ('filial knowledge'), *xiàogǎn* 孝感 ('filial feeling and attitude'), *xiàoyì* 孝意 ('filial intention'), and *xiàoxíng* 孝行 ('filial behaviour/action') are the four key elements that constitute the folk understanding of the meaning of *xiào*. In this light, speaking of *xiào* in terms of indebtedness can therefore be misleading, because *xiào* is not just about feeling and attitudes. It is in essence an action.

The explication contains not only semantic primes, but also Chinese semantic molecules – *fùmǔ* 父母 [father-mother] ('parents'), noted by the subscript [M]. The

meanings of semantic molecules can be further defined in terms of semantic primitives. They function as chunks or units in a larger explication (see Wierzbicka, 1996, p.221; in press b), and reflect the hierarchical structure of explications. For example, in the Chinese people's conceptualisation of the contemporary meaning of *xiào*, the concept of *fùmǔ* ('one's parents') plays a prominent role. Throughout the thesis, semantic molecules will also be used in the description of the meaning.

From a language-internal point of view, the advantage of formulating the meaning of *xiào* in universal primes lies in the fact that it can not only state its semantic content fully, clearly, and precisely, but also avoid notional circularity. From a cross-linguistic point of view, it ensures maximum translatability. In principle, the explication should be able to be translated into any natural language without alteration in meaning. The Chinese version of the explication can be set out as follows:

孝

- (a) 人们会这样看待他们的父母:
 - “我存在是因为他们
 - 所以,当我想到他们的时候,我不会有不好的感觉”
 - 人们不会这样看待其他人
- (b) 如果一个人总是想着他们的父母,是很好的
- 如果这个人由此感觉到什么,是很好的
- (c) 如果一个人总是这样看待他们的父母:
 - “我要他们总是有很好的感觉
 - 所以,我一定要为他们做许多好事
 - 我要做这些事情
 - 我不要他们在任何时候有不好的感觉
 - 所以有些事我不会做
 - 我不要做这些事”- 这是好的
- 如果一个人不这样看待父母,是很不好的
- (d) 如果一个人因这样看待父母而做了许多事,是好的
- (e) 当一个人和别人在一起时,如果这些人像这个人的父母一样活了很长时间
- 那么,如果这个人以同样的方式看待他们,是好的
- 如果这个人为他们做许多好事,是好的

Like any other explication, the formulation of the meaning of *xiào* is arrived at through experimentation and by examining its range of use carefully. The explication can be tested against native speakers' intuitions, verified against empirical data, and revised when its components do not seem to be able to account for some usages as shown in specific examples. Each of the chapters that follow will demonstrate how the meaning of the concepts in question is explicated with detailed explanation and justification.

Here, a clarification of the differences between a word's meaning and its use is in order. There is no doubt that ways of revealing folk knowledge through language can vary. Undertaking a semantic analysis of the meaning of frequently used words and phrases is one common way; another is a pragmatic analysis of the way people use phrases in their everyday discourse. The latter approach is tied to the view that meaning changes with ever-changing contexts, a view that is closely associated with Wittgenstein's famous dictum: "the meaning of a word is its use in the language" (Wittgenstein, 1958, sec 43).

By focusing on the meaning of culturally salient concepts and ways of speaking, this thesis adopts the first approach, and views meaning as fundamental to the understanding of the folk knowledge shared by a linguistic community. Even when one approaches meaning as something located in 'real' talk between people, the fundamental question of 'what' still remains. What does a particular word or phrase mean when it is used by the speaker? And what are the (subtle) meaning differences that underlie the user's choice of one word or phrase over another? Meaning cannot simply be explained or replaced by use. This is not to say that the study of

heterogeneity of language use is unimportant, as there may be individual differences in speakers' experiences of a particular word or phrase. But there is a level at which members of a given speech community all come to understand each other. As Strauss and Quinn (1997) remark:

[T]he meaning of an expression is not an abstract definition or interpretation that resides nowhere in particular but is simply its use. But this is not the way most anthropologists would think about it: most of us would say that people use words or other signifiers in a certain way because of the cultural meanings of these things. *Meanings lead to uses*; if that is not the case, then people are just mechanically acting and meanings are only a way for outsiders to describe the pattern of others' behaviors. (Strauss and Quinn, 1997, p.17; my emphasis)

While recognising that contexts influence the messages conveyed by expressions, Jackendoff (2002) sees meaning as something more basic, in that it is the bedrock upon which context is made possible. He argues that

expression must convey something with which the context can interact. If it did not, a hearer could in principle know from the context what message was intended without the speaker saying anything at all! It is important to factor out the respective contributions to understanding made by linguistic expressions and by context; this cannot be done by focusing on context alone. (Jackendoff, 2002, p.280)

What this study is interested in is the meaning of words and expressions. By focusing on meaning, this thesis is ultimately concerned with the shared level (what Strauss and Quinn [1997] call “shared understandings”), which provides a common conceptual link among a speech community. In doing so, this thesis ultimately strives for the meaning-centred psychology that Jerome Bruner calls for (Bruner, 1990).

4. Cultural scripts and Chinese cultural models

The second function fulfilled by the Natural Semantic Metalanguage in this thesis concerns the theory of ‘cultural scripts’, which Wierzbicka (1998) defines as “representations of cultural norms that are widely held in a given society and that are reflected in language” (p.401). This is an approach to cultural description which uses the set of lexical universals for linguistic and cultural notation.⁸ Two methodological principles are central to the cultural script approach, which distinguish it from other approaches to cultural notation. Firstly, postulation of cultural scripts is thoroughly grounded in and supported by linguistic evidence such as cultural key words, common words and colloquial phrases, conversational routines, and distinctive lexical and grammatical collocations. Grounding cultural description firmly in linguistic evidence is conducive to the practice of adopting an insider’s perspective. Secondly, scripts are formulated exclusively in universal human concepts (and the semantic molecules mentioned earlier). This makes them translatable into any natural language. The universality of the descriptive language instantly ensures that

⁸ The theory of cultural scripts has been applied to the study of a range of languages and cultures (see in particular Goddard and Wierzbicka, eds., 2004 and Goddard, ed., 2006)

the insider perspective and norms that make sense to the people within a given culture are both accessible and intelligible to cultural outsiders, while at the same time it avoids reliance on ideas and concepts that are alien and external to the culture under study. For example, a Chinese communicative norm, which is reflected in the speech act verb *dǎ zhāohu* 打招呼 ('greeting') (discussed in detail in Chapter 2), can be described in terms of lexical universals as follows (all the scripts below are accompanied by their corresponding Chinese translations):

[B] *A Chinese cultural script for the dǎ zhāohu routine*

[many people think like this:]⁹

when I see a *shúrén* ('a person one knows') [M], if I have not seen this person for some time

I have to say something like this to this person:

"I see you now

because of this I know that you are doing something now

I want to know more about it"

if I say this, this person can think because of this that I feel something good towards this person

if I don't say this, this person can think that I feel something bad towards this person

I don't have to say something like this to a person if this person is not a *shúrén* [M]

[人们这样想:]

当我看到熟人的时候, 如果我有一段时间没见到这个人, 我不得不对这个人说这样的话:

"现在我看到你了

我知道你现在在做什么

我想要更多地知道些你在做的事情"

如果我这样说, 这个人会想我对其有好的感觉

如果我不这样说, 这个人会想我对其有不好的感觉

如果这个人不是熟人, 我不必说这样的话

⁹ An optimal way of framing cultural scripts is still under investigation. According to Goddard (2006a), an alternative phrasing could be 'people know that many people think like this'.

The formulation of this script is based on the salient speech routine of 'asking the obvious' (For detailed discussion of this cultural script, see Chapter 2).

The above script spells out, in a precise and concrete way, the content and underlying motivations of the Chinese speech routine, making it clear that the Chinese *dǎ zhāohu* 打招呼 is fundamentally different from the English speech practice of *greeting*. Indeed, from the point of view of social pragmatics linked with the English language, the *dǎ zhāohu* 打招呼 could be thought of as downright intrusive.

Apart from communicative practices and norms, cultural scripts are also employed to describe, articulate, and spell out widespread values, beliefs, attitudes and assumptions of a given culture and society as they are reflected in language. For example, the following 'Middle Way' script (from Wierzbicka, 1993a, based on Bond, 1992) captures the traditional Chinese way of thinking about good and bad happenings in life:

[C] *A Chinese cultural script for the philosophy of the 'Middle Way'*

[many people think like this:]

when something very bad happens to a person, it is good if this person thinks like this:

“something good can happen to me afterwards because of this”
if a person thinks like this, this person will not feel something very bad
this is good

when something very good happens to a person, it is good if this person thinks like this:

“something bad can happen to me afterwards because of this”
if a person thinks like this, this person will not feel something very good
this is good

[人们这样想:]

当很坏的事情发生在一个人身上的时候, 如果这个人想

“以后好事因此会发生在我身上”, 这是好的

如果一个人这样想的话, 这个人将不会有很坏的感觉

这是好的

当很好的事发生在一个人身上的时候, 如果这个人想

“以后坏事因此会发生在我身上”, 这是好的

如果一个人这样想的话, 这个人将不会有很好的感觉

这是好的

There is of course a great deal of variation among Chinese speakers, who may differ in their individual attitudes, values and assumptions. Nevertheless, a cultural script such as the one formulated above is readily recognisable to the Chinese people, who by and large not only are familiar with it, but also routinely think in these terms.

Above all, the way of thinking reflected in the above script is embodied in the commonly used set phrase *fúhuòxiāngyī* 福祸相依 [fortune-catastrophe-each other-depend on] associated with the legendary story of *sàiwēngshīmǎ* 赛翁失马 ('The old horseman lost his horse').

Despite variation across gender, class, education, generations, and other factors, each society has a shared core that holds its members together. And “each people share a large body of basic, common ideas, attitudes and expectations which provide the average man with his bearings in dealing with his fellow countrymen and which hold the society together, contemporaneously and over time”, to quote the late Francis Hsu, the distinguished psychological anthropologist (Hsu, 1972, p.5).¹⁰ It is

¹⁰ Recognising what he describes as “internal variation” (p.4), Francis Hsu (1972) argues convincingly that at some point it is not only necessary but also important to make certain generalisations about a culture. Hsu says:

[A] departing male American who forgets to kiss his wife at the airport is in for trouble when he returns. A Chinese father who boasts about his son's achievements to his friends will be ostracized. An American guest who brings someone else to dinner unheralded is not likely to be invited again. A Chinese visitor who compliments his hostess on her beauty comes close to being immoral. ... Those do's and don'ts are but a few of the countless culturally prescribed rules of individual behavior so clear to the adults of each society that they seem to be part of the order of nature. (Hsu, 1972, p.4)

obvious that there are key cultural elements that contribute to a characteristic 'Chineseness', and with which members of the Chinese society identify (cf. Creel, 1953; Hsu, 1972; Sun, 2004/[1988]; Wang, 1991; Yu, 1989, 1992; Tu, ed., 1994).

What makes this study different from previous attempts to understand Chinese culture lies in the very approach it adopts. This study approaches the Chinese way of life from a systematic examination of cultural key concepts and expressions and by undertaking a rigorous and careful analysis of their meaning using a well-grounded linguistic semantic theory.

The employment of the theory of cultural scripts will allow this study to identify and articulate some basic ideas, attitudes and norms that Hsu referred to and that the average Chinese people are familiar with and identify with. As the thesis will show, the transparency and explanatory power of the scripts will also help to pinpoint the intrinsic connections between different elements of culture.

By using cultural scripts to study the 'shared understandings' or the shared cultural knowledge of the Chinese people from within, this thesis helps to identify, reveal and describe the 'cultural models' that provide both interpretive frames and directive force for action for the Chinese people (which is largely taken for granted by the Chinese people). In recent years, anthropologists have paid considerable attention to the idea of 'cultural models' – culturally formed cognitive schemas or shared 'internal representations' (e.g. Holland and Quinn, eds., 1987; D'Andrade and Strauss, eds., 1992; Shore, 1996; Strauss and Quinn, 1997). A cultural model is at the same time also understood as 'a folk model of the mind' (e.g. D'Andrade, 1987, 1995). For example, the cognitive anthropologist Roy D'Andrade writes:

A basic cultural model in all cultures is the representation of what happens inside people – in their minds, or psyches – this results in their doing what they do... This model can be called a folk model because it contrasts in a number of ways with the expert modes of the mind found in psychology and philosophy. (D'Andrade, 1995, p.158)

In this light, the goal pursued by this study, which is to reveal insiders' understanding, is fully compatible with that pursued by 'cultural model' or 'folk model' approach. Therefore, the thesis seeks to demonstrate that the theory of cultural scripts, which supplies a culture-internal perspective through empirically established lexical universals, also provides a useful descriptive and conceptual tool for such folk models to be articulated and elucidated, and to be appreciated by cultural outsiders.

5. Scope, data and readership

As mentioned earlier, this thesis will not be confined to the themes of personality studies, which so far appear to have attracted the most attention from researchers of Chinese psychology. It includes a much broader range of topics, including the categorisation and conceptualisation of social organisation, emotions, sensory and conceptual experience, and memorisation and its relation to learning.

Chapter 2 explores the conceptual basis of Chinese social interaction. It delves deep into the meanings of key social categories such as *shēngrén* [raw/uncooked-person] ('stranger') and *shúrén* [cooked-person] ('a person one knows') and examines how these fundamental categories affect ways of Chinese social interaction.

Chapter 3 examines the meaning of facial gestures that are characteristic of the Chinese people, and spells out the norms for Chinese facial expressions. Of particular interest to this chapter are the Chinese ‘emotional scripts’ and the interplay between values (or a hierarchy of values) and emotion expression and emotional attitudes. While Chapter 3 focuses on the non-verbal aspect of emotion expressions as a means of social interaction, Chapter 4 examines a habitual means of verbal expression of emotion, the use of taste-related vocabulary such as *kǔ* (‘bitter’) and *suān* (‘sour’). Building on Chapter 4, Chapter 5 examines generic ‘taste’-words and investigates how the sensory experience contributes to the formation of a conceptual system in Chinese. Chapter 6 focuses on the highly prized cultural practice of ‘remembering’ – *bèi* (‘auditory memorisation’), which plays a prominent role in the Chinese learning experience. It undertakes a detailed analysis of its meaning and explores the linguistic, cognitive, cultural and historical reasons that could explain such a practice. A key question that the chapter attempts to address is why ‘auditory memorisation’, which exhibits some key features of knowledge transmission in oral cultures, is so highly prized by the Chinese people, who possess a long written and print history. Chapter 7 discusses the implications and theoretical insights that emerge from this thesis.

The wide-ranging topics of the thesis, however, are united by a common objective of reflecting a culture-internal perspective, a common linguistic methodology based on three decades of cross-linguistic investigations – the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, and a common concern for grounding empirical analysis in solid linguistic evidence. In the context of the Chinese language, the linguistic evidence will draw heavily on *chéngyǔ* (set phrases usually four characters long), a

linguistic form characteristic of the Chinese language, which embodies indigenous ways of thinking in an unusually succinct way (e.g., Harbsmeier, 1995).¹¹ Often, traditions are kept and transmitted through proverbs and *chéngyǔ*. In each of these chapters, theoretical and methodological implications in relation to each topic will be discussed to reflect the central concern of this thesis, which is both theoretical and methodological.

While most of the linguistic data is drawn from popular magazines, newspapers, dictionaries, and on-line sources such as the Chinese Yahoo [<http://www.yahoo.com.cn>], Chapters 3 and 4 mainly rely on other sources. In Chapter 3, linguistic data are drawn from the most popular novel *Hónglómèng* (HLM), which has a canonical status in Chinese language and literature. The reasons for choosing this novel are discussed there. The main source of linguistic data for Chapter 4 is autobiographical writings, a new genre that has emerged over the last ten years (cf. Ye, forthcoming). Given the nature of the topic, which concerns emotion description and expression and which relates to the subjective experience and inner life of a person, data of an autobiographical nature is most appropriate and revealing.

Arguably, 'Chineseness' is best borne out when it is in contact, or in conflict, with other cultures or is seen from the eyes of the Other (e.g., Meadows, 1970/[1847]; Smith, 1890; Wang, 1991, 1994; Hessler, 2002; see also Ye, 2004d, in press b). The use of hard linguistic evidence will be complemented by what

¹¹ Chinese pupils are usually equipped with two essential dictionaries, the character-word dictionary *Xīnhuá Zìdiǎn* 《新华字典》 (*Xīnhuá Dictionary*, first published in 1953, and since had ten editions with a circulation of four billion; XZ, 2004) and a *chéngyǔ* dictionary. An ordinary *chéngyǔ* dictionary, such as the popular *Hànyǔ Chéngyǔ Xiǎo Cídiǎn* 《汉语成语小词典》 (*The Little Dictionary of Chinese Set Phrases*), includes 4600 entries (HCXC, 2004).

Wierzbicka calls 'soft linguistic evidence' – observations, reflections and testimonies offered by bilingual and bicultural people based on their own experience (e.g., Wierzbicka, 2003d, 2004, 2005a, b, c; cf. Besemeres, 2002; Pavlenko, 2005) A comparative perspective that is naturally built into these people's 'looking-glass' places them in the best possible position to discern and testify to different ways of living.

Throughout the thesis, explications and cultural scripts will be presented in the English version of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage. Since it is a local realisation of the universal set of primes, which matches the lexical and grammatical common core of all languages, the English NSM can be simultaneously deemed as a "culture-free 'nuclear English'", or as an "auxiliary lingua franca" that is "trimmed to the bone and freed from its historical and cultural baggage" (Wierzbicka, in press a). The Chinese (character) versions of all the explications and cultural scripts will appear in the appendix at the end of the thesis.

With its wide-ranging topics concerning the ways of speaking, feeling, and thinking of the Chinese people, this thesis connects to various other disciplines that have an interest in human psychology, experience, and cognition, such as psychological anthropology, cognitive science, and cognitive and social pragmatics. Given that meaning and culture are central to anthropology, this thesis falls naturally under that rubric. Obviously, the subject of this thesis will be of interest to sinologists and anyone interested in Chinese language and culture, especially Chinese language learners.¹²

¹² Recently, Geremie Barmé put forward the notion of a 'New Sinology'. He describes it as "an unrelenting attentiveness to Sinophone ways of speaking, writing, and seeing, and to the different forces that have shaped the evolution of Sinophone

From the outset, the thesis makes it clear that this study of Chinese ethnopsychologies is driven by the need in an increasingly globalised world to come to a nuanced understanding of Chinese people and the Chinese experience. Therefore, this thesis is ultimately placed in the broader context of intercultural communication, which could be thought of as an underlying theme of the thesis. This theme is most directly addressed in Chapters 2 and 3.

6. Caveats

The term ‘Chinese’ in this thesis represents a psychological category that is not bounded by geography or ethnicity. Although it can be understood as encompassing people from the first and second universes of the ‘cultural China’ proposed by Tu Wei-ming (1994b), which refer to mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore (the first universe), and overseas Chinese communities throughout the world (the second universe), in this thesis ‘Chinese’ primarily refers to people from Mainland China, for the collected linguistic data mostly concern them.

Although referring primarily to Mandarin Chinese in this thesis, ‘Chinese language’ is a convenient cover term that also includes dialects (or languages) spoken in Mainland China that share a common written script – *hànzì* [sinograph] (‘characters’). It has been a widely held view that *hànzì* not only are psychologically real for the Chinese people, but also are one of the most enduring forces that contribute to the continuity of Chinese culture and civilisation.

texts and images, as well as Sinophone ways of sense-making” (Barmé, 2005, p.6). This thesis is very much in that spirit.

Paying attention to the generality of Chinese culture does not mean that the author regards it as unchanging and uncontested (yet any change will inevitably be reflected in the language). At the same time, however, as many scholars contend, there are enduring cultural themes or in Benjamin Schwartz's (1985) words "persistent or dominant orientations" that have contributed to the continuity of Chinese culture and civilisation (e.g. Creel, 1953; Wang, 1991; Yu, 1989, 1992; Tu, ed., 1994). Despite his many reservations regarding a more 'macro' approach towards Chinese culture, the late Benjamin Schwartz (ibid.), a distinguished Chinese historian, found it useful in his discussion of Chinese culture and set out to identify these 'persistent orientations' in the religious and political domains. As he noted, "such persistent orientations are by no means incompatible with the kind of emphasis on historic change and on internal conflict mentioned above. They operate on such a level of generality that they do not preclude change or unforeseen conflict" (p.4). Referring to King's (1994) paper on the culturally important concept *guānxī*, Tu Wei-ming (1994a) commented, "perhaps a deep structure underlies the psychocultural life of the Chinese, a structure that is so ingrained in the "habits of the heart" that, tumultuous modern transmutation notwithstanding, it has not lost its enduring strength" (p.ix). This thesis can be seen as an effort to identify those aspects of Chinese culture that are so ingrained in the Chinese 'habits of the heart' (cf. Bellah, et al., eds., 1996).

While agreeing with the view that culture is not unchanging, Strauss and Quinn (1997) firmly reject the view that culture is constantly changing and that there is no 'sharedness' about a culture. For them, the most important thing is to construct a theory that can explain the change and continuity, the 'shared understandings' and

the diversity. To this end, they argue for a psychologically oriented theory that explains how people learn from experience. In particular, they emphasise the importance of examining the way people's experiences are internalised. Several chapters in this thesis also attempt to draw on material illustrating socialisation experiences of the Chinese people.

Given the abundant cultural heritage in the contemporary life of the Chinese people, the past is very much alive in the present collective consciousness. Although this thesis studies Chinese psychology and culture reflected primarily in the contemporary use of language and discourse, an effort is also made to discuss their historical roots where necessary.

It should be pointed out that cultural scripts can operate at different levels of generality. They are capable of describing more general, common underlying principles, which are often deeply embedded in shared cultural knowledge, and therefore more invisible to the people of a given culture, reflected in higher-level or master scripts (see e.g. Chapter 2, 3 & 4). They are also able to deal with specific, local situations and contexts, such as norms for greeting (see e.g., Chapter 2), which can be spelt out in lower-level scripts. It is their explicitness, as well as their inherent hierarchical structure, that helps researchers to discern and pinpoint the relatedness and connections between different elements of a culture, as will be amply demonstrated throughout the thesis. Above all, being firmly grounded in linguistic evidence, cultural scripts are not abstract constructs, stereotypes, or baseless generalisations, but something real and tangible that members of a given society are intimately familiar with and, to a large extent, cannot live without.

Chapter 2

The Conceptual Basis of Chinese Social Organisation and its Implications for Chinese Social Interaction

This chapter explores the conceptual basis of Chinese social organisation, and examines how the fundamental Chinese categories of interpersonal relationships affect Chinese ways of speaking and social interaction. Firstly, the chapter will analyse the full meanings and interrelationship of two of the most distinctive (complementary) dyads of Chinese social categories, namely, shēngrén (lit. 'uncooked person', 'stranger') vs. shúrén (lit. 'cooked person', 'an old acquaintance'), and zìjǐrén (lit. 'oneself person', 'insider') vs. wàirén (lit. 'outer/outsider person', 'outsider'). It will then put forward two master scripts – general principles underlying norms of social interaction – in Chinese culture that are governed by the demarcations of these fundamental categories: nèiwàiyǒubié ('difference between the insider and outsider') and yóushūzhìqīn ('from far to close'), and illustrate aspects of Chinese language use that are guided by these principles. They include dǎ zhāohu ('greetings'), the use of tóng X ('fellow X') and lǎo X ('old X'), and a discussion of the value of not being polite in Chinese culture. On the one hand, this chapter demonstrates the need for treating interpersonal relationships as a theoretical variable in the study of human interaction and shows the importance of an indigenous perspective; on the other, it relates theoretical discussion of human interaction to practical needs of understanding Chinese interactional style for the purpose of language teaching and political and commercial negotiations. Both goals can be attained by the use of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage and 'cultural scripts' theory.

[T]he meaning of being human is found in interpersonal relationships. (Hsu, 1985, p.27)

Individuals in a Western society of individualism are akin to wooden sticks, which may be bound together by their social organization in a bundle. The structure of Chinese society is like ripples caused by throwing a stone into a pond. Each person is situated at the center of a set of concentric rings of water, which extend to the edges of that person's social influence. No matter when and where one finds oneself, one is always situated at the center of flexible social network. (Fei, 1937, pp.23-25, translation in Hwang, 2000, 158).¹

1. Some fundamental categories in the Chinese

conceptualisation of interpersonal relationships

In a rare and highly revealing ethnographic study of Chinese face-to-face interaction using a situation-based approach, the author Pan Yuling comes to the conclusion that “Chinese tend to employ different politeness strategies depending first on their knowledge of the addressee and then on the situation” (Pan, 2000, p.20). In studies on the psychology of the Chinese people (e.g., Gao, Toomey, and Gudykunst, 1996), “insider effects” are cited as playing an important role in Chinese social interaction. But what does the phrase “insider effects” mean? What does “the knowledge of the addressee” entail? This section seeks to answer these two questions by examining in detail the meanings of two of the most distinctive dyads of (complementary) categories of interpersonal relationships: *shēngrén* 生人

¹ 西洋的社会有些像我们在田里捆柴，几根稻草束成一把，几把束成一扎，几扎束成一捆，几捆束成一挑。每一根柴在整个挑里都属于一定的捆、扎、把。每一根柴也可以找到同把、同扎、同捆的柴，分扎得清楚不会乱的。在社会，这些单位就是团体。... 我们的格局不是一捆一捆扎清楚的柴，而是好象把一块石头丢在水面上所发生的一圈圈推出去的波纹。每个人都是他社会影响所推出去的圈子的中心。被圈子的波纹所推及就发生联系。每个人在某一时间某一地点所动用的圈子是不一定相同的。... (费孝通, 1937, pp. 23-25)

(‘stranger’) vs. *shúrén* 熟人 (‘acquaintance’), and *zìjǐrén* 自己人 (‘one of us’) vs. *wàirén* 外人 (‘outsider’).

1.1 *Shēngrén* 生人 (‘stranger’) vs. *shúrén* 熟人 (‘acquaintance’)

Shēngrén [uncooked/unripe/unfamiliar-person] (‘stranger’) and *shúrén* [cooked/ripe/very familiar-person] (‘an old acquaintance’) is a highly salient dyad of concepts in the Chinese language, reflected in commonly used idioms such as the following:

(1) 一回生, 二回熟。

Yī huí shēng, èr huí shú.

one CL:round uncooked/unfamiliar two CL:round cooked/familiar

‘Strangers at the first meeting, but friends at the second.’

The meanings of this dyad of concepts can be explicated as follows:

[A] *Semantic explication for shúrén* 熟人 (‘a person one knows’)

- (a) people can think about some people like this:
- (b) “I have known for some time who this person is
- (c) this person has known for some time who I am
- (d) some time before, I could not think like this
- (e) after this, when I saw this person, I said some things to this person
- (f) at the same time, this person said some things to me
- (g) it happened like this for some time
- (h) because of this, I can now say things to this person like people say things to someone when they know who this someone is”
- (i) people can’t think about all people in this way
- (j) they have to think about some people in another way

[B] *Semantic explication for shēngrén 生人* ('a stranger')

- (a) people have to think about some people like this:
- (b) "I don't know who this person is"
- (c) "I can't say things to this person like people say things to someone when they know who this someone is"

As mentioned, *shēngrén* ('stranger') and *shúrén* ('acquaintance') are a dyad of complementary concepts. This means that these two concepts evoke each other, sharing a common, shifting boundary. Together, they form the whole of a non-kinship group: outside the circle of family members and relatives, one is either a *shúrén* or a *shēngrén* to the central figure, depending on whether the central figure has had previous, mutual face-to-face communication with the referent person, as a result of which these two people have 'got to know' each other. For a Chinese, someone who looks *miànshú* 面熟 [face-familiar] but to whom one has never said anything, is still a *shēngrén* ('stranger') (cf. [d]-[g]).

From *shēng* [uncooked/unripe/unfamiliar] to *shú* [cooked/ripe/familiar], it is apparent that *duration of time* is seen by the Chinese people as the basis of conceptualising human relations.² Over the course of time, people become familiar with each other. This 'time factor' is easily discernible in the following exchange between the interviewer and the interviewee (see also §3.3):

² It is interesting to note that, in anthropological terms, 'raw' and 'cooked', as a pair of oppositions, are famously associated with Lévi-Strauss' (1969) seminal work *The Raw and the Cooked*, symbolising the opposing forces of nature versus culture. As Lévi-Strauss writes, "the individuals who are 'cooked' are those deeply involved in a physiological process: the newborn child, the woman who has just given birth, or the pubescent girl. The conjunction of a member of the social group with nature must be mediatized through the intervention of cooking fire, whose normal function is to mediatize the conjunction of the raw product and the human consumer, and whose operation thus has the effect of making sure that a natural creature is at one and the same time *cooked and socialized*" (Lévi-Strauss, 1969, p.336; original emphasis). Therefore, in the view of Lévi-Strauss, the transformation from 'raw' to 'cooked' symbolises a cultural transformation.

(2) 问：那你又是怎么变成这里的老板娘了呢？

杨：辞职后，我又去了一家饭店，离这里很近。他那时刚离了婚，一个人住，常常到我们店里来吃面，时间久了就熟了嘛…就这样了呀。

Interviewer: So, how did you become the boss here?

Yang: After I resigned, I went to work in another restaurant, which was closer. He just got divorced then and lived alone. He often came to eat noodles. With the passage of time, we got familiar [*shú*]...It was just like that. (Chen, ed., 2003, p.230)

A *shúrén* might be rendered in colloquial English as ‘a person one knows’, and a *shēngrén* as ‘a person one does not know’. However, these are English-specific expressions, thus they are avoided in the explication. Firstly, the phrase ‘know someone’ is problematic in English (cf. Wierzbicka, 2002a). Furthermore, there is not one-to-one matching with the Chinese expressions. In the Chinese language, there are three words – *zhīdào* 知道, *rènshi* 认识, and *liáojiě* 了解 – that can all be translated as ‘know’ in English. *Zhīdào* is used for ‘factual knowledge’ (e.g. ‘I know that...’). *Rènshi* has more to do with recognition (of identity) based on previous experience or contact. Thus to say *Wǒ rènshi zhège rén / dìfāng* 我认识这个人/地方 (‘I know this person/place’) implies that I have said something to this person when I was with this person or have been to this place before (therefore when I see this person/this place again, I can say who this person is or where this place is). *Liáojiě* is to ‘know’ in the sense of ‘knowing something/someone/some place well’, closer to the meaning of understand (‘I know what it/this person/this place is like; I can say many things about it/this person/this place; I can say why

this something/this person/this place is like this'). Thus, expressions like I know this person, though simple, are avoided in the explications, because they are English-specific, and can be further explained via simpler concepts on the basis of how personal knowledge is constructed and understood in a culture. The KNOW used in the explications is in the sense of 'factual knowledge' only, whose universality is well-established in the NSM framework (see Goddard and Wierzbicka, eds, 2002).

1.2 *Zìjǐrén* 自己人 ('insider/one of us') vs. *wàirén* 外人 ('outsider')

Another important dyad of complementary categories which has a decisive effect on Chinese social interaction is *zìjǐrén* [self/oneself-person] ('insider'; 'persons within the same circle'; 'persons closely related with each other'; 'one of us') and *wàirén* [outside/outer-person] ('outsider'). Their meanings can be explicated as follows:

[C] *Semantic explication for zìjǐrén* 自己人 ('insider/one of us')

- (a) people can think about some people like this:
- (b) "these people live in one place
- (c) I am one of these people
- (d) I do many things with these people
- (e) these people can know many things about me
- (f) I can say many things to these people
- (g) I can't say all these things to other people
- (h) when I think about these people, I feel something good
- (i) when these people want me to do good things for them, I have to do something good for these people"
- (j) other people are not like this, I have to think about them in another way

[D] *Semantic explication for wàirén 外人* ('outsider')

- (a) people think about some people like this:
- (b) "I can't think about these people like I think about *zìjǐrén*
- (c) I can't say things to these people like I say things to *zìjǐrén*
- (d) I don't have to do good things for these people like I have to do good things for *zìjǐrén*
- (e) I don't want these people to know many things about me"

A *zìjǐrén* ('insider') is someone who lives in one place and is a part of a group (b)-(d), whom I can trust (e)-(g), have good feelings about (h), and who has certain obligations (i).

The demarcation between *zìjǐrén* and *wàirén* is fundamentally a psychological one, unlike that of *shēngrén* and *shúrén*, which is experientially based. The *zìjǐrén-wàirén* distinction is demarcated by whether 'these people' are like a group living together in one place. Arguably, the prototype of people living in one place as a group in traditional China are family members – *jiārén* 家人 [extended family-person], who are also related kinship members at the same time (bound by blood relation or marriage). It is not surprising that the default *zìjǐrén* is a *jiārén* ('extended family-person'), and that a variant of *zìjǐrén* is *zìjiārén* 自家人 (in which *jiā* 家 means extended family). Thus the mere mention of *wàirén* means someone who is outside one's family circle. All these considerations suggest that no matter how large the *zìjǐrén* circle is, it is always modeled after the implicit family.

In a sense, *shēngrén* and *shúrén* can always exist independently: a *shēngrén* can become a *shúrén* to the speaker, who a *shēngrén* is is not determined by who a *shúrén* is; whereas the notion of a *wàirén* ('outsider') is always dependent on who a *zìjǐrén* ('insider') is. A *wàirén* cannot exist without some implicit reference to a *zìjǐrén*. Therefore, in the *wàirén-zìjǐrén* continuum, they are relative and relational

concepts: *wàirén* not only evokes *zìjǐrén*, but is heavily dependent on it, and is marked.³ This dependence is reflected in the above explications, in that the concept of *zìjǐrén* is present and embedded in the explication of *wàirén*. And the explication of *wàirén* ('outsider') clearly shows that the central figure adopts a different attitude (such as mistrust, indifference) towards *wàirén*.

Arguably, psychological affinity and category based on related people (kinship members) living in one place is often stable, deeply-rooted, and resistant to change.⁴ With the passage of time and more contact, a *shēngrén* ('stranger') automatically becomes a *shúrén* ('acquaintance'), but does not necessarily move along the *wàirén-zìjǐrén* continuum, where the boundary is more fixed. A *wàirén* may forever remain an outsider.

Fei Xiaotong, the first Chinese anthropologist, describes one of the features of Chinese social networking as *chāxù géjú* 差序格局 (often translated by social scientists as 'differential order'), where each person is at the centre of his or her concentric social network (Fei, 1937; see the quote at the beginning of the chapter). The above analysis and explications show that *zìjǐrén* is 'my' immediate inner circle, that *shúrén* fills the next intermediate ring of the circle, and that *shēngrén* occupies the outer or peripheral circle, which is farthest from 'me' (see Figure 1).

³ Referring to an argument put forward by Joseph Needham in his series *Science and Civilization in China* that the main line of development in Chinese philosophy is towards a "philosophy of organism", Angus Graham (1992) writes in the preface of his book, *Two Chinese Philosophers: The Metaphysics of the Brothers Ch'êng*: "On the whole I agree with this generalization and the present book contains many illustrations of the Chinese tendency to think in terms of the interdependent rather than collections of units, of opposites as complementary rather than contradictory" (p.xi). The empirical findings yielded in this study point to the same direction.

⁴ *Xuèyuán* 血缘 ('blood affinity') and *dìyuán* 地缘 ('place affinity') are two of the most important cultural 'complexes' that grow out of the traditional agrarian Chinese society. They deserve a separate, detailed study.

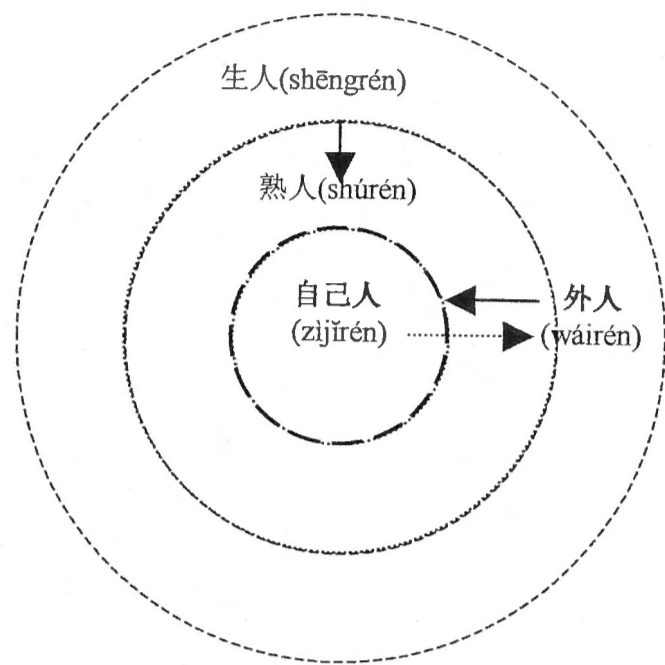


Figure 1: Chinese Social Organisation

1.3 Why are 'insider', 'outsider', 'in-group', and 'out-group' not good descriptions?

It is easy to gloss the above-mentioned Chinese social categories as 'stranger', 'acquaintance', 'insider', and 'outsider', or to use the more technical terms 'in-group' and 'out-group'. However, these terms do not reflect the interrelationships of these categories, or reveal anything of their deep conceptual structures. Nor do they reflect their keyword status in Chinese culture.

2. Two 'master scripts' of Chinese social interaction

The distinctive categories discussed above and their conceptual interrelationships have a decisive effect on Chinese interactional styles. This section will focus on two of the 'master scripts' – general principles underlying Chinese social interaction that operate on these categories.

2.1 *Nèiwàiyǒubié* 内外有别 ('insider and outsider have difference')

The first principle is captured in the Chinese set phrase *nèiwàiyǒubié*

[insider/inner-outer/outer-have-difference]:

[E] *A cultural script for nèiwàiyǒubié* 内外有别 ('insider and outsider have difference')

[many people think like this:]

I can't say things to all people in the same way
(because I can't think about all people in the same way)

I can say things to *shúrén* in some ways

I can't say things to *shēngrén* in the same way

I have to say things to *shēngrén* in some other ways

I can say things to *zìjǐrén* in some ways

I can't say things to *wàirén* in the same way

I have to say things to *wàirén* in other ways

This script shows that social categories are embedded in the shared knowledge of the Chinese people as to the ways in which they should interact with other people. The differentiated way of interacting with *shēngrén* and *shúrén* is reflected, for example, in the following article title: *shúrén xūhánwènnuǎn, shēngrén àidābùlǐ* 熟人嘘寒问暖, 生人爱搭不理 (‘acquaintances warmly welcomed, strangers indifferent’, [http://www.cityclassic.com 城市经典, last accessed on 9 April 2004]). It is also reflected in commonly used idioms such as *jiāchǒu bùkě wàiyáng* 家丑不可外扬 (‘family scandals should not be known to the outsiders’). A final example, which is taken from a personal account of a non-local worker in Shanghai, reflects the principle embodied in script [E] from another angle:

- (3) 这里毕竟是他们的地盘，我们这些外地打工的还是没办法被他们堪称自己人来相处的。虽然表面上客客气气的，但是我能感觉到他们骨子里的冷淡。

It is after all their territory here. We, the non-local (*wàidì*, lit. ‘outsider/other-place’) workers, will not be treated as ‘one of us’ [*zìjǐrén*] by them. Although they are very polite [*kèkèqiqi*, see §3.4] on the surface, I can sense that they are cold and indifferent. (Chen, ed., 2003, p.230)⁵

⁵ Scholars and commentators on Chinese culture have often pointed out the indifference of the Chinese people towards strangers and lamented their lack of public spirit. This often leads them to depict Chinese people as individualistic or ‘egocentric’.

2.2 *Yóushūzhìqīn* 由疏至亲 ('from far to close')

Because of the axiomatically different attitude towards different categories of people, it can be expected that, in social interaction, a great deal of effort is invested on the part of the interactants to work towards or to display a closer relationship: from 'strangers' to 'old acquaintances', and ultimately to 'us', the inner circle (like members of family). Thus the driving force of Chinese social interaction is to move along the *wàirén-zìjǐrén* continuum, so as to shorten the horizontal distance between interactants, so that the relationship between the central figure (the speaker) and the referent person can move from being *shū* ('far/distant/thin') to *qīn* 亲 ('close/intimate'). Note that *shū* ('far') and *qīn* ('close') is a set of opposites used exclusively to describe relational (not physical) distance and to modify *guānxi* 关系 ('relationship'). The existence of such specialised words shows the importance of the role of relationships in the Chinese social realm. The second master script on Chinese social interaction can be formulated as follows:

[F] A cultural script for *yóushūzhìqīn* 由疏至亲 ('from far to close')

[many people think like this:]

it is good if some people think about me like this:

“this person is a *zìjǐrén*

because of this, it will be good if I say things to these people in the way like I say something to a *zìjǐrén*”

In order for the relationship between interactants to draw closer towards the central figure (as indicated by the solid arrow in Figure 1), one essentially extends the model of social interaction adopted within the Chinese family (where kinship members live in one place) to non-family (non-kinship) members [like I say something to a *zìjǐrén*]. This is done through linguistic strategies (the perforated

arrow in Figure 1 shows this direction of linguistic extension). The next section will highlight and examine some of the ‘pragmatic acts’ (Mey, 2001) employed to achieve this goal.

3. How does Chinese conceptualisation of interpersonal relationships affect Chinese social interaction?

The purpose of this section is to discuss lower-level, more specific scripts governing Chinese language use, which are guided by the master scripts discussed in the previous section. In particular, it will examine the following four aspects of language use in Chinese: *dǎ zhāohu* 打招呼 (‘greeting’), the use of *tóng* 同 *X* (‘fellow *X*’) and *lǎo* 老 *X* (‘old *X*’), and the ‘not-being-polite’ phenomenon.

Because the *shúrén* (‘acquaintance’) form the immediate, transitional circle, it can be expected that this is where the dynamism of Chinese social interaction lies.

3.1 *Dǎ zhāohu* 打招呼 (‘greeting’)

The first ‘pragmatic act’ that this paper investigates is *dǎ zhāohu* (‘greeting’).

Chinese babies from a very early age begin to be socialised to perform this act.

The following excerpt translated from an article entitled *Liùgeyuè de bǎobao huì shénme?* 六个月的宝宝会什么? (‘What can a six-month baby do?’), which appeared on Chinese Paediatrics Web, an authoritative website run by the Department of Paediatrics, Beijing University, provides a good example:

(4) 认人婴儿经过了对人的泛化认识后, 逐渐有了分化的认识, 开始出现怯生的表现。

这是婴儿的进步。此时要多给婴儿接触人的机会, 观察他(她)对熟人、生人不同的反应, 教会其对熟人用微笑或发音来打招呼, 对生人逐渐适应。

Babies begin to have differentiated recognition of people after a period of general recognition. They start to show shyness or timidity. This shows improvement on the part of the baby. At this time, more opportunities for contact with other people should be encouraged, and parent should observe his or her reaction to *shúrén* and *shēngrén*. Parents should teach the baby to use smiles or vocalisation to greet [*dǎ zhāohu*] *shúrén* and get more used to *shēngrén*. (<http://ek.med618.com.cn>, last accessed 9 April 2004 中华儿科网)

This example shows clearly how the cultural script shown in [E] operates in the socialisation of very young children. The cultural pressure is to greet *shúrén* ('acquaintance'), verbally and/or non-verbally, obligatorily. I will adduce examples from the internationally well-known Chinese film *Qiūjú Dǎguānsi* 秋菊打官司 (*The Story of Qiuju*, hereafter QJ) to further illustrate this point. Throughout this film, *dǎ zhāohu* never takes place between strangers, not even in the situations where 'greetings' are expected by Anglo cultural norms. A telling example is at the beginning of the film when the protagonist, Qiūjú, takes her injured husband to see a physician at a country clinic. There was no exchange such as 'hello' or 'how are you' between doctor and patients when they come into each other's field of vision. The doctor simply asked '*Zěnméle* 怎么了?', which means 'What happened (to you)?'.

What do *shúrén* ('acquaintance'), or participants (in the sense of P in Hymes' [1962] SPEAKING model), say to each other in this 'greeting' act? The following examples from QJ are highly representative:

(5) [Entering the inner room of the village head's house and seeing his mother eating noodles on the *kang*. A: Qiuju, B: village head's mother]

A: 吃面?

Chī miàn?

Eat noodle

'You are eating noodles (aren't you)?'

B: 吃面。你吃,我给你盛。

Chī miàn. Nǐ chī, wǒ gěi nǐ chéng.

eat noodle. You eat 1SG give 2SG ladle

'I am. Have some. I'll ladle them out for you.' (Giving the bowl to Qiuju).

A: 我吃过了。你吃。

Wǒ chī-guò le. Nǐ chī.

1SG eat:EXP PFV 2SG eat

'I have eaten. You eat.'

(6) [A: Policeman Li, B: village head]

B: [seeing Policeman Li coming in] 上来了?

shàngláile?

up:come:PFV

'You've come (haven't you)?'

A: 唉, 上来了。磨谷啊?

Eh, *shàngláile. Mógǔ a?*

Yes up-come-PFV grind:crop PART

'Yes, I've come. You are grinding the grain (aren't you)? (Old Wang, as to the matter of...)'

What is common to these examples is that participants in the act of 'greeting' ask the obvious about what the other person is doing.⁶ The question is often met with an affirmative answer (but can be negative or, sometimes, it does not anticipate an answer such as in (6)). For example, seeing a fellow colleague returning to the office, one can greet him or her with something like 'You've come back, haven't you' and then go on to some other topic. Walking into another colleague's office and seeing that this colleague is busy writing, the speaker can say something like 'You are busy writing, aren't you'. One of the functions of 'asking the obvious' is surely to acknowledge the presence of the other person (Firth, 1972, pp.9-11).

⁶ Questions in 'greetings' are formed by rising tone or by adding those sentence-final particles that function like tag-questions.

However, by observing and paying attention to what the other person is doing, and seeking further confirmation of information concerning the other party, the speaker reconfirms his or her relationship with the addressee. Each time such a communicative act is performed, the relationship between the interactants naturally becomes a step closer, and more and more *shú* ('familiar').

Having been immersed in the 'how are you?' type greeting in Australia, I was always struck by what Chinese people say to acquaintances in similar situations. Common exchanges could include (the Chinese equivalents of) (a) "Aunty Zhang, you are going (grocery) shopping?" ("张阿姨, 您出去买东西啊?"), (b) "You are going out?" ("张阿姨, 您出去啊?"), (c) "Teacher Zhou, you are going out with your daughter?" ("周老师, 您跟女儿一起出去啊?"), (d) "Master Li, you are coming back from work?" ("李师傅, 您下班回来了?"). The corresponding answers could be (a) "I am going to the supermarket to buy some meat, my daughter is coming for dinner" ("我去超市买点肉, 女儿今天晚上回来吃饭"), (b) "The weather is nice, I am going out just to look around" ("天气很好, 我出去走走看看"), (c) "I am taking my daughter to buy some clothes" ("我带女儿一起出去买东西"), and (d) "I am coming back from work" ("我下班刚回来"). On campus in Australia, I often had the urge to say something like "you are going to the library (aren't you)?" upon seeing an acquaintance or "you are reading a book (aren't you)?" if inside the library. But I held back because I knew it was not the Anglo way of greeting.

The fact that Chinese people ask the obvious about what the other person is doing also makes Chinese 'greetings' less formulaic, but more creative, depending on what the other person is doing at the time of speaking (and the answers could be elaborated). Duranti (1997) points out that greetings are not necessarily devoid of propositional content, as is often assumed in pragmatic studies. He considers it

important to examine what people say in ‘greetings’. The analysis in this section supports Duranti’s position.⁷ The following is a script proposed for *dǎ zhāohu* (There is a non-verbal script which accompanies script [G], see script [I] in §5.1.1 of Chapter 3):

[G] *A cultural script for dǎ zhāohu* 打招呼 (‘greeting’)

[many people think like this:]

when I see a *shúrén*, if I have not seen this person for some time
I have to say something like this to this person:

“I see you now

because of this I know that you are doing something now

I want to know more about it”

if I say this, this person can think because of this that I feel something good
towards this person

if I don’t say this, this person can think because of this that I feel something bad
towards this person

I don’t have to say something like this to a person if this person is not a *shúrén*

Dǎ zhāohu has to take place in face-to-face interaction [when I see a *shúrén*]. One

can put ^agreeting in the email subject column, but one cannot do so with *dǎzhāohu*.⁸

In Anglo culture, a person greets someone they know. But the interesting thing is that it is also considered friendly to greet a stranger, thus the encouragement of ‘How are you?’ in service encounters. One can imagine how a Chinese used to the above script will react to the quasi-obligatory “How are you?” in supermarkets in Australia; and conversely, how a native English speaker used to greetings in service exchanges (including in hospitals) would feel without the ‘How are you?’ or smiles in the comparable situations in China.

⁷ *Dǎ zhāohu* is polysemous. Shen (1998, p.70) explains the other sense as “to notify those concerned before or after some work or problem to be dealt with”. The two senses are related to what interactants say.

⁸ Instead, *wèn hòu* can be used, which is more like the ‘greeting’ in the sense of ‘New Year Greetings’. *Wèn hòu* is mostly concerned with health.

In a changing China, *wēixiào fúwù* 微笑服务 ('smile service') is being increasingly advocated, especially in cosmopolitan cities. But people generally take it with a grain of salt. Instead, the impersonal, unsmiling *huānyíng guānglín* 欢迎光临 ('welcome to come here') fulfils such a need in public service encounters. This, from another angle, affirms the shared knowledge of not greeting a *shēngrén* implied in the last line of the script.

3.2 *Tóng X* 同 X ('fellow X')

A *shúrén* ('acquaintance') is not automatically qualified as a *zìjǐrén* ('insider/one of us'). As mentioned earlier, *zìjǐrén* is a psychological category, usually predetermined by some pre-set shared traits such as blood or place relations (that is, people who are from the same place). For a non-kinship member to be considered as a *zìjǐrén*, Chinese people have to appeal to some 'sameness' shared by the interactants. This is why they often refer to each other as *tóng X*, which could roughly be translated into English as 'fellow X'. Not surprisingly, there is a proliferation of *tóng* [same]-related phrases to refer to such 'sameness' in the Chinese language. Some most commonly used 'referents' are as follows (all from ABC, pp.600-604):

tóngxiāng 同乡 [same-town] ('fellow villager/townsman')

tóngxué 同学 [same-study] ('fellow student' or 'people once in the same school')

tóngbāntóngxué 同班同学 [same-class-same-study] ('classmates of same department and year')

tóngháng 同行 [same-trade] ('person of same profession')

tóngshì 同事 [same-matter] ('colleague', i.e. 'people who do the same thing'),

tóngbāo 同胞 [same-afterbirth/sibling] ('offspring of same
parents/compatriot').

When a Chinese finds out that another person is *tóngxìng* 同姓 ('of the same surname'), they will immediately say *Wǒmen wǔbǎiniánqián shì yìjiā* 我们五百年前是一家 ('We are of the same family five hundred years ago'), which is a formulaic expression in situations like this. It is also very common to hear people refer to each other as being *tóngnián* 同年, *tóngsuì* 同岁 ('of the same year') or *tónglíng* 同龄 ('of the same age').⁹ *Fellow* in English is probably a near equivalent of *tóng*. But English speakers do not commonly refer to each other as 'fellow X', where X can be place, age, or activity (so that similar experience is implied). A script for the use of *tóng X* is as follows:

[H] *A cultural script for tóng X* 同 X ('fellow X')

[many people think like this:]

when I say something about another person to someone
it is good if I can say something like this:

“I think about this person like this:

‘I know something about this person

this person can know the same thing about me’

when I think about this person like this,

I feel something good towards this person because of this

this person can think about me in the same way

when this person thinks about me like this,

this person can feel something good towards me because of this”

⁹ The only exception is *tóngzhì* 同志 [same-purpose/aspiration] ('comrade'). It can only be used as a form of address.

Some of the above-mentioned *tóng X* expressions can be modified by *lǎo* ('old') to make the relationship between the speaker and the referent sound even closer. This brings our discussion to the use of *lǎo X* ('old X') in the next section.

3.3 *Lǎo X* 老 X ('old X')

In a highly interesting and revealing book on Chinese (political) negotiation entitled *Chinese Negotiating Behaviour: Pursuing Interests Through 'Old Friends'*, the author, a former American ambassador to China, writes that "within that relatively brief period, Kissinger found himself characterised as an 'old friend' by his new Chinese counterparts" (Solomon, 1999, p.x). Calling a foreigner "an old friend of China" during initial encounters can be baffling and striking for cultural outsiders. But it is such an established conventional practice that no book on Chinese negotiation styles fails to mention it. The intended message is clear from the Chinese side: we regard you as someone who has a close relationship with China-us; you are like one of us (thus all the culturally-loaded obligations of *zìjǐrén*, §1.2). This is because once the relationship between the two sides reaches this 'threshold' of being 'old', they are like *zìjǐrén*. In the Chinese language, the expression of *lǎo X* stands almost side-by-side with *zìjǐrén*. For example, one would often hear people saying "*Wǒmen shì lǎotóngshì le, zìjǐrén* 我们是老同事了, 自己人" ('We are fellow colleagues since a long time ago, we're insiders [thus we do not have to be polite to each other]').

It is clear that calling Kissinger an "old friend" (when he obviously was not) is a strategic move employed by his Chinese counterpart to "draw the foreign

negotiator into a personal relationship, establish ties of friendship” (Solomon, 1999, p.21), which, as the author puts it, is “a clear projection of Chinese social practices” (p.25).

It is important to note that *péngyǒu* 朋友, which is often translated as *friend* in English, does not mean the same as *friend* (see Wierzbicka, 1997 for the meaning of English *friend*). *Péngyǒu* is a vague category which says little about the nature of the relationship, since there are so many specific categories ^{and more important categories} referring to human relationships in Chinese culture that are formed on the basis of their shared ‘sameness’ (§3.2). (Little wonder that kids are addressed and referred to by adults as *xiǎopéngyǒu* 小朋友, which means ‘little friend’). Foreigners are referred to as *péngyǒu* precisely because of the little shared common ground that they have with the Chinese people. The most important message conveyed by the term *péngyǒu* is rather that it is the opposite of enemy.

Clearly, the time factor is at work in the use of ‘old’ (cf. §1.2). Becoming *shú* (‘cooked/familiar’) or *shúrén* (‘acquaintance’) is an important step towards being seen as ‘one of us’. When interactants have little in common, time becomes the only thing that can be appealed to in the effort to forge a closer relationship. Furthermore, the ‘depth’ of the interpersonal relationship naturally follows the ‘length’ of ‘knowing the other person’.

The script for the use of *lǎo X* (where X refers to person) is proposed as follows:

[I] *A cultural script for use of* lǎo X 老 X ('old X')

[many people think like this:]

when I say something about another person to someone

it is good if I can say something like this:

“I think about this person like this:

‘I have known for a long time who this person is

I have often said things to this person when I saw this person

because of this, I can say I know many things about this person

this person can say the same about me’

when I think about this person like this

I feel something good towards this person because of this

I can think about this person like I think about a *zìjǐrén*”

3.4 To be or not to be ‘polite’ ‘客气’ 还是 ‘不客气’?

The distinction between *zìjǐrén* (‘insider’) and *wàirén* (‘outsider’) is so deep-rooted that it is ubiquitous in Chinese social exchanges and closely tied up with the Chinese notion of ‘politeness’. For example *zìjǐrén biékèqi* 自己人别客气 (‘We are insiders, do not be polite’) or *zìjǐrén bié jiànwài* 自己人别见外 (‘We are insiders, do not see outside’) are among the most frequently used formulaic expressions, or what Kecskes (2003) calls “situation-bound utterances”, exchanged in (informal) social settings. They roughly mean something like this: ‘Do not stand on ceremony. Forget about the formality. Insiders don’t need that’. This is because Chinese family members do not usually observe *kètào* 客套 (‘polite formula, civilities’, ABC, 1997, p.339), don’t say *kètàohuà* 客套话 [*kètào* words] (‘polite formula’), p.340) or *kèqihuà* 客气话 (‘polite words/utterance’), such as “thank you”, or “please”, and don’t pay compliments to each other, or ask each other’s permission to do something (cf. Ye, 2004). Thus a request such as “Would you please take the camera to the garden, it is photo time, thank you” from a husband to his wife would be unthinkable from a Chinese point of view.

To be *kèqi* is to observe courtesy and to fulfil the requirements of decorum in social encounters. It is a good thing to be *kèqi*. However, the catch is that being *kèqi* inevitably implies a non-*zìjǐrén*, ‘far’ relationship. It goes against the ‘from far to close’ principle as described in master script [F] (see §2.2). Thus to say words to the effect that “we are insiders, *kèqi* should be spared” is a pragmatic act intended to shorten the social distance between the interactants. The following script describes this general rule of saying ‘don’t be polite’ as a ‘polite’ rule in Chinese social encounters:

[J] *A cultural script for biékèqì 别客气* (‘do not be polite’)

[many people think like this:]
people have to do/say some things in some ways when they are with other people
if these other people are not *zìjǐrén*
people don’t have to do/say these things in these ways when they are with *zìjǐrén*
when a person is with someone else
if this other person is not a *zìjǐrén*,
it can be good if this person says something like this to this other person:
“when you are with me, I want you to do/say things like you do
when you are with *zìjǐrén*”

Being *kèqi* 客气 (‘polite’) is a notion that is situated and applied in the wider interactional realm of ‘outsiders’. This is hinted in the meaning of *kè* (‘guest/stranger/alien’). So far, *kèqi*, this important value in Chinese informal social encounters, has not been discussed in the literature on Chinese ‘politeness’. Instead, *lǐmào* 礼貌 has been treated as the Chinese first-order politeness (i.e. politeness1, after Watts, Ide, and Ehlich, 1992), which was first proposed by Gu (1990; see also Mao, 1994, Lee-Wong, 2000). However, Gu (1990, p.239) rightly pointed out the moral dimension that characterises *lǐmào*, reflected in the very word *lǐ* – “referring to social hierarchy and order”. But, Gu fails to point out that *lǐmào* is used prototypically to describe children’s behaviour towards adults (thus,

respectful behaviour towards senior members of society). *Lǐmào* is essentially located in the moral world, where hierarchical, asymmetrical relationships are pre-established and fixed; whereas *kèqi* is applied in the adult, informal social world between *shúrén*. It is more of an attitude than social conduct, built into routine conversations and formulaic talks between people, whose relationships are negotiable. This is supported by the informants' observation in Pye's (1982) study that the hierarchical relationship within a Chinese negotiation team seems to succumb to an insider relationship. It seems that for the notion of Chinese 'politeness' to be at least plausible, the salient folk notion of *kèqi* has to be included and dealt with.

4. Theoretical and practical implications

An ethnopragmatic perspective afforded by linguistic evidence and examples from real-life intercultural encounters, and a culture-independent semantic theory NSM, has allowed this study to reveal the cultural logic inherent in Chinese social interaction, which moulds Chinese cultural patterns and social practice. It has yielded fruitful results on two fronts. On the theoretical side, it has shown that knowledge of the fundamental categories of Chinese interpersonal relationships is crucial for a full grasp of the cultural mechanisms that govern Chinese ways of speaking. Thus, this study has made a strong case for treating interpersonal relationships as a theoretical variable in studies of pragmatics and human interaction. The conceptual foundation of Chinese social interaction is fundamentally different from the one upon which Brown and Levinson's (1987, hereafter B & L) model of social interaction is built, in that the key force in Chinese social interaction is along the 'outsider-insider' continuum, pulling the

relationship between interactants towards the central figure. This explains the confusion and inconsistency that surrounds the characteristics of Chinese communicative styles as described in the existing literature, which some studies describe as oriented towards 'negative politeness', and other describe as oriented towards 'positive politeness'. This study dispels such confusion. A corollary of unveiling the conceptual basis of Chinese social organisation and uncovering the cultural logic of Chinese social interaction is that 'face', the pillar concept in B & L's theory of politeness, and the focus of most, if not all, Chinese studies on pragmatics and social interaction, does not play such an important role as is often assumed (*miànzi* ['face'] is an important concept in Chinese culture, but not the key intersection of the general design of Chinese social pattern). Thus, Lim's (1994) attempt to use the variable of face to explain interpersonal relationships is like 'putting the cart before the horse'.¹⁰ It is obvious from this study that Chinese people do not have the need to attend to another's face wants or needs if this person is seen as an 'outsider'. This speaks volumes of the importance of discovering what is basic, important and fundamental to the actors in their social reality, not only in theory-making but also in practice.

On the practical side, this chapter has shown that theoretical discussion and empirical study can feed each other. Discussion throughout the paper has drawn observations and insights from studies of Chinese interactional style and social behaviour driven by the practical needs of trying to understand and make sense of Chinese interactional behaviour in political and business negotiations. These studies offer hands-on advice and manual-like instruction that people in real life

¹⁰ Pan (2000, p.6) describes how over-emphasis on the concept of face spells disaster for students in social encounters in China. Pan's concern is shared by many language teachers.

can apply immediately. Most interestingly, they unanimously point out that failure to understand the meaning of Chinese 'friendship' and the role that relationships play in Chinese social organisation lies at the heart of miscommunication and unsuccessful negotiation outcomes. This study has shown how conceptual analysis can provide an explanation for common social practices.

Chapter 3

Why the 'Inscrutable' Chinese Face? Facial Expressions, Cultural Values and Emotion Scripts in Chinese

*'Why the "inscrutable" Chinese face?'*¹ The question posed in the title of this chapter is meant to be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, why is the Chinese face perceived as being 'inscrutable'? Secondly, why has the 'inscrutable' Chinese face itself become the subject of inquiry of the present study? Both of these questions relate to the objectives of this chapter, and form its underlying themes. In pursuing the first question, the chapter challenges the long-held, unquestioned stereotypes of the 'inscrutable' Chinese face (and the 'oriental face' in general), and probes the various factors – perceptual and cultural – that give rise to such stereotypes, which have almost become a kind of 'truism' in the eyes and minds of others. Simultaneously, a Chinese cultural model of facial expressions is revealed through a detailed description and analysis of idiomatic Chinese phrases that refer to the face, along with an in-depth discussion of the cultural norms and values that influence Chinese facial behaviour. The second question is related to theoretical and methodological considerations, which are the overarching concern of the study. By taking up this question, it exemplifies the methodological issues confronting the study of the Other and demonstrates the usefulness of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) in 'demystifying' certain persistent and mistaken beliefs about the Other, ultimately striving towards a better understanding between members from different cultural groups with implications for studies in intercultural communication.²

¹ A personal note is of relevance here. My own experience in Naples convinced me more than ever that understanding the meaning of the face, as well as the rules for its expression, is crucial for smooth interaction between people from different cultural backgrounds. A Neapolitan face, rich in its expression even by Italian standards (e.g. Jorio, 2000/[1832]), often appeared 'inscrutable' to me. The meanings of and norms for facial expressions that are specific to a culture have to be learned by a cultural outsider.

² I make a sharp distinction between *images of the Other* and *understanding of the Other*. The former implies impressions at a surface level, and in my view, reflects and reveals more of the values and beliefs upheld by the image creator than the Other, and itself forms an important, independent line of research (for an excellent essay scrutinising the image of China and the Chinese people in Western literature, see Zhang, 1988; see also Spence, 1998). The 'inscrutable' Chinese' face is

'...When I heard, I felt like crying'. She smiled as she spoke, but it was the Chinese smile that served as a mask against deeper feelings. Those smiles could hide many emotions – embarrassment, anger, sadness. When the people smiled like that, it was as if all of the emotion was wound tightly and displaced; sometimes you caught a glimpse of it in the eyes, or at the corner of the mouth, or perhaps in a single wrinkle stretching sadly across a forehead'. (Hessler, 2002, p.131)

What makes all such scenes more intensely fascinating is perhaps the transparency of Italian faces. ...You can read joy, sorrow, hope, anger, relief, boredom, despair, love, and disappointment as easily as large-printed words on a wall poster. ...Italians are often disconcerted, unhappy and lonely in the north of Europe, and seldom know what is going on, surrounded as they are by blank faces on which little can be read and that little seldom exciting. They wrongly conclude that, as the people show no feelings, they have no feelings worth showing. (Barzini, 1996/[1964], p.61)

As soon as the sun went down on the first day after her death, the entire family formed a procession. Everyone cried loudly all the way to a temporary miniature temple, about ten minutes away from other house. ... On the day of the funeral, the procession began from Na-na's house, with my eldest uncle carrying a big clay pot on his head. At one point he had to drop the pot on the ground. The pot broke into pieces, the signal for everyone to begin crying, one of the only occasions when crying in public was acceptable. (Li, 2003: p.77)

1. What makes the Chinese face 'inscrutable'?

A face is regarded as 'inscrutable' only when seen as operating under rules that are different from those of the observer. In other words, the notion of an 'inscrutable' Chinese face is invoked always in some context and with some reference point against which the Chinese face is judged. Quite often, it is judged against a 'Western' face. Generally speaking, the following three factors are identified as contributing to conceptions regarding the 'inscrutable' (Chinese) face. These are (a) characteristic (Chinese) facial expressions that are either absent or less salient in

fundamentally an image in the eyes of the West. By unveiling this image and delving into the reasons that give rise to such an image, this chapter also implicitly probes underlying perceptions and cultural norms in the (Anglophone) West.

other cultures: (b) similar facial movements across cultures that have culture-specific interpretations; (c) (Chinese) culture-specific rules governing the production of certain facial expressions in situations where different responses may be expected by people from other cultures.

The rest of the chapter will illustrate each of these three points in detail. But each point also raises the fundamental question of how culture-specific messages surrounding the face – expressions, interpretations, and rules for facial expressions – can be decoded so that people from other cultural backgrounds can make sense of them. It is therefore necessary to first turn to broad methodological issues before proceeding to examine each of these factors more closely.

2. Methodological issues

This section explains the methods that this chapter adopts in examining the Chinese face. It focuses on the following three points: (a) using linguistic evidence as a gateway to the comprehension of facial expressions as a non-verbal language; (b) using a culture-independent metalanguage for the presentation of meanings conveyed by the face; and (c) using literary sources for the provision of the contexts where certain facial expressions occur.

Facial expression forms a powerful nonverbal communicative language, especially for conveying feelings and emotions. Knapp (1972) describes the face as the “primary site for communicating emotional states” (p.68). Its inherent communicative function plays an important role in social interaction. Klineberg (1940) considers facial (emotional) expression as a means of “social

communication” (pp.188-200; see also Fridlund, 1997).³ He explains that emotional expression is analogous to language in that it functions as a means of communication, and that it must be learned, as least in part (Klineberg, 1940, pp.188-200).

This chapter treats the facial expressions of a people in a given culture as forming a codified linguistic system that is an integral part of the semiotic system. In this context, the question that needs to be addressed at the outset is how this important and powerful ‘gesture language’ for communicating wants and feelings can be understood in a non-arbitrary fashion across cultures?

Curiously, while psychologists are increasingly making an effort to understand the communicative role and function of the face, linguists in general seem to have rarely shown interest in a systematic understanding of this important gesture language.⁴ The general silence among linguists may have much to do with the difficulties they face in decoding this nonverbal language, which are intrinsically

³ In psychology, one of the heated debates surrounding the study of facial expressions over the last decade has centred on whether facial expressions are ‘read outs’ of internal experiences or ‘social signals’ (see Russell and Fernandez-Dols, 1997 for details of the debate). Both standpoints acknowledge the communicative function of the face while differing mainly in the importance of the communicative function that each attaches to it. The ‘read-out’ view considers the communicative function of facial movement to be secondary to its expressive function, while the ‘social signal’ view sees it as a primary (cf. Fernandez-Dols, 1999; Manstead, Fischer, and Jakobs, 1999). It can be said that the communicative function of facial expression is an intrinsic feature of the face.

It is interesting to note that, although Ekman was the main advocate of the ‘read-out’ view (e.g. Ekman, 1972), in his recent preface to the third edition of Darwin’s (1998[1872]) *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, he states that “We don’t have to choose whether an expression is part of an emotion or a communicative signal. In reality, it is both” (Darwin, 1998[1872], p.xxx).

⁴ Anna Wierzbicka seems to be one of the few linguists who have shown deep interest in the human face. This study has been inspired by her groundbreaking work in this field (e.g. Wierzbicka, 1993, 1995).

linked with the double-sided nature of the face: it connects and relates to both the inner self and others, at one personal and social.

This chapter sets out to demonstrate that the following two steps are indispensable in arriving at an accurate understanding of the facial expressions of a people in a given culture or across cultures. First, an immediate avenue for accessing and reading the message conveyed by the face is by documenting and analysing codified linguistic descriptions in a given language that refer to facial expressions, and relying on a culture-independent metalanguage to explicate the messages coded in them. Linguistic descriptions of facial expressions, which represent a local facial encoding system, provide valuable resources for us to gain a culture-internal view of the face.

Second, the visible information conveyed by the face (i.e. the semantics of the face (relating to the factors [a] and [b] mentioned in §1) and the hidden social rules and norms that govern facial expressions (i.e. the pragmatics of the face, relating to factor [c] mentioned in §1) should both be understood. This is because of the simultaneously personal and social nature of the face.⁵

As just mentioned, the gateway to the comprehension of the communicative language of facial expression is through linguistic evidence – descriptions that have explicit references to the face or parts of the face. In particular, this chapter draws upon conventional, commonly used lexical items, phrases and idioms, such as *chéngyǔ* 成语 (set phrases, usually four characters long; cf. §5 of Chapter 1).

According to X. Yang (1998), among the 860 or so set phrases in Chinese that are

⁵ These two levels of inquiry parallel central issues in the research of facial expressions – whether the recognition of emotions from facial expressions is universal and what the cultural variables are in the ‘display rules’. To a great extent, linguistic inquiry along this line of research will shed new light on these issues.

related to body language (facial expressions, body gestures and movements, voice, and costumes), 48.8 per cent refer to facial expressions (including references to the face and components of the face). These conventional descriptions serve as valuable linguistic evidence for understanding how Chinese facial expressions are produced, perceived, and interpreted. The lexicalisation of these descriptions is a strong indication that certain facial behaviours are salient in the eyes of the Chinese people (see Ye, 2004a).

How can the meanings of linguistic descriptions of the face be understood in an accurate and systematic manner? The present study does not rely on ordinary translations, because these often do not do justice to the original meaning, and quite often, they represent instead the categories belonging to the language of the translator. Sometimes, an emotion concept is simply culture-specific and does not have its equivalent in other languages (see e.g. Athanasiadou and Tabakowska, eds., 1998; Goddard, 1997; Harkins and Wierzbicka, eds., 2001; Lutz and White, eds., 1986; Rosaldo, 1980; Russell, 1991; Shweder 2003; Shweder and LeVine, eds., 1984; Wierzbicka, 1986, 1999, 2003c; Ye, 2001a, in press a). Furthermore, the large store of conventional phrases used by Chinese people to describe facial expressions implies that they do not simply correlate facial expressions one-to-one with a discreet emotion category. It is possible that there may not be a single discreet emotion category to match a facial expression. It is misguided to expect that one simply label a facial expression with a presupposed emotion category.

Finally, to the question of context. Nonverbal behaviour cannot be fully understood without taking contextual information into consideration. In the present study, situational contexts are supplied by popular literary sources. While it is also desirable to have *in situ* recordings of actual facial expressions when they occur,

one cannot overlook narrative works either. A recognition and understanding of facial expressions captured on video relies on a translation into their descriptions which may be problematic. A literary work, with their inherent goal of capturing ‘an element of life’ that readers can relate to (Spackman and Parrott, 2001, p.554), can provide a valuable source for capturing prototypical situations when facial expressions occur. Furthermore, they also enjoy a widely recognised social basis.⁶

3. Data

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to investigate the entire corpus of Chinese descriptions of facial expressions, which numbers in ^{the} hundreds. The linguistic data discussed in this chapter are extracted from one of the most popular and important novels in China – *Hónglóumèng* 《红楼梦》 (*A Dream of Red Mansions*, hereafter HLM). The reasons for drawing data from this text are many and apt. The three most important ones are as follows.

Firstly, the choice of HLM as a source of expressions is an attempt to reflect an indigenous way of describing facial expressions from a time when China was still pre-industrial and had little contact with the Western world. The consideration of this aspect was influenced by the rationale behind Ekman and Fiesen’s extension of their research on facial expressions to the pre-literary society of tribes in Papua New Guinea (Ekman, 1972; Ekman and Friesen, 1971).

Secondly, although the text belongs to the late-imperial period of China, its language belongs to modern Chinese and has a ‘canonical status’ in the Chinese language. This is reflected by the fact that linguistic data from HLM has always

⁶ The need to translate recorded facial expressions into verbal labels and descriptions compels even psychologists to turn to literary texts (see e.g. Klineberg, 1938).

been a foundation and a rich source for grammars of modern Chinese (e.g. Lü, 1941; Wang, 1947), and words and expressions from it not only form dictionaries of their own (e.g. HLMYC, 1995), but also become entries in various other dictionaries, such as the most authoritative Chinese dictionary, *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn* (*A Dictionary of Modern Chinese*, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, ed., 1998, hereafter XHC; See also, Lu and Ma, 1999; XHXC, 1999; ZHXC, 1984). In this sense, the choice of the linguistic data under examination here ensures both indigenouslyness and current usage.⁷

Thirdly, as stated by Otto Klineberg (1938), who also examined the same text in his study of Chinese emotion expression, “among the various techniques employed, it seemed valuable in the case of a civilization as articulate as the Chinese to examine at least a portion of the Chinese literature for the light it might throw on this problem [emotional expression]” (p.517). The popularity of the novel ensured a common social recognition of descriptions under discussion.

A near exhaustive examination of the novel found the following phrases that refer to the movement of the face or parts of the face as expressions of emotions. They are grouped into the following four categories:

(i) Descriptions with reference to the whole face:

chūnfēngmǎnmiàn 春风满面 [spring breeze whole face] (‘beaming’)

mǎnmiàndūixiào 满面堆笑 [whole face pile up smiles]

miàndàiwēixiào 面带微笑 [face carries smiles]

⁷ The popularity of HLM is also reflected in the scores of films, operas and TV series that have been adapted from this novel, with the recent 36-episode TV series becoming a national hit. Also, this novel is included in the list of compulsory extra-curriculum readings for middle school students by the Chinese Ministry of Education. A simplified *pīnyīn* version of *Hónglóumèng* for primary school pupils is also available (see Kang, 2001).

liào/là/fàngxiàliǎnlái 撂/落/放下脸来 [put down one's face] ('put on a stone look')

chénxiàliǎnlái 沉下脸来 (lit. [sink/lower down face] ('cloud over'))

biànlǎn 变脸 [change face] ('become angry')

(ii) Descriptions with reference to both the upper and lower parts of the face:

mùdèngkǒudāi 目瞪口呆 [eyes wide open, mouth dumb]

(iii) Descriptions with reference to the lower part of the face:

a. The mouth: *piézui* 撇嘴 [move the corner of the mouth to one side]

juēzui 撅嘴 [purse one's mouth]

zāzui 咂嘴 [smack one's mouth]

b. The tongue: *tǔ/shēnshétou* 吐/伸舌头 [thrust out/stretch one's tongue]

c. The teeth: *yǎoyáqièchǐ* 咬牙切齿 [bite the molars and grind the teeth]

(iv) Descriptions with reference to the upper part of the face:

a. The eyes: *fēngyǎnyuánzhēng* 凤眼圆睁 [almond-like eyes opened round]

dèngzheyǎn 瞪着眼 [stare one's eyes]

yīzhányǎn 一展眼 [at once unfolding eyes] ('suddenly open one's eyes')

zhèngyǎnbùkàn 正眼不看 [straight eyes not looking]

mièxié 乜斜 [squint look]

b. The eyebrows:

xǐshàngméishāo 喜上眉梢 [delight/joy to the tip of the brows]

yángméitǔqì 扬眉吐气 [raise eyebrows, utter breath] ('to feel elated')

méilì 眉立 [eyebrows standing (on their inner tips)]

shùqǐliǎngdàoméimáo 竖起两道眉毛 [erect two eyebrows]

éméidàolì 蛾眉倒立 [moth-like eyebrows stand upside down]

chóuméikǔliǎn 愁眉苦脸 [sad/worried eyebrows, bitter face]

zhòuméi/zhòuzhòuméi 皱眉/皱皱眉 [wrinkle eyebrows]

c. The eyebrows and the eyes:

méimùchuánqíng 眉目传情 [eyebrows and eyes convey feelings]

méiláiyǎnqù 眉来眼去 [eyebrows fro, eyes to] ('to converse with eyes and brows')

jǐméinòngyǎn 挤眉弄眼 [squeeze the brows, play with the eyes]

méigāoyǎndī 眉高眼低 [eyebrows high, eyes low] ('adopt different attitudes and measures under different circumstances')

méikāiyǎnxiào 眉开眼笑 [(the space between) the eyebrows are open and the eyes are smiling]

lìméiliyǎn 立眉立眼 [erect brows, erect eyes]

lìméichēnmù 立眉嗔目 [standing eyebrows, angry eyes]

sǐméidèngyǎn 死眉瞪眼 [dead brows, staring eyes]

d. The eyebrows and the face:

méifēisèwǔ 眉飞色舞 [eyebrows fly, facial expression dances]

All of these expressions are commonly used and can be found as entries of contemporary dictionaries such as XHC. Other contemporary texts such as *Gùshìhuì* 《故事会》, the most widely read magazine targeted at the working class with a circulation of approximately six million copies in Mainland China (hereafter referred to as G), are also used to provide situational contexts.

4. Reading the messages conveyed by the face on a semiotic basis

Since emotion concepts do not necessarily correspond between Chinese and English (e.g. Russell and Yik, 1996),⁸ and since there may not be a one-to-one relationship between a description of a facial expression and an emotion term, the aim of this section is not to match a facial expression with a particular emotion category. Rather, it focuses on reading the messages a particular facial expression conveys on a semiotic basis, that is, finding the link between the forms and meaning of facial expressions (cf. Cole, 1998; Wierzbicka, 1993b, 1995), much in the spirit of Charles Darwin's (1998[1872]) *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*.

In explicating a descriptive item referring to facial expression, an explication aims to spell out the feelings and thoughts that people attribute to a person X when they say that that person has a facial expression of Y. In the following discussion, facial expressions that are characteristic of the Chinese people will be discussed first, followed by those that may be observed cross-culturally, but with Chinese-specific interpretations. In each of the succeeding sections, the discussion will

⁸ Ye (2001a, b, in press a) has tried to show that if a table of 'basic emotions' were to be proposed from the prism of Chinese language (and based on the traditional approach to emotions), its contents would be completely different. Indeed, as pointed out by Shweder (2004), taking English basic emotions as universals leaves little room even to test the validity of such a claim.

proceed from expressions relating the lower part of the face to those relating to the upper part of the face.

4.1 Characteristic Chinese facial expressions and their meanings

4.1.1 *Tǔ/shēn shétou* 吐/伸舌头 ('put out/stretch one's tongue').

Tǔ shétou ('put out one's tongue') or *shēn shétou* ('stretch one's tongue') is a quick gesture. It is often accompanied by wide-open eyes and, possibly, a duck of the head. The following textual examples indicate that, for the Chinese people, sticking out one's tongue is linked, prototypically, with the thoughts 'I want to say something; I don't know what I can say now':

- (1) 翠缕翠墨二人倒都吓了一跳，说：“这是什么原故？”雪雁将方才的事，一一告诉他二人。”二人都吐了吐舌头儿说：“这可不是顽的！你们怎么不告诉老太太去？这还了得！”(HLM, Chapter 82, p.1163)

When they heard that Daiyu vomited blood, Cui Lu and Cui Mo thrust out their tongues in dismay. "This is no small matter! Why haven't you reported it to the old lady? This is a really serious matter!"

- (2) 刘姥姥听了，摇头吐舌说道：“我的佛祖！倒得十只鸡来配他，怪道这个味儿！”

(HLM, Chapter 41, p.550)

(when she found out that the eggplant dish was made from ten chickens),

Granny Liu shook her head and stuck out her tongue in amazement.

(3) The door opened and Manna's roommate Nurse Hsu came in, humming 'On the Sun Island', a popular song. Seeing Lin sitting on the edge of her bed, which was opposite Manna's, Nurse Hsu stick out her tongue and made an apologetic face at the couple. (Ha, 1999, p.16)⁹

Sticking out one's tongue may indicate, iconically, that the experiences want to say something now, but they do not know what to say, as if they were still in a state of disbelief.

The message conveyed by *tǔ/shēn shétou* ('putting out/stretching one's tongue') can be interpreted as follows:

[A] *Semantic explication for tǔ/shēn shétou* 吐/伸舌头 ('put out/stretch one's tongue')

- (a) I now know something
- (b) I didn't know that something like this could happen
- (c) I feel something bad because of this
- (d) I want to say something because of this
- (e) I don't know what I can say now

Klineberg (1938, 1940) also noticed the culture-specific character of sticking out the tongue among the Chinese people. In *Social Psychology*, he commented, in regard to an experiment comparing Chinese and American emotion expressions with still photographs, that "in surprise, for example, it is common for the Chinese to stick out the tongue; since this pattern is rare among Americans, the picture corresponding to it was more easily recognised by the Chinese" (Klineberg, 1940, p.197).

⁹ 'An apologetic face' in this context is a smiling face (cf. *péixiào* in 5.1.3).

Klineberg is largely correct in pointing out that Americans are not familiar with the facial gesture of sticking out the tongue to indicate surprise. However, it seems arbitrary to simply equate this expression with *surprise*. The examples above demonstrate that there is an element of disbelief in the meaning associated with *tǔ/shēn shétou*. This element, however, is absent in the meaning of *surprise*.

4.1.2 *Piězuǐ* 撇嘴 ('corner of the mouth falls to one side').

The term *piě* 撇 is a stroke in character writing made in the lower left direction, in a shape similar to the vertical stroke of an italic *f*. XHC explains the facial gesture of *piězuǐ* ('corner of the mouth falls to one side') as "the lower lip protrudes, and the corners of the mouth are drawn down. It indicates disapproval of something; or sulking" (p.976). ZSHC translates it as "to purse the mouth (in contempt, or to resist an impulse to cry)" (p.424).

The XHC (p.974) gives two examples: one is *piězuǐ yáotóu* 撇嘴摇头 ('to *piě* the mouth and shake the head') and the other is *xiǎohái piězuǐ yàokū* 小孩撇嘴要哭 ('a child with a *piě* mouth about to cry'). This gives us a hint that *piězuǐ* is polysemous. *Piězuǐ₁* describes a lasting facial expression of one about to cry. A classic picture from Darwin (1998[1872], p.180, Plate II, No. 7) with a child tightly closing the lips, and moving them towards the left corner depicts such a facial gesture. The protruded lower lips are accompanied by corresponding gestures involving other parts of the face that also indicate unhappiness.

The gesture described as *piězuǐ₂*, however, is a quick motion, often accompanied by downcast eyes. In the expression of 'to *piě* the mouth and shake the head', the lips can either move upward consistent with the direction of the turn

of the head, or move in the opposite direction. The following discussion focuses on *piězuǐ*₂.

There does not seem to be a single lexical item in English that corresponds exactly to the facial expression of *piězuǐ*₂. It is not a *sneer* because it does not expose the teeth, and neither can it be equated with a *snort*. With *piězuǐ*, the speaker shows that he or she considers the other person's action or speech to be incorrect or unacceptable. The speaker disagrees with the other person or disapproves of what the other person did, yet they refrain from arguing, instead showing disdain, as if to say 'I am not going to argue with you'. The interpreted meaning associated with the expression of *piězuǐ*₂ can be presented as follows:

[B] *Semantic explication* for *piězuǐ*₂ 撇嘴 ('corner of the mouth falls to one side')

- (a) I now know that this person did something
- (b) I think like this about it: "this is not good"
- (c) I want to say something because of this
- (d) I don't want to say any words now

Component (b) implies the experiencer's disdain. Component (c) is proposed on an iconic basis of the movement of the mouth, as if one wants to say something.

The experiencer, however, does not say it out loud, thus 'I don't want to say any words now' (d).

4.1.3 *Sǐméidèngyǎn* 死眉瞪眼 ('dead eyebrows and staring eyes').

For Chinese people, eyebrows play an important role in emotions even when they are 'dead' (that is, when they are, apparently, immobile). 'Dead brows', along with wide-open, staring eyes indicate antipathy, uncooperativeness, hostility, and slight

anger (often over petty things). ABC (p.569) translates this expression as 'deadpan'. This suggests an emotionless face, a 'poker face', indicating a vague inner state that the observer cannot easily interpret. The Chinese expression however, does disclose information relating to a certain specific inner state. The message conveyed by *sǐméidèngyǎn* ('dead eyebrows and staring eyes') can be represented as follows:

[C] *Semantic explication for sǐméidèngyǎn* 死眉瞪眼 ('dead eyebrows and staring eyes')

- (a) I know now that something has happened
- (b) I think about it like this: "this is bad"
- (c) I didn't think that something like this could happen
- (d) I don't want things like this to happen
- (e) I will not do anything because of this

Sǐméidèngyǎn lacks urgency of action. The experiencer is merely an antipathetic on-looker who cannot really comprehend the situation, as if thinking: 'how can this happen; I think: something like this should not happen'. The inaction reflected in component (e) 'I will not do anything' may account for the 'deadness' of the eyebrows in contrast to their 'standing action', which is usually regarded as a sign of 'anger'. This is why *sǐméidèngyǎn* can be related neither to *nù* ('active anger'), nor to *qi* ('personal and offended anger'). Both **nùde sǐméidèngyǎn* *怒得死眉瞪眼 ('*nù* to the point of having dead eyebrows and staring eyes') and **qìde sǐméidèngyǎn* *气得死眉瞪眼 ('*qì* to the point of having dead eyebrows and staring eyes') are unacceptable. Component (c) conveys incomprehension. As a specific character trait, people who always wear faces with 'dead brows and staring eyes' are considered stiff, rigid, inflexible and uncooperative.

4.2 Facial expressions with culture (Chinese)-specific interpretations

4.2.1 *Mùdèngkǒudāi* 目瞪口呆 ('eyes wide open with strength, mouth dumbstruck').

When wide-open eyes are accompanied by a slackly opened mouth, the facial expression is described as *mùdèngkǒudāi*, often translated as 'dumbstruck, stupefied'. Photographs produced by Ekman and Friesen (1975) and Ekman (1973), which are considered to be universal facial expressions of *surprise*, can be described as *mùdèngkǒudāi*. However, *mùdèngkǒudāi* is associated with a wide range of emotions in Chinese, from *chījīng* 吃惊 ('shocked/amazed'), *jīng* 惊 ('startled/shocked'), to *xià* 吓 ('frightened/shocked'). In fact, Chinese people would simply use *mùdèngkǒudāi de yàngzi*, 目瞪口呆的样子 ('the appearance of eyes wide open [with strength], mouth dumbstruck') to avoid specifying any particular emotion. This is probably because, for Chinese people, *mùdèngkǒudāi* signals a mixture of emotions other than surprise. In the following textual examples, *surprise* does not fit in at all; *mùdèngkǒudāi* may indicate a mixture of 'stupefied', 'startled' and 'scared'.

- (8) 他万万没有想到金戒指上那颗松动的宝石，竟然掉在了棺材里 ... 金亮脸色苍白，目瞪口呆，冷汗直冒，浑身发抖，一步步地往后退去。(G, 1999, Jan. p.93)

He did not have the slightest thought that the gem on his ring would drop into the coffin. Jinliang went pale, stupefied with mouth aghast [*mùdèngkǒudāi*], a cold sweat, and shivering all over, backing up one step after another.

(9) 昨天晚上, 当张全义和陈玉英的秘密一下子暴露在她的面前的时候, 她简直目瞪口呆, 随之而来涌上心头的, 是被欺骗被侮辱的愤怒。(Chen and Zhao, 1992, p.300)

When Zhang Quanyi and Chen Yuyin's secret affair was revealed in front of her, Jin Xiu was stupefied [*mùdèngkǒudāi*]. After this, a sense of betrayal and indignation arose.

In other cases, *mùdèngkǒudāi* can convey a meaning similar to 'dismay', 'shock', 'startle', and so on and so forth.

Most strikingly, the face of *mùdèngkǒudāi* suggests a total blankness, as if one's thoughts had gone blank: 'I can't think now'. The mouth opening suggests that 'I want to say something', but owing to the blankness of the mind, the experiencer loses the ability to say anything. The open inarticulate mouth immediately suggests, iconically, a component like 'I can't say anything'. Nevertheless, the facial expression described by this set phrase is always associated with a negative feeling: 'I feel something bad'. The message conveyed by *mùdèngkǒudāi* can be explicated as follows:¹⁰

[D] *Semantic explication for mùdèngkǒudāi* 目瞪口呆 ('eyes wide open with strength, mouth dumbstruck').

- (a) I know now: something bad happened
- (b) I didn't think that something like this would happen
- (c) I feel something bad because of this
- (d) I want to say something because of this
- (e) I can't say anything now, because I can't think anything now

¹⁰ In *mùdèngkǒudāi*, the word *dèng* 'eyes popping out' does not suggest a tense and penetrating look, but only that the eyes are wide open. It can be with or without the whites of the eyes exposed above the iris. It is worth noting that the eyebrows are not mentioned in this configuration of facial expression.

4.2.2 *Yǎoyáqièchǐ* 咬牙切齿 ('bite the molars, gnash the teeth').

This facial expression shows a slightly square-shaped mouth, partially bared, clenched teeth and tense lips, often accompanied by a hard stare. A photograph offered by Ekman and Friesen (1975, p.187, No.27) shows exactly such an expression. In contrast, if the lips are tightly closed, it shows a certain determination (Wierzbicka, 1999). If the teeth, especially the canines, are uncovered, it suggests, iconically, a desire to attack (Darwin, 1998[1872]). This ready-to-bite gesture, and the pressing of the upper and the lower lines of teeth may be decoded on a semiotic basis to express a general message – ‘for some time, I think about something like this: I want to do something bad [to this person]; I know I can’t do it now’ – showing a determination to do a ‘bad action’, which is, however, ‘constrained’. The message can be interpreted as follows:

[E] *Semantic explication for yǎoyáqièchǐ* 咬牙切齿 ('bite the molars, gnash the teeth')

- (a) I think about someone like this:
- (b) “this person did something very bad”
- (c) I did not want this person to do something like this
- (d) when I think about this person, I feel something very bad because of this
- (e) because of this, for some time I think something like this:
- (f) “I want to do something bad to this person if I can”
- (g) I know that I can’t do it now

The semiotic basis for the ‘for some time’ specification in (e) comes from the grinding action of the teeth, as if the experiencer were plotting and preparing for the final attack. The time frame may explain why *yǎoyáqièchǐ* is collocated with the emotion term *hèn* 恨 ('regret/hatred') rather than *nù* 怒 ('active anger'), as exemplified by the common collocation of *hènde yǎoyáqièchǐ* 恨得咬牙切齿 ('hate to the point of gnashing one's teeth') (* *nùde yǎoyáqièchǐ* *怒得咬牙切齿). The fact that the behaviour of the teeth in *yǎoyáqièchǐ* is not easily discernible seems to

4.2.2 *Yǎoyáqièchǐ* 咬牙切齿 ('bite the molars, gnash the teeth').

This facial expression shows a slightly square-shaped mouth, partially bared, clenched teeth and tense lips, often accompanied by a hard stare. A photograph offered by Ekman and Friesen (1975, p.187, No.27) shows exactly such an expression. In contrast, if the lips are tightly closed, it shows a certain determination (Wierzbicka, 1999). If the teeth, especially the canines, are uncovered, it suggests, iconically, a desire to attack (Darwin, 1998[1872]). This ready-to-bite gesture, and the pressing of the upper and the lower lines of teeth may be decoded on a semiotic basis to express a general message – ‘for some time, I think about something like this: I want to do something bad [to this person]; I know I can’t do it now’ – showing a determination to do a ‘bad action’, which is, however, ‘constrained’. The message can be interpreted as follows:

[E] *Semantic explication for yǎoyáqièchǐ* 咬牙切齿 ('bite the molars, gnash the teeth')

- (a) I think about someone like this:
- (b) “this person did something very bad”
- (c) I did not want this person to do something like this
- (d) when I think about this person, I feel something very bad because of this
- (e) because of this, for some time I think something like this:
- (f) “I want to do something bad to this person if I can”
- (g) I know that I can’t do it now

The semiotic basis for the ‘for some time’ specification in (e) comes from the grinding action of the teeth, as if the experiencer were plotting and preparing for the final attack. The time frame may explain why *yǎoyáqièchǐ* is collocated with the emotion term *hèn* 恨 (‘regret/hatred’) rather than *nù* 怒 (‘active anger’), as exemplified by the common collocation of *hènde yǎoyáqièchǐ* 恨得咬牙切齿 (‘hate to the point of gnashing one’s teeth’) (* *nùde yǎoyáqièchǐ* *怒得咬牙切齿). The fact that the behaviour of the teeth in *yǎoyáqièchǐ* is not easily discernible seems to

symbolise the ‘constrained’ and ‘frustrated’ character of Chinese *hèn* (‘regret/hatred’). In contrast, *nù* (‘active anger’), one of the basic emotions in traditional Chinese texts (cf. Russell and Yik, 1996; Kornacki, 2001), is a momentary storming shaft of easily released rage.

Ekman and Friesen (1975) attribute *anger* to the facial expression described as *yǎoyáqièchǐ* and consider the English *anger* to be a universal emotion. It seems likely, however, that what is universal about a particular facial expression is not the emotion category based on English emotion terms, but the meaning behind certain universally recognised facial expressions, which can be spelt out on a semiotic basis.

4.2.3 *Dèngyǎn* 瞪眼 (‘open eyes wide, stare, glare’).

The XHC (1998) explains *dèngyǎn* as ‘open one’s eyes big and look; open one’s eyes big and stare, showing dissatisfaction’ (p.266). *Dèng* (‘stare/glare’) always has an emotional meaning. With the durative aspect marker *zhe* after the very *dèng* (‘staring/glaring’), *dèngzheyǎn* 瞪着眼 suggests staring in a penetrating fashion for some time. Implicit in the description of *dèngzheyǎn* (‘having glaring eyes’) might be that the experiencer wants to do something about the situation or do something bad to another person, but is helpless to do anything save glaring. The message could be interpreted as follows:

[F] *Semantic explication for dèngzheyǎn* 瞪着眼 (‘open eyes wide, stare, glare’)

- (a) someone did something bad
- (b) I don’t want people to do things like this
- (c) I feel something bad because of this
- (d) I want to do something now because of this
- (e) I don’t know what else I can do

The components associated with *dèngyǎn* ('staring/glaring') may be justified on an iconic basis, in that the deliberate action of opening one's eyes wide with strength signifies volition to do something. Often, this gesture lasts for some time without any other accompanying actions, suggesting that, apart from 'glaring', the experiencer does not seem to know what else he or she can do.

Klineberg (1940) makes an interesting comment that "the Chinese find that the faces of European people seem to constantly express anger or irritation; this is probably due to the fact that the normally larger and rounder eyes of the European resemble the Chinese eyes in anger" (p.189). The meaning associated with the facial gesture of wide-open, staring eyes may influence the Chinese people's judgment of the emotional meanings present in naturally round eyes and may explain the much higher rate of Hong Kong Chinese recognising anger or rage in the photographs of Caucasian faces expressing emotions (Chan, 1985). It seems that the knowledge of the message encoded in the lexical item *dèngzhēyǎn* can almost predict the experimental result.

4.2.4 *Chóuméikǔliǎn* 愁眉苦脸 ('sad/worried eyebrows, a bitter face').

Chóuméi ('sad/worried eyebrows') typically refers to the inner corners being drawn together upward or downward. XHC explains it as "*fāchóu shí zhòu zhe de méitóu* 发愁时皱着的眉头 ('the knitted inner ends of eyebrows when one worries')", and then gives two more set phrases, *chóuméikǔliǎn* [sad/worried eyebrows, a bitter face] and *chóuméijǐnsuǒ* 愁眉紧锁 [sad/worried eyebrows tightly locked]' (p.179). These phrases reflect the nature of *chóu* brows, which is often thought of as accompanied by an expression over the whole face. Many of the photographs which, in Ekman and Friesen (1975) and Izard (1991), are labeled

as *sadness* can be described as *chóuméikǔliǎn*. A central feature of these photographs is a droopy face, with the corners of the mouth pulling downward, and the eyebrows being drawn together. In the view of Chinese people, *chóuméi* is the most notable feature of facial gestures of this kind.

Translations of *chóuméikǔliǎn* offered by bilingual dictionaries range from “a sad look; a distressed expression” (ZHSC, p.336) to “look worried and miserable; have a worried look; pull a long face” (JXHC, p.69). The inconsistency is due to the fact that *chóu* not only responds to a recent event, but is also future-oriented, corresponding both to ‘sadness-like’ and to ‘worry-like’ emotions: misery before a distressing situation, the wish to do something to change the situation, the confusion of not knowing what to do, and the person’s dwelling on the situation and their own helplessness. These are all crystallised in the meaning conveyed by the eyebrows being drawn together: “I am thinking now: I want to do something now; I am not doing it now” (Wierzbicka, 1999, Chap.4). *Chóu* brows attribute profound concentration to the experiencer: seeking for a solution, while caught in confusion.

Chóuméikǔliǎn, as a set phrase, often suggests a long-lasting facial expression like the meaning of *chóu* (‘sadness/worry/melancholy’) – ‘feeling something very bad for a long time’. This feature is also reflected in *chóuméibùzhǎn* 愁眉不展 [sad/worried eyebrows do not unfold], and descriptions such as *Zhěngtiān chóuméikǔliǎn* 整天愁眉苦脸 (‘wearing a sorrowful/worried face all day’). Since the meaning of both *chóu* and *kǔ* has been treated in detail elsewhere (Ye, 2001a and Chapter 3), the explication of *chóuméikǔliǎn* will not be presented here.

It should be noted that in the psychological literature on facial expressions, a ‘worried’ face is hardly mentioned. For Chinese people, however, it seems that a

'worried' face is a very salient facial expression, and that 'sadness-like' emotions and 'worry-like' emotions overlap (cf. Ye, 2001a). One may speculate that Chinese people, influenced by their descriptive label with an emotion term and the meaning that has been built into it, may have scored highly in experimental studies of perceptions of 'sadness-like' and 'worry-like' emotions (cf. Niemeier and Dirven, eds., 2000). Shaver, Wu and Schwartz (1992) also noted that 'sadness' is embedded in the love-related emotion cluster in Chinese (see also Ye, 2000). The wide distribution of 'sadness' over a range of emotion categories in Chinese may have an influence on the results of experiments analysing the perception of emotions in certain facial expressions.

It is also interesting to note that the English expression *sad eyes* seems to suggest that, for English speakers, sadness is registered in the eyes rather than the brows.

4.2.5 *Yángméi* 扬眉 ('raising eyebrows').

Chinese people consider the facial gesture of *yángméi* ('raising eyebrows') to be 'typically Western'. However, *yángméi* is understood in the set phrase *yángméitǔqì* 扬眉吐气 [to raise one's eyebrows and vent one's pent-up feelings] to mean "feel proud and elated" (ABC, p.701). This meaning associated with the raising of the eyebrows may seem baffling from the point of view of the English language, yet it makes sense iconically. There are several different verbs in Chinese for 'raise'. *Yáng* ('to raise') implies a short duration for the act, and is especially used for something that can spread (such as a sail). *Yángméi* thus suggests that raising both eyebrows in a wave spreads the movement from one end of the brows to the other. It can be inferred that the initial state of the eyebrows

was 'subdued', and that the elevation of the eyebrows, like the lifting of a lid, is releasing the pent-up feelings. The meaning of *yángméitǔqì* ('raise eyebrows, utter breath') can be presented as follows:

[G] *Semantic explication for yángméitǔqì 扬眉吐气* ('raising eyebrows, utter breath')

- (a) for some time, I felt something bad because I couldn't do many things
- (b) I can do something now
- (c) Because of this, I feel something good now

Components (a) and (b) contrast the 'subdued' and 'exuberant' states. It seems that raising the eyebrows in the Western sense is rarely observed in Chinese culture.

4.2.6 *Méifēisèwǔ* 眉飞色舞 ('eyebrows fly, facial expression dances').

The dramatic facial expression of *méifēisèwǔ* is linked with a good feeling, as if one could not contain oneself. This expression often accompanies one's speech. Its interpreted meaning can be portrayed as follows:

[H] *Semantic explication for méifēisèwǔ 眉飞色舞* ('eyebrows fly, facial expression dances')

- (a) I know that something good happened
- (b) I feel something good because of this
- (c) I want other people to know this
- (d) I want to do something because of this
- (e) people think: it is not good if a person often does something like this

In this case the semiotic relationship between the facial expression and the meaning is difficult to identify. However, it is unlikely that one would have this facial expression without an audience, given that it always accompanies speech. The deliberation and exaggeration of the facial gesture may be linked with (c) and

(d), but this requires further investigation. This description suggests that Chinese people are capable of raising their eyebrows deftly. On the surface, this seems to contradict the general impression of the 'inexpressive' Chinese face. The following quote from the *Zhōngguó Yīngyòng Lǐyí Dàquán* 《中国应用礼仪大全》 (*The Compendium of Chinese Social Etiquette*, Hao and Sun, 1991) sheds some light on these seeming contradictions:

中国成语有眉飞色舞，愁眉不展等说法。这说明一个人的眉眼能表达丰富的感情。正由于此，面部表情也就切忌过分。一般来说，说话时最好不要牵动眉眼，不然很容易给人一种做作和不稳重的感觉。

Chinese set phrases such as *méifēisèwǔ* [eyebrows fly, facial expression dances] and *chóuméibùzhǎn* [*chóu* eyebrows do not unfold] show that the eyes and the eyebrows can convey rich emotions. However, such expressions of emotion are discouraged. Thus, when one speaks, one generally should not move one's eyebrows or one's eyes, otherwise, they risk being considered frivolous. (Hao and Sun, 1991, p.24)

Component (e) 'people think: it is not good if a person often does something like this' at the end of explication [H] is supposed to reflect this rule of Chinese facial expressions. It is clear that there are social pressures in Chinese culture that discourage people from having very dramatic facial expressions. Eibl-Eibesfeldt's (1972) thesis that an eyebrow flash occurs before the initiation of a conversation as a universal gesture of recognition and greeting (as well as wrinkles across the

brows) is called into question when Chinese culture is analysed. Neither the gesture nor its message would be recognised as a greeting by Chinese people. The eyebrows, being the most mobile part of the face, are full of expression and can create dramatic effects on the face. Lack of eyebrow movement immediately makes the face appear expressionless. This may partially account for the so-called 'inscrutable' Chinese face. The existence of the description *méifēisèwǔ*, as well as the negative connotation associated with it, highlights the role that culture plays in facial expression. With facial expressions, as with language, the difference may be not in what people *can* do, but in what they *must* do in any given culture (cf. Jakobson, 1971).

The exceptionally rich cluster of expressions referring to the eyebrows and the eyes shows that, in Chinese people's perception, the upper face plays an important role in conveying feelings and emotions. However, culture discourages them from having very expressive and dramatic facial expressions. Hence, it follows that the lower part of the Chinese face is where most of the culturally prescribed facial movements occur for the Chinese people. This constitutes an important part of the Chinese cultural model of facial expressions, and is in stark contrast to most Western cultures, where the expressivity of the face is generally registered in its upper half (cf. Ye, 2004a).

The recognition of the cultural differences brings us next to the discussion of culture-specific rules for facial expressions in Chinese culture.

5. Understanding cultural rules for Chinese facial expressions

Clearly, it is not the case that Chinese people are incapable of expressing emotions on their faces. Rather, there are culture-bound rules associated with a set of core Chinese cultural values that discourage Chinese people from doing so. The first part of this section attempts to spell out some of the rules for *xiào* 笑 ('smile/laugh') using the method of cultural scripts. The second section adopts a broader perspective, endeavouring to 'position' some of the main Chinese attitudes towards facial expression in the larger context of certain key cultural values. The third section takes up the rules for *kū* 哭 ('cry').

It is well established that the behaviour of an individual in society is governed by social norms (cf. Sherif, 1965; Smith and Bond, 1998). An individual's emotional life is no exception. There are culture-specific norms that govern and underlie an individual's emotional experiences and emotional behaviour (cf. Kitayama and Markus, eds., 1994; Philippot, Feldman and Coats, ed., 1999; Wierzbicka, 1994, 1999, 2003c). In the last decade, the resurgence of interest in emotion studies and the recognition of the importance of nonverbal behaviour in interpersonal communication have seen psychologists placing an increasing emphasis on the need to understand the context of facial (and emotional) expressions in social interaction, and to develop a 'cultural framework' that can explain norms that govern individuals' emotional behaviour in a society. For example, Markus and Kitayama (1994), on the basis of their studies on cultural differences in emotional expression between Japanese and Americans, explain a cultural framework as "an interpretive grid, or meaning system", which is made up of "language" and "a set of tacit social understandings", as well as "the social

representation and practices that reflect and enact these understandings in daily life” (p.95). They explain that a cultural framework should include a cultural group’s attitudes towards emotions, including “what emotions or feelings are, why they are experienced, and what their significance is in social life, as well as implicit answers to questions like *when* does one feel, *where* does one feel and *how* does one feel” (p.98, original emphasis).

More recently, in their comprehensive review of nonverbal expressions of emotions in the past three decades, Kupperbusch et al. (1999) argue that various cross-cultural studies of facial expressions attest to the fact that subjects act according to display rules that are culturally learned. Therefore it is not sufficient to just focus on the mechanism of facial expressions. One must also study and analyse the cultural determinants that impact on the social norms of facial expressions. Kupperbusch et al (1999) contend that “the time is right for this area of inquiry to be guided by some kind of theoretical framework, if cross-cultural research is to go beyond mere ‘fact’ compilation” (p.33).

Although different models are proposed (e.g. Kitayama and Markus, eds., 1994), there are still few ethnographic depictions of exactly how members of a cultural group function from a native’s point of view – i.e. a culturally internal view and understanding. The theory of cultural scripts fills such a gap.

The Chinese face is not only commonly regarded as ‘inscrutable’, but its behaviour is also often interpreted either erroneously or in a pejorative way. In spelling out the norms that govern the emotional behaviour of *xiào* (‘smile/laugh’) and *kū* (‘cry’) in Chinese social interaction and discussing the associated underlying values, this chapter also aims to show how cultural scripts can provide

more objective and accurate descriptions of the emotional behaviour of a people in a given culture.

5.1 Showing good feelings in Chinese – *xiào* 笑 ('smile/laugh')

Xiào ('smile/laugh') is vague in its meaning. It is a generic term representing a continuum between a smile and laugh. ZSHC explains *xiào* as "to laugh, to smile, to grin, to giggle, to titter, to chuckle, to snicker, to guffaw" (p.802). Its distinctive feature is that the corners of the mouth are raised, conveying the message: 'I feel something good now'. In Interpersonal communication, it may signal a message of 'I feel something good towards you', or 'I think something good about you'. For the meaning of the English counterpart 'to smile', the modifier *wēi* [minute] needs to be added before *xiào* (cf. French *sourire*). The interpretation of the exact openness of the mouth – the degree, the style or way of *xiào* ('smile/laugh') depends on the context and its collocation with other expressions.

In HLM, there are over two thousand occurrences of *xiào* or *xiào*-related expressions in a wide range of contexts. The most remarkable aspect about *xiào* is that there is a group of lexicalised items specifically describing putting up a *xiào* ('smile/laugh') in the presence of other people. The lexical evidence is like an archive that contains rich contextual information on emotional norms. A close examination of the lexical evidence would unpack the emotion norms in a culture. In the following sections, *duīxiào* 堆笑 ('piling up smiles'), *péixiào* 陪笑 ('accompanying with a smile'), and 赔笑 ('compensating with a smile') will be discussed to illustrate how a culture-internal perspective is indispensable for an accurate understanding of the Other.

5.1.1 *Duīxiào* 堆笑 ('piling up smiles') as a greeting to people one knows.

Duīxiào 堆笑 ('piling up smiles') or the set phrase *mǎnliǎnduīxiào* 满脸堆笑 ('piling up smiles all over the face') typically describe the way Chinese people greet each other, as exemplified by the following textual examples:

(6) 见他进来，宝钗才放下笔，转过身来，满面堆笑让：“周姐姐坐。”周瑞家的也忙陪笑问：“姑娘好？” (HLM, Chapter 7, p.103)

When she saw her coming in, Bao Chai put down her brush, turned around, smiled ear to ear [*duīxiào*] and let out a seat, “Sister Zhou, sit”. Mrs. Zhou immediately returned a smile [*péixiào*] and asked, “Are you well, Miss?”

(7) “哎呀，是张道长！您来得可真是时候！”杨妈满脸堆笑... (Chen and Zhao, 1992, p.124)

“Oh, it is you, Old Zhang! You came at the right moment!” Mother Yang greeted him with smiles piling up on her face [*duīxiào*]...

The existence of lexical items such as *duīxiào* ('piling up smiles') in the Chinese standard vocabulary is significant, in that they highlight the need and the importance of such facial displays in Chinese culture. The general emotional attitude reflected in *duīxiào* can be represented in the following script:

[I] *A cultural script for duīxiào 堆笑* ('piling up smiles')

[many people think like this]:

when I see a *shúrén*, it is good if this person thinks that I feel something good towards this person

because of this, it is good if when this person sees my *liǎn* ('face') [M],¹¹

this person thinks that I feel something good towards this person.

This script suggests that Chinese people do not display good feelings to all people regardless of relationship, but only to *shúrén* [cooked/ripe/familiar-person] (cf. Chapter 2), namely, those they know. As shown in Chapter 2, such fundamental social categories are embedded in the shared knowledge of the Chinese people, and influence how they should interact with each other. Here, smiles that accompany or substitute for greetings can be seen as akin to a 'pragmatic act' (Mey, 2001), which is used to bring the relationship between the interactants closer. Generally speaking, it would be considered strange or frivolous if one smiles at a *shēngrén* [uncooked/raw/unfamiliar-person] ('stranger') (cf. Chapter 2). This is different from many Western cultures, where it is acceptable to greet a stranger, either verbally or nonverbally; and indeed where people are encouraged to greet a stranger, as a gesture of friendliness. Thus, a script for the norm of greetings in many Western cultures may not have a conditioning element like 'when I see a *shúrén*'. As we will see, script [I] can be regarded as a general rule, a master script, which has a wider application and generates other more specific rules.

¹¹ *Liǎn* 臉 (in the sense of the physical face) is not a prime. It is used here as a semantic molecule. Its meaning can be explicated as follows (cf. Wierzbicka, 1996, p.218, for the meaning of 'face'):

a part of a person's *tóu* ('head') [M], it is on one side of the *tóu* ('head') [M],
it has many parts, these parts can move, people can see these parts
when a person feels something, these parts can move in some way
because of this, when these parts move in some way,
people can think they know how a person feels

5.1.2 *Péixiào* 陪笑 ('to accompany with a smile/laughter') as 'respect' and 'compliance'.

Péixiào 陪笑 ('to accompany with a smile') or *péizhexiàoliǎn* 陪着笑脸 ('to accompany with a smiling face') also reveals something of Chinese culture. ZSHC's explanation is "to put up a smiling face in order to please someone" (p. 1179). The word *péi* 陪 ('accompany') suggests that the person who bears this expression is in a lower position in certain social circumstances, and that the person does the same thing as their superior, as a means to show their 'respect' and 'compliance'. They may feel unpleasant feelings, as suggested by the following example, but they use the nonverbal statement of 'I agree with you' to acknowledge and promote social relationships.

(8) 张道长笑着，点头称是。张全义夫妇也陪着两位老人在笑，只有他们自己才品得出这笑里的苦涩。(Chen and Zhao, 1992, p.127)

Old Zhang smiled and nodded...The couple also accompanies the two old men with smiles (*péixiào*). Only the couple themselves could taste the miserableness in their smiles.

Although the authenticity of the *xiào* ('smile/laugh') is in question, it nonetheless has an element of willingness. It is also often audible, thus, in this sense, it is closer to 'laughter'. The rule implied by *péixiào* ('to accompany with smiles/laugh') can be spelled out as follows:

[J] *A cultural script for péixiào* 陪笑 ('to accompany with a smile/laughter')

[many people think like this:]

(a) I can think about some other people like this:

“these people are above me

these people can say to me things like this:

‘I want you to do this

I don't want you to do this’

I can't say things like this to these people”

(b) when I am with a person like this, if this person feels something good because this person thinks something about something it is good if when this person sees my *liǎn* ('face') [M], this person can think that I feel something good because of this (it is good if at the same time this person can hear something, because of this, this person can think that I think the same)

5.1.3 *Péixiào* 赔笑 ('to compensate by a smile') as an 'apology' to one's Superior.

Chinese people not only display good feelings in pleasant situations, but also in unpleasant situations where people show 'ill' feelings towards them. This is reflected in *péixiào* ('to compensate by a smile'; although homophonous with the expression just discussed, this *péi* is written with a different character and hence has a different interpretation). ABC's translation is “to smile obsequiously/apologetically” (p.450). ‘Obsequious’ has a very strong negative connotation in English implying a certain servility, which is absent in the meaning of *péixiào*. Far from it, the translation provided by ZYWBC, a dictionary of Chinese culture-specific words – “to smile in order to please others or appease their anger” (p.296) – suggests that the action of *péixiào* has a positive evaluation in Chinese culture. Furthermore, the Chinese language does have an expression involving *xiào* that is closer to English *obsequious*. That is *xiéjiānchánxiào* 胁肩谄笑, which ZYWBC glosses it as “to cringe and smile obsequiously” (p.443)

In Chinese society, there is strong social pressure forcing people to display good feelings towards the people they know, even when they are being blamed,

scolded, or criticised. In relation to this, Klineberg (1940) made the following comments:

In China, as we have noted, it [a smile] accompanies anger much more frequently than among ourselves. In China also, ...the smile is the correct expression for a person who is announcing to his superior some calamity that has befallen him. He smiles in order to minimise the importance of his misfortune, so that the other should not be troubled by it. The Chinese servant smiles also when he is being scolded, apparently so as to reduce the accompanying unpleasantness. (Klineberg, 1940, p.194)

In a similar vein, Brick (1991), speaking from the context of cross-cultural communication in language schools in Australia, points out that Chinese people often use smiling, laughing and giggling to mask more negative emotions, and that this may mislead Australians. She then gave the following real life example:

A Chinese student was rebuked for walking straight into the director's office without knocking. The student's reaction was to laugh. The teacher felt that she was being laughed at and became extremely angry, much to the amazement of the student who was not sure why she had been criticised in the first place and had absolutely no idea what had provoked the anger, her laughter was an expression of embarrassment. (Brick, 1991, p.123)

Whether the *péixiào* ('compensation by a smile'), resulting from the above-mentioned situation was to reduce the interpersonal unpleasantness, or to show

embarrassment, the example and the comment clearly reveal certain emotional norms that Chinese people, especially those in lower positions, abide by when they are in a situation of potential social conflict. The emotional norm reflected in the ‘apologetic smile to one’s superior’ can be captured as follows:

[K] *A cultural script for péixiào 赔笑* (‘to compensate by a smile’)

[many people think like this:]

(a) I can think about some other people like this:

“these people are above me

these people can say things like this to me:

‘I want you to do this

I don’t want to do this’

I can’t say things like this to these people”

(b) sometimes a person like this can say something bad to me

because I did something,

at times like this, it is not good if this person thinks like this about me:

“this person feels something bad towards me because of this”

at times like this, it is good if this person does not feel something bad

because of this, it is good if when this person sees my *liǎn* (‘face’) [M],

this person can think that I feel something good towards this person

In script [J], the function of *xiào* ([to smile/laugh]) is to promote the relationship.

In [K], it is used as a resolution tool to smooth over a situation of potential conflict.

The emotional norm stated in script [K] is further validated from another angle by

the set phrase of *rěnnqìtūnshēng* 忍气吞声 [tolerate anger/offence, swallow sound]

(‘swallowing one’s anger’). The message behind this phrase is compatible with

and can be explained adequately by script [K], in which cultural norms pressure

people at lower positions on the hierarchical scale to hide their negative feelings

and to wear ‘good feelings’ on their sleeves, even to the point of bowing to a

higher power by accepting unfair treatment.

It is clear that unawareness of such cultural scripts would naturally lead to misunderstandings between Chinese people and cultural outsiders, as illustrated by the example of the language school.¹² Both scripts [J] and [K] can be considered extensions of the overarching master script [I], which underlines the general Chinese emotional norm of displaying good feelings towards people one knows.

5.2 Facial expressions and cultural values

5.2.1 *Rěn* 忍 ('tolerance/endurance') as a key Chinese emotional attitude and its related cultural scripts.

It is possible to position the Chinese norms discussed in the previous section in a broader cultural context, if certain key Chinese cultural values are understood. To do this is the goal of this section.

The attitude of 'swallowing one's anger' has long been considered a key trait of the Chinese people, and is linked closely with the Chinese cultural value of *rěn* ('to tolerate/endure'). Lin Yu-tang (1935) described it as "patience", considering it one of the key national characteristics of the Chinese people: "this capacity for putting up with insults has been ennobled by the name of patience, and deliberately inculcated as a cardinal virtue by Confucian ethics" (p.47). Neither 'tolerance', 'endurance', nor 'patience' is an exact match for *rěn*. The cultural value reflected in *rěn* can be presented in [L]:

¹² In a recent documentary film entitled *The Turandot Project* directed by Alan Miller (about the inside story behind the multi-national production of the opera *Turandot* in Beijing), a Chinese costume designer made the following comment when referring to an American soprano's behaviour: "when she had a temper, we tried our best to smile to her, to appease her." Obviously, in the designer's mind, smiling was a right and good thing to do in such a situation. One can imagine the possible consequences.

[L] *Semantic explication for rěn 忍* ('tolerance/endurance/forebearance')

- (a) all people can think like this about some things:
 "I want these things to happen
 I know that they can't happen if I don't do some things
 I want to do these things because of this
 if I have to do these things for a long time
 I don't want not to do them because of this
 if I feel something bad because of this
 I don't want not to do these things because of this
- (b) it is good if a person always thinks like this
 it is good if a person thinks about this when this person feels something bad
 it is good if a person thinks about this when someone else does something
 bad to this person
- (c) it is good if a person does many things because this person thinks like this
- (d) it is good if a person can be like this

Rěn is essentially an attitude one should uphold in the interest of one's long-term goals or 'great plans', reflected in the components bundled under (a). In other words, *rěn* is an 'instrumental value'.

As a highly prized emotional attitude and emotional behaviour in Chinese culture, *rěn* is not only viewed as such within the context of interaction with others, but is also considered a virtue, a source of inner strength that is pertinent to the Chinese idea of a moral person. This is reflected in the last component of [L]: 'it is good if a person can be like this'. Externally, in the context of Chinese social interaction, *rěn* is an assurance to achieve the ideal value of *hé* 和 ('group harmony and non-conflict/accordance'). The archetypical 'group' in Chinese culture is *jiā* 家, which should be best understood as 'extended family' (cf. §1.2 of Chapter 2). It has been suggested that the traditional Chinese family system is the soil out of which such a *rěn* character grows (e.g. Lin, 1935; Hsu, 1972; Tu, 1985a; Bond, 1991). This is because in such a system not only several generations, but siblings (in particular male) and their spouses and children live under one roof. Conflicts

between family members, especially those of the same generation, are inevitable.¹³

Thus dealing effectively with conflicts between family members is ^{the} key to an undivided family. The cultural value of *rěn*, which helps people to ‘put up with others’, fosters the peaceful co-existence among family members, but it also means requiring the self to be subservient to the needs of other family members.

Gao, Ting-Toomey, and Gudykunst (1996) explain that *hé* denotes “harmony”, “peace”, “unity”, “kindness” and “amiability” (p.18; see also Gabrenya and Hwang, 1996). The exact cultural value embodied in *hé* can be represented as follows:

[M] *Semantic explication for hé 和* (‘harmony/concord’)

- (a) everyone can think about some people like this:
“these people live in one place, they do many things in this place”
- (b) it is good if one of these people thinks like this about the other people:
“when I know that one of these people wants me not to do something,
I won’t do it
when I know one of these people wants to do something, I won’t say:
‘I don’t want you to do this’
when I feel something bad because one of these people did something,
I will not do something bad to this person because of this”
- (c) it is good if all these people can think like this
it is good if all these people can live like this
- (d) if they can live like this, other people can think like this about these people:
“these people are like one thing”
- (e) if they can live like this, these people can live well in one place
if they can live well like this, good things can happen to these people
this is good for all these people
- (f) when a person has to be in one place with some other people for some time
it is good if this person can think about these people in the same way
if they can all think like this, they can do many things well in one place
because of it
this is good for all of these people

¹³ *Hé* is an ideal state to be achieved most often by people or groups of equal status, because seniority rules in intergenerational conflicts.

Hé is an ideal state to be achieved and maintained within a family. The components in (a) are suggestive of the prototypical Chinese social setting for *hé*, the ‘family’ (where people live in one place). The sub-component, ‘in one place’ can also be considered as characterising a form of in-group’ (cf. §1.2 of Chapter 2). Components in (b)-(d) suggest that a key feature of *hé* is that the family should be presented as a unified group. Thus, members of a family should avoid conflict caused by antagonistic behaviour. At the same time, when faced with conflicting wills and behaviour, they should *ràng 让* (‘to let, give way to’) or *rěnràng 忍让* (‘to endure and let’) – to yield and give way to other’s wishes so as not to cause conflict or worsen the situation. All members of the group also help to create an amiable atmosphere by displaying good feelings. The components in (e) show the benefit of *hé*, as reflected in the phrase *jiāhé wànshì xīng 家和万事兴* (‘when a family is *hé*, everything prospers’). The social environments where *hé* should be upheld can be extended to one’s neighbours, one’s work place, and beyond, indeed to anywhere one ‘co-exists’ with others.¹⁴ This is reflected in (f).

Explication [M] shows that Chinese group harmony, which is built around the extended family is different from Japanese *wa* (‘unity’), a cognate of *hé* written using the same characters (see Wierzbicka, 1997, p.253 for explication of Japanese *wa*). The key difference is that the Chinese group harmony does not require its members to do the same thing or to think or feel the same way. Rather, it presupposes differences among individuals in a group and aims to avoid any potential conflict that may arise as a result. Neither is *hé* about forging deep feelings. It is about maintaining good relations. This is most distinctively reflected

¹⁴ Research by Shek and Mak (1987) suggests that *rěn* is an important strategy that Hong Kong adults use to deal with problems between spouses, and generations and conflicts between friends and colleagues.

in the phrase *héerbùtóng* 和而不同 [*hé* but not the same] ‘harmony without being the same’. *Hé* is the ultimate goal in Chinese social interaction. It is for this goal that *rěn* (and also *ràng*, ‘to let, give way’) is inculcated, and that ‘anger is swallowed’.

In the interests of *hé* ‘group harmony’, and consistent with *rén* ‘tolerance/endurance’, an important aspect of ‘self-cultivation’ in Chinese tradition is *hányǎng* 涵养 (‘the capacity of containing oneself’, ZYWBC, p.150). This ideal, which has immediate implications for emotional expression, can be captured in the first instance by the ‘master script’ in [N].

[N] *A cultural script for hányǎng 涵养 (‘the capacity of containing oneself’)*

[many people think like this:]

when a person feels something, it is not good if other people can know this
when they see this person’s *liǎn* (‘face’) [M]

The master script predicts and spawns the following two scripts applying to both ‘feeling good’ and ‘feeling bad’ situation.

[O] *A cultural script for concealing displays of ‘feeling good’*

[many people think like this:]

when a person feels something very good because something very good
happens to this person
it is not good if other people can know this when they see
this person’s *liǎn* (‘face’) [M]

[P] *A cultural script for concealing displays of ‘feeling bad’*

[many people think like this:]

often when a person feels something very bad because something very bad
happens to this person,
it is not good if other people can know this when they see
this person’s *liǎn* (‘face’) [M]

Script [O] suggests that any overt joy over one's good fortune is discouraged in the eyes of the public. A public showing of such feeling is regarded as self-indulgent. This script is also closely linked with the cultural value of *hánxù* 含蓄 ('implicit, contained') (cf. Lin, 1935; Gao, Ting-Toomey, and Gudykunst, 1996, pp.283-284) and *qiānxū* 谦虚 ('modesty'). Script [P] is responsible for a cluster of expressions centering on *xiào*, which is used to describe hiding one's sad feelings, such as *qiángxiào* 强笑 or *qiángyánhuānxiào* 强颜欢笑 ('force a smile', ABC, p.468; XHC, p.1019), *cǎnxiào* 惨笑 [miserable smile] ('bitter, forced smiles from a heavy heart', ZYWBC, p.36; XHC, p.121), and *kǔ xiào* 苦笑 [bitter smile; forced, wry smile; ABC, p.350; XHC, p.728).

The cultural idea of discouraging overt emotional displays certainly creates difficulty for cultural outsiders to decipher, and could lead to the impression of deception or insincerity, especially if viewed from the standpoint of cultures where spontaneous emotional expression is highly valued or where similar social or situational contexts require different emotional responses. Probably in these cultures a 'forced smile' would not have such positive or neutral connotations implied in the *xiào*-related expressions listed above. These Chinese expressions themselves are valuable linguistic evidence, pointing to the reality of the common emotional behaviour of the Chinese people.

What these scripts and explications reveal is that the Chinese self is not only other-oriented, but also places more importance on values such as *hé* ('group harmony') and *hányǎng* ('capacity of containing oneself') than on the expression of *one's true feelings*. In the hierarchy of the Chinese value system, true feelings are ranked low compared to other values. The shaping of these emotional norms is deeply rooted in the Chinese social system, particularly the family system, and the

transmission of emotional norms is ingrained during socialisation. Wu (1996) points out that cultivating effective self-control forms an important part of socialisation in traditional Chinese culture: “to train a person to be *bùgǒu yánxiào*, to never reveal his or her thoughts and feelings” (pp. 145-146; cf. Hsu, 1972; Greenblatt, 1982; Tu, 1985a; Bond, 1991).¹⁵

Nevertheless, there are certain contexts when emotional displays are expected.

5.3 Showing bad feelings – *kū* 哭 (‘cry’)

Many scholars and social commentators have commented on how seemingly the placid Chinese people are in their attitudes towards emotions. Hsu (1972) wrote in the prologue of this book *Americans and Chinese* that “the second most prominent contrast [between Americans and Chinese] is the prominence of emotions in the American way of life as compared with the tendency of the Chinese to underplay all matters of the heart” (p.10). Brick (1991) represents a similar view: “The open expression of strong emotions is not encouraged in Chinese culture...particularly negative emotions such as anger, impatience and grief” (p.113). This, however, is only partially true, for there *are* situations in which Chinese people are expected to outwardly display their ‘negative’ emotions. Such an example occurs when tragedy (death in particular) befalls another person. In other words, *āi* 哀 (‘grief/mourning’) is an emotion that is permitted to be openly displayed according to Chinese ‘emotional scripts’. The linguistic evidence revolving around the facial expression of *kū* (‘cry’) substantiates this claim.

¹⁵ It would be interesting to investigate at what point Chinese babies start to learn these rules. Research in developmental psychology seems to indicate that Chinese infants aged 11 months old have already begun to learn to mask negative feelings (e.g. Camras et al., 1998).

Kū is a general word for ‘cry’, and crying signals that ‘I feel something bad’. Interestingly, there is a special group of *kū*-related words having to do with other people’s deaths. This group of words has very strong modifiers, such as *háo* (‘howling’), *dà* (‘big’), or *tòng* (‘bitterly’), exemplified by the following expressions used in both death and funerary situations (for both men and women): *háokū* 嚎哭 (‘break into loud and prolonged lamentation’), *tòngkū* 痛哭 (‘wailing bitterly [over someone’s death]’), *kūshēngzhèntiān* 哭声震天 [loud wailing that can shake the heavens], *fàngshēngdàkū* 放声大哭 [crying loudly], and *dàkū* 大哭 (‘burst out sobbing’).

The following description of a funeral, from HLM, epitomises a classic wailing ritual. One of the sons of the old lady had died:

只听见里面哭声震天，确是贾赦贾琏送贾母到家即过这边来了。当下贾母进入里面，早有贾赦贾琏率领族中人哭着迎了出来。他父子一边一个挽了贾母，走至灵前，又有贾珍贾蓉跪着扑入贾母怀中痛哭。贾母暮年人，见此光景，亦搂了珍蓉等痛哭不已。贾赦贾琏在旁苦劝，方略略止住。又转至灵右，见了尤氏婆媳，不免又相持大痛一场。哭毕，众人方上前一一请安问好。(HLM, Chapter 64, p.894)

They heard *loud wailing* [*kūshēngzhèntiān*] inside; for as soon as Jia She and Jia Lian had brought the old lady home they had come over. When the old lady entered, Jia She and Jia Lian and other members of the clan had come out to meet the old lady, *shedding tears* [*kū*]. Jia She and Jia Lian, each holding her by one arm, helped her to the shrine, while Jia Zhen and Jia Rong approached on their knees, and threw themselves into her arms, *wailing bitterly* [*tòngkū*].

At this sight, the old lady clasped them to her, giving way to *a storm of grief* [tòngkūbùyǐ], until finally, Jia Zhen, Jia Lian and the others encouraged her to stop weeping. She then went to the right side of the shrine to see Madam Yu and her daughter-in-law, and inevitably, as they embraced they started *wailing* [dàtòngyìchǎng] again. When these *lamentations* [kū] finished, the others went forward to pay their respects in return.

The ritual of the Chinese funeral requires loud and dramatic wailing. This is consistent with Klineberg's (1940) observation that "in China, ...there were elaborate ceremonial rules which made certain that the grief would be expressed in a manner acceptable to the society", and that "in China, men weep as readily as women on these occasions" (p.185).¹⁶ In this regard, Chinese people often find it strange when witnessing quiet funerals in some European countries, where people appear to control their grief. Open wailing is not common in Anglo and northern European cultures. From a Chinese point of view, it is unthinkable not to display one's *āi* feeling when one's family member dies. This cultural script that reflects the 'unusual' Chinese cases of open displays of wailing can be formulated as follows:

¹⁶ The emotional scripts proposed in this study apply equally to men and women. This, however, does not mean that there are no gender differences in Chinese emotional expressions as reflected in the Chinese language. For example, the word *chēn* 嗔, which describes a particular facial expression with round, glaring eyes and which is associated with anger, typically refers to women. In recent years, research on the role that gender plays in emotional expressions has attracted much attention among psychologists (e.g. Fischer, ed., 2000; Shields, 2002). Further investigation of language in relation gender differences in emotion expressions will enrich research in this area.

[Q] *A cultural script for open displays of wailing*

[many people think like this:]

(a) all people can think about some other people like this:

“these people are like a part of me
I am like a part of these people”

(b) when something very bad happens to one of these people
(when one of these people dies)

it is good if when other people see my *liǎn* (‘face’) [M], they can know that I
feel something very bad (like people do at times like this)

it is good if at the same time other people can hear something, like people
can hear when someone feels something very bad because something
bad is happening to this person

(it is good if I feel *āi*)¹⁷

As suggested by script [Q], there is a public element in the ritual wailing, which involves ‘other people’ and also the sound that other people can hear. Tears may not be essential, but the loud sound should be heard. These key elements are also consistent with Harbsmeier’s (1998) analysis of the semantic differences between *kū* (‘cry/wail’) and *qī* 泣 (‘weep’). The emphasis of the script is on the prescription of such emotional behaviour at the death of a family member in Chinese culture. It is not an issue here whether ritualised wailing is premised on

¹⁷ The explication of *āi* is as follows (cf. Ye 2001a, b):

āi

(a) x felt something because x thought something

(b) sometimes a person thinks about another person like this:

(c) “this person died

(d) this is very bad for this person

(e) I don’t want things like this to happen to this person

(f) I want to do something good for this person because of this

(g) I want to think about this person for a long time”

(h) when this person thinks like this this person feels something very bad
for a long time

(i) x felt like this

(j) because x thought like this

(k) when something very bad happens to another person

(l) a person feels like this

(m) because a person can think like this

(n) (people think: it is good it a person can feel like this
when another person dies)

genuine grieving feelings or not (although the mourners often do). The main issue is that culture requires such behaviour in such social situations; by not observing it, one breaks the rule. It may also be said that the Chinese culture requires mourners to feel the *āi* emotion at a funeral. The act of open wailing reinforces what Hochschild (1983) calls “feeling rules” – social norms that prescribe how people should feel in specific situations.

Āi is a ‘moral feeling’ that people ought to feel in situations when another person dies.¹⁸ As one of Confucius’ disciples once said: “One can, perhaps, be satisfied with a gentleman who is ready to lay down his life in the face of danger, who does not forget what is right at the sight of gain, and who does not forget reverence during a sacrifice nor sorrows [*āi*] while in mourning” (子张曰: “士见危致命, 见得思义, 祭思敬, 丧思哀, 其可已矣。”) (Analects, 19:1, Lau, 1983).

A considerable portion of the ancient Confucian text *Lǐ Jì* 《礼记》 (*The Book of Rites*, see e.g. Chai and Chai, 1967) is devoted to mourning etiquette, procedures to be followed so that the expression of *āi* would be social acceptable. Wailing for someone’s death is an open manifestation of sorrow and grief (*āi*) while mourning.

Many anthropologists and sociologists have observed an unusual phenomenon in Chinese culture – the high level of uniformity in rituals concerning death such as wailing and mourning throughout China (e.g. Watson and Rawski, 1988). They treat the rituals of death as something that holds Chinese culture together and defines the identity of the Chinese people. Scholars marvel at this universal cultural phenomenon in China and are puzzled by the forces behind such

¹⁸ Unlike other basic Chinese emotions, such as *xǐ* 喜 (‘joy’), *nù* 怒 (‘rage’), and *bēi* 悲 (‘tragic sadness’), which are spontaneous inner responses and feelings towards external events, and which are closely associated with tears, *āi* 哀 is, fundamentally, a ‘moral feeling’ (see Ye, 2001a, b).

uniformity and standardisation. It seems that it is not only the visible rituals performed at death and their codification that holds the Chinese people together, but also the deeper moral values associated with another person's death that prompts and cultivates the outward *lǐ* 礼 ('rites/ceremony/propriety') – one of the key Confucian values – to map the moral feelings.

It is also interesting to note that, in connection with *grief* in the modern Western (or perhaps more specifically, Anglo) culture, the emphasis is placed on expressing one's emotions through talking. The specialised field of 'bereavement counselling' is targeted at such a public attitude towards *grief*. The purpose and function of 'talking through one's grief' are therapeutic. Talking is a way of coping, since grief is regarded as a negative emotion (cf. §3.1.1 of Chapter 4). In contrast, in Chinese culture the function of 'ritual wailing' seems to fulfill a moral function – to reinforce an 'ethical' feeling that one should feel at a funeral.

When Anglo people do not wail loudly at funerals, it does not of course mean that they do not experience sadness. Instead, it is simply that the rules at funerals are different from those found in Chinese culture.¹⁹ Culture develops and encourages different emotional styles in accordance with a given system of values and beliefs.

¹⁹ Ritual wailing is perhaps not that uncommon around the world. On the contrary, extensive ethnographic studies of emotional life of people in other cultures suggest that wailing is possibly an important component in most funeral practices around the world (but it may fulfill different functions in different cultures). It is not surprising that some earlier anthropological studies of the other from the point of view of 'Anglo' culture (e.g. Spencer and Gillen, 1927) portrayed the wailing of mourners as reflecting the mentality of a child who lacks self-control.

6. Looking beyond the 'inscrutable' Chinese face

Westerners, operating under a different social logic, will often be amazed, appalled, or impressed by apparent Chinese control in the face of events they would find arousing. Thus probably arises the designation of the Chinese as 'inscrutable'. (Bond, 1991, p.41)

Our discussion has raised three important theoretical and methodological issues that take us beyond the Chinese face, to which I now turn. Firstly, it has become evident that simply relying on global labels to describe the emotional life of a culture is far too simplistic, and often misleading and contradictory. On the one hand, Chinese people are reputedly known as being emotionally flat, while on the other hand, the Chinese character has also been described in terms of its 'emotionality' (e.g. Lew, 1998). Chinese people are often perceived^{as} unemotional[^] when compared to Western ('Anglo' and northern European) people. Yet, in the eyes of the Chinese people, it is Western people who are perceived as non-emotional, even to the point of being cold. A more satisfying and fruitful way of describing the emotional lives of other cultures is through detailed cultural scripts, which are not dependent on the concepts peculiar to any one culture, and which can be supported and verified through the analysis of linguistic evidence (such as expressions like *péixiào* 'to accompany/compensate with a smile'). These scripts spell out the full content of the rules, and reveal the connections and 'logic' between such rules and cultural values.

Matsumoto (1996; see also Smith and Bond, 1998), in line with Hofstede's (1980) tradition of defining the dimensions of culture-related values, has identified

certain cultural determinants on the effect of facial expression, such as 'Self-Ingroup' and 'Self-Outgroup' relationships. The cultural scripts formulated in section 5 above bear testimony to the operation of these variables in Chinese 'display rules', and moreover, they make explicit what exactly constitutes the in-group or the out-group. The illustrative examples in this chapter show that, in Chinese emotional life, people whom one knows (i.e. *shúrén*) and people who together live in one place are considered to be like an in-group (cf. §1 of Chapter 2). The cultural scripts show the actual constituents of the "situational contexts", "social relationships", and "cultural conventions" (cf. Philippot, Feldman, and Coats, eds., 1999), clearly and concretely.

Secondly, the emotions that are permitted for display in a society depend on their nature in conjunction with the underlying cultural values associated with them. The 'emotional scripts' formulated in this chapter are intricately related to cultural values such as *rěn* ('forbearance'), *hé* ('group harmony'), *hányǎng* ('cultivated'), and *āi* ('empathetic mourning'), and reveal Chinese cultural attitudes towards emotional self-control. This demonstrates that emotional lives are shaped by culture, and that cultural scripts can reveal these intrinsic and diverse connections between emotion and culture.

Thirdly, the stereotypical label of the 'inscrutable' face often disguises the rich inner world of the Chinese people, leading outsiders to assume that because Chinese people do not show their emotions, they do not experience such emotions (recalling Barzini's comments, quoted at the beginning of the chapter on Italians' perception of Nordic people). Such an assumption is proven false when one looks at the wealth of resources in the Chinese lexicon for describing and expressing emotions, which speaks volumes about the rich emotional universe of the Chinese

people (e.g. Ye, 2001a, 2002, 2004b, and the next chapter). It is not an exaggeration to say that there is a huge mismatch between the Chinese people's rich emotional experience and the amount of emotions that they are expected to express overtly, and between what they feel and what they can be seen to feel. In order to come closer to the heart of the Chinese people's emotional world, we have to understand the 'emotional scripts' that govern the Chinese people's emotional expression (and their connections with Chinese values). In this way, we can make sense of the apparent discrepancy between the rich emotional life reflected in the Chinese language and the placid outward appearance.

Bond (1991, p.40) points out that the reason people from different cultural groups find each other 'inscrutable' is because they do not know each other's 'codes' of emotion behaviour. He also observes that there are more rules restricting the display of emotions in Chinese culture than in the West. Bond's observation is certainly right. The quote cited at the beginning of the paper by Barzini suggests that in the eyes of the Italian people, the Anglo or Nordic face could also be viewed as 'inscrutable'. However, this should not be taken as a matter of the *degree* of 'inscrutability', but of exactly what the codes are. This chapter has shown how these codes can be deciphered, and that, once they are revealed, the hidden design of a culture is transparent.

Chapter 4

Describing Emotions via Tastes

While Chapter 3 examines external modes of emotional expression, this chapter turns 'inwardly' to the Chinese private emotional world and examines a habitual way of describing emotions in Chinese, that is, via words describing tastes such as kǔ ('bitter') and suān ('sour'). This mode of emotion description, though salient to the Chinese people, has not received much attention in the fast-growing body of literature on emotion in recent years. Yet a deep understanding of this way of speaking not only is important for understanding ways of conceptualising emotional experience that are natural and fundamental to the Chinese people, but also provides a new and important perspective on the link between people's conceptualisation of their feelings and thoughts and their sensory experiences. The chapter starts with examples illustrating this mode of emotion description in Chinese (Section 1), followed by an explanation of why autobiographical writings are used as a key source of linguistic data for the present study (Section 2). Section 3 is devoted to the analysis of the emotional meanings encoded in different taste-related expressions in Chinese, focusing on xīnlǐhěnkǔ [heart-inside-very-bitter] ('feel anguish'), chīkǔ [eat-bitterness] ('to endure hardship'), kǔsè [bitter-puckery] ('feel regret'), suānchǔ ('feel sad'), xīnsuān [hot/spicy-sour] ('feel grieved'), xīnsuān [heart-sour] ('feel pity/compassion'), and tiánmì [sweet-honey] ('feel happiness'). Cultural scripts relating to the Chinese attitudes towards verbal expressions of emotion are postulated and discussed in connection with kǔ. The analysis of suān-related emotion terms reveals that references to tear are common to all of them. The final part of the chapter (Section 4) takes a comparative perspective by analysing the meaning of bitter, sour, and sweet in English. It discusses the similarities and differences between taste-related emotion terms in both languages, citing also the available information on their frequency of use. The findings based on empirical analysis further confirm results from earlier research that 'sadness' is an elaborated domain in the Chinese emotional universe. The chapter concludes with examples showing how the generic term zīwèi ('taste/flavour') can be used to describe feeling in general, building a bridge between the topic of this chapter and the following chapter, which examines the role of wèi ('taste/flavour') in Chinese conceptual formation.

On the train I had yet another strange dream: there were all sorts of dried nuts and fruits on my friend's balcony – walnuts, dates, plums, and other unnamable nuts of various shapes, some with thorns, some with hard shells difficult to open. I asked this girlfriend, which one was good to eat? She said: “Some were sweet, some sour, some bitter, and others with strange tastes, you have to taste for yourself, and crack the shells by yourself”. After I woke up, I thought for a long time; does this dream mean something about my future life and the choices that I am faced with? (Wang, 2001, p.24)¹

1. Describing emotions via taste: illustrative examples

This section gives readers a general idea of how emotions are talked about via taste vocabulary in Chinese by providing some initial examples. They are for illustrative purposes only, and are given only very brief comments.

Examples (1) – (4) are all taken from an article in the July 2001 issue of an Australia-based Chinese magazine called *Péngyǒu* 《朋友》 (Friend, hereafter PY). These examples all contain references to tastes. The title of the article is presented in example (1):

(1) 澳洲新移民: 苦辣酸甜

<i>Àozhōu</i>	<i>xīn yímín:</i>	<i>kǔlèsuāntián</i>
Australia:continent	new migrant	bitter:spicy:sour:sweet

‘New immigrants to Australia: their joys and sorrows.’

¹ 火车上我还做过一个怪梦：在一个朋友家的晒台上满地是各式各样的干果，有核桃、山枣、栗子、还有很多形状奇异说不出名字的果子，有些带刺，也有些带硬壳，很难打开。我问这位女友，哪一个果子好吃？她说有甜的、酸的、苦的、还有很怪味道的，得你自己尝，自己把壳打开。醒来后我想了很久，这梦是否意味着未来的生活和所面临的选择？(王小慧，2001，p.24)

(2) 这种滋味不言而喻，是多么的苦涩啊！

Zhèzhǒng zīwèi bù yán ér yù, shì

this:kind taste/feeling NEG:say:PART:explain be

duōme de kǔsè a!

how:LIG bitter:puckery PART

‘(One of my friends described his feelings when he first arrived in Australia:

The people and place were strange to me. I had no relatives. The language

made it difficult to communicate, and the future was uncertain.) It goes without

saying that one would have such a feeling – how bitter it is!

(3) 只有在夜深人静时，他们才咀嚼自己的痛苦。

Zhǐyǒu zài yèshēnrénjìng shí, tāmen cái

only at evening:deep:person:quiet time/when 3PL PART

jǔjué zìjǐde tòngkǔ。

chew self:LIG pain:bitter

‘Only in the dead night do they chew their pain.’

The sentence in example (4), though cited in the same article, originated in an autobiography called *Wǒde Cáifù Zài Àozhōu* 《我的财富在澳洲》 (My Wealth is in Australia, Liu, 1991).

(4) 吃不到苦的苦比吃得到苦的苦还苦。

Chībúdào kǔ de kǔ bǐ chīdedào kǔ
eat:NEG:arrive bitter LIG bitter COMP eat:EXT:arrive bitter

de kǔ hái kǔ。

LIG bitter PART bitter

‘The bitterness of not being able to endure hardship is more bitter than the bitterness of enduring hardship.’

The title of the article, which is given in example (1), includes the set phrase *kǔlèsuāntián* 苦辣酸甜 [bitter-spicy-sour-sweet], meaning ‘joys and sorrows of life’ (ABC, p.574). The four tastes contained in this phrase refer symbolically to a wide range of emotions. This phrase is commonly used. For example, in *Xīnmín Wǎnbào* 《新民晚报》 (*Xinmin Evening News*, hereafter XMWB), one of the most widely read evening newspapers in Mainland China, there is a regular column called *Sànhù de Suāntiánkǔlè* 散户的酸甜苦辣 (‘Shareholders’ joys and sorrows’), in which shareholders relate their own emotional experiences in dealing with the ups and downs of the share market. Example (5) is an extract from one such account:

(5) 可以说甜酸苦辣滋味基本上都尝过了。现在回忆起来甜的滋味最近几年好像已经不多了。

Kěyǐshuō suāntiánkǔlè zīwèi jīběnrshàng dōu chángguò le。

can:say sour:sweet:bitter:spicy taste basically all taste:EXP PART

Xiànzài huíyìqǐlái tiánde zīwèi zuìjìn jǐnián hǎoxiàng

now recall:rise.INC sweet:LIG taste recent several:year seem

yǐjīng bùduō le。

already NEG:much PART

‘(From my own experience of the market,) it can be said that I have pretty much experienced all sorts of emotions. Now, recalling the past, it seems that there haven’t been many happy moments in recent years’. (XMWB, Oct. 26th, Saturday, 2002)

All of the above examples illustrate well this distinctive mode of emotion talk in the Chinese language – describing emotional experience via taste. But what kind of situations and derived feelings do Chinese people associate with *suān* (‘sour’), *tián* (‘sweet’), *kǔ* (‘bitter’), and *là* (‘spicy’)?² Furthermore, what can this mode of description tell us about Chinese people’s conceptualisation of their emotional experience? Answers to these questions require a thorough and careful examination of the meanings of these emotion-describing taste words. The main objective of this chapter therefore is to provide a detailed semantic portrait of each of these words.

² Chinese people generally hold that there are five basic tastes – *tián/gān* 甜/甘 (‘sweet’), *suān* 酸 (‘sour’), *kǔ* 苦 (‘bitter’), *lā/xīn* 辣/辛 (‘spicy/hot/pungent’), and *xián* 咸 (‘salty’). Dictionary entries often explain them as *wǔwèizhīyī* 五味之一 (‘one of the five tastes’; e.g. CH). Of the five tastes, the meaning of *xián* does not seem to extend to the emotion domain. Therefore, this chapter focuses only on the other four tastes (note that *gān* [sweet] and *xīn* [hot/spicy/pungent] represent a more archaic use, and appear most often in compounds, idioms and set phrases).

2. Data

As mentioned in Section 5 of Chapter 1, the linguistic data used in this chapter are different from those used in other chapters in that they draw mainly from autobiographical writings, either in book and audiovisual forms, or as articles appearing in popular newspapers and magazines. The consideration of sources of this kind is motivated by the need for suitable materials where narrators can reveal their innermost thoughts in the most authentic way.³

Interestingly enough, it appears that autobiographical writings are only a very recent phenomenon in Mainland China. Even so, they are often presented in the form of *kǒushùshílù* 口述实录 ('a faithful oral recording'), especially when the content deals with the very private realm of personal life (e.g. An, ed., 1998).⁴ The references of all the autobiographical writings cited in this chapter can be found in the Chinese References section at the end of the thesis, under the heading of *Jìshíwénxué* 纪实文学 ('reportage') – a well-established genre in Chinese literature.

Apart from autobiographical sources, *Gùshìhuì* (*Story Collection*; G), the most widely circulated magazine in Mainland China, see also §3 of Chapter 3), is also used to show how such a mode of description is commonly used. Monolingual and bilingual dictionaries constitute a third source of examples. These will give readers an idea of codified uses of the words discussed in this chapter.

³ In this context, it is interesting to note that one of the standard methods employed in psychology for studying emotional experience is the use of autobiographic reports (e.g. Frijda, 1986, p.184). In general, there is an increasing awareness and practice of using first-person accounts as a method of analysis in cognitive science (e.g. Varela, Thompson, and Rosch, 1991; Goleman, 2003, pp.312-314).

⁴ See Ye forthcoming for discussion and analysis of this new and significant literary development and how it is related to the Chinese literary and historiographic tradition.

3. The meanings of different tastes in the Chinese

emotional world

This section will undertake a careful examination of the emotional meanings embodied in each of the taste-related words, following the order of *kǔ* 苦 ('bitter'), *suān* 酸 ('sour'), *là* 辣 ('spicy'), and *tián* 甜 ('sweet'). For Chinese people, the first three tastes are considered rather unpleasant, while the opposite can be said of *tián* ('sweet'). Therefore, the first three tastes could be thought of as being associated with 'bad feelings', while *tián* is associated with 'good feelings'.

3.1 *Kǔ* 苦 ('bitter')

It is not an exaggeration to say that *kǔ* ('bitter') occupies a key word status in the Chinese language and culture. It reflects not only a unique Chinese emotional experience, but also Chinese people's experience of life in general, as will be aptly demonstrated in this section.

As already shown in example (4), *kǔ* has a wide range of applications. Here, I will focus on (a) *kǔ*₁ as it appears in the construction and expression *X xīnlǐhěnkǔ* X 心里很苦 [X feels bitter in his/her heart] ('feel anguish'), which has a reference to *xīn* 心 [heart-mind], the seat of emotion for Chinese people; (b) *kǔ*₂ ('hardship') as in *chīkǔ* 吃苦 [eat-bitter] ('endure hardship') and *shòukǔ* 受苦 [receive/undergo-bitter] ('going through adversity and hardship'); and (c) *kǔsè* 苦涩 [bitter-puckery] ('feel regret').

3.1.1 *Xīnlǐ hěn kǔ* 心里很苦 [feel bitter in one's heart] ('feel anguish') and Chinese attitudes towards emotion.

*Kǔ*₁ has an explicit emotional meaning and is typically used in such syntactic constructions as (6), which takes a person as a topic:

(6) 我心里很苦。

Wǒ *xīnlǐ* *hěn* *kǔ*。

1SG heart:inside very bitter

'I feel very bitter in my heart.'

All of the following concepts listed in (7), which contain the morpheme of *kǔ*, can replace the *kǔ*₁ in sentence (6) (of course, they will express different emotional meaning while sharing some of the core semantic components with *kǔ*₁, such as the intense mental suffering of a person facing an on-going situation which they find difficult to speak about and to extract themselves from).

- (7) a. *kǔmèn* 苦闷 [bitter-sealed]: bitterness, pain, suffering, agony, anguish
b. *kǔtòng* 苦痛 [bitter-pain]: acute mental suffering, tormented
c. *kǔnǎo* 苦恼 [bitter-vexed]: troubled; don't know what to do

Intuitively, the feeling of *kǔ* is 'unspeakable', as if it can only be understood by the experiencer themselves; as if a person who has never tasted traditional Chinese medicine would not be able to know the exact taste of it. The ineffability of *kǔ*₁ is most vividly reflected in the *xièhòuyǔ* 歇后语 – 'enigmatic folk simile' – *yǎba chīhuánglián, yǒukǔ shuōbùchū* 哑巴吃黄莲, 有苦说不出 ('When a mute person

takes Chinese medicine, the bitterness is ineffable'), and the bottled-up feeling makes *kǔ* 1 tantamount to 'mental suffering'. I propose that the meaning of *Xīnlǐhěnkǔ* 心里很苦 can be explicated as follows:

[A] *Semantic explication for Xīnlǐhěnkǔ* 心里很苦 [feel bitter in one's heart] ('feel anguish')

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) "something bad has been happening to me for a long time
- (d) I feel something very bad because of this
- (e) I don't want to say this to other people
- (f) because I don't know how I can say this to other people
- (g) if I say it, I don't think that they will know how I feel
- (h) they cannot know it because something like this is not happening to them"
- (i) when this person thinks about this, this person feels something very bad for a long time
- (j) x felt like this
- (k) because x thought like this
- (l) often, people can know how this person feels when they see this person's *liǎn* [M] ('face')

This definition, which is constructed using the semantic primes, is built around a prototypical cognitive scenario, in which 'x feels like a person feels when this person has certain specifiable thoughts' (components [a-b] and [j-k]; cf.

Wierzbicka, 1972, 1999; Fehr and Russell, 1984). Components (c)-(d) show that the experiencer of *kǔ* is in some kind of a predicament and suffers from it as a result. However, there is a sense of unwillingness on the part of the experiencer to speak openly about their suffering, because, in the experiencer's opinion, it is ineffable, and it cannot be adequately understood by other people. This is reflected in components (f)-(h).

It is not that the experiencer *can't* pour out their feelings, but rather that they choose not to do so (hence 'I don't want to say this to other people' in [e]) in the

belief that other people cannot possibly understand the nature and complexity of the event they experience. In a sense, it is futile to tell others about one's mental suffering when the inability of the other party to understand the situation (and therefore the 'very bad feeling') means that they will not be able to help free the experiencer from their suffering. The feeling of the experiencer therefore is very much locked-in. This makes *kǔ*₁ a very private, and intense feeling, and the experiencer is like a 'loner' when suffering *kǔ*₁.

The distinction between *don't* and *can't* in component (e) is an important one, because the experiencer can in fact open their heart and communicate their 'bitter' feelings when they decide to do so, as is the case in the following example:

(8) 听我说这些年来压在心里的苦楚。

Tīng wǒ shuō zhèxiē nián lái yāzài xīnlǐ

listen 1SG say these year come press:LOC heart:inside

de kǔchǔ.

LIG bitterness

'(At that moment, I suddenly had a feeling: it seems to me rare that there is a person here who is able to sit with me on the verandah and chat,) and listen to me about the bitterness that was buried deep in my heart, (and that he is a person who has a similar fate).' (An, ed., 1998, p.228)

This example also alludes to the fact that the experiencer of *kǔ* will only talk about their mental sufferings if they trust the other person (premised on knowing the other person well; cf. Chapter 2), believing that the other party is willing to make an effort to understand them, and, most importantly, has similar experiences

(therefore the ability to understand the speaker). The following example reveals this aspect of unwillingness to open one's heart to other people in the meaning of *kǔ*₁ from a different angle (in this example, *kǔ* is used as a verb):

(9) 妻曾劝我，把这一切说出来，不要太苦自己。

Qī céng quàn wǒ, bǎ zhè yīqiè
wife once try to persuade 1SG BA this everything
shuōchūlái, bùyào tài kǔ zìjǐ。
say:out:come do not too bitter oneself

'My wife has tried to persuade me to say everything (to readers), and not to burden myself with bitterness.' (Lu, 2000, p.24)⁵

The above examples show clearly that *kǔ*₁ is a pent-up, private feeling. When the feeling is kept and stored deep inside, it builds up. So, when one decides to talk about one's bottled up feelings, they pour out, as reflected in the idiomatic speech act verb *dàokǔshuǐ* 倒苦水 [pour-bitter-water], meaning 'to pour out one's pain'. ZYWBC describes *kǔshuǐ* [bitter-water] as (1) bitter water, and (2) gastric secretion rising to a patient's mouth, and (3) suffering, grievances in one's heart of hearts (p.226). *Yīdùzi* 一肚子 [one-stomach] is used as a classifier to modify *kǔshuǐ* 苦水 [bitter-water] ('pent-up mental suffering; locked-in pain'), suggesting the large quantitative and cumulative nature of the feeling of *kǔ*₁ ('feel something very bad for a long time' in component [i]).

⁵ The example is taken from *Sǐwáng Rìjì* 《死亡日记》 (*A Death Diary*) by Lu Youqing (2000). The author, a terminally ill cancer patient, wrote the diary in his final months of life.

Paradoxically, although the feeling of *kǔ*₁ is not usually knowable to others through verbal expression, it does nonetheless leak to the face and show on it, and is thus externally observable by other people, giving them a visual cue that the experiencer is suffering. Seeing her mother-in-law sitting quietly on the roof with a ‘bitter’ face, the speaker in the following film example assumed that she was ‘bitter’ in her heart (note that the mother-in-law is addressed as ‘mother’):

(10) 娘，俺知道你心里很苦。

Niáng, ǎn zhīdào nǐ xīnlǐ hěn kǔ。

Mother 1SG know 2SG heart:inside very bitter

‘Mother, I know that you feel bitter in your heart.’ (X, 1993)

Conventional expressions such as *kǔzheliǎn* 苦着脸 [bitter-DUR-face] (‘having a distressed face’) and *chóuméikǔliǎn* 愁眉苦脸 [melancholy/worry-eyebrows-bitter-face] (‘a worried face’) also point to the facial expression of *kǔ*₁ (cf. § 4.2.4 of Chapter 3). A ‘bitter’ face in Chinese is a droopy face, with oblique eyebrows, and the corners of the mouth pulling down, suggesting a long-lived state (cf. Ye, 2004a). ‘For a long time’ in component (i) reflects this: *kǔ*₁ is not only a voluminous and cumulative feeling, but also a long-lasting one.

The description of a ‘worried and bitter’ face also suggests that the bottled-up feeling is so strong and intense that it has to be channeled in some non-verbal manner, if not through a verbal way. Component (1) attempts to reflect the fact that the emotion of *kǔ*₁ is externally observable from the face.

In this context, it is interesting to compare the meaning of *kǔ*₁ with the meaning of two other emotion concepts, *chóu* 愁 (‘confused sadness/worry/melancholy’; cf.

Ye, 2001a) and *yōu* 忧 ('loving concern'; cf. Ye, 2000). All of these emotion words describe long-lasting, intense bad feelings (which are often observable from the face), and are often considered the equivalents of *anguish* and *melancholy* (cf. Kubin, ed., 2001). However, there are several fundamental differences between these concepts.⁶ Unlike *kǔ*₁ and *chóu*, where the thought of the experiencer is directed at past and on-going unfortunate events and has a strong personal character ('to me'), the thought of the experiencer of *yōu* is future- and other-oriented – related to 'something bad can happen to this person'. In this sense *kǔ*₁ is closer in meaning to *chóu* than to *yōu*. *Kǔ*₁ also lacks reflectiveness or pensiveness that is the signature feature of *yōu*. Under their many shared commonalities

⁶ The explications of *chóu* and *yōu* are as follows (from Ye, 2000 & 2001a):

chóu ('confused sadness/worry/melancholy')

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks:
- (c) "something very bad is happening to me
- (d) I don't want things like this to happen to me
- (e) because of this, I want to do something if I can
- (f) I don't know what to do
- (g) I can't not think about this all the time"
- (h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad for a long time
- (i) x felt like this
- (j) because x thought like this

yōu ('loving concern')

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks about someone like this:
- (c) "this person is like a part of me
- (d) I want good things to happen to this person because of this
- (e) I know: bad things can happen to this person at any time
- (f) because something bad is happening
- (g) I don't want bad things to happen to this person
- (h) I want to do something good for this person
- (i) I can't not think about this person all the time"
- (j) when this person thinks like this, this person feels something very bad for a long time
- (k) x felt like this
- (l) because x thought like this

however lie the fundamental difference between the meanings of *kǔ*₁ and *chóu*.

While the experiencer of *chóu* actively seeks a solution ('I want to do something') in order to find a way out, the experiencer of *kǔ*₁ simply turns inwardly and focuses on the thought that their feeling is ineffable and could not be understood by others.

To a great extent, *kǔ*₁ reflects a general Chinese belief and attitude towards expressing emotions – preferring to keep feelings to oneself and to bear the suffering silently. This attitude towards emotion expression is captured in the following cultural script:

[B] *A cultural script for 'keeping bad feelings to oneself'*

[many people think like this:]

when a person feels something very bad, it is bad if this person says it to other people

A particularly telling piece of linguistic evidence supporting this script comes from the very negative tone associated with the speech act verb *sùkǔ* 诉苦 [tell-*kǔ*], 'to vent one's grievances' (ABC, p.576). Note that *sù* is different from *tell* in that *sù* implies that the telling action takes some time ('say for some time'), and its topics are about bad feelings and troubles. The collocation of *sù* and *kǔ* further lends support to the argument made earlier that *kǔ* is a voluminous feeling (that is, 'a person feels something very bad for a long time').

It appears that in line with the repression of speaking about 'bad feelings', there is a master script that encourages Chinese people to keep feelings to themselves in general whether good or bad, to others. The master script reads as follows:

[C] *A cultural script for 'keeping feelings to oneself'*

[many people think like this:]

when a person feels something, it is not good if this person
says it to other people

The above scripts are consistent with a family of scripts formulated and discussed in the previous chapter on Chinese norms in emotion expressions (e.g. scripts [N]-[P] in Chapter 3). While the scripts discussed there are concerned mostly with norms for *non-verbal* expression of emotion, scripts [B] and [C] proposed here try to articulate the *verbal* aspect of emotion expression (reflected most distinctively in the prime SAY). All of these scripts are intrinsically linked with the deeper cultural values, such as *hányǎng* ('the capacity of containing oneself'), which is also discussed in Chapter 3.

In the light of the above scripts, which reflect culturally endorsed attitudes toward emotions in Chinese society, it is perhaps not surprising when Leung and Lee (1996), in their review of psychotherapy practice with Chinese people, remark that "at the level of practice, Chinese clients in therapy exhibit difficulty in expressing their private thoughts and strong emotions" (p.447).⁷ Needless to say, the above cultural scripts would have a profound impact on the applicability of

⁷ The authors also report a noticeable phenomenon presented in empirical studies with subjects of Asian American backgrounds (including those of Chinese descent): not only do fewer of them participate in therapy, but those that do tend to have higher dropout rates, and in general consider their therapy sessions to be unhelpful. The authors conclude that "these findings are interpreted as indicative of a pattern of ineffective therapy with Asian-Americans, which results in the technique's unpopularity and poor reputation" (Leung and Lee, 1996, p.448). Obviously, a thorough investigation of culturally endorsed attitudes toward emotion among Asian Americans of different ethnic backgrounds would be particularly revealing and fruitful for understanding the reasons behind such a phenomenon (cf. Tung, 2000).

psychotherapy and counselling – practices that are widely carried out in modern American society – in the Chinese context.

Many scholars have pointed out that in modern American society, a great deal of emphasis is placed on one's ability to analyse their feelings, in particular bad feelings, rationally, to verbalise them with self-control, and to share their feelings with others (e.g. Hochschild, 1983; Carbaugh, 1988; Lutz, 1988, 1990; Smith, 1995; Bellah, et. al., 1996; Wierzbicka, 1994, 1999; Goleman, 2003).⁸ Bellah et. al. (1996) in particular ascribe very explicitly the popularity of psychotherapy in modern American society to this general cultural attitude to emotion. They point out that "practitioners [of psychotherapy] stress the primary importance of 'knowing how you're feeling'" (p.128).

Wierzbicka (1994, p.170 & 1999, pp.259-260) has proposed some scripts to account for this cultural ethos in contemporary American society. They are reproduced below with new headings (see also Hasada, 2006):

[D] *An Anglo-American cultural script on the importance of knowing how one is feeling*

[people think like this:]
it is good if I know what I feel
it is good if I know why I feel like this
it is good if I think about it

⁸ For example, in explaining the rationale behind the PATHS (Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies) curriculum developed in the United States, Mark Greenberg, one of the founders of the emotional education curriculum, states: "There is a way in which teaching children about feelings not only helps them to recognize what's going inside themselves or what's going on inside another person, but also shows them how talking about feelings can actually often solve problems" (cited in Goleman, 2003, p.269).

[E] *An Anglo-American cultural script on the inclination to analyse and verbalise one's emotions*

[people think like this:]

I want to know how I feel at this time

I want to know why I feel like this

I want to think about it

If I know why I feel like this, I can do something

[F] *An Anglo-American cultural script for 'control' over one's emotions through rational analysis*

[people think like this:]

when I feel something bad, it is good if I think about it

if I think about it, I don't have to feel like this any more

The pressure to talk about one's bad feelings in order to overcome them seems even stronger in modern American society. There seems to be a general cultural ethos of fostering a cheerful and positive emotional attitude, which means that pain and suffering are seen as undesirable, and that they should be avoided and removed from life (e.g. Bellah, et. al., 1996; Hochschild, 1983; Hoffman, 1989; Stearns, 1994; Wierzbicka, 1999, 2004a).⁹

Against this background of culturally endorsed attitudes towards emotions in modern American culture, it would not be surprising if the prevailing Chinese attitudes to emotion, as reflected in the scripts [B]-[C], were thought of as pathological. This, undoubtedly, would have an impact on researchers of Chinese mental health. It is imperative that they be well informed of the cultural attitude towards emotion and Chinese people's distinctive style of emotion expression.

⁹ The emergent field of 'positive psychology' – the scientific study of happiness and good life – is a direct reflection of this cultural ethos (see e.g. Seligman, 2002; Seligman, et. al., 2005; and *The Journal of Positive Psychology* with its first issue published in 2006). To quote, "positive interventions can supplement traditional interventions that relieve suffering and may someday be the practical legacy of positive psychology" (Seligman, et al., 2005, p.410). See Sundararajan, 2005 for a critique of positive psychology from a Confucian perspective.

It also seems that people's view of whether their feelings can be understood by and shared with others varies from culture to culture. For example, in her anthropological study of the *kiturim* or *kuterai* ('griping in a group') speech event in Israeli Hebrew discourse, Katriel (1990) shows that Israelis generally believe that such emotion talk – publicly venting one's grievances among a group of people – is good for one's emotional well-being and that it has positive social value. Although the *kuterai* speech event also suggests that there is a positive value placed on expressing one's bad feelings, it has a fundamentally different rationale for people doing so – one aimed at bonding socially (Katriel, 1990).

Undoubtedly, research into how people from different societies express their suffering and pain can provide valuable information on cultural attitudes towards emotions and on underlying values that affect and shape the preferred style of emotion expression in a given society.

A final point about *kǔ*₁ is that despite individual differences among modern Chinese speakers as to whether they associate the feeling of *kǔ*₁ with the bad feeling in their mouth after tasting something bitter, it is not difficult to discern some parallels between the long-lasting psychological feeling and the bodily feeling. XHC explains the taste of *kǔ* as similar to that of *dǎnzhī* 胆汁 ('bile juice') or *huánglián* 黄连 ('*Copis Japonica*', the bitter seeds of which are used in Chinese medicine) (XHC, p.727). For the Chinese people, Chinese medicine serves as a prototype for bitter taste, and the subsequent lingering bad feeling that stays with the experiencer, which in turn serves as the model for the psychological feeling of *kǔ*₁.

3.1.2 *Kǔ*₂ 苦₂ ('suffering from physical hardship') and the important cultural value of *chīkǔ* 吃苦 [eat-bitter] ('to endure hardship').

Anyone who has first-hand experience in China, especially in rural China, will immediately notice the frequent use of *kǔ*₂ by Chinese people for describing the circumstances of their daily life. One may get an idea of such usage from the following example, which is taken from a book about the 'emotional make-up of Chinese entrepreneurs' (Hoogewerf and Chen, eds., 2003), a collection of personal accounts told by high-profile Chinese entrepreneurs about their public and private lives:

(11) 我们非常穷，生活很苦。

Wǒmen fēicháng qióng, shēnghuó hěn kǔ.

1PL very poor life very bitter

'(That year was 1969.) We were very poor, and life was very hard, (my mother was also very ill, so everybody in the family hoped that I would get married soon and first, so that I could find a wife who could take care of my mother).'

 (Hoogewerf and Chen, eds., 2003, p.14)

As pointed out by the editors in the preface, most of these entrepreneurs were born into poor families. They all describe life in their earlier years as *kǔ*. If *kǔ*₁ refers to *mental suffering*, *kǔ*₂ has an unmistakable implicit reference to *physical suffering*. A life described as *kǔ*₂ is a life where one has to labor and toil in order to survive.

The following cluster of compounds and set phrases either explicitly or implicitly refer to hardship at the physical level (all from ABC):

- (12) a. *kǔlì* 苦力 [bitter-strength]: a *coolie*; a laborer
 b. *kǔgōng* 苦工 [bitter-work]: hard manual work
 c. *kǔnàn* 苦难 [bitter-calamity]: suffering, misery
 d. *kǔliàn* 苦练 [bitter-practice]: practice diligently
 e. *kǔdú* 苦读 [bitter-study]: study hard
 f. *kǔgàn* 苦干 [bitter-labor]: work hard
 g. *láokǔ* 劳苦 [labor-bitter]: toil
 h. *xīnkǔ* 辛苦 [hot-bitter]: work hard; endure hardship
 i. *jiānkǔ* 艰苦 [difficult-bitter]: arduous

As a result of the ubiquitous hardship encountered in people's lives, the ability to endure hardship, that is to *chīkǔ* 吃苦 [eat-bitter] ('bear hardship', ABC, p.77) has an important place in Chinese culture and is held up as a key value and a virtue by the Chinese people. The cultural importance attached to the ability to endure hardship is reflected in the positive tone associated with the set phrase *chīkǔnàiláo* 吃苦耐劳 [eat-bitter-endure-labor] ('to endure hardship'; ABC, p.77). To be able to *chīkǔ* is a personal quality that Chinese people feel proud of, and is something that parents will teach their children, as illustrated in the following examples:

(13) 吃苦是一种终生受益的财富，……我小时候苦极了。

Chīkǔ *shì* *yìzhǒng* *zhōngshēng* *shòuyì* *de* *cáifù*, ...

eat:bitter BE one:CL end:life receive:benefit LIG asset

wǒ *xiǎoshíhòu* *kǔjíle*。

1SG young:time bitter:extreme:PART

‘To be able to endure hardship is a life-long asset....I experienced great hardship when I was young, (after struggling for more than ten years, it is only now that I have a good life).’ (Zhang, 2001, p.66)

(14) 去吃更多的苦，这是一种福气。

Qù chī gèngduōde kǔ, zhè shì yīzhǒng fúqi.

go eat more:LIG bitter this BE one:CL luckiness

‘(History determines that we would go to do the pioneering work,) to endure more hardship. It is our fortune.’ (XMZK, Nov. 2002)

(15) 受点委屈，吃点苦磨练一下，没有坏处，以后他才知道甜的滋味。

Shòudiǎn wěiqū, chīdiǎnkǔ móliàn yīxià, méiyǒu

receive:bit wrong eat:some:bitter temper oneself one:CL NEG

huàichù, yǐhòu tā cái zhīdào tiánde zīwèi.

bad:point later 3SG PART know sweet:LIG taste

‘(I believe that if we get rich, we should not let our kids get rich. We should raise them to be frugal, to know the hardship of life, to be wronged.) There is no disadvantage in enduring hardship, for they will know the taste of sweet later.’ (Zhang, 2001, p.106)

A further example showing that *chīkǔnàiláo* [eat-bitter-endure-labor] is an important Chinese value can be drawn from *Zhōnghuá Měidé* 《中华美德》 (*Chinese Virtues*, ZHMD, 2002), a TV cartoon program with an accompanying book designed to teach Chinese virtues by drawing material from well-known

ancient stories. *Chīkǔnàilào* is one of the key values recurrently mentioned and emphasised.

The explication of *chīkǔ* can read as follows:

[G] *Semantic explication for chīkǔ* 吃苦 ('to endure hardship/physical suffering')

- (a) sometimes something bad happens to a person
- (b) because of this, this person has to do many things for a long time
- (c) when this person does these things, this person thinks like this:
- (d) "I don't want to do these things
- (e) because I feel something very bad inside my body when I do these things
- (f) I can't think: I will not do these things
- (g) I have to do these things now
- (h) if I do these things, good things will happen to me afterwards"
- (i) it is good if a person can think like this when bad things happen to this person
- (j) it is good if a person can do something like this
- (k) it is good if a person can be like this

The 'mental support' for *chīkǔ* comes from (h) – 'if I do these things, good things will happen to me afterwards' – hoping that something positive comes out of the present suffering. It is a source from within that gives strength to the person who undergoes hardship. This component also links *kǔ*₂ to *rěn* 忍

('endurance/forbearance') discussed in §5.2 of Chapter 3. This view of life is reflected in many set phrases such as the following:

- (16) a. *xiānkǔhòutián* 先苦后甜 [first-bitter-then-sweet]: sweetness comes after bitterness – happiness comes after suffering
- b. *kǔjìngānlái* 苦尽甘来 [bitter-exhaust-sweet-come]: when bitterness is finished, sweetness begins – after suffering comes happiness

Conversely, the negative connotation attached to the speech act verb *jiàokǔ* 叫苦 [call/complain-bitter], which means ‘to complain of hardship’ (ABC, p.282), shows clearly the unfavourable attitude of the Chinese people towards those who are unable to endure hardship.

In its emotional sense, *kǔ*₂ is the opposite of *lè* 乐 (‘attainable enjoyment’; cf. Ye in press a), as both involve ‘human effort’. The following example illustrates the use of this pair of opposites (the author relates his thoughts when reading his mother’s personal memoir):

(17) 这是他八十年苦乐悲欢的见证。

Zhě shì tā bāshí nián kǔlèbēihuān de
 This BE 3SG eighty year bitter:enjoyment:sad:joy LIG

jiànzhèng。

witness

‘This is the witness of her joys and hardship. (And I also read in it my life.)’

(Ou, 2003, p.15)

The positive value that Chinese people attach to *kǔ*₂ parallels their view about the benefit of taking Chinese medicine, though it may be bitterly unpleasant. This view is reflected in the commonly used idiom *Liángyào kǔkǒu lìyú bìng* 良药苦口利于病, meaning ‘good medicine, though bitter to the mouth, is good for curing the illness’.

Components (i)-(k) show that *chīkǔ* is a virtue (cf. the explication of *rěn* in §5.2 of Chapter 3).

What is reflected in *kǔ₂* not only represents the existential situation of most Chinese people, but also their attitudes toward life in times of hardship.

3.1.3 *Kǔsè* 苦涩 [bitter-puckery] ('feel regret').

Sè 涩, as explained by XHC (1093), is the taste left by things like *míngfán* 明矾 ('alum') or *bùshú de shìzi* 不熟的柿子 ('unripe persimmon'), which makes the tongue numb and dry.¹⁰ This distinctive taste, which merits a name in Chinese language, does not seem to have an exact equivalent in English. Bilingual dictionaries often gloss *sè* as "astringent" and "puckery" (e.g. ABC, p.516).

However, neither of these terms is thought of as describing tastes in English. They are not colloquial English words (in fact, most commonly used dictionaries do not include *puckery* at all).

Sè can collocate with *suān* 酸 ('sour') as in *suānsè* 酸涩 [sour-puckery] or with *kǔ* as in *kǔsè* 苦涩 [bitter-puckery]. It can also be used by itself in its duplicated form *sèsè* 涩涩. This section will focus on *kǔsè*.

(18) 我摘的是一颗青果子，吞咽的必然是苦涩。

Wǒ zhāide shì yīkē qīngguǒzi, tūnyè de bìrán

1SG pick:NOM BE one:CL green:fruit swallow LIG surely

shì kǔsè.

BE bitter:astringent

¹⁰ Another thing that Chinese people typically associate with the taste of *kǔsè* is unripe olive.

‘(I finally came to realise that what went wrong was that I interfered in another person’s family in the first place.) What I picked was an unripe fruit, thus what I have to swallow has to be bitter.’ (XDJT, Nov, 2002)

In this example, the narrator told the story of her broken marriage. After much reflection, she came to the realisation that the marriage was ill-fated from the very beginning, because it was she who broke up another family’s marriage in the first place.

The kind of unsmooth texture and the stinging sensation left by unripe fruit seem to suggest, iconically, that something wanted was unrealised. The person who picks and eats the ‘unripe fruit’ has to bear full responsibility for their actions and it is often too late to reverse what one has done. The meaning of *kǔsè* may be presented as follows:

[H] *Semantic explication for kǔsè 苦澀* (‘feel regret’)

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) “I feel something very bad
- (d) because something bad is happening to me now
- (e) I know this is because I did something at some time before
- (f) because of this, I know that I can’t say: I do not want this bad thing to be happening to me”
- (g) when a person thinks about this, this person feels something very bad
- (h) x felt like this
- (i) because x thought like this

Components (b)-(d) suggest that one’s own action is a contributing factor in bringing out the unwanted event, which causes suffering to the experiencer.

Components (e)-(f) expresses the experiencer’s quiet acceptance of such a fate.

3.2 *Suān* 酸 ('sour')

(19) 就在那一刹，我心里翻腾起来的都是一些过去的事，一种酸酸的感觉。

Jiù zài nà yīshà, wǒ xīnlǐ fānténg qǐlái de
Just at that one:moment 1SG heart:inside toss up NOM
dōushì yīxiē guòqù de shì, yīzhǒng suānsuān de gǎnjué.
all:BE some past LIG matter one:CL sour.RDP LIG feeling

'At that very moment, tossing in my heart were matters of the past. I felt a surge of 'sour' feeling. I tried my best to hold back tears. For five years, how could I have never thought about doing a little bit for myself?' (An, ed., 1998, p.81)

(20) 这样的好男人却是别人的丈夫，我不觉酸酸的，只想掉泪。

Zhèyàng de hǎo nánrén quèshì biérén de zhàngfu,
like this LIG good man PART:be other people LIG husband
wǒ bùjué suānsuānde, zhǐxiǎng diàolèi.
1SG can't help sour.RDP:LIG only:want shed:tear

'This sort of good man is actually another's husband. I feel envious and like shedding tears'. (Xu, 2002, p.243)

Suān is the taste often associated with vinegar. The ZSHC gives the following gloss under the entry of *suān*: 1. sour, acid; tart; 2. stale; spoiled; 3. sad, grief, sorrowful; 4. aching. 5. jealous, envious; 6. stingy; 7 acid (in chemistry). In the above examples, *suān* ('sour') is used to describe very different emotions, with the feeling in example (19) closer to 'sad' related emotions, and that in example (20)

closer to ‘envious’. Despite this, the feeling of *suān* is prone to producing tears. This turns out to be a shared feature of all the *suān*-related emotion words, a point which will be discussed in detail later in §3.2.5.

In discussing the meaning of *suān*-related emotion concepts, two different senses of *suān*, *suān*₁ and *suān*₂, are distinguished. I will first turn to *suān*₁-related terms, focusing on *suānchǔ* 酸楚 (‘feel sad’), *xīnsuān* 辛酸 (‘feel grieved’), and *xīnsuān* 心酸 (‘feel pity/compassion’).

3.2.1 *Suānchǔ* 酸楚 (‘feel sad’).

(21) 我的心里不由地涌起一阵酸楚。

Wǒde xīnlǐ bù yóude yǒngqǐ yízhèn suānchǔ.

1SG:LIG heart:inside can’t help:ADV surge/gush one:CL *suanchu*

‘(Seeing the growing figure of my son), a wave of sadness surges in my heart.

(Ah, my son! When you still don’t know much about the world, you already have to accept the cruel reality that your mother has cancer. Will this affect you growing up?)’ (XMWB, Oct 23, 2002)

(22) 心中阵阵酸楚。

Xīnzhōng zhènzhèn suānchǔ.

heart:inside CL.REDP *suanchu*

‘(When we arrived at the new house, seeing the grand gate and the exquisite roof standing out in the neighborhood, and feeling Mr. Chitian’s name engraved on the wall), I felt gushes of sadness.’ (Xu, 2002, p.14)

Grievance and *distress* are often used to gloss *suānchǔ* in bilingual dictionaries (e.g. ABC, p.573). The above two examples show that the experiencers had a strong upwelling of *suānchǔ* when they were reminded by some concurrent misfortunes and they subsequently felt that they were unable to do anything to change the situation. More specifically, the mother in example (21) was overcome by the feeling of *suānchǔ* when thinking about the consequence that her terminal illness would possibly have on her young son. When invited to attend the house moving ceremony by Mr. Chitian's wife, the author in example (22) was overwhelmed by waves of *suānchǔ*, because Mr. Chitian died just before the completion of the house. Sadly, it was Mr. Chitian's most ardent wish to see his house completed before he died. In both examples, the experiencers were faced with an irreversible (and cruel) reality (terminal illness in [21] and the untimely death of Mr. Chitian in [22]), which was beyond any of their control. The meaning of *suānchǔ* can be explicated as follows:

[I] *Semantic explication for suānchǔ 酸楚 ('feel sad')*

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) "something very bad is happening now
- (d) I don't want this to be happening
- (e) I can't think: I will do something because of this
- (f) because I know I can't do anything"
- (g) when a person thinks about this, this person feels something very bad at that moment,
- (h) at the same time, there are *lèi* ('tears')_[m] in this person's *yǎn* ('eyes')_[m]
- (i) x felt like this
- (j) because x thought like this

Component (c) indicates that the occurrence is construed as something very unfortunate ('something very bad') by the experiencer. At the same time, even though the experiencer's attitude is to reject the event (component [d]), they

realise and accept their inability to change the situation (components [e]-[f]).

Suānchǔ is a very intense and strong feeling ('feeling something very bad'). 'At that moment' in component (g) intends to capture the acute feeling of *suānchǔ* accompanied by a sudden stir of the heart.

It is not accidental that the feeling of *suānchǔ* ('feel sad') often collocates with the verb *yǒngqǐ* 涌起 [surge-rise] (as in example [21]) or with the classifier *yīzhèn* 一阵 [one-gush/spell.CL] or *yīzhènzhèn* 一阵阵 [one-gush-gush] to describe the sharp onset and the intensity of the feeling. *Yǒng* 涌 ('surge/gush/pour/emerge') gives the impression that something gushes; whereas *yīzhèn* [one-gush.CL], which is often used to describe wind (e.g. *yīzhènfēng* 一阵风, 'a gush of wind'), characterises sudden, forceful and swift movements. Component (h) suggests that the feeling of *suānchǔ* is accompanied by tears, reflected, for example, in such commonly used expressions as *suānchǔ de yǎnlèi* 酸楚的眼泪 ('the tears of *suānchǔ*'). As we shall see later, this is one of the key features associated with all *suān*-related emotions (cf. §3.2.5).

The meaning of *suānchǔ*, while bearing some resemblance to the English *sad*, *sorrow*, *distress*, and *grievance* (because they are all emotions in response to some adverse event), differs from them in some significant ways.¹¹ Although the thoughts of *suānchǔ* are closer to *sad* in English, the feeling of *suānchǔ* is much stronger and more intense. This is probably due to the fact that the bad event was very adverse in its nature, and was an on-going reality that one had to live with (e.g. the thought of having terminal illness at the time when one's child is young in

¹¹ See Wierzbicka (1999, pp.62-72) for a detailed analysis of 'sadness' like emotions, such as *sad*, *sorrow*, and *distress*. Where the meanings of English emotion concepts are used as a reference point for comparison in this chapter, see Wierzbicka (1999) for a detailed analysis of some of these concepts.

example [21] and the fact that Mr. Chitian died before the house completion in [22]). *Suānchǔ* also lacks the personal character of *sorrow*. For example, the feeling of the experiencer in example (22) could not possibly be described as *sorrow* because the unfortunate event did not happen to the experiencer, but to Mr. Chitian). Nor is *suānchǔ* a long-lasting feeling like *sorrow*. Both *distress* and *grievance* in English include within their meanings an ‘active’ element (‘I want [someone] to do something’ or ‘I want to say something’). Such thoughts do not appear to have entered the mind of the experiencer of *suānchǔ*. From the very beginning, the experiencer realises the irreversible nature of the event. This element adds further poignancy to the feeling of *suānchǔ*.

3.2.2 *Xīnsuān* 辛酸 [hot/spicy-sour] (‘feel grieved’).

The most widely used bilingual dictionary *Jīngxuǎn Hànyīng Yīnghàn Cídiǎn* (*The Concise Chinese-English English-Chinese Dictionary*) (JXHC) translates *xīnsuān* as “sad; bitter; miserable” (p. 489), and offers the following collocation *xīnsuān de wǎngshì* 心酸的往事 [*xīnsuān* -LIG-past events] and its translation “sad memories; bitter reminiscences” (ibid.).

Indeed, *xīnsuān* is often used to describe the sad feeling that accompanies one’s retrospective thoughts, as shown in the following example, where the author reflects upon her hard journey of searching for a happy marriage:

(23) 人世间几多缘分；昔日苦苦寻求，多少辛酸。

Rénshìjiān jǐduō yuánfèn; xīrì kǔkǔ

human world how much predestined relation past:day bitter.RDP

xúnqiú, duōshǎo xīnsuān。

search how much *xinsuan*

‘How much destiny does one have in this human world? How sad it was in the hard search of it!’ (Zhang, 2001, p.69)

Xīnsuān often refers to the repeated mishaps a person experiences over a period of time. It can also be used to characterise a person’s hard experience over a certain period of one’s life course like *rénshēng* 人生 (‘life’), *tóngnián* 童年 (‘childhood’), and *guòqù* 过去 (‘past’). This is indirectly reflected in the following example, where the author tells his thoughts after reading his mother’s personal memoir.

(24) 但当年母亲给我的来信，从来没有一个字倾诉她的辛酸。

Dàn dāngnián mǔqīn gěi wǒ de láixìn,

but in those years mother give 1SG LIG come:letter

cónglái méiyǒu yīge zì qīnsù tāde xīnsuān。

never NEG one:CL character word pour out 3SG:LIG *xinsuan*

‘(Reading this autobiography of my mother’s, I was able to know the terrible and miserable situation of our family in those years.) But she mentioned none of her misery and suffering in her letters to me during that time.’ (Ou, 2003, p.11)

The following explication is proposed for the meaning of *xīnsuān*:

[J] *Semantic explication for xīnsuān 辛酸 ('feel grieved')*

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) “for some time, many very bad things were happening to me
- (d) when these things were happening to me, I wanted these things not to be happening to me
- (e) I couldn't do anything because of this
- (f) because of this, I felt something very bad for a long time”
- (g) when a person thinks about this, this person feels something very bad at that moment
- (h) at the same time, there are *lèi* ('tears')_[m] in this person's *yǎn* ('eyes')_[m]
- (i) x felt like this
- (j) because x thought like this

Different from *suānchǔ*, 'feel sad', discussed earlier in §3.2.1, in which the thought of the experiencer is directed at some single event that happened recently and that has an on-going effect, the thought of *xīnsuān* is focused on a specific period in the past when many misfortunes happened to the experiencer (component [c]). During that time, the experiencer could only 'passively' accept the mishaps, and suffer from them as a result (components [d]-[f]). Whenever the experiencer thinks about the past, the painful experiences bring out poignant feelings as depicted by component (g). Component (h) indicates that *xīnsuān* is accompanied by tears. The conventional phrase *xīnsuānlèi* 辛酸泪 [*xīnsuān*-tear] is commonly used, and has its place in dictionary entries. ABC, for example, glosses it as 'hot and bitter tears' (p. 689). A well-known line containing *xīnsuānlèi* 辛酸泪 [*xīnsuān*-tear] comes from the following poem in the opening chapter of *Hónglómèng* (*A Dream of Red Mansions*; HLM, p.7; cf. Chapter 3):

(25) 满纸荒唐言，一把辛酸泪。都云作者痴，谁解其中味。

<i>Mǎn</i>	<i>zhǐ</i>	<i>huāngtáng</i>	<i>yán,</i>
full	paper	absurd	words
<i>Yī</i>	<i>bǎ</i>	<u><i>xīnsuān</i></u>	<i>lèi。</i>
one	CL	xinsuan	tear
<i>Dōu</i>	<i>yún</i>	<i>zuòzhě</i>	<i>chī,</i>
all	say	author	folly
<i>Shuí</i>	<i>jiě</i>	<i>qízhōng</i>	<i>wèi。</i>
who	understand it:in		flavour/meaning

‘Pages full of fantastic talk

Penned with bitter tears

All men call the author mad

None of his message hears.’ (Trans. Yang and Yang, 1994, p.6)

3.2.3 *Xīnsuān* 心酸 [heart-sour] (‘feel pity/compassion’).

The emotion concept *xīnsuān* to be discussed in this section, though identical in its pronunciation to the *xīnsuān* (‘feel grieved’) discussed in the previous section, has a different written character for *xīn*. The interlinear glosses for this pair of homonyms are shown as follows:

(26) a. *xīnsuān* 辛酸 [hot/pungent-sour] (§ 3.2.2)

b. *xīnsuān* 心酸 [heart-sour] (§ 3.2.3)

The feeling of *xīnsuān* [heart-sour], the topic of this section, arises when one's thoughts are directed towards another person, who is undergoing some sort of suffering, as is the case in the following example:

(27) 我想我才能对得起那令我心酸的脚步。

Wǒ xiǎng wǒ cáinéng duìdéqǐ nà lìng wǒ
1SG think 1SG PART:can not let down that make 1SG
xīnsuān de jiǎobù。

heart:sourLIG footstep

‘(Only if there is a day when I can become a harbor for my mother, sheltering her from wind and rain), I think I can be said to have not let her down for the poignant sound of her footsteps.’ (XWCB, Nov. 8th, 2002).

The daughter in the above example described her mother's footsteps as making her feel *xīnsuān*. The family lived on the 6th floor without lift access. For the first time, the daughter listened to her mother's climbing footsteps, and found that her mother completed one flight with two slow footsteps. She knew that her mother's knees were not in good shape. Thinking of this and of her mother's care of her, she felt guilty for failing to notice her mother's struggle in daily life. Her heart felt poignantly for her mother, and she wanted to do something good for her. The meaning of *xīnsuān* can be portrayed as follows:

[K] *Semantic explication for xīnsuān 心酸 ('feel pity/compassion')*:

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks like this about someone else:
- (c) “something bad is happening to this person
- (d) this is bad for the other person
- (e) this other person can't say: I don't want this to be happening to me”
- (f) when a person thinks like this about someone else, this person feels something very bad at that moment
- (g) at the same time, there are *lèi* ('tears') [m] in this person's *yǎn* ('eyes') [m]
- (h) x felt like this
- (i) because x thought like this

As mentioned earlier, the thought of *xīnsuān* is focused on another person (component [b]). Components (c)-(e) indicate that, in the eyes of the experiencer, the very bad thing that happened to the other person is beyond their control.

However, the explication leaves open whether the target person themselves view the event in the same light. Maybe the target person does not. The following example offers an extreme case, where the target person seems to have a completely different interpretation of the situation from that of the experiencer, the protagonist – the young mistress of the house (because the target person is not aware that what they ate was something for really poor people).

(28) 少奶奶心酸地想：这种菜是乡下粗菜，过去谁去吃啊？

Shàonǚnǚ *xīnsuānde* *xiǎng:* *zhèzhǒng* *cài*
young mistress of the house heart:sour:ADV think this:kind dish

shì *xiāngxià* *cūcài,* *guòqù* *shuí* *qù* *chī* *a?*

BE countryside crude:dish past who go eat PART

‘(Wang Anyi’s novel *Liúshì* described such a scene: during the very difficult and hard days of the Cultural Revolution, the young mistress of the house, Ms Zhang, cooked a dish of stewed pork with eggs, and everybody was delighted.)

Mistress Zhang thought to herself in great grief: this kind of dish is a crude one of the countryside. In the past, who would eat it?' (XMWB, November 19th, 2002)

Obviously, in the mind of the young mistress of the house, the others were unaware that they themselves were suffering, whereas the family seemed to enjoy the dish. When the target person is not aware of his or her own predicament, it gives the meaning of *xīnsuān* an overtone that is even more poignant and tragic.

In a sense, the experiencer of *xīnsuān* is like an external judge, who appraises the event independently from the person directly involved in the event. When one sees a commercial showing a starving child, or comes across a poignant story about the protagonist's miserable experience, one can feel *xīnsuān* for the other person. In this respect, the cognitive scenario of *xīnsuān* is very different from that of *empathy* in English, where the experiencer applies his or her own imagination to the other person's situation and thinks they know what it would be like to be in a similar situation ('I want to think: I know how this person feels when things like this happen') (cf. Travis, 1998). The 'feel sorry for' kind of attitude in *xīnsuān*, in fact, links it closer to the meaning of *pity* in English, where the other person may also not be aware of the bad happening. However, the compelling urge to do something good for the person who, in the eyes of the experiencer, is suffering (component [h]) brings *xīnsuān* closer in its meaning to *compassion*. Example (26) explicitly mentions this point – 'I want to do something good for this person'. So does the following example:

(29) 整个连队怎么还没有过去好了，又是一阵心酸。

Zhěnggè liánduì zěnmē hái méiyǒu guòqù hǎo le,
the whole:CL brigade how still NEG past good PART

yòushì yīzhèn xīnsuān。

again:BE one:CL heart:sour

‘(The few generations nurtured by this land were always concerned about it.

No matter where we go, we always wanted to do something for the ‘Great Northern Wilderness’, and we all wished that there could be more changes.

But, (when we returned,) how come the whole place was ~~not~~ ^{still not} as good as ⁱⁿ the

past, we felt a gush of compassion. We donated books and money, and helped

to build schools. ...’ (Dou, ed., 2002, p.301)

‘The Great Northern Wilderness’ is the place where tens of thousands of Chinese youth spent their prime during the Cultural Revolution. In this example, taken from a TV interview, a well-known Chinese comedy duo described their feelings upon returning to that place, and it is clear that they likened ‘the Great Northern Wilderness’ to a person whom they cared about, had pity on it for its underdevelopment, and desired to do some charitable things for the people there.

In the prototypical scenario of *xīnsuān*, the thoughts of the experiencers are directed towards another person. However, there are situations when the experiencers put themselves in the shoes of another person, judging the whole experience in which they are involved like an on-looker (that is ‘a person can think like this about oneself’). In the following example, the experiencer feels *xīnsuān* for her husband and for herself in leaving behind their memorable university life before embarking on a new life full of unknowns:

(30) 望着举出的大标语，有些心酸：我们已经没有明年了。

Wàngzhe jǔchūde dàbiāoyǔ, yǒuxiē xīnsuān: wǒmen yǐjīng
watch:DUR hang out:LIG big:slogan somewhat heart:sour 1PL already
méiyǒu míngnián le。

NEG next year PFV/PART

‘(The celebration of the university anniversary continued till dusk, and came to an end in splendid fireworks. ‘See you next year!’) Looking at the big slogan hung out, I felt sad. We would not have a next year.’

Like *suānchǔ* 酸楚 (‘feel sad’; §3.2.1) and *xīnsuān* 辛酸 (‘feel grieved’; §3.2.2), *xīnsuān* 心酸 (‘feel pity/compassion’) is also closely associated with tears. The following example explicitly mentions this important aspect of *xīnsuān* (and of all *suān*-related emotion concepts):

(31) 一股心酸的泪水从他那青灰色的眼眶里溢了出来。

Yīgǔ xīnsuān de lèishuǐ cóng tā nà qīnghuīsè
one:CL heart:sourLIG tear from 3SG that black:grey:colour
de yǎnkuànglǐ yìle chūlái
LIG eyering:inside overflow out

‘(Li Xiu’e finally opened her tightly closed eyes, and saw her ‘big black’ howling vis-à-vis her), a stream of heartsick tears flowed from her grey eye-ring. (She realised that it was the dog that saved her.)’ (G, October, 1991)

The usual translations of *xīnsuān* 心酸, ranging from “feel sad” (e.g. JXHY, p.490) to “heartsick; heartsore; grief-stricken” (e.g. ZSHC, p.312), fail to capture this

important bodily aspect of *xīnsuān* – tear-shedding, which is integral to its meaning.

Morphologically, *xīnsuān* 心酸 is a subject-predicate compound. The relationship between the two composite morphemes is that of topic-comment. Because the subject *xīn* ('heart') and the stative verb *suān* ('sour') are free morphemes, the compound can function as a simple declarative sentence, where the subject is *xīn* ('heart') and the predicate is the verb *suān* ('sour'). Other constituents can be inserted in between, as shown in (32):

(32) 心里不由一酸, 赶紧抹泪做了碗鸡蛋稀饭端到娘身边。

Xīnlǐ *bùyóu* *yīsuān*, *gǎnjǐn* *mǒlèi* *zuòle* *wǎn*

heart:inside can't help one:sour immediately wipe:tear make:PFV CL

jīdàn *xīfàn* *duāndào* *niáng* *shēnbiān*。

egg congee hold:arrive mother body:side

'(He could not but think of what people call 'momentary recovery of consciousness just before death',) he couldn't help feeling a surge of pity in his heart, but he immediately wiped off his tears, made egg congee, and took it to his mother's side.' (G, October, 1991)

Xīnlǐ yīsuān 心里一酸 [heart-inside-one-sour] gives the impression that the feeling was sudden, and that there is a momentary surge of acute sensation in the body.

Descriptions of tears or red eyes are almost obligatory following the mention of *xīnlǐ yīsuān* [heart-inside-one-sour]. It is interesting to see that a native Mandarin informant elicits the following sentence full of conventional descriptions involving the use of *xīnlǐ yīsuān*:

(33) 他想起自己孤身一人，无依无靠，心里一酸，流下泪来。

Tā xiǎngqǐ zìjǐ gūshēnyīrén, wúyīwúkào,
3SG think:rise self alone:body:one:person without dependents

xīnlǐ yīsuān, liúxià lèilái。

heart:inside one:sour flow:down tear:come.INC

‘Thinking that she was alone and had no one to depend on, she couldn’t but feel a surge of pity. Tears streamed down her face.’

3.2.4. *Suān*₂ 酸₂ (‘feel envious/jealous’).

This section examines the meaning of *suān*₂, as illustrated earlier by example (20).

The further detailed context in which the author felt *suān*₂ in (20) is contained within the Chinese culture, where husbands and wives do not praise their spouses in public. Therefore, when the author encounters a Chinese couple, and saw the husband showing his love to his wife very naturally in public, she felt *suān*₂ because her own husband never did this. The following explication is intended to capture the meaning of *suān*₂.

[L] *Semantic explication for suān*₂ 酸₂ (‘feel envious/jealous’):

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) “something good is happening to another person
- (d) the same good thing is not happening to me
- (e) I want good things like this to happen to me
- (f) I want to do something because of this
- (g) I can’t do anything”
- (h) when a person thinks about this, this person feels something very bad at that moment
- (h) (at the same time, there is something like *shuǐ* (‘water’) [m] inside this person’s *yǎn* (‘eyes’) [m])
- (i) x felt like this
- (j) because x thought like this

To a considerable extent, the cognitive prototypical scenario of *suān*₂ is like that of *envious* in English. However, the thought of *suān*₂ is focused on the event as a whole, not on a particular person, which is what the meaning of *envious* is about. In other words, the experiencer feels *suān*₂ because they are not at the receiving end of some fortunate event, which is something that they desire. This more general scenario allows *suān*₂ to be used in a wide range of situations, including a jealous situation.¹² Component (g) – ‘I can’t do anything’ – is important to the meaning of *suān*₂, in that without this thought element the emotion could be interpreted as *bùpíng* 不平 (‘feel indignant due to injustice’). Again the momentarily intense feeling often brings tears to the experiencer (component [h]). However, the evocation of tears with *suān*₂ seems to be less strong than it is with *suān*₁. For this reason, component (h) is placed within brackets.

3.2.5 Tears and *suān*-related emotion concepts

Some shared features of *suān*-related emotion concepts can be observed on the basis of the above analysis. Firstly, there is a sense of powerlessness (e.g. ‘I can’t do anything because of this’) common to all of them. And it is this powerless feeling that makes *suān* compatible with other ‘helpless’-related emotion concepts such as *wú nài* 无奈 (‘helpless, without choice’) and *bēi* 悲 (‘tragic/fatalistic

¹² A Chinese expression that is comparable in its sense to the English *jealous* is *chīcù* 吃醋 [eat-vinegar] (‘be jealous [usu. rivalry in love]’, JXHY, p.65). *Hànyīng Shuāngjiě Hànyǔ Guànyòngyǔ Cídiǎn* 《汉英双解汉语惯用语词典》 (*An English Dictionary of Chinese Idioms*; HGC) includes the idiom *àichīcù* 爱吃醋 [love-*chīcù*], ‘be easily jealous of others [usually used when talking of relations between men and women]’ (HGC, p.3). *Chīcù* involves a third party (the rival), who is there to compete with the experiencer for a share of the good feeling expected from another person. See Wierzbicka (1999, pp.97-100) for discussion of *jealous* and *jealousy* in English.

sadness') (cf. Ye, 2001a). In fact, Chinese monolingual dictionaries, such as XHC, simply explain *suān* as *bēitòng* 悲痛 [tragic sadness-acute pain] (p.1206).

Iconically, this sense of powerless feeling might have something to do with the fact that no matter how unpleasant a taste appears to be, the taste itself has become part of the (bodily) experience.

Secondly, as shown in the meanings of all these *suān*-related emotion concepts, particularly in the group of *suān*₁ concepts, tears are a common feature shared by all of them. Tears are often considered a universal and involuntary form of bodily expression, closely, although not exclusively, associated with 'sadness'-like emotions.¹³ It is a general perception among people that only deeply felt feelings compel one to shed tears, and tears evoke a more private feeling on the part of the experiencer. It should be noted that these *suān*-related emotions are not compatible with audible *kǔ* ('cry'), which does not necessarily involves tear-shedding (see §5.3 of Chapter 3.). Collocations like *?xīnsuānde kūle* 心酸得哭了 [heart-sour-EXT-cry-INC] ('so sad that one cries') sound phony, whereas *xīnsuānde zhídiàolèi* 心酸得直掉泪 ('so sad that one keeps shedding tears') is perfectly natural. It appears that in the Chinese language emotion concepts that are associated with

¹³ Tears are still considered a 'mystery' in psychology (Frijda, 1986) in that scholars are yet to find out what causes emotional tears. Darwin's (1998/[1872], pp.164-175) view on the cause of the secretion of tears, although debatable, still remains influential. In his view, the secretion of tears is the result of the strong and involuntary contraction of muscles around the eyes because of the 'engorgement' of the blood vessels of the eyes. In his view, emotional tears are like reflex tears, in that they take pressure off the eyes.

Allan Fridlund, in his book *Human Facial Expression: An Evolutionary View* (Fridlund, 1994), argues that people cry when they are overwhelmed irrespective of what emotions people are experiencing. And people cry to elicit support.

intense, momentary feelings, where the experiencer is deeply ‘stirred’, in connection with ‘helpless’ thought are prone to producing tears.¹⁴

It also seems that the natural expression of tears might be a conceptual link between the *suān*-related emotions discussed above and the bodily feelings brought about by the experience of tasting (or even smelling) something sour. A commonly encountered experience is that the sour taste (or smell) often causes irritation in the nose, which leads to tears. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Chinese also use *bízi yīsuān* 鼻子一酸 [nose-one-sour] (‘to have a sudden irritated sensation in the nose’), to describe the sensation that one feels when one is about to shed tears (cf. ‘a lump in the throat’ in English).¹⁵

3.3. *Là* 辣 and *xīn* 辛(‘hot/spicy’)

Both *là* 辣 and *xīn* 辛 are hot, burning tastes associated with ginger, garlic, and peppers (e.g. CH & XHC). *Xīn* is often explained as ‘suffering’ or ‘pain’ by modern Chinese dictionaries, reflecting an archaic use. In modern Chinese, it usually appears in compounds as a bound morpheme, such as in *xīnsuān* 辛酸 (‘feel sad’, discussed in §3.2.1). *Là* (‘spicy’) does not appear to have an overt emotional meaning. However, it may refer to bodily sensations that are related to ‘shame’, as shown in the following example from XHC:

¹⁴ A further example can be drawn from the two basic ‘sadness’-like emotions proposed in traditional Chinese texts, *bēi* 悲 (‘tragic/fatalistic sadness’) and *āi* 哀 (‘mourning’) (see Ye, 2001a, b). While *qì* 泣 (‘weep/sob’) implies tears and can be collocated with *bēi* (viz. *bēiqì* 悲泣) – also a momentary, strong emotion in response to irreversible event, it cannot however collocate with *āi* (viz. **āiqì* 哀泣). *Āi*, ultimately a moral feeling that can be cultivated, can only be collocated with *kū* 哭 (viz. *āikū* 哀哭; cf. **bēikū* 悲哭) (see also Harbsmeier, 1998).

¹⁵ Interestingly, ‘a lump in the throat’ in English also implies that one tries to hold back tears.

(34) 心里不由得一阵辣乎乎的发烧。

Xīnlǐ *bùyóudé* *yízhèn* *làhūhū*
heart: inside can't help one:CL spicy:of appearance.RDP
de *fāshāo*。

LIG fever

‘(Thinking of his own mistake,) he felt waves of burning fevers in his heart.’ (XHC, p.746)

3.4 *Gān* 甘 and *tián* 甜 (‘sweet’)

Both *gān* 甘 and *tián* 甜 refer to tastes like that of sugar or honey. *Gān* reflects an archaic use, mostly appearing in compounds or set phrases, such as *kǔjìnggānlái* 苦尽甘来 [bitter-exhaust-sweet-come] (‘At the end of suffering comes happiness’) (XHC, p.406; cf. § 3.1.2). *Gān* is considered the opposite of *kǔ* (‘bitter’; cf. § 3.1), and *gān* and *kǔ* (‘sweet-bitter’) together form a compound, meaning ‘the taste experienced in one’s work or experience, often referring to the bitter side’ (‘在工作或经历中体会到的滋味’, XHC, p.406).

Tián 甜 (‘sweet’) and *tiánmì* 甜蜜 [sweet-honey] describe feelings of ‘happiness’. For example:

(35) 但再忙心里是甜的。

Dàn *zài* *máng* *xīnlǐ* *shì* *tián* *de*。
but again busy heart:inside BE sweet PART

‘(Before long, we prepared for our wedding, buying furniture, bedding, booking Western banquets in the Park Hotel, and taking wedding photos.) How busy we were!) No matter how busy we were, we felt great happiness.’ (Ou, 2003, p.69)

(36) 初为人母，有新鲜有甜蜜，有点说不清的忧虑。

Chūwéi rénǚ, yǒu xīnxiān, yǒu
 first:become person:mother there be new there be
tiánmì, yǒudiǎn shuōbùqīng de yōulǜ。
 sweet:honey there be:a little say:NET:clear LIG worry

‘Just becoming a mother, I felt new sweetness, and also a little bit apprehension.’ (Zhang, 2001, p.106)

The examples show that *tiān* or *tiánmì* (‘sweet-honey’) is associated with fortunate events. The experiencer is ‘intoxicated’, and immersed in happiness. The meaning of *tiān* or *tiánmì* (‘sweet-honey’) can be explicated as follows:

[M] *Semantic explication of tiánmì 甜蜜* (‘feel happiness’)

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) “something very good is happening to me
- (c) I wanted something like this to happen to me
- (d) I want this good thing to be happening to me for some time more
- (e) I can’t not think about this
- (f) I don’t want to think about other things”
- (g) when a person thinks about this, this person feels something very good for a long time,
- (h) x felt like this
- (i) because x thought like this

Components (c)-(d) show a great satisfaction on the part of the experiencer because the good event is much desired. Component (d) suggests that the experiencer wishes that the moment be prolonged. Components (e)-(f) show that the experiencer is deeply absorbed in his or her world of 'happiness'.

4. A comparative perspective

Is this mode of emotion talk – describing emotions via tastes – unique to the Chinese language? Perhaps not. For example, in the English language, *bitter*, *sour*, and *sweet* also contain emotional meanings. But the question is do these emotion-describing taste words in English express the same meanings, and are as frequently used as their counterparts in Chinese? To answer this question, this section will first have a close look of the meanings of *bitter*, *sour*, and *sweet*, and then discuss the differences between words from the 'taste domain' in both Chinese and English, citing also available information regarding the frequencies of such words in both languages.

4.1 Feel bitter

In English, the word *bitter*, which is often considered the equivalent of *kǔ*, can also be used to describe emotion. However, it has a very different meaning, and its use is less frequent when compared with counterparts in Chinese. The following three examples represent the prototypical use of 'feel bitter' in English, with the first two from the Cobuild corpus, and the third from the *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (CCELD, p.134):

- (37)a. I do feel bitter about the lack of resources given to the arts, but music is a tough profession – it requires dedication and it's always been that way.
- b. She has an excuse for feeling bitter for being a victim of the morality of the fifties.
- c. The manufacturers felt bitter about the increase in tax.

The above examples show that the English word *bitter* is used in very different sense from the Chinese *kǔ*. Its meaning seems to be closer to that of *resentful*. The following explication is proposed for the meaning of *feel bitter* in English:

[N] *Semantic explication for feel bitter*

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) “something bad is happening to me
- (d) I do not want things like this to happen to me
- (e) I want to do something because of this if I can
- (f) I know that I can't do anything”
- (g) when this person thinks about this, this person feels something very bad
- (h) x felt like this
- (i) because x thought like this

Components (c)-(d) suggest that the experiencer considers himself or herself as a ‘victim’ of some event. The sting of the ‘bitterness’ comes from the powerless feeling on the part of the experiencer (components [e]-[f]): although wishing to take some action, the experiencer knows that it is beyond their ability to do so. Thus, the experiencer is resigned to the reality. All of the above examples clearly illustrate these points. The sense of ‘anger at the impossible’ is vividly captured by the following example, where the speaker feels bitter at the thought of turning thirty. It is something that he cannot do anything about.

- (38) 'I'm thirty...yes, I'm thirty' said Michael, sharply and suddenly, with a curious laugh; hollow, triumphant, and bitter (Lawrence,1993/[1968], p.21)

4.2 *Feel sour*

The English word *sour* can also be used to describe emotions, though admittedly its usage is limited. CCELD explains "if something goes sour or turns sour, it becomes less enjoyable or less satisfactory" (p. 1393). It then provides the following example: "After a promising start, things began to turn sour" (ibid). The word 'a promising start' hints that the meaning of *sour* involves a positive expectation. This point is also very nicely illustrated by the following example taken from the Cobuild corpus:¹⁶

- (39) Sam Torrance was feeling sweet then sour during the final round of the Heineken World Cup Golf. A curious or a wily Chinese spectator pinched his ball on the last hole yesterday in the People's Republic of China. And that denied Scotland a chance of second place behind the runaway.

Initially, the golfer 'felt sweet'. It was almost certain that he would win. However, something unexpected happened, ruining the prospect. Because of this twist, the feeling of 'sour' seems to be mingled with 'bitterness', a sense of resentment. The meaning of *feel sour* in English may be explicated as follows:

¹⁶ A search of the Cobuild corpus finds very few examples of 'feel sour'. The corpus registers far more use of 'feel bitter' than 'feel sour'. However, it seems that the expression 'turn sour' or 'go sour' is more commonly used than 'feel sour'.

[O] *Semantic explication for feel sour*

- (a) x felt something because x thought something
- (b) sometimes a person thinks like this:
- (c) "I wanted something good to happen to me
- (d) I thought this good thing would happen to me
- (e) I felt something good because of this
- (f) now I can't think like this anymore
- (g) because someone did something
- (h) I did not think that this person would do something like this
- (i) I felt something bad towards this person because of this
- (j) this person could know I wanted this person to know this"
- (k) when this person thinks about this, this person feels something very bad
- (l) x felt like this
- (m) because x thought like this

Components (c)-(d) expresses not only the experiencer's desire for something to happen, but also its positive prospect. Component (e) indicates that the experiencer took comfort in thinking of the positive outcome. Components (f)-(h) describe the change in prospect from 'sweet' to 'sour' due to someone else's unexpected action. Component (i) shows that the experiencer resents the other person's action. In the experiencer's mind, the other person could know better that their action would cause resentment on the part of the experiencer (component [j]). Therefore, from the point of view of the experiencer, the other person's action could be thought of as deliberate. The word 'wily' in example (39) affirms this point.

4.3 Sweet

In English, *sweet* can also refer to emotion. For example, CCELD explains that "if you describe an emotion or a feeling as *sweet*, you mean that it gives you intense pleasure, satisfaction and reward" (p.704). Some collocations provided by the same dictionary include "sweet love" and "sweet success". Interestingly, although *tiánmì de ài* 甜蜜的爱 [sweet-LIG-love] is a natural expression in Chinese, **tiánmì de chénggōng* * 甜蜜的成功 [sweet-LIG-success] is unacceptable.

4.4 General discussion

The above discussion and analysis show that in both Chinese and English specific tastes such as 'bitter', 'sour' and 'sweet' are used to describe emotions. However, the two languages differ in a number of important ways. Firstly, it is noticeable from the examples cited above that in Chinese the words for describing specific tastes *kǔ* ('bitter') and *suān* ('sour') appear to form a rich domain for describing emotions. One may have an idea of the important role that these words play in the Chinese language from their frequencies of use.

According to *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Zìpín Tǒngjì Biǎo* 《现代汉语字频统计表》 (*Frequency Charts of Chinese Characters*; XHZTB), *kǔ* ('bitter') occurs 125 times in a sampling of texts relating to *wéntǐshēnhuó* 文体生活类 ('Category of Entertainment, Sports, and Daily Life') totalling 577,024 characters (words), making it rank No.799 in the list of the 4210 characters considered;¹⁷ *suān* ('sour') occurs 140 times, ranking No. 749; and *tián* ('sweet') 78 times, ranking No.1055 (The data is listed in Table 2 below). These words, which are mostly among the top 25% of the commonly used characters in Chinese, are undoubtedly of high frequency.

In comparison, the Cobuild corpus (including US, UK, and Australian written and spoken data totalling 56 million words) records 33 occurrences per million words for *bitter*, 10 occurrences per million words for *sour*, and 45 occurrences per million words for *sweet*. Further, according to Cobuild, which divides frequency into five bands (with five diamond symbols $\diamond\diamond\diamond\diamond$ marking top 700

¹⁷ A Chinese high school graduate is expected to master 3600 commonly used characters.

words, ◇◇◇◇ next 1000 words, ◇◇◇ & ◇◇ next 4000 words, and ◇ the rest), *bitter* and *sweet* are in band 3 and *sour* in band 4.

Table 2: Frequencies of Taste Words in Chinese and English

Chinese (from XHZTB)			English (from Cobuild)
	Frequency	Ranking (of 4210 characters)	Frequency (per million words)
<i>kǔ</i>	125	799	<i>bitter</i> 33
<i>suān</i>	140	749	<i>sour</i> 10
<i>tián</i>	78	1055	<i>sweet</i> 45

Of course, the frequency data cited above should only be treated as a rough guidance, not as absolute authority, since neither corpus, XHZTB or Cobuild, differentiates the polysemous uses of the words concerned.

Nonetheless, the frequency data presented here revealing the general trends of the use of taste words in both languages would seem to fit with the general picture painted above of the elaborated use of *kǔ* and *suān* in the Chinese language, and the value placed on *chīkǔ* [eat-bitterness] ('endure hardship) (cf. §3.1.2).

Secondly, although both Chinese and English show the conceptualisation of emotional experience via bodily sensation and perception (in this case via specific tastes), the emotions that they are associated with are vastly different. Chinese link *kǔ* ('bitter') to 'sad-like' emotions, while, in English, *bitter* is used to describe 'anger-like' emotions, with its meaning closer to *resentment*. The analysis of *kǔ* points to a strong parallel between, on the one hand, the Chinese experience of traditional Chinese medicine and their emotional experience (the case of *kǔ*₁ discussed in §3.1.1), and, on the other, the Chinese people's belief in the benefit

of traditional Chinese medicine and their value placed on ‘enduring hardship’ (the case of *kǔ*, discussed in §3.1.2).¹⁸

Shaver, Wu, and Schwartz (1992) have observed that ‘sadness’ (and also ‘sad love’) is an elaborated domain in the Chinese emotional world (see also Ye, 2001a). The analysis of the meanings of *kǔ* and *suān* point to the same direction. In particular, the analysis has shown that the group of *suān*-related words express momentary, intense helpless feelings and are linked to tears, which appears to be a conceptual link between *suān*-related emotions and the bodily feelings and expressions (irritation of nose and tears) caused by the experience of tasting something sour (cf. §3.2.5 for detailed discussion of the commonly shared features of *suān*-related words).

In English, the use of the word *sour* seems to be restricted to human relations and it always involves the distasteful (in the eyes of the experiencer) action of another person. Expressions such as *sour relationship* are a case in point. The analysis of the meaning of *sour* shows that in the English conceptualisation, the emotional experience of ‘sour’ takes ‘sweet’ as a starting point or as a point of comparison. A strong iconic parallel can be drawn between ‘something turning sour (from sweet)’ and ‘a person feels sour (from feeling sweet)’. The emotional changes are modelled on a visually-based change. This link seems to be absent in the Chinese conceptualisation of *suān* (‘sour’).

¹⁸ The prototypical associations of *kǔ* and *bitter* are different. In Chinese culture, the ‘bitter’ taste is closely associated with traditional Chinese medicine, while according to the *Longman Dictionary of the English Language* (LDEL, p.146), *bitter* is a taste “similar to that of quinine”. Both associations, though common to members of their respective cultures, are considered alien if viewed from the standpoint of the other (*Kuíníng* 奎宁 still remains a loan word in Chinese). It seems that our prototypical sense of a basic taste is not separable from the environment we live in.

The analysis carried out in this chapter, with respect to both Chinese and English, also points to some shared tendencies. Firstly, in both languages, specific tastes are used to describe emotions, suggesting that bodily experience itself forms an important basis for the conceptualisation of emotional experiences for speakers of both Chinese and English.

Secondly, although the iconic link between what the English speakers' describe as *bitter* emotional experience and what they consider to be a bitter taste is not clear, both the Chinese and English examples show that unpleasant tastes such as 'bitter' are consistently associated with 'bad feelings'. This again points to some universal aspects underlying our bodily-based conceptualisation of emotional experience. Undoubtedly, further research into how people from different language and cultural backgrounds talk about their emotions with taste-related vocabulary will shed important light on the similarities and differences in the ways people link their sensory experiences to their emotional experiences.

Although the focus of this chapter is the meaning analysis of specific taste terms in Chinese emotion expression and description, it has also become apparent that the generic Chinese word for taste, *zīwèi* 滋味 (or *wèidào* 味道), can be used for describing emotions (see e.g. examples [2], [5], and [15] cited above).¹⁹ Further examples are listed below:

(40) 有人用彩票来诠释过希望、失望与绝望的滋味。

Yǒurén *yòng cǎipiào lái* *lái* *quánshìguò* *xīwàng,*
there be: person use lottery come explain:EXP hope

¹⁹ See footnote 2 in Chapter 5 for the differences between *zīwèi* and *wèidào*.

shīwàng yǔ juéwàng de zīwèi。

disappointment and despair LIG feeling

‘Some people use the metaphor of the lottery to explain their feelings of hope, disappointment and despair.’ (XMZK, October, 2001)

(41) 正是青春年少，不识愁滋味的年龄。

Zhèngshì qīngchūn niánshào, bùshí chóu zīwèi de

right:BE youth age:young NEG:recognize worry feeling LIG

niánlíng。

age

‘(In my memory, we were) just young, and at the age of not knowing what the feeling of worry was like.’ (Zhang, 2001, p.89)

The seat of *zīwèi* is *xīn* (‘heart’), the locus of emotional (and mental) activities in Chinese, as further illustrated by the following examples:

(42) 心里很不是滋味。

Xīnlǐ hěn búshì zīwèi。

heart:inside very NEG:BE taste

‘(Seeing that my own name is followed by ‘visiting Japan’), I felt something bad.’ (Rui and Jiang, 2001, p.105)

(43) 真是诸多滋味在心头。

Zhēngshì zhùduō zīwèi zài xīntóu。

true:BE many feeling LOC heart:head

‘(When I thought that in all these years of managing the company, we had weathered the same wind and rain, together progressed and retreated, trusted each other and supported each other, the company grew as a result of our pains-taking effort,) many feelings were aroused in our hearts.’ (Hoogewerf and Chan, eds., 2003, p.105)

(44) 心里涌上一种说不出的味道。

Xīnlǐ yǒngshàng yìzhǒng shuōbùchū de wèidào。

heart:inside gush:up one:CL say:NEG:out LIG feeling

‘(I also thought of that thin hand,) an unnameable feeling gushed up.’ (An, ed., 1998, p.274)

Obviously, these examples show that *zīwèi* is a very productive expression for describing emotions in the Chinese language. It does not appear that its English counterpart, *taste* or *flavour*, has a similar usage. The appreciation of the role that *zīwèi* plays in the Chinese emotional world is inseparable from that of the general role *wèi* (‘taste/flavour’) plays in the broader Chinese conceptual scheme. To investigate and understand the role *wèi* plays in Chinese conceptual system is the aim of next chapter.

Chapter 5

'Taste' as a Gateway to Chinese Cognition

Building on Chapter 4, this chapter further explores the role that wèi ('taste') plays in the Chinese conceptual system. This is an area of research that has gone virtually unheeded in cognitive science because of the general view that taste is a lower-level sense in the Western philosophical tradition. Therefore, it is generally regarded as a poor source domain for the target domain of mental states and activities. However, as the chapter shows, an understanding of the 'taste'-based vocabulary – a rich and salient domain in the Chinese language – is indispensable to the understanding of the Chinese conceptual world and the Chinese way of thinking, knowing and feeling (including literary thought). The wèi-related expressions covered in this chapter include zīwèi ('taste/feeling'), huíwèi [return-taste] ('to recall the pleasant flavour of/to enjoy in retrospect'), rùwèi [enter-taste] ('full of flavour/to be absorbed in doing something'), tǐwèi [body-taste] ('to understand through thinking about experience') vs. tǐyàn ('to experience firsthand') and tīhuì ('to comprehend intuitively'), and pǐnwèi [sample-taste] ('to taste in order to appreciate/appreciate'). The meaning of each of these concepts is discussed in detail and explicated so that we can see how Chinese 'taste' experiences are mapped onto various cognitive domains. By highlighting and illustrating the important role that wèi plays in the formation of the Chinese conceptual system, this study raises and addresses a much neglected, yet important question – in what way can we study the bodily and conceptual experience of a cultural tradition where there has not been a divide between the body and the mind? A Chinese model of cognitive states in relation to the Chinese sensory experience of taste is proposed. The physiological basis that seems to underpin the general principles of the cognitive system observed in Chinese and in some Indo-European languages are also discussed, as well as the cultural and philosophical bases for the peculiarly Chinese 'embodied' way of thinking, knowing and feeling.

People from different cultures not only speak different languages but, what is possibly more important, inhabit different sensory worlds. (Hall, 1966, p2)

His eye then finds greater enjoyment in the five colours, his ear in the five sounds, his mouth in the five tastes, and his mind benefits from processing all that is in the world. (*Xunzi*, 1.14, 340-245 BC)¹

1. Background and objective

Linguistic research into the relationships between physical experience and the conceptual system has so far paid scant attention to the role that taste plays in human cognition. This is related to the general view that taste is a lower-level sense in the Western philosophical tradition. That is, the sense of taste is viewed as being inferior to some other senses, such as that of sight and hearing (see e.g. Vinge, 1975; Synott, 1991). As such, it is generally regarded as a poor source domain for the target domain of mental states and mental activity (e.g. Danesi, 1990; Sweetser, 1990). Yet, to fully understand the Chinese conceptual world and the Chinese way of thinking, knowing and feeling (including literary thought), one has to understand the meanings of 'taste'-based vocabulary, a rich and salient domain in the Chinese language. The purpose of this chapter is to bring this important aspect of the Chinese sensory and cognitive experience to the attention of researchers of human cognition. To this end, it will investigate some Chinese expressions based around the generic nominal term *wèi* ('taste'), and explicate and

¹ 及至其致好之也，目好之五色，耳好之五聲，口好之五味，心利之有天下《荀子·勸學篇第一》(CHANT)。

represent their meanings in NSM. From this we can see how Chinese 'taste' experiences are mapped onto various cognitive domains.

In Section 2, the important role that *wèi* plays in Chinese language and thought is illustrated with some examples. Section 3 explains why the theory of conceptual metaphor – which has been a dominant framework for analysing the link between bodily experience and conceptual systems – has not been chosen for the purpose of this study, taking into consideration aspects of Chinese philosophical tradition. In Section 4, a detailed semantic analysis of a set of Chinese *wèi*-related terms is undertaken, and their semantic content and structure is discussed. Section 5 discusses the theoretical and methodological implications of this study. It proposes a Chinese model of cognitive states in relation to the Chinese sensory experience of taste based on the previous analysis. The physiological basis that seems to underpin the general principles of the cognitive system observed in Chinese and in some Indo-European languages will be discussed, as well as the cultural and philosophical bases for the peculiarly Chinese 'embodied' way of thinking, knowing and feeling.

2. Examples of Chinese 'taste'- related words

Wèi 味 ('taste') plays an important role in Chinese language and thought.² Taste-related vocabulary is rich and abundant in Chinese, describing experiences that are

² The closest correlate of the English noun *taste* in modern Chinese is the monosyllabic *wèi* 味 and the disyllabic *wèidào* 味道 or *zīwèi* 滋味. *Wèi* and *wèidào* are polysemous, meaning both 'taste' and 'smell'. In classical Chinese, however, *wèi* means 'taste' only (e.g. GHC), and *wèidào*, a verb-object phrase, means 'to taste/know the meaning of principle or truth'. It is interesting to note that Viberg's (1984) typological study of lexicalisation patterns of perception verbs has shown that 'there is an obvious link between taste and smell' (p.146).

far beyond the purely gustatory. As a simple example, to say in Chinese that a woman or a man is ‘womanly/feminine’ or ‘manly/masculine’, one would evoke the notion of *wèi*: *yǒu nǚrén wèi* 有女人味 [have-woman-*wèi*] or *yǒu nánrén wèi* 有男人味 [have-man-*wèi*]. When something does not go the way that one anticipates, one can say *biànwèi le* 变味了 [the *wèi* has changed], *pǎowèi le* 跑味了 [the *wèi* has escaped], or *zǒuwèi le* 走味了 [The *wèi* has left]. As another example, right after the 2005 Chinese New Year Eve gala on TV, the most widely watched program across Mainland China, there were various newspaper commentary articles about the ‘taste’ (i.e. quality) of the show. We can get a glimpse from the following example, which forms the title of an article:³

(1) 记者点评银屏年夜饭味道如何?

Jìzhě diǎnpíng yínpíng ‘niányèfàn’ wèidào rúhé?

journalist commenting.on screen New Year’s Eve.meal taste how

‘A journalist’s appraisal of the New Year’s Eve gala.’

The following list of some of the *wèi*-related words found in the Chinese-English bilingual dictionary, ABC (with some of the translations modified), shows clearly that *wèi* plays a salient role in Chinese people’s mental life.⁴ For convenience,

It should also be noted that the perception verb of ‘taste’ is *cháng* 尝, which also has the meaning of ‘to try’ and ‘to experience’. However, unlike the English verb *taste*, *cháng* cannot take a copulative complement (e.g. ‘X tastes delicious’).

The meaning of *wèi* or *wèidào* includes both ‘taste’ and ‘flavour’.

³ All the examples cited in this chapter, if unspecified, are from [http://www.yahoo.com.cn].

⁴ According to Chao and Yang’s (1962) *Gúoyǔ Zìdiǎn* 《国语字典》 (*Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*); hereafter GYZD), *wèi* functions as a bound

these words have been grouped under the headings of ‘feeling’, ‘thinking’, and ‘knowing’. It is obvious that the mental states embodied in many of these words cut across these three categories, and some relate to all of them.

a. feeling⁵

zīwèi: 滋味 [grow-taste]: taste/feeling

qùwèi: 趣味 [interest-taste]: interest; delight

fáwèi: 乏味 [lack-taste]: dull; uninteresting

morpheme in modern Chinese (p.32). This, however, does not appear to be always the case. For example, *wèi* in the following line from a contemporary vernacular poem by He Qifang (cited in *Hànyǔ Dà Cídiǎn* 《汉语大词典》, *The Great Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, HDC, Vol.3, p.252) functions as a free morpheme:

为什么海水有咸的味?

<i>Wèishénme</i>	<i>hǎishuǐ</i>	<i>yǒu</i>	<i>xiánde</i>	<i>wèi</i> ?
why	sea:water	have	salty:LIG	taste

‘Why is the sea water salty?’

Also, in most of the *wèi*-related set phrases, it functions as a free morpheme, such as in the case of *wèitóngjiáolà* 味同嚼蜡 [taste-like-chew-wax] (‘as tasteless as wax’, ‘insipid’).

According to the Chinese frequency dictionary, XHZTB, there are 2743 occurrences of *wèi* from a computation of 11,873,029 randomly sampled characters (*zì*) in a corpus of Social and Natural Sciences, making it rank 774th out of 7754 characters considered. And there are 738 occurrences in a corpus relating to entertainment, sports and daily life totaling 577,024 characters, making it rank 189th out of 4210 characters considered. Based on these statistics, it can be said that *wèi* occurs very frequently.

It should be borne in mind that, in most cases, *zì* [character-word] in compounds of Modern Chinese can exist independently as a unit, and that they represent the folk notion of what constitutes a word for the Chinese people (see e.g. § 3.2.3 of Chapter 6).

⁵ Like most Chinese compounds, composite characters in each of these compounds can exist as a self-sufficient unit with its independent meaning. This chapter specifically deals with the meanings of compounds that contain the *wèi* element.

b. thinking

huíwèi 回味 [return-taste]: to recall something and ponder on it; aftertaste

wánwèi 玩味 [play with-taste]: to ponder; to ruminate

rùwèi: 入味 [enter-taste]: to be absorbed in

kǒuwèi: 口味 [mouth-taste]: personal taste

yìwèi: 意味 [meaning-taste]: meaning, significance; interest; overtone

c. knowing

tǐwèi 体味 [body-taste]: to understand; to appreciate

pǐnwèi: 品味 [sample-taste] : to appreciate; taste (noun)

Wèi also occupies an important place in Chinese literary thought. Stephen Owen (1992) includes the term *wèi* in a glossary of basic terms that he believes are important in order to understand Chinese treatises on literature. He remarks that *wèi* is “an important master metaphor in describing the aesthetic experience of the text” and that “a complex set of gustatory terms was generated around *wèi*” (Owen, 1992, p.593).

For Chinese literary theorists (as well as for the Chinese reader), *wèi* signifies an important quality of an essay or literary work. *Yáo Nǎi* (1731-1815), for example, considered the following eight elements as the basis for the analysis of a literary piece: *shén* 神 (presiding spirit), *lǐ* 利 (moral principle), *qì* 气 (generative energy), *wèi* 味 (taste), *gé* 格 (structure), *lǜ* 律 (measure), *shēng* 声 (sound) and *sè* 色 (colour) (cited in Pollard, 2000, p.13, translation Pollard's).

In section 4, I will analyse some *wèi*-related words in everyday usage to illustrate the important role that ‘taste’ plays in shaping the Chinese conceptual

system, focusing on a selected few from each of the three groups mentioned earlier. But before proceeding to the analysis of the meanings of these terms, it is necessary and important to first explain why the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, instead of the popular conceptual metaphor approach, is employed to describe and represent the meanings of the terms under consideration.

3. Methodological issues: problems of Conceptual Metaphor Theory in the Chinese cultural tradition

In cognitive linguistics the most popular theoretical framework for investigating how bodily experience contributes to the conceptual system is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) typically associated with Lakoff and Johnson's seminal book *Metaphors We Live by* (1980), and their more recent book *Philosophy in the Flesh* (1999). The key tenets of this theory are that human thought is embodied largely in human sensory-motor experience, and that conceptual metaphor is the key mechanism in extending bodily experience to the shaping of abstract concepts. The conceptual metaphor theory has been widely adopted in studying the cognitive systems of other languages and cultures including Chinese (see e.g. Yu, 1998, 2003).

However, this chapter will not adopt this popular approach. The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, although the idea of the 'embodiment' of thought has been a welcome challenge to some of the deepest assumptions in Western philosophy – in particular those traditions where the mind is considered independent of the body – it would seem superfluous to apply metaphor theory to explain the relationship between the Chinese sensory and conceptual systems. This is because the body/mind dichotomy has never been an issue in the Chinese philosophical

tradition, nor in Chinese folk beliefs. In the view of the Chinese people, the 'mind' is always 'embodied', as reflected most tellingly in the word *xīn* 心, often translated as *heart* or *mind*, which designates the seat of thinking, knowing, and feeling for the Chinese people. In the following quote, Hall and Ames (1987) argue convincingly that applying the dualistic mode of thinking of the Western tradition to the study of the Chinese way of thinking can conceal a true picture of the Chinese experience. They write:

The dualistic relationship between *psyche* and *soma* that has so plagued the Western tradition has given rise to problems of a most troublesome sort. In the polar metaphysics of the classical Chinese tradition, the correlative relationship between the psychical and the somatic militated against the emergence of a mind/body problem. It is not that the Chinese thinkers were able to reconcile this dichotomy; rather, it never emerged as a problem. Because body and mind were not regarded as essentially different kinds of existence, they did not generate different sets of terminologies necessary to describe them. For this reason, the qualitative modifiers we usually associated with matter do double duty in Chinese, characterizing both the physical and the psychical. (Hall and Ames, 1987, p.20)

The second reason for not using CMC for the purpose of this chapter lies in its lack of commitment to provide an adequate interpretive and descriptive framework for detailed, fine analysis of the meanings of the concepts under cross-linguistic investigation. It may well be that the meanings of these concepts differ significantly from the categories of metaphors postulated on the basis of the

English language and cultural experience. Furthermore, it seems that much work in studying the relationship between the body and the conceptual system in Chinese that is readily available to Western scholars has mainly sought to prove the universal applicability of the conceptual metaphor (often relying on uncritical and misleading translations) rather than paying attention to the exact meanings and structure of the concepts under discussion. As an example, in his discussion of anger metaphors in Chinese, Ning Yu (1998), glosses *qì* 气 ('essence of life force/vital energy/breath'), a key Chinese cultural concept, as *gas* to support his claim that in Chinese, anger is conceptualised as GAS IN A CONTAINER. Regrettably, this lack of a culture-internal perspective often gives a distorted picture of Chinese bodily experience and its relationship to the Chinese conceptual system (cf. Ye, 2002).

To use conceptual metaphor would still leave the following two questions, which are fundamental to understanding the Chinese experience and the Chinese conceptual structure, unaddressed and unresolved. The first question is how to provide a *unified* account of studying bodily experience in relation to concept formation in a non-Cartesian cultural and philosophical tradition. The second is how the semantic content and structure of a local meaning system such as that embodied in the Chinese language can be made accessible and intelligible to non-Chinese people with no loss in meaning. The NSM framework provides a possible solution to these questions.

In the next section, NSM will be used to represent the meanings of the concepts under discussion. The primary goal of the next section is to provide an account of bodily experience and conceptual experience as they are understood and perceived

by Chinese people, while the second goal is to interpret the pathways that link sensory experience to the conceptual domain.

4. Semantic analysis of Chinese 'taste' terms

4.1 *Zīwèi* 滋味 ('taste/feeling')

Zīwèi is perhaps one of the most widely used *wèi*-related terms in Chinese. It has two distinct senses, *zīwèi*₁ and *zīwèi*₂. *Zīwèi*₁ may be loosely translated as 'taste'. However, it seems to have a much wider range of use compared to the English *taste*. For example, when a baby puts something inside their mouths, one can say something like this to the baby: “*Biéfāngzài zuǐlǐ, zhè méishá zīwèi* (‘Don’t put it in the mouth. It does not have any taste’)” or “*Biéfāngzài zuǐlǐ, zhè méizīméiwèide* (‘Don’t put it in the mouth. It has no taste’)”. These same sentences can be said when an adult puts a pen in his or her mouth. While such sentences are perfectly natural in Chinese, their English translations sound unusual.⁶ This is because the English word *taste*, in its ‘sui generis’ sense, seems to be primarily associated with food. Its use is not usually extended to objects. In this respect, the meaning of Chinese *zīwèi*₁ and the English *taste*, in their basic senses, are very different. The meaning of *zīwèi*₁ can be explained as follows:

⁶ A book title like *Rìběn de Zīwèi* [Taste of Japan] (Xu, 2002), in which the author relates her experience in Japan, is virtually untranslatable into English.

[A] *Semantic explication for zīwèi₁* 滋味 ('taste')

- (a) when a person *cháng* ('tastes') [M] something⁷
- (b) this person can feel something for some time because of this
- (c) because of this, this person can know something about this thing

As the chapter proceeds, it will become very clear that the lingering feeling of *zīwèi₁*, reflected in 'for some time' in component (b), is one of the crucial links between the basic meanings of *zīwèi* and *wèi*-related terms and their extended uses when expressing mental states.

Zīwèi₂ refers to feelings and emotions, as aptly shown in Chapter 4 (in particular §4.4). Below are further examples. The expression *búshì zīwèir* 不是滋味儿 [not-be-taste] appearing in both (2) and (3) is a conventional way of saying 'feel something bad'. Both examples are taken from *Hànyīng Shuāngjiě Hànyǔ Guànyòngyǔ Cídiǎn* 《汉英双解汉语惯用语词典》 (*An English Dictionary of Chinese Idioms*; HGC, p.41)

(2) 心里不是滋味儿。

Xīnli *búshì* *zīwèir*。

heart:inside NEG:be feeling

'Feel something bad.'

⁷ Interestingly, just as the range of use of Chinese word *zīwèi* ('taste') is wider than the English word *taste*, the range of use of *cháng* ('to taste') is also wider than the English word *to taste* in that it can be extended to objects other than food. For example, while it is natural to say "*Nǐ zài cháng zhè běn shū de wèidào* ('Are you tasting the flavour of the book?')", its English equivalent is questionable.

(3) 儿子从小儿残废, 现在十多岁了, 还上不了学, 做父母的心里真不是滋味儿。

Érzi cóngxiǎor cánfèi, xiànzài shíduō suì le,
son from:little disabled now ten:more age INC

hái shàngbùliǎo xiǎoxué, zuò fùmǔ de
still attend:unable to little:school as parents NOM

xīnlǐ zhēn bùshì zīwèir。
heart:inside really not:be feeling

heart:inside really not:be feeling

‘My son was disabled from ^avery young ^{age}. Despite the fact that he is over ten years old, he is still unable to attend school. As parents, we feel really awful.’

In its ‘feeling’ sense, *zīwèi* typically occurs with *xīnlǐ* 心里 [heart-inside] or *xīntóu* 心头 [heart-head], which can be seen as a criterion for distinguishing the two senses of *zīwèi*. Another criterion is that only when *zīwèi* refers to ‘feeling and emotion’ can it be modified by *yīfān* 一番, a classifier, as reflected in the following line from a pop song (which in turn is adapted from an ancient poem).

(4) 别有一番滋味在心头。

Bié yǒu yīfān zīwèi zài xīntóu。
other have one:CL feeling LOC heart:head

other have one:CL feeling LOC heart:head

‘Having rather unusual feelings.’

The explication for *zīwèi*₂ is as follows:

[B] *Semantic explication for zīwèi*₂ ('feeling')

- (a) a person felt something for some time, because this person thought something
- (b) this person felt like a person feels when this person *cháng* ('tastes') [M]
something

4.2 *Huíwèi* 回味 [return to-taste] ('to enjoy in retrospect')

Huíwèi, which is often glossed as "recall something and ponder it" (e.g. ABC, p. 258), is a commonly used expression.⁸ It frequently appears in essays and song titles like *wǎngshì zhǐnéng huíwèi* 往事只能回味 [past-event-only-can-*huíwèi*] ('The past can only be enjoyed in retrospect'; 'We cannot bring back the past'), which has almost become a cliché. This 'something' that the experiencer wants to 'return to' mentally is always a fond and long-lasting memory. Perhaps 'to recollect the pleasant flavour of' or 'to enjoy in retrospect' may be a better translation of *huíwèi*. It seems that, intuitively, *huíwèi* is polysemous. *Huíwèi*₁ is directly related to a gastronomic experience, with its focus on some special quality of the food that has 'impressed' and brought pleasure to the experiencer and has subsequently left him or her with a fond memory. This is reflected in example (5).

(5) 谁都喜欢回味, 吃过饺子, 人们会回味肉葱味儿; 吃过馒头, 回味那松软。

Shuí dōu xǐhuan huíwèi, chīguò jiǎozi, rénmen huì
who all like *huíwèi* eat:EXP dumpling people will

⁸ *Huíwèi* is analysed here in its verbal form. It can also function as a noun, meaning something like 'aftertaste', whose range of use is however beyond the aftertaste that food brings, but extends to many other things, in particular a good article or a piece of music. A set phrase such as *huíwèiwúqióng* 回味无穷 [*huíwèi*-infinite] means 'long-lasting aftertaste'.

huíwèi ròucōngwèir; chīguò mántou, huíwèi nà
huíwèi meat:shallot:flavour eat:EXP steamed bun *huíwèi* that
sōngruǎn.

loose:soft

‘Everyone likes *huíwèi*. After eating dumplings, people will *huíwèi* the flavour of the meat and shallots. After eating a steamed bun, people will *huíwèi* its softness.’

The meaning of *huíwèi*₁ can be explicated as follows:

[C] *Semantic explication for huíwèi*₁ 回味₁ (‘to recollect the pleasant flavour of’)

- (a) a person is thinking like this now:
- (b) “a short time before, I *cháng-le* (‘tasted’) [M] something
- (c) when I *cháng* (‘tasted’) [M] it
- (d) I thought many good things about it
- (e) when I was thinking about these good things, I felt something very good at that time
- (f) I now want to think about these things for some time”
- (g) because of this, this person is now thinking about these good things for some time
- (h) when this person is thinking about these good things this person feels something very good

*Huíwèi*₁, which is deeply grounded in the gastronomic experience, serves as a prototype for modelling the meaning of *huíwèi*₂, which extends to other pleasant experiences that are non-gastronomic in nature, as exemplified by (6)-(7).

(6) 回味童年[的美好时光]。

Huíwèi tóngnián [de měihǎo shíguāng] 。

huíwèi childhood LIG good time

‘Recall and ponder [the happy moments of] one’s childhood.’

(7) 能取得这个成绩已经够我回味很长时间了。

Néng qǔdé zhègè chéngjì yǐjīng gòu wǒ huíwèi

can achieve this:CL result already enough 1SG *huíwèi*

hěrcháng shíjiān le. .

Very:long time PFV

‘(I am now still in a state of excitement.) To be able to achieve this result has already given me a long time to *huíwèi*.’

It seems that *huíwèi*₁ usually takes place immediately after the gastronomic experience, whereas *huíwèi*₂ can refer back to an experience a long time ago as in example (6), which also shows a typical subject for *huíwèi* – a wonderful memory of the past. Example (7) was said by Liu Xiang, the men’s 100 metre hurdle champion at the 2004 Olympic Games, in response to journalists’ questions after the event. Both examples suggest strongly that the experiencers actively participated in the past experience. That is, the experiencers were actively ‘doing something’, not merely that ‘something was happening to the experiencer’. Indeed, to say **huíwèi mǔqīn de ài* 回味母亲的爱 (‘to *huíwèi* mother’s love’) would be unacceptable because the experiencer is a passive receiver of another person’s action, not the ‘creator’ of his or her own enjoyment.

If the focus of *huíwèi*₁ is the certain quality of the food that has given the experiencer a pleasant experience, it is the ‘highlighted’ aspects of the non-gustatory experience in the meaning of *huíwèi*₂ that made the experiencer wish to revisit it. The meaning of *huíwèi*₂ can be explicated as follows:

[D] *Semantic explication for huíwèi₂* 回味₂ ('enjoy in retrospect')

- (a) a person is thinking like this now:
- (b) "some time before, I did something
- (c) when I was doing this thing, I felt something very good at that time
- (d) I thought many good things about it afterwards because of this
- (e) when I thought about these good things afterwards, I felt something very good
- (f) I want to think about these good things for some time"
- (g) because of this, this person is now thinking these good for some time
- (h) like people can think about good things for some time after they *cháng* ('tastes')_[M] something very good

To some extent, the 'enjoyment' aspect of the experience reflected in *huíwèi₁* (components [b-c]) and *huíwèi₂* (components [c-d]) brings to mind the English word *savour*. However, the meaning of *savour* differs from both senses of *huíwèi* in a number of important ways. Firstly, *savour* refers mainly to a concurrent experience. Although one can *savour* a moment from the past, such usage is relatively marginal, and marked (e.g. *savour the memorable episodes*). The expression *savour the moment* is usually understood as referring to current experience. On the contrary, the 'enjoyment' aspect of the past experience in *huíwèi* would be seen as the very 'trigger' for the experiencer to want to 'return to' afterwards. The thought in *huíwèi* is decidedly retrospective, not directed to the current activity.

Secondly, *savour* suggests that while the experiencer wants to 'indulge' themselves in an experience while it lasts, they seem to be aware that they cannot 'enjoy' it again in such a way – 'I don't want to think about other things now; because if I do not feel what I feel now, I can't feel like this afterwards'.

'Many good things' in component (d) characterises the detailed and fine nature of the thought process that goes with *huíwèi*, which highlights certain aspects of the past experience.

When something is described as *hěnyǒu huíwèi* 很有回味 ('full of aftertaste'), it implicitly refers to food. This supports our position that *huíwèi*₁ serves as a prototype for the meaning of *huíwèi*₂. Of course, many things can be described as 'full of aftertaste' or 'memorable', such as a piece of writing, a concert, or a show. Surely, a person who ponders (*huíwèi*₂) his or her memorable childhood does not necessarily think of it in terms of gustatory experience. However, from a semantic point of view, especially that of the 'bridging context' between two distinguishable but related senses – that is the recurrent context in which the new meaning arises as the result of pragmatic enrichment through context-specific inference (e.g. Evans, 1992, Evans and Wilkins, 2000, Wilkins, 1996; cf. Traugott and Dasher, 2002), component (h) (referring to tasting) provides a key link. Note that this component is not included in the thought of the experiencer, but formulated in such a way that they reflect the intrinsic and parallel link between how a person thinks after an enjoyable gastronomic experience and how a person thinks after a memorable experience.⁹

The 'after' element, as well as 'for some time', in component (h) also tries to reflect the lingering 'aftertaste' implied by both senses of *huíwèi*. To have 'aftertaste' is an important quality that Chinese people not only attach to food, but also to a good piece of writing, music, or a show. To quote Owen (1992) again:

There were several sources of *wèi*'s appeal to theorists: it admitted broad shared categories that are held in common (e.g., "salty" or "sour"), while permitting both the cultivation and absolute particularity of individual taste.

⁹ Since this is a first study to investigate the link between the Chinese sensory and conceptual experience, it is still at the stage of experimenting and exploring the ways in which the link between the two can be best and most accurately reflected.

Another attraction of *wèi* is that it lingers after eating, as the *wèi* of texts endures, changes, and attenuates after reading. Chinese theorists tended not to speak of disjunctive acts of reflection on the “meaning” of a text, but rather of the “continuation” of the text in the mind after reading it over, a time in which the significance of the text gradually unfolds. (Owen, 1992, pp.593-594)

The semantic structure and content of *huíwèi*₁ and *huíwèi*₂ have shown how Chinese people single out certain aspects of the gustatory experience that are psychologically salient to them (such as the ‘enjoyable’ aspect of the experience, which one can ‘revisit’ mentally afterwards) and extend these experiences to fine mental processes, in particular how they are linked with feelings and thoughts. It is not an exaggeration to say that Chinese memory experience is very much embodied.

4.3. *Rùwèi* 入味 [enter-flavour] (‘full of flavour’; ‘be absorbed in doing something’)

Rùwèi can function as an attributive predicate or a verb complement. In its attributive use, *rùwèi* refers to food only, meaning that the food (such as soup or a dish) is tasty. This meaning of *rùwèi* can be explicated as follows:

[E] *Semantic explication* for X_{something} *rùwèi*₁ X_{东西} 入味 (‘X is flavourful’)

- (a) sometimes a person can think like this about something:
- (b) “when I *cháng* (‘taste’) [M] this thing, I feel something very good
- (c) I think some very good things about it
- (d) I want to *cháng* (‘taste’) [M] it for a long time
- (e) I don’t want to *cháng* (‘taste’) [M] anything else”
- (f) this person can think like this about all parts of this thing

Something is *rùwèi* when all of its parts are saturated in flavour (component [f]). In this regard, the way that Chinese food is prepared and cooked is a relevant factor. Chinese food is usually finely chopped, allowing easy passage for flavour to ‘penetrate’ each part of the food. Also, small pieces can be easily retained in the mouth for a period of time, and only in this way can people chew each piece and ‘play with’ (*wánwèi*) it to get the deep and fine flavour out of the food. This characteristic of the Chinese culinary method has a bearing on the Chinese gustatory experience, and apparently gives rise to various ‘thought’ related experiences, which are finely tuned (e.g. *huíwèi* discussed earlier in §4.2).

A tasty thing naturally brings pleasant feelings to the ‘taster’, who can be indulgent in the eating experience. This is apparently the link between the attributive *rùwèi*₁ and the complement *rùwèi*₂, when it is used to describe the ‘self-indulgent’ manner in which the experiencer is enjoying doing something. Consider the following example:

(8) X 听得很入味。

X *tīngde* *hěn* *rùwèi*.

X listen:EXT very *rùwèi*

‘X is absorbed in listening to something.’

The meaning of *rùwèi*₂ when it functions as a verb complement can be described as follows:

[F] *Semantic explication for* X_{person} V_{complement} X 入动补 rùwèi₂ 入味₂ ('X is absorbed in doing something')

- (a) when a person is doing something, this person can feel something very good because of this
- (b) this person can think like this:
- (c) "I want to feel like this for a long time
- (d) because of this, I want to do this for a long time
- (e) I don't want to do anything else now
- (f) like I don't want to *cháng* ('taste')_[M] anything else when I *cháng* ('taste')_[M] something very good"

Component (a) shows that *rùwèi*₂ is always about a present activity in which the experiencer actively participates, and that the person is 'enjoying' what he or she is doing.

Components (b)-(e) describe the mental state of the experience where a person is absorbed in what they are doing, *i.e.*, they 'feel so good' that they do not want to do anything else at that moment.

Component (f) alludes to the strong connection between *rùwèi*₁ and *rùwèi*₂. For native speakers, there is a strong evocation of the sense of taste in the meaning of *rùwèi*₂. This is why (f) is built into the thoughts of the experiencer in the explication (cf. the explication for *huíwèi*₂ in §4.2). The experiencers of the two forms of *rùwèi* seem to have similar facial expressions – closing one's eyes, and 'wagging' one's head, which shows complete gratification and absorption. With *rùwèi*₁, the conjectured image of the facial expression of the experiencer may also include his or her chewing slowly, and 'tasting' or 'playing with' the food in the mouth.

4.4 Tǐwèi 体味 [body-taste] ('to understand through thinking about experience') vs. tǐyàn 体验 ('to experience firsthand') and tǐhuì 体会 ('to understand intuitively')

Tǐwèi 体味 not only means to know something through experience, but also to come to appreciate the exact quality and meaning of this something through thinking deeply about the experience. *Tǐwèi* usually takes an abstract 'concept' as its object which reflects the quality that an experience embodies or brings, as illustrated by the following example:

(9) 我家一直很穷苦,我在穷苦中体味到家庭的艰辛。

Wǒjiā yīzhí hěnqióngkǔ, wǒ zài qióngkǔzhōng

1SG.family always very:poor:hardship 1SG LOC poor:hardship:in

tǐwèidào jiāting de jiānxīn.

tiwei:arrive family LIG hardship

'My family has always been poor. From very young, I came to appreciate what family hardship meant.'

In example (9), *tǐwèi* takes the resultative verb complement *-dào* 到 [arrive], which codes the aspectual meaning of 'achievement'. This example showcases the scenario of the experiencer arriving at the stage of having 'figured out' what family hardship is.

In the following example, *tǐwèi* takes the durative aspectual marker *-zhe* 着, showcasing a scenario where the experiencer is in the process of 'figuring out' what is embodied in an experience.

(10) 体味着家/亲情的温暖。

Tǐwèizhe jiā/qīnqíng de wēnnuǎn。

tǐwèi:DUR family/kin bond LIG warmth

‘To experience the warmth of a family/family bond.’

‘Thinking’ in both of the above examples plays an important role, because a person can come from a warm family without understanding what this ‘warmth’ means; and from a struggling family without understanding what this ‘hardship’ means. Such an understanding can only be obtained by applying deep thinking about the experience.

For a better understanding of the meaning of *tǐwèi*₁, it is instructive to compare it with its related concepts of *tīyàn* 体验 (‘to experience firsthand’) and *tīhuì* 体会 (‘to understand through something beyond the intellect’, ‘to comprehend intuitively’), all of which suggest some degree of personal experience. *Tīyàn* (‘to experience firsthand’) however does not imply ‘thinking about’ the experience at all. It only means to know something through firsthand experience (like ‘been there and done that’).¹⁰ Thus, *tīyàn àozhōu shēnghuó* 体验澳洲生活 [*tīyàn-Australian-life*] simply means to experience the Australian-style life by, for example, living in Australia. As a result, the experiencer knows what it is like to live in Australia. But once a person has ‘experienced’ Australian life, or is in the process of ‘experiencing’ it, they can be said to *tīhuì* (‘understand intuitively’) or *tǐwèi* (‘to understand by thinking about the experience’) certain aspects of

¹⁰ It is obvious that the verb *taste* is closer in its meaning to *tīyàn* (‘to experience firsthand’), which does not contain the thinking element. It seems that crosslinguistically the extension of the meaning of the perception verb ‘to taste’ to mean ‘to experience’ is quite common and worthy of further investigation.

Australian life, such as its hardship or comforts. In other words, *tǐyàn* is to know how or what it is like; *tǐhuì* and *tǐwèi* to know what it means.

This element of ‘understanding’ allows both *tǐhuì* (‘to comprehend intuitively’) and *tǐwèi* (‘to understand through thinking about experience’), but not *tǐyàn* (‘to experience firsthand’), to take ‘objects’ that are abstract concepts such as someone’s words or the meaning of a piece of writing. Consider the following example:

(11) 体味/体会 /*体验老师的话。

Tǐwèi/ tǐhuì/ tǐyàn* *lǎoshī* *de* *huà*。

tǐwèi/ tǐhuì/ tǐyàn* teacher LIG word

‘To understand the meaning of the teacher’s words.’

Although both *tǐhuì* and *tǐwèi* are acceptable in the above example, they convey slightly different meanings. *Tǐwèi* implies a deep, fine and detailed thinking process, which is absent in the meaning of *tǐhuì*. It also implies that the experiencer thinks about every aspect of the teacher’s words in order to reach a comprehensive understanding of the teacher’s message. Thus, using *tǐwèi* in the above example implies that the person will ponder the teacher’s words in order to understand their deeper meaning (which also implies that the teacher’s words are subtle, full of meaning, and not so easy to understand). Whereas, the use of *tǐhuì* would suggest to get at the meaning of the teacher’s words simply by ‘feeling’ it. This difference between the two terms means that *tǐhuì* (‘to understand intuitively’) is completely out of place in the following example:

(12) 痛苦是一本书，研究它，体味/?体会它，咀嚼它，会有诸多独特的感觉。

Tòngkǔ shì yīběn shū, yánjiū tā, tǐwèi/?tǐhuì tā,

pain be one:CL book study 3SG tǐwèi/?tǐhuì 3SG

jǔjué tā, huìyǒu zhùduō dútè de gǎnjué.

chew 3SG will:have many unique LIG feeling

‘Pain is like a book. By studying it, thinking about it, and digesting it, one will come to have many special feelings about it.’

This is because the absence of the element of reflective thinking in the meaning of *tǐhuì* (‘to understand intuitively’) makes it incongruous with words like *yánjiū* (‘to study’) and *jǔjué* (‘to chew’), which suggest a fine, detailed and concentrated thinking process.

The same can be said with respect to the following example:

(13) 在贾志林家里，记者再一次体味了生离死别的人世悲情。

Zài Jiǎng Zhìlín jiālǐ, jìzhě zài yīcì

LOC name home:inside reporter again one:time.CL

tǐwèile shēnglísǐbié de rénshì

tǐwèi:PFV live:apart:death:apart LIG human.world

bēiqíng.

tragic/sad:feeling

‘At the home of Jiang Zhilin, I, as the reporter, once again experienced the sorrow of life and death in this human world.’

The context in which the reporter uttered this sentence in (13) was following a mining explosion in Inner Mongolia. *Tīhuì* ('to understand intuitively') would sound shallow and unsympathetic on the journalist part since the sorrow and grief experienced by the victims' family can only be appreciated and understood by thinking deeply about the experience of the family (of course the reporter needs to be with the family to experience their sorrow in the first place).

It is not surprising then that *tīhuì* ('to understand intuitively') cannot take the durative aspectual marker *-zhe* 着 (**tīhuì zhe*), whereas *tīwèi* can (cf. example [10]). This is exactly because *tīwèi* denotes a thinking process, which is not necessarily part of the meaning of *tīhuì*. The adverbial phrases that are commonly used to describe the manner of *tīwèi* include *xìxì de* 细细地 [fine.RDP-ADV] ('finely, in detail'); *zǐxì de* 仔细地 [careful-ADV] ('carefully'), and *yòngxīn* 用心 [use-heart] ('with concentrated effort'), as exemplified by (14):

(14) 细细地体味自己对你的思恋。

Xìxìde *tīwèi* *zìjǐ* *duìnǐ* *de* *sīliàn*。

fine.RDP.ADV *tīwèi* self toward.2SG LIG missing/attachment

'(Only when you are not in front of me am I immersed in the feelings

towards you), and to experience my longing for you in every fine detail.'

It is interesting to note that *tīwèi* is widely used in Chinese travel advertisements, as reflected in the following examples:

(15) 体味神秘古老的^彝民族文化历史变迁。

Tǐwèi shénmì gǔlǎo de yìzú wénhuà lìshǐ biànqiān。

tǐwèi mysterious ancient LIG yi ethnic culture history change

‘Understanding the historical changes of the ancient Yi ethnic culture.’

(16) 体味旅游/垂钓的乐趣。

Tǐwèi lǚyóu/chuídiào de lèqù。

tǐwèi travel/fishing LIG enjoyment/fun

‘To experience and appreciate the fun of travel/fishing.’

(17) 体味江南人情风俗的细腻。

Tǐwèi jiāngnán rénqíng fēngsú de xìni。

Tǐwèi river.south people:atmosphere custom LIG fine/subtle

‘To experience and appreciate the subtleties of the life and customs of the water region to the south of the Yangtze.’

The wide-spread use of *tǐwèi* in Chinese travel advertisements reflects the emphasis that the Chinese people place on their travelling experience – reflecting more on the ‘meaning’ of the experience than on experiencing as such.

The meaning of *tǐwèi* can be formulated as follows:

[G] *Semantic explication for tǐwèi* 体味 ('to understand through thinking about experience')

- (a) when something (x) is happening to a person
this person can feel something because of this
this person can know something about it (x) because of this
- (b) this person can think like this:
"I want to know what this something is
I can't know what it is if I don't think many things about it for some time
I want to think many things about it for some time"
- (c) because of this, this person thinks many things about it for some time
- (d) afterwards, this person can think like this about it (x) because of this:
"now I know what this something is"

Component (a) shows that *tǐhuì* is related to personal experience. Component (b) suggests that the experiencer is consciously aware that they can come to know that the meaning of the experience is something that can be reflected on, and something that the experiencer wants to do. 'Think many things' and 'for some time' in (c) describe the fine and detailed 'thought' process. 'Because of this' in (d) indicates that 'realisation' and 'understanding' – 'now I know what this something is' – resulting from thinking about the experience. In general, this explication tries to capture the 'thinking' as a mental process in the meaning of *tǐwèi*.

In modern Chinese, the evocation of and the association with the gustatory experience in the meaning of *tǐwèi* 体味 may not be as strong as those present in *huíwèi* 回味 (§4.2) and *rùwèi* 入味 (§4.3), the two other *wèi*-related concepts analysed earlier. For this reason, the prototype of the gustatory experience is not built into the meaning of *tǐwèi* (unlike the other two explications discussed earlier). However, it is not difficult to appreciate the close link between the kind of mental states embodied in *tǐwèi* and those found in the Chinese gustatory experience, where the emphasis is placed on the reflection of the true essence of the food.

It should be pointed out that, in Classical Chinese, where monosyllabic words prevail, the use of *wèi* as a verb to mean *tǐwèi* is common. Citing examples from

LǚShì Chūnqiū 《吕氏春秋》 dating back to ca. 239 B.C., *Gǔdài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn* 《古汉语词典》 (*A Dictionary of Ancient Chinese*, GHC), for example, explains that one of the meanings of *wèi* as a verb is *tǐwèi*. In fact, the *wèi* in *tǐwèi* can be thought of as retaining this verbal use.

Another point is that, as a noun, the meaning of *wèi* ('taste/flavour') can be extended to mean 'the meaning, essence, quality, or the significance' of something. This usage is prevalent in both classical and modern Chinese. If for the Chinese people, the taste of something means, signifies, and captures the essence of something, then it is not difficult to see how *wèi* can stand for 'the meaning or quality or essence' of something. The hallmark of the Chinese gustatory experience is to 'savour' the deeply entrenched *wèi*. Thus, seen from a broader context, to *tǐwèi* something is essentially to understand its meaning.

As we have seen from a number of explications, Chinese people attach particular importance to the 'thought' process in their gustatory-related experience, and to the active interaction of the thoughts of the experiencer and the experience itself. Once again, the Chinese culinary style (discussed earlier in relation to *rìwèi* in §4.3) is not irrelevant in the context of understanding how gustatory experience gives rise to culturally salient mental activities and mental processes, such as 'thinking', for Chinese people.

4.5 Pǐnwèi 品味 (v. 'to taste in order to appreciate'; n. 'taste')

Used as a verb, *pǐnwèi* can refer to food-related objects, such as *hǎochá* 好茶 ('good-tea') and *jiāyáo* 佳肴 ('good dish'), and to abstract concepts, such as *rénshēng* 人生 ('life/life course'), *gūdú* 孤独 ('solitude'), *shēngmìng de zhēndì* 生命的真谛 ('the true meaning of life'), and *làngmàn* 浪漫 ('romance'). Therefore,

two senses of *pǐnwèi* are posited, with *pǐnwèi₁* directly referring to gustatory experience, and *pǐnwèi₂* to non-gustatory experience. The explications of these two senses of *pǐnwèi* are as follows:

[H] *Semantic explication for pǐnwèi₁ 品味₁* ('to taste in order to appreciate')

- (a) sometimes, a person can think like this about something when this person *cháng* ('tasts')_[M] something
- (b) "it is something good
- (c) I want to know many more good things about it
- (d) if I don't think about it for some time when I *cháng* ('tasts')_[M] it, I cannot know more good things about it
- (e) because of this, I want to think about it for some time when I *cháng* ('tasts')_[M] it"
- (f) when this person *cháng* ('tasts')_[M] it, this person thinks about it for some time
- (g) if this person thinks like this, this person can know many more good things about it

[I] *Semantic explication for pǐnwèi₂ 品味₂* ('to appreciate')

- (a) sometimes, a person can think like this about something:
- (b) "it is something good
- (c) I want to know many more good things about it
- (d) if I don't think about it for some time, I cannot know many more good things about it
- (e) because of this, I want to think about it for some time"
- (f) because of this, this person thinks about it for some time
- (g) if this person thinks like this, this person can know many more good things about it
- (h) like a person can know many more good things when this person *cháng* ('tastes')_[M] something

The gustatory prototype is built into the explication of *pǐnwèi₂*, which shows the strong presence of the prototypical reference in the non-gustatory experience.

It is worth noting that *pǐn* 品 means 'to appraise' and 'to rate'. In the context of taste-related experience, expressions like *pǐnjiǔ* 品酒 or *pǐnchá* 品茶 ('to drink tea with critical appreciation of its taste and quality', i.e., 'tea tasting' or 'wine

tasting'), and *pǐncháng* 品尝 ('to taste food in order to appraise, rate or grade its worth') are commonly used.¹¹

To a degree, *pǐnwèi* 品味 and *tǐwèi* 体味 ('to understand through thinking about experience'; cf. §4.4) share some commonalities in that both have the meaning of 'to know the meaning of something' and both emphasise the element of 'thinking'. (Obviously, in the case of *pǐnwèi* when it refers to a food object, it means 'to appreciate the taste' of that food, since *tǐwèi* does not usually take food objects.)

However, the differences between the two are clear. Firstly, the 'objects' of *pǐnwèi*, whether referring to food or abstract concepts, are always considered positive and desirable in the view of the experiencer. This aesthetic dimension, which is absent in the meaning of *tǐwèi*, is characteristic of *pǐnwèi*. Secondly, the experiencer of *tǐwèi* may not know the meaning of something that is embodied in the experience until they actually experience and reflect on it; whereas the experiencer of *pǐnwèi* could have experienced it and known what it meant, but tried to apply fine and detailed thinking in order to continue extracting more subtle meaning out of it.

As a noun, *pǐnwèi* is close to 'taste' as in the evaluative sense of 'good taste' or 'bad taste' in English. This is one of the few areas where the Chinese taste-related vocabulary intersects with English.

A person who has *pǐnwèi* knows what is good and what is bad, just as one can distinguish what is good from what is bad from tasting. Note that an important meaning of *wèi* as a verb in classical Chinese is to *biànbíe* 辨别 ('to distinguish')

¹¹ It is quite possible that the trade of wine-tasting would produce a rich set of taste-related professional vocabulary in English. However, it is expected that it would be restricted to the professionals of such a trade.

and *pǐnwèi* 品味 (e.g. GHC, p.1627). The meaning of *X yǒu pǐnwèi* X 有品味 ('X has good taste') can be explained as follows:

[J] *Semantic explication for X yǒu pǐnwèi* X 有品味 ('X has good taste')

- (a) sometimes, a person thinks like this about another person:
- (b) "if something is good, this person can know that it is something good
- (c) like a person can know something is good when this person
cháng ('tastes')_[M] this thing
- (d) if something is bad, this person can know that it is something bad
- (e) like a person can know something is bad when this person
cháng ('tastes')_[M] this thing
- (f) I can think something good about this person because of this"

5. A Chinese model of cognitive states in relation to *wèi* ('taste') and its theoretical implications for the study of conceptual systems

A detailed semantic analysis of several *wèi*-related terms in the Chinese language has not only revealed a culture-internal understanding of the bodily and conceptual experiences of the Chinese people, but also demonstrated that the sense of taste plays an active and important role in their mental life. As we have seen from the above analysis and discussion, gustatory experience forms a rich source of vocabulary for describing cognitive processes and activities in Chinese. In the light of this case study of the Chinese language, it seems that the following model of mental states, processes and activities can be proposed in relation to the Chinese sensory experience of taste:

[K] *Chinese model of mental states in relation to the experience of wèi*

when a person *cháng* ('tastes') [M] something,
this person can feel something for some time because of this
[this person can feel something good; this person can feel something bad]
this person can know something because of this
[this person can know that it is something good;
this person can know that it is something bad]
this person can think something about it for some time because of this

Comparing this model with observations on Indo-European languages, we can see striking differences and similarities in terms of the link between the sense of taste and mental states.

According to Sweetser (1990), the sense of taste (in contrast to the sense of vision) rarely takes on intellectual meanings. This is apparently not the case when we consider the meaning of words like *tǐwèi* ('to understand the meaning of something by thinking about it') in Chinese. Neither does Sweetser consider taste as a source for mental feelings. She considers the sense of touch as the main sensory source. Yet, in Chinese, *wèi* and emotions are closely related, as exemplified by words like *zīwèi* ('taste/feeling').

Sweetser, however, does point out that taste is linked with personal likes and dislikes, which she considers to be a universal between the sense of taste and the mental world (Sweetser, 1990, p.37). Indeed, the meaning of words like *pǐnwèi* ('good taste') does seem to support Sweetser's universal claim on this score.

Although the differences between the Chinese and Indo-European traditions seem to be quite striking, they are not surprising if we take into consideration the biological bases, and the cultural and philosophical orientations of each tradition. In doing so, it also helps us pinpoint those aspects that are shared.

From a biological point of view, 'taste' experience is inevitably linked to food. It is the most *intimate* manner and one of the earliest and most *direct* ways of

experiencing the external world (vision and hearing are non-contact, indirect ways of perceiving things). During the gustatory experience, the very substance of the perceived objects must come into close contact and interact with other sense organs. Taste is the only sensory experience that takes place inside a part of the body, thus it is intrinsically internal and subjective. As expected, this intimate contact can give rise to good or bad feelings, as feelings and emotions are internal states (in both the physical and the psychological sense) that are knowable only to the experiencer. In the Chinese tradition, the sense of taste seems to contain 'touch' implicitly.

It is not surprising either that we can know something about the perceived objects through the close contact experience. In fact, Sweetser (1990) mentions that the Latin *sapere* means both 'be wise, know' and 'taste', and that the French verb *savoir* means 'know', and its noun form *savoir* means 'savor, taste'. But she considers them to be 'interesting cases'. From there, she remarks that 'In general, the target domains of smell and taste are not the intellectual domain of *savoir*' (ibid, p.36). But it seems that, in most European languages, personal likes and dislikes are also intrinsically linked with the notion of 'know', and with the notion of 'want' ('I know that it is something good; I want it because of this;' 'I know that it is something bad; I don't want it because of this'). When Classen characterises taste as "aesthetic discrimination" (Classen, 1993, p.57), it is undoubtedly built upon the notions of 'knowing', 'feeling', and 'good' and 'bad'.

As to the 'thinking' element of the gustatory experience, it seems to be characteristic of the Chinese conceptualisation of their experience. Several cultural factors appear to have a bearing on this. Firstly, it is undeniable that Chinese people attach great importance to their gastronomic experience, and draw meaning

and significance from it. As put by West (1997, p. 68), for the Chinese people, food “was elevated at an early period from necessity to art, from sustenance to elegance; the subsequent high cultural status assured that food would remain a key ingredient in the language and structure of literature and art”. Secondly, the Chinese culinary style permits ‘thinking’ to take place in a fine and detailed way (cf. *rùwèi* discussed in §4.3). Thirdly, the sense of taste has always been treated as one of the major modes of perceiving and experiencing the outside world for the Chinese people. The quote from early Chinese philosophical writings presented at the beginning of the chapter is an example.

This study has demonstrated the value of investigating, from a culture-internal perspective, the relationship between the physical experience and conceptual system of a culture. Moreover, it has shown how local meaning systems and understanding can be made accessible to cultural outsiders whilst retaining their cultural traditions. In the context of studying the relationships between bodily and conceptual experience, the issue of the body-mind dichotomy has to be faced. Ots makes the following important comment:

Dualistic thought restrains and circumscribes bodily perceptions and bodily awareness, it alienates ‘us’ from our body: it is the mind thinking of the body rather than the body perceiving itself. Thus the difficulty of cross-cultural translation of concepts between dualistic and monistic modes of thought is but another facet of the difficulty of translating between the mind and the body. If we want to know more of the ‘body sui generis’ we must relearn to perceive without these restrains, i.e., perceive in a ‘pre-objective’ way. (Ots, 1990, p.20)

The NSM approach employed in this study can be viewed as a solution to what Ots calls the 'pre-objective' approach. It allows researchers to position themselves within the cultural system under investigation, with meanings framed through the first person 'I'. This 'I' breaks off the subject-object distinction and allows researchers to be situated in the 'lived-body' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), treating it as 'body-subject' rather than 'body-object'. This is consistent with the holistic approach to the body-mind in Chinese culture, and the introspective Chinese philosophical tradition.

This chapter is only a first attempt to enter into the Chinese taste experience, and has only touched upon a small selection of taste terms. It also suggests areas for further investigation. Firstly, as mentioned in the chapter, *wèi* plays an important role in Chinese literary thought, and is very closely related to the aesthetic experience of the Chinese people. This line of research will lead to a deep understanding of Chinese aesthetics. Secondly, an understanding of the relative value of the sense of 'taste' in relation to the other senses will reveal Chinese sensory organisation (see the next chapter for the role that 'sound' plays in Chinese knowledge inception). It can be expected that this will not only expand our knowledge of the Chinese experience, but also contribute to the search for the universal and culture-specific aspects of human experience and conceptualisation.

Chapter 6

The Notion of *bèi* ('auditory memorisation') in the Written Chinese Tradition and the Chinese Cultural Model of Learning

*Following an exploration of the conceptual basis of Chinese interpersonal relations, Chinese emotional expressions, both verbally and non-verbally, and the role of 'taste' in the Chinese conceptual formation, this chapter looks into yet another important aspect of Chinese psychology to do with learning and knowledge formation. It focuses on *bèi* ('auditory memorisation') – a cultural practice of 'remembering', which plays a prominent role in the learning experience of Chinese people, but is often thought of as 'rote learning'. It aims at addressing two central questions: what is *bèi*, and why is it a culturally emphasised practice? In answering the first question, it will conduct an in-depth analysis of the meaning of *bèi* so as to provide a culture-internal view of and belief about memory formation and learning, and contrast it intralinguistically with Chinese *jì* ('try to remember/write down'), and, interlinguistically, with memorise and learn by heart in English. In addressing to the second question, this chapter will explore linguistic, cognitive, cultural, and historical reasons that could explain this culturally important practice. Of particular interest to this study, following the revelation of the meaning of *bèi*, is the question of why 'auditory memorisation', which exhibits some key features of knowledge transmission in oral cultures, is so prized by the Chinese people, who possess a long written and print history, and why the practice of memorisation is discouraged in modern Anglo culture. At the same time when the chapter reveals the Chinese cultural model of learning and the interrelations between memory formation, learning, and understanding in Chinese culture, it sheds light on the role that sound plays in Chinese knowledge inception. Together with Chapter 5, they represent a first effort to understand Chinese sensory organisation from a culture-internal perspective.*

The life of each language rests on the inner attitude of the people concerning the manner of expressing thought in sound. (Humboldt, 1971, p. 237)

The learning of the gentleman enters through the ear, is stored in the mind, spreads through the four limbs, and is visible in his activity and repose. (*Xunzi*, 1.9, 340-245 BC)¹

Every one of my Fuling students could recite at least a dozen Chinese classics by heart – the verses of Du Fu, of Li Bai, of Qu Yuan and there were young men and women from the countryside of Sichuan province, a backwater by Chinese standards. They still read books and they still read poetry; that was the difference. (Hessler, 2002, p.42)

1. The paradox of the Chinese learner and the need for a culture-internal perspective

On the cover of the book entitled *The Chinese Learner* edited by Watkins and Biggs (eds., 1996), the following question is posed:

How can Chinese learners be so successful academically (often outperforming their Western peers) when their teaching and learning seems to be so oriented to rote memorisation?

¹ 君子之學也：入乎耳，箸乎心，布乎四體，形乎動靜。《荀子·勸學篇第一》(CHANT)。

This paradoxical question not only summarises the key question that the book attempts to address, but also speaks for the puzzled minds of many others who have had first-hand experience with Chinese learners.

Obviously, when it plays such an important role in the Chinese learning experience, 'rote memorisation' cannot be thought of as an undesirable pedagogical practice which should be discouraged, as is the case in the modern Anglo educational context. How, then, do researchers make sense of all this? Using what they call 'student approaches to learning (SAL)', one of the authors says:

Let us first try the lower cost assumption that our knowledge of teaching is not all wrong. The clue is that assertions (1) and (2) are based on Western observations and interpretations. Maybe those observations and interpretations are simply wrong. A first hypothesis, then, is that what some Western observers are seeing is not what they think it is. (Biggs, 1996, p.50)²

If "what some Western observers are seeing is not what they think it is", as the above quote states, then what is the true nature of the 'rote memorisation' that is observed? What's more, how do Chinese people make sense of it themselves, and what are the reasons for them doing so?

This chapter attempts to show that a linguistic – in particular a semantic – perspective can help to find the answers to some of these questions. A close

² The two assertions mentioned in the quote are (1) CHC [Confucian heritage countries] classrooms should be conducive to low quality outcomes: rote learning and low achievement; (2) CHC students are perceived as using low-level, rote-based strategies. (Biggs, 1996, p 49).

examination of indigenous ‘memorisation’-related concepts that are salient to the Chinese people – in particular those that are central to Chinese educational discourse and practice – can provide researchers with direct access to, and reveal a great deal about the Chinese people’s own understanding of, and cultural beliefs about their practice. Moreover, the Chinese linguistic evidence – words, phrases and conventional expressions, such as *ěrshúnéngxiáng* 耳熟能详 [ear-familiar-able to-know clearly] (‘knowing clearly from hearing many times’), *shúnéngshēngqiǎo* 熟能生巧 [familiar-able to-generate-creativity] (‘familiarity generates creativity’) – can shed light on the Chinese view of the relationships between memorisation, understanding, and learning.

The aim of this chapter is exactly that – to reveal a culture-internal view and conception of the practice of ‘memorisation’ from the vantage point of the Chinese language. It will focus primarily on *bèi*, which at this point of the discussion may be loosely translate as ‘auditory memorisation’. The chief goal is to reveal a cultural model of Chinese learning by undertaking a detailed semantic analysis of the concept *bèi*, although effort will also be made to contrast it with *jì* (‘try to remember/write down’), its closest synonym, and with a couple of English ‘memorisation’ concepts, for the culture-specific meaning of *bèi* can be best pinpointed and appreciated in a contrastive context.

But just how important is *bèi* (‘auditory memorisation’) to the Chinese people? Examples in the next section will help demonstrate its importance.

2. The importance of 'memorisation' in Chinese learning:

illustrations

There is some truth in the common stereotype that Chinese learners are very good at memorisation. It occupies an important place in the Chinese learning context and the Chinese people place positive values on it. Readers can have some idea of the prominent role *bèi* plays in the Chinese learning contexts from the following examples.

Example 1

A Chinese movie, known in English as *High Summer Sky* (Chinese title: *Wáng Shǒuxiān de Xiàtiān* [*Wáng Shǒuxiān's summer*]; W, 2002), which was shown recently on the Australian multicultural television channel SBS, can almost be seen as a story of *bèi*. When a film crew came to a rural village, they chose Wáng Shǒuxiān to act in their film, an act that angered Wáng's teacher, whose argument was as follows:

(1) 王首先平时连课文都背不上，怎么可以背剧本？

Wáng Shǒuxiān píngshí lián kèwén dōu bèibushàng,

name usually PART lesson/text PART *bèi*:NEG:up

zěnmē kěyǐ bèi jùběn?

How can *bèi* scripts

'How can Wáng Shǒuxiān memorise the scripts if he can't even memorise school lessons?'

A pupil who is not able to *bèi* school texts cannot be considered a good student, thus Wáng would set a bad example for other pupils, so the teacher argues. The rest of the story is about how Wáng was inspired by this incident to commit himself to *bèikèwén* 背课文 ('memorise school texts').

Example 2

In a set of personal essays written by Chinese instructors of the English language and grouped under the heading 'Literacy at Home' (as a way of showing how Chinese learners come to read and write their own language and how that affects the learning of a second language) (Perry, ed., 1998), almost all of the authors mentioned that memorising and reciting ancient poems were, for them or their family members, the earliest way of 'enculturation'. For some the 'cultural literacy' began even before the child was born, as said by one of the authors, who devoted her essay to explaining the belief and practice of *tāijiào* 胎教 ('educating the foetus'). She writes:

Tang poems are among the best teaching materials for the child and the foetus, especially those with four lines and five characters in each line. They are easy to read aloud and understand. (Xu, 1998, p.23)

Another author writes about her daughter:

She can read stories to her little friends and teach her little cousin to recite some famous Tang poems, such as 'Missing my hometown quietly at night,' which I taught her at the age of three. (Luo, 1998, p.28)

Messages that come out consistently from these essays include that the Chinese writing system and literary tradition play a powerful role in children's literacy acquisition, and that the tradition of literacy persists. The interesting thing is that reading (aloud) and reciting poems and popular classical texts are seen as an integral part of literacy acquisition. This can be said to be equally true with regard to children from both urban and rural areas. For example, in writing about the ways in which rural children come to read, Lu recounts:

When I was a child, every family would put antithetical couplets up on their gates to celebrate the lunar New Year. Because the calligraphy on the couplets was beautiful and varied, and also because the couplets expressed the best wishes of each family, all the villagers were ready and glad to read and comment on them. At these times, young children would look at the couplets and listen to adults talking about them. Sometimes, the adults would point at some simple Chinese characters to teach the children. For example, they might point out 天, *tiān* (sky) in 普天同庆 *pǔ tiān tóng qìng* (all the people celebrate together) or 人 *rén* (person) in 人寿年丰 *rén shòu nián fēng* (long live the people, good harvest in the new year). They just read out and repeated such characters as *tiān tiān* or *rén rén* and the children would follow and say, 'tiān, tiān' or 'rén, rén.' Time and again, the children might memorize the characters.

Wherever they found the already learned words, they would point at them and cry out 'tiān' or 'rén,' as described previously. (Lu, 1998, p.20)

Lu (1998) further remarks that “[a]ntithetical couplets formed part of the traditional Chinese culture, and they played an important role in rural children’s literacy acquisition” (p.20; see also Gough, 1968; Hayes, 1985).³

Another author writes about how children in cities acquire literacy:

When their children are almost four years old, parents usually provide them with blocks or cards that have Chinese characters and corresponding pictures on them. In addition, the parents teach their children to recite the alphabet and some simple poems. After that, when the children get a little older, the parents teach them how to write characters. When I was a little child less than five years old, my parents taught me how to write and gave me assignments that they checked every day. ... [M]y uncle often taught me to recite children’s songs. My aunt told me many stories and said they were all in books – so it made me very interested in books. (Zhang, 1998, p.31)⁴

³ As pointed out by Hayes (1985), “[t]he large number of printed editions devoted to couplets (*tui-lien* or *lien-yu*), the wide range of subject heads, the inclusion of sections about them in all guides and encyclopaedias, the frequency with which collections of couplets are encountered in handwritten village books, and their common use in religious houses, temples and shrines, homes, and boats and shops testify to the importance of couplets as an item in the inventory of written materials used in everyday life” (p.83).

⁴ Children are initially exposed to the very limited characters that can be considered pictographic in nature. However, it must be remembered that the majority of the Chinese characters are *not* pictographic. As DeFrancis (1989) points out, no full writing system can be developed from only pictographs (see also Qiu, 2000, Chap 1). ‘Alphabet’ in this quote should refer to *pīnyīn*, the auxiliary romanisation system for notating characters, as is used in this thesis. Adopted in 1958 in Mainland China, *pīnyīn* wasn’t fully installed in use until in the 1970s, and is now taught as a writing script alongside character acquisition (cf. Typographical Conventions at the beginning of the thesis). That is, pupils in Mainland China learn two writing systems. In this chapter, the Chinese script refers to characters only.

On the surface these quotes may not seem to be directly related to 'memorisation'. However, they are clear and revealing examples showing how children come to be aware of and come into contact with the writing scripts and how they come to form some initial ideas about the source of knowledge in a culture where the influence of writing is prevalent and where literary heritage is abundant, widely treasured and transmitted. What these essays reflect is in fact the 'folk pedagogy' – to borrow the term from the noted psychologist Jerome Bruner (1996, Chap 2) – which the Chinese people engage in for their literary acquisition and for the transmission of their cultural and literary traditions. As the editor remarks: "A striking feature of all of these essays is the loyalty that the adults in these writers' lives showed to the old ideals of education and the efforts that they made to ensure that their children acquired the kind of literacy that they themselves had been taught to value" (Perry, 1998, p.5). In other words, the continual transmission of literary tradition is made possible through Chinese folk pedagogical practice as reflected in the above quotes (see also Strafford, 1995, pp.184-185). The meaning of *bèi* as an education practice has to be understood in this context: it takes place amidst printed, squarish Chinese words, and against the backdrop of a long and uninterrupted literary tradition.

Example 3

The third example is supplied by Chen and Huang's (1982) experimental study on differences in perceived relevance and difficulty of intelligence-related items by Australian and Chinese students. The result of their research suggests that when compared with Australian students, Chinese students place a high value on

memory skills (note that the article used 'rote memory') as a component of the intelligence construct.⁵ Although both Australian and Chinese students find high relevance on spatial-mechanical abilities such as intelligence attributes, Australian students find great difficulty in memory tasks. The authors conclude that

[a]mong the Chinese, a different pattern emerged: The spatial-mechanical ability was judged as the most difficult, followed by verbal and memory skills. The comparisons between spatial-mechanical versus verbal, and spatial-mechanical versus memory skills on difficulty ratings were significant ($p < .01$) with t values being 11.5 and 9.9, respectively. The difference between verbal and memory skills was not significant. (Chen and Huang, 1982, p.152)

Undoubtedly, this is closely related to the emphasis placed on the so-called 'rote memory' skill in learning. Chan (1996), in his review of research on Chinese intelligence, made the following remarks on Chen and Huang's experiment:

It is interesting to note that the Chinese regarded items requiring rote memory as being easier than did the Australians. This reflects a common understanding of the effects of the type of education system, styles of parental emphasis, and cultural pressures that Chinese children have to undergo in their early formative years since ancient times. (Chan, 1996, p.102)

⁵ The other two components of the intelligence construct are spatial-mechanical abilities and verbal skills. It is important to note that the authors admit that "two cultural groups have been similarly indoctrinated into believing that intelligence is what intelligence tests measures" (Chen and Huang, 1982, p.153).

Chan says this obviously with the Chinese examination and pyramidal education system in mind. We will return to this point in §4.1.

Example 4

The fourth example also draws from research in psychology. Based on his surveys in schools, Liu (1986) points out the following as “one of the most conspicuous rules of the specific type acquired by the Chinese during their childhood” (pp.81-83):

If the purpose is to acquire the knowledge contained in an article, then the best strategy is to memorize the article.

He then adds the ‘practise skill’ rule that is related to the ‘memorise lesson’ rule:

If the purpose is to acquire any new cognitive skill, then the best strategy is to practise repeatedly.

Example 5

The last example is illustrated by a book I picked up during my recent trip to China. It is called *Zhōngguó Háizi Xuéxí fǎ* 《中国孩子学习法》 (*Ways of Studying for Chinese Children*) (Ri, 2002), which has already been reprinted ten times to meet public demand. This is just one of the countless books on a similar subject in China. On the jacket of the book, it says “[t]here are more than 200 methods of learning from excellent teachers so there must be one that suits your child”.

Among the methods, a great deal of emphasis is placed on *jìyì fǎ* 记忆法 (‘method

for memory', a technical term), and especially on the practice of *bèi* 背. Also, explicit assignments written in school textbooks on the subject of Chinese for year one to year twelve students require them to *bèi* 背 or *bèisòng* 背诵 large portions of texts that they have studied, especially where they are ancient texts. It is not surprising then that one of the first questions parents ask their children after school is *Shū bèiguòle méiyǒu?* 书背过了没有 [book-bèi-EXP-PFV-NEG], 'Have you committed to memorising the text?' This is tantamount to saying 'Have you done your homework?'

All of the above examples, ranging from studies on Chinese psychology to personal accounts, show that *bèi*, reciting and memorisation play a prominent role in the Chinese learning experience.

3. Focusing on *bèi* – what is it?

So, what is *bèi*? What can it tell us about the Chinese ways of and beliefs about learning? This section will attempt to provide an answer to what *bèi* is by undertaking detailed semantic analysis.

3.1 Dictionary translations

Translations of *bèi* offered by popular bilingual dictionaries will constitute a starting point for our analysis. ABC and JXHC, for example, gloss *bèi* as "learn by heart, recite from memory" (ABC, p.596; JXHC, p.22). ZSHC translates it as "to remember by rote; to commit to memory in detail" (p. 885). Some frequently used compounds of *bèi* included in these dictionaries are listed as follows:

- (2)a. *bèishū* 背书 [bèi-book]: recite lesson from memory (ABC, p.26); recite a lesson; to commit a lesson to memory (ZSHC, p.885); recite a book from memory (JXHC, p.22)
- b. *bèishú* 背熟 [bèi-ripe/familiar]: learn by heart (ABC, p.26)
- c. *bèisòng* 背诵 [bèi-recite]: recite; repeat from memory (ABC, p.26); recite (ZSHC, p. 885)
- d. *bèitāicí* 背台词 [bèi -stage-word]: speak one's line; recite the words of an actor's part (JXHC, p.22); speak one's lines (ABC, p.26)

Apart from 'learn by heart' and 'commit to memory in detail', most of the translations of *bèi* and *bèi*-related words seem to focus on the performance of *bèi* that results from the memorisation process, but not on the process itself. However, if a student is required to *bèi xīn xué de kè wén sān biàn* 背新学的课文三遍 ('to *bèi* the newly-learned texts three times') as homework assignment, it is more likely the case that the student is asked to 'commit to memory' and repeat the act of memorisation at least three times.

3.2 Semantic analysis

Intuitively, *bèi* is polysemous: *bèi*₁ focuses on the mental process, and *bèi*₂ refers to the result of *bèi*₁, which is closer to 'reciting from memory'. More evidence of a syntactic nature is required to support this claim, however, and when discussing the grammatical features of *bèi*, the different syntactic environments in which *bèi*₁ and *bèi*₂ occur will be pointed out wherever possible. The following examples are mostly taken from *Hànyǔ Dòngcí Yòngfǎ Cídiǎn* 《汉语动词用法词典》 (*Dictionary of the Usage of Chinese Verbs*, hereafter HDYC).

3.2.1 *Bei*₁ 背₁ ('auditory memorisation').

*Bèi*₁ focuses on the process of memorisation. When the 'memoriser' undertakes this task, he or she can have visual access to the to-be-remembered material at the same time. Examples (3)-(8) suggest this possibility of the presence of printed material.

(3) X 每天背/记/学三个单词。

X měitiān bèi/jì/xué sāngè dāncí。

X every day bei/memorise/learn three:CL vocabulary

'X commits himself to memorising/tries to memorise/learns three foreign words every day.'

(4) 今天的作业是背课文。

Jīntiān de zuòyè shì bèi kèwén。

Today LIG homework be bei text

'Today's homework is to undertake the task of memorising text.'

When *bèi* takes aspectual markers such as *-guò* (experiential marker) or *-zhe* (durative or continual marker), it seems to have *bei*₁ interpretation only, as is the case in examples (5)-(6).

(5) experiential marker *-guò* 过

他从小背过不少警句。(HDYC, p.19)

Tā cóngxiǎo bèiguò bùshǎo jǐngjù。

3SG from:little bei:EXP not:less warning:sentence

'He had memorised quite a lot of aphorisms from a very young age.'

(6) progressive and durative marker *-zhèng* 正 and *-zhe* 着

他正背(着)诗呢。(HDYC, p. 19)

Tā zhèng bèi(zhe) shī ne。

3SG PROG bei (DUR) poem PART.

'He is in the process of memorising the poem.'

Example (5) can only have *bèi₁* reading: some time before now, he committed himself to remembering some aphorisms, or he made an effort to memorise some aphorisms. It is possible that he is able to reproduce them by reciting (*bèi₂*) them now. It is also quite possible that he is unable to do so now.⁶ It is also unlikely that (6) would be interpreted as 'he is reciting poems from memory'.

Examples (7) and (8) contain the verbal complementation structure, showing the potential and the ability of *bèi*.

⁶ Chappell (2001) argues that *-guò*, the aspectual category, expresses evidential meaning. Her reanalysis of experiential markers in Sinitic languages as evidential markers shows that a salient meaning component of these evidential makers is the 'discontinuity' effect. That is the opposite state of affairs holds at the time of speaking. Indeed, the use of *-guò* in (5) implies that the subject no longer memorises aphorisms.

(7) potential verb compounds

(a) 《论语》你背得了吗? (HDYC, p.19)

Lúnyǔ nǐ bèideliǎo mā?

Analects 2SG bei:able to PART

‘Are you able to memorise *The Analects* (i.e. the whole text)?’

(b) 一分钟背不了五个单词。 (HDYC, p.19)

Yīfēnzhōng bèibùliǎo wǔge dāncí。

one:minute bei:unable to five:CL single:word

‘Unable to memorise five words within a minute.’

(c) 单词太多，我背不过来。

Dāncí tàiduō wǒ bèibùguòlái。

single:words too:many 1SG bei:NEG:past:come

‘There are too many words. I can’t possibly learn all of them by heart.’

(8) resultative verb compounds

(a) 他吵得我课文都没背成。 (HDYC, p.19)

Tā chǎode wǒ kèwén dōu méi bèichéng。

3SG make noise:EXT 1SG text PART NEG bei:accomplish

‘He was so noisy that I failed to accomplish the task of memorising the text.’

(b) 他背英文单词可背出经验来了。

Tā bèi yīngwén dāncí kě bèichū jīngyàn láile。

3SG bei English vocabulary PART bei:out experience come:INC

‘He has had the experience of memorising (so much) English vocabulary that he’s now found a shortcut.’ (i.e. He has found a way to memorise the words quickly and accurately.)

Example (8a) is worth noting in that it suggests that ‘noise’ can interfere with the act of memorisation. This will be highly relevant to the later discussion of the ‘auditory’ nature of *bèi*.

It is clear from the above examples that the range of use of *bèi*₁ is very different from its English synonyms such as *commit to memory*, *memorise* or *learn by heart* (their meanings will be explained in §3.4). Relying on these terms does not permit an accurate understanding of the meaning of *bèi*₁. Furthermore, it can be misleading to look at the culturally salient concept *bèi* through these infrequently used English terms.

Roughly speaking, *bèi* is to ‘memorise by reading aloud and repetition for the purpose of deep understanding’. Obviously, this is far too simplistic a description. Using the set of semantic primes, the full meaning content of *bèi*₁ (‘auditory memorisation’) can be spelt out as the following:

[A] *Semantic explication of X zài bèi₁ kèwén* X 在背₁ 课文 (X was 'memorising' texts.)

(a) X was doing something for some time like people do when they think like this about something: **PROTOTYPICAL THOUGHT**

"I can see this something now
it has many parts
all these parts are zì [M]
I know what they all are because I can see them
It will be good if I can know the same when I do not see these zì [M]
I know if I don't do something for some time,
afterwards, I can't know the same
I want to do it"

(b) because of this, this person was doing something **PROCESS/MANNER**
for some time

when this person was doing this, this person was saying
these zì [M] one after another
people could hear it
this person could see these zì [M] if they wanted to
this person thought about these zì [M] many times
this person did not think about other things at the same time

(c) someone could think about it like this at that time: **PROJECTED RESULT**

"if this person does like this for some time,
afterwards this person can say this thing when this person does not see it
when this person has to do something with this thing, this person does not
have to think about it
if this person does the same thing many times, this person can know more
about this thing because of this"

(d) people think: it is good if a person does something like this **EVALUATION**

The meaning of *bèi₁* is represented above in a schematic way, incorporating 'prototypical thought' and 'observed manner' of the 'doer' ([a] & [b]), the 'projected result' in the view of the observer (c), and people's 'evaluation' of the act (d).

Components bundled under (a) show that, in a prototypical situation, objects of *bèi* have three features. The first is that they are composed of *zì* 字 or *hànzì* 汉字, Chinese characters (also known as 'sinographs'). The prototypical object can be extended to *zì*-like symbols ('something like *zì*') that are recognised by the

Chinese people as a meaningful basic unit, such as *zì mǔ* 字母 ('alphabetic letters') and *Ālābó shùzì* 阿拉伯数字 ('Arabic numbers'). Note the use of *zì* in 'letters' and 'numbers' in Chinese. (The meaning of *zì* will be explained in §3.2.3)

The second feature is that these 'Chinese words' (*zì*) or symbols (something like *zì*) have a fixed sequential (and possibly linear) order (for them to be recognised for what they are). Typical things that are strung by *zì* or *zì*-like symbols are 'text' and 'foreign words'. As expected, *bèi* takes objects such as *kèwén* 课文 ('a text for a lesson'), *shī* 诗 ('poems'), *dāncí* 单词 ('foreign vocabulary'), *gōngshì* 公式 ('formula'), and *kǒujué* 口诀 [mouth-formula] ('arithmetic table that should be committed to memory for ready use, as the multiplication table') (ZSHC, p.132). Naturally, 'this something' that a person sees is made up of more than one single unit.

Explanations of *bèi* offered by Chinese monolingual dictionaries show the sequential feature as well. XHC, for instance, equates *bèi* 背 with *bèisòng* 背诵, and explains the latter as "*píng jìyì niànchū dúguò de wénzì*" 凭记忆念出读过的文字 ('relying on memory, read out scripts/words that one has read aloud') (p.56). A telling explanation is offered by *Chángyòng Gòucí Cídiǎn* 《常用构词词典》 (*The Chinese Dictionary of Word Formation*, hereafter CGC), which makes it very clear what sort of things are for 'memorising'. It reads: *píng jìyì niànchū wénjù* 凭记忆念出文句 ('relying on memory, read aloud text and sentences') (CGC, p.14). Although these definitions seem to be closer to *bèi*₂, they reaffirm the common features of objects that *bèi* takes – something that consists of *zì* or *zì*-like symbols which are arranged in a sequential order.

The third important feature of the objects that *bèi* takes is that they are 'sayable'. This is perhaps why *bèi* is commonly used for *bèi dāncí/shēngcí/cízǔ*

背单词/生词/词组 (*bèi* individual foreign/unfamiliar/group words'), meaning the memorisation of the sequence of the alphabetic letters and phrases, but not so much for the sequential order of strokes that make up the graph of *hànzì* 汉字 – Chinese characters (**bèi hànzì*; cf. *jìhànzì*, §3.2.2). This is because foreign words are usually made up of a string of alphabetical letters, each of which can be pronounced; whereas strokes can neither be 'pronounced', nor form a meaning unit themselves (although all strokes have a designated name) (See Figure 2 for examples of character stroke order). Note that, in English, one says "How do you spell this word?", whereas Chinese people say 这个字怎么写? "How do you write this *zì*?", as Perry (1998) insightfully pointed out. Components of Chinese characters cannot be spelt. But each individual character is 'sayable' and can be strung together to make a word, phrase, a sentence, a poem, or a text.

Objects of *bèi*, however, do not have to be *zì* only. As mentioned earlier, they can include *zì*-like symbols. For example, one can *bèi gōngshì* 背公式 ('*bèi* formula') (be they related to mathematics, chemistry, or physics, or made up of a mixture of Arabic numbers and alphabetic letters), *bèi yuèpǔ* 背乐谱 ('*bèi* music score'), *bèi qípǔ* 背棋谱 ('*bèi* go-chess diagram'), or *bèi dìngshì* 背定式 [*bèi*-fixed-model/pattern/formula] ('*bèi* fixed chess pattern, usually for opening moves'). Although formulae, music scores, and even chess diagrams are not made up of *zì*, their components are *zì*-like (each graph forms an individual unit) and are arranged in a fixed sequential order.⁷

⁷ Chinese *yuèpǔ* ('musical score') and *qípǔ* ('diagrams for recording the sequences of moves') are often notated by Arabic numerals. See Figures 3 and 4 (*Pǔ* is a register, a record, a collection of examples for reference purposes). *Qípǔ* can also be notated by numbers represented in Chinese characters (i.e. Chinese numerals) such as 一、二、三、四、五...十 (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, ...10).

The sequential, ‘sayable,’ and *zì*-like features that typically characterise the objects of *bèi* explain why one cannot say **bèi túhuà* *背图画 [bèi-picture] or * *bèi huàpǔ* 背画谱 [bèi-painting-register] (cf. ‘to memorise a photograph’; * ‘to learn a picture by heart’, see §3.3). Components in a picture are not usually arranged in a sequence order. Nor do they have *zì*-like features. *Huàpǔ* (‘a collection of painting examples’) are for *línmó* 临摹 ‘imitation’, rather than for memorisation.⁸

The first half of the components in (a) reflects the prevalent influence of writing in Chinese culture and in the deep consciousness of the Chinese people. Components in the second half of (a) show the motivations for the act of *bèi*₁: to be able to ‘remember’ the exact content of the target material. They also show that the ‘doer’ knows that (conscious) effort is required in order to transfer the knowledge ‘kept’ in the written or external material to one’s ‘mind’, as reflected in the components ‘I know if I don’t do something for some time, afterwards, I can’t know the same; I want to do it’.

Components in (b) describe the ‘memorising’ process, which involves a mental process as well as vocalisation – ‘reading aloud’. *Bèi* is closely associated with sound. In fact, the very word *bèi* evokes ‘sound’. When one does not read aloud the material, then the ‘memorising’ act is described as *mòbèi* 默背 [silent-bèi], ‘silent memorisation’, which often takes place in one’s *xīn* (‘heart-mind’) (e.g. *zài xīnlǐ mòbèi* 在心里默背 [LOC-heart-inside-silent-bèi], ‘silently memorise in one’s heart’). *Mòbèi*, ‘silent memorisation’, shows clearly that sound association is unmarked in *bèi*. Expressions such as *bèiyǎle sāngzi* 背哑了嗓子 [bèi-mute-PFV-

⁸ Note that *línmó* 临摹, copying and imitating models of painting and calligraphy, is regarded as an indispensable method training students of calligraphy and painters in China.

throat/voice] (HDYC, p.19), ‘*bèi* to the point of losing one’s voice’, implies the ‘vocalising’ aspect of *bèi*.

At this point, it is interesting to consider (8a) again. This example suggests that, from the speaker’s point of view, the noise affected his or her concentration, or that it caused significant auditory interference in the process of *bèi*, or both.

The ‘reading aloud’ character of *bèi* may give the impression of chanting. But *bèi* itself does not have such an implication. Only when the manner of *bèi* is described as *yókǒuwúxīn* 有口无心 [have-mouth-without-heart] (‘absent-minded’), as *A Bǎo bèishū* 阿宝背书 [memorising a text like a person named A Bǎo] (‘only reading aloud without putting one’s heart into it’), or as *xiàng lǎohéshang niànjīng* 像老和尚念经 [like-old-monk-read aloud-scripture] (‘like an old monk chanting’), does the whole description take on the implication of ‘rote memorisation or learning’.⁹

‘This person thought about these *zì* [M] many times’ and ‘this person does not think about other things’ in (b) show the mental effort and commitment required in the process of memorisation. *Bèi* requires *xīnsi* 心思 [heart-thought], ‘mental effort’. This is supported by linguistic evidence. For example, while *jì* 记 (‘try to remember’, see §3.2.4) can be collocated with *sù* 速 (‘fast, rapid, quick, speedy’) and *jiǎng* 强 (‘snatch/try to beat others in speed of performance’; ‘do something in

⁹ With *yuèpǔ* (‘musical score’), one can sing along. One cannot, however, really make ‘sound’ out of *qípǔ* (‘diagrams notating chess moves’), which is without much point. But one is still able to *mòbèi qípǔ* [silent-bèi-chess-diagram] or *mòbèi dīngshì* [silent-bèi-fixed-formula], meaning memorising, in one’s heart, the sequence of the chess moves, without simultaneously playing them out on the chessboard. Here *bèi qípǔ*, to memorise diagrams notating chess moves, could be considered an extension of the meaning of *bèi*. As mentioned earlier, the *zì*-like, ‘sayable’ and sequential feature of the ‘markers’ on the *qípǔ* makes it a qualified to-be-remembered item for *bèi*.

haste, as in emergency'), *bèi* does not allow such collocations (**sùbèi* 速背; **qiǎngbèi* 强背).

'This person could see these *zì* [M] if they wanted to' in (b) indicates that the 'doer' can have visual access to the target material. It is necessary to include this component even in the case where children recite something through oral instruction only (in any case, this is not a prototypical scenario of *bèi*, but rather that of 'teaching the child to *bèi*'). Examples such as those presented in §2 show clearly that Chinese children, whether from urban or rural areas, are made aware of the print world from a very young age.

Components in (c) describe the projected result of *bèi*, described from the observer's point of view. They convey the idea that *bèi* is a common practice that is familiar to and readily recognisable by Chinese people, and show people's belief with regard to the purpose of *bèi* – to internalise what is learned. Detailed discussion of the cultural beliefs behind *bèi* as a learning practice will be taken up in §4. Briefly, these components show the positive value attached to *bèi* by Chinese people, who view it as an effective strategy for acquiring knowledge and a necessary means of internalising 'outer' knowledge and of reaching deep understanding. They are tied up closely with the notion of *shú* 熟 ('becoming familiar') and of modelling as a foundation for creativity.

Bèi itself implies one procedure. Repetition is only marked when it is followed by number classifiers, e.g. 背两遍 *bèi liǎngbiàn* [bèi-two-time.CL], meaning 'reciting twice'. However, it is quite obvious that without repeats of this procedure, often one is unable to arrive at a deeper understanding. 'Many times' in (c) describes repeats, which do not have to be undertaken consecutively, but can be spaced out.

Thus far the suggestion is that *bèi* is a meaningful activity. Only when it becomes *yìngbèi* 硬背 [hard/forced-bèi], as reflected in the set phrase *sǐjìyìngbèi* 死记硬背 [dead-jì-forced-bèi] ('mechanically memorise', ABC, p.569) can it possibly be regarded as 'rote learning', which can mean that the target item is meaninglessly presented, that it is too difficult for the 'doer' to comprehend, or that this task is simply too demanding. *Yìngbèi* [hard/forced-bèi] does suggest that Chinese people are aware of the difficulties involved in trying to memorise meaningless items or to memorise them without understanding. (*Bèi* and *jì* are often mentioned in tandem. They may be interchangeable for rhetorical reasons. But they differ in their meanings. See §3.3 for the meaning of *jì*.)

In this sense, it is perhaps not that far-fetched to illustrate *yìngbèi* 硬背 [hard/forced-bèi] with *yìngbèi diànhuà hàomǎ* 硬背电话号码 [hard/forced-bèi-telephone-number], 'to memorise a telephone number'. Although the digits of telephone numbers are usually not too many, they are after all randomly strung together (note that they are called *hàomǎ* in Chinese meaning a code for identification), and can be extremely hard to remember, even though one uses them often. Chinese people have developed some strategies for remembering telephone numbers. The most common method is to impose meaning by matching numbers to homophones so as to make up a meaningful story since the Chinese language is replete with homophones. (For example, a taxi company in Shanghai once comes up with 2580000, which, translated into the native Shanghainese dialect Wú, could mean 'Let me dial 4 zeros'.) A second commonly used method is to work out a mathematic relationship between neighbouring numbers. If neither method works, one resorts to *yìngbèi* [hard/forced-bèi] – committing oneself to memorising the sequence of the numbers by reading aloud.

Any culturally encouraged educational practice carries with it an implicit, positive value upheld by its people (e.g. Wierzbicka, 2004b). Component (d) reflects that in relation to *bèi*. It seems that reading aloud helps the ‘agent’ remember the target material. *Bèi* is like a loop, appearing to fulfil double functions – *bèi* itself is a goal, but it is simultaneously a developed mnemonic strategy or a modality to fulfil this goal. The ‘reading-aloud’ trademark of *bèi* seems to be a key link between *bèi*₁ and *bèi*₂.

3.2.2 *Bèi*₂ 背₂ (‘reproduce by reciting’).

A natural outcome of *bèi*₁ (‘audible memorisation’) is *bèi*₂ – to reproduce verbatim by reciting – as reflected in the following examples (all from HDYC, p.18).

(9) 《离骚》我背不好。

Lísāo *wǒ* *bèibùhǎo*。

Lisao 1SG bei:NEG:well

‘I can’t recite *Lí Sāo* very well (i.e. I may mistake the sequence or omit some sentences).’

(10) 中学里学的诗我还能背上来。

Zhōngxuéli *xué* *de* *shī* *wǒ* *háinéng* *bèishànglái*。

middle school:inside learn LIG poem 1SG still:able to bei:up:come

‘I am still able to recite from memory some poems that I learned in the middle school.’

(11) 谈到李白的诗, 他就背了起来。

Tándào LǐBái de shī, tā jiù bèileqǐlái。

talk:to name LIG poem 3SG PART bei:PFV:rise.INC

‘When we talked about Li Bai’s poems, he started reciting them.’

However, *bèi*₁ does not have to be the only condition for *bèi*₂. Example (12) shows that the relatives thought that their two-year old niece was able to *bèi* because she *tīngshú* 听熟 [listen-ripe/familiar], not because of *bèi*₁ (cf. the prototypical scenario of *bèi* portrayed in the explication of *bèi*₁).

(12) 圆圆立即把书倒过来, 从头念到底, 一字不错。他们最初以为圆圆是听熟了背了。(Yang, 2003, p.103)

Yuányuán lìjǐ bǎ shū dàoguòlái, cóng tóu

name immediately BA book reverse:past:come from beginning

niàndào dǐ, yīzìbúcuò. Tāmen zuìchū yǐwéi shì

read aloud:to end one:word:NEG:wrong 3PL at first thought BE

tīngshúle bèile。

listen:familiar:PFV bei:PFV

‘[They read out for Yuányuán the books that I bought her,] Yuányuán immediately turned the book up-side down, and read from beginning to end without missing a word. They thought that she was reciting from memory after hearing it many times. [Later, it occurred to elder sister that Yuányuán sat across from her listening carefully, and that what she recognised were all up-side down characters].’

All of the above examples suggest that the corresponding texts are not present. It would not make sense to say the following sentence:

(13) *X一边看着书, 一边背₂给Y听。

*X yībiān kànzhe shū, yībiān bèi₂ gěi Y tīng。

X while look at:DUR book while bei₂ DAT Y listen

‘While X is looking at the book, he is reciting it for Y.’

Yet, (14) is perfectly acceptable.

(14) 看着书好好地背₁。

Kànzhe shū hǎohǎode bèi₁。

see:DUR book well.RDP.ADV bei₁

‘Look at the book, and memorise it well.’

So is (15):

(15) X背₂给Y听。

X bèi₂ gěi Y tīng。

X bei₂ DAT Y listen

‘X recited for Y.’

If *bèi* has a unified meaning, it should be acceptable in all of the above contexts.

However, it is not. *Bèi* in (14) and (15) obviously have different meanings, with

that in (14) focusing on the mental process of remembering (while the target material is present) and that in (15) on reproducing. The meaning of *bèi*₂ ('reproduce from memory') can be explained as follows:

[B] *Semantic explication for X zài bèi*₂ *shū* X在背₂书 ('X is reciting from memory some texts.')

- (a) X is saying some words in some way
- (b) like a person does when this person thinks like this:
- (c) "I have to say some words
- (d) these words are parts of something
- (e) I have to say this word after this other word
- (f) if I say like this, people can know what this thing is"
- (g) if X is saying some words in this way, someone can think like this:
- (h) "I know these *zì* [M] are parts of something
- (i) I now know what this thing is
- (j) like I can know what something is when I see some *zì* [M]"

It is noticeable that 'other people can hear these *zì*' is not included in the explication. The exclusion of such a component is deliberate. Although *bèi*₂ could be seen as a performative outcome of *bèi*₁, it is not meant for a public audience.

This makes it drastically different from 朗诵 *lǎngsòng* ('recite'), which must have such an interpretation (e.g. *shīgē lǎngsòng huì* 诗歌朗诵会, 'a poetry reading').

Generally speaking, reciting something for public listening is uncommon in Chinese culture. Christoph Harbsmeier, a leading expert in comparative studies of Ancient Chinese and Ancient Greek and Latin texts, for example, observes that the common practice of public reading or performance to a listening audience in Ancient Greece was unseen in traditional China, where, as he comments, a text was "primarily something that one would recite to oneself, study, and learn to interpret with a master" (Harbsmeier, 2001, p.896).

Apart from children or pupils, one would hardly be called upon to *bèi* in front of other people. Even for students, *bèi*₂ is only used as a means by teachers to

check if they have memorised the target material. This, from another angle, shows that $bèi_2$ should not be thought of as the goal of $bèi_1$, but rather a by-product of $bèi_1$. In this regard, an analogy may be drawn between the relationship of $bèi_1$ and $bèi_2$ and that of input and output.

3.2.3 Words on $zì$ 字

As mentioned earlier, $zì$ is not the exponent of the proposed semantic prime WORD(S) within the NSM framework, but a semantic molecule, whose meaning can be further defined (see Wierzbicka 1996, p.221; in press b). Understanding what $zì$ is, a basic unit that makes up the object of $bèi$, will further the understanding of $bèi$. In what follows, a great deal will be said about $zì$, the molecule, and an explication for it will be proposed.

In a culture like Chinese, which can be said to be, in Ong's (1982, p.1) words, "deeply affected by the use of writing", it is very difficult for people, literate or non-literate, to dissociate (spoken) words with written ones (cf. Hayes, 1985; Mair, 2001). Moreover, it is very likely that a nonalphabetic writing system may lead to different perceptions of what a 'word' is when compared to an alphabetic writing system.

It should be remembered that $zì$ _[M] refers not only to the basic writing unit – the character, but also to a basic linguistic unit, each with its own discrete meaning, and each an individual unit where sound, form and meaning converge. (There is a strong 'oneness' about $zì$. In most cases, one $zì$ stands for one grapheme, one syllable, and, one morpheme, cf. *cí*).¹⁰ The all-encompassing $zì$ in this sense is termed as $zì_2$ for the time being.

¹⁰ *Cí* ('word') 词 is a technical linguistic term, meaning 'lexeme'. It could be

However, *zì* can be used in contexts without direct or explicit visual implication, with reference only to the concept of spoken words. For example, to ask another person to speak slowly (in Chinese or in foreign languages), one would say

(16) 请一个字一个字慢慢地说。

Qǐng yíge zì yíge zì mànmande shuō.

please one:CL *zì* one:CL *zì* slowly.RDP.ADV say

‘Please speak slowly, one *zì* after another.’

Or when one speaks too fast (in Chinese or in foreign languages), the listener could say

(17) 我一个字都没听清楚/听懂。

Wǒ yíge zì dōu méi tīngqīngchǔ / tīngdǒng.

1SG one:CL *zì* all NEG listen:clearly listen:understand

‘I did not catch a word/I did not understand a word [of what he said].’

represented by a single character (i.e. monosyllabic) or by a string of characters (i.e. polysyllabic). When used in the sense of ‘lexeme’, *cí* functions as a bound morpheme (in contrast to *zì* which is a free morpheme), and the usage was first adopted at the beginning of last century (see e.g. Pan, Yip, and Yang, 1993, p.100). When used as a free morpheme, *cí* stands for a classic literary genre that is set to music, comparable to ‘lyrics’. Although scholars of Chinese morphology generally regard *cí* as the equivalent of the ‘syntactic word’, they are keenly aware that its use is confined to linguistic analysis (see e.g. Packard, ed., 1998). See Chappell, to appear, where she discusses *zì* and *cí* in terms of the phonological and grammatical status of the words in Mandarin.

The fact that both (16) and (17) can be uttered with reference to a foreign language shows that *zì* holds a very strong psychological reality for the Chinese people, who readily extend its notion to languages of a very different nature.

Another example is drawn from a recent conversation I had with a Chinese friend. When talking about his one-year old daughter's linguistic performance, he said:

(18) 她现在能说单个的字。

<i>Tā</i>	<i>xiànzài</i>	<i>néng</i>	<i>shuō</i>	<i>dānge</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>zì</i> 。
3SG	now	can	speak	single:CL	LIG	<i>zì</i>

'She now can say single words.'

Expressions such as *tǔzì* 吐字 [utter-zì] ('pronounce words correctly or in the traditional way; articulate; pronounce'), and set phrases, such as *tǔzìqīngchǔ* 吐字清楚 [utter-zì-clearly] ('enunciate clearly') for describing clear pronunciation and *zìzhèngqiāngyuán* 字正腔圆 [zì-standard-tone-round] ('sing/speak with clear and rich tone') for describing a theatrical verbal performance, all point to the 'spoken *zì*' (glosses are all from ABC, p.615).

The last two examples are from a Chinese Yahoo search [<http://www.yahoo.com.cn>], which brought up more than ten million examples of 'saying *zì*'.

(19) 问他现在最大的感受是什么，他只说了一个字：‘累’。

Wèn tā xiànzài zuìdà de gǎnshòu shì shěnmē, tā zhǐ
ask 3SG now biggest LIG feeling be what 3SG only

shuōle yíge zì: 'lèi'.

say:PFV one:CL zì tired

‘When asked what he felt most, he said only one word “tired”.’ [An interview with a member of the Chinese National football team]

(20) “你怎么就说一个字儿哪？”老大说：“对呀，别看他这一个字，能管着我们十五个字。”

“Nǐ zěnmē jiù shuō yíge zì na?” Lǎodà shuō:

2SG how PART say one:CL zì PART name say

“duìya, bié kàn tā zhè yíge zì, néng guǎnzhe

yes:PART NEG see 3SG this one:CL zì, can take care of

wǒmen shíwǔge zì.”

1SG:PL fifteen:CL zì

“How come you only said one word?” Lǎodà said: “yes, don’t overlook this one word. It amounts to fifteen words [that we could say].” [from a transcript of a Chinese comedy duo]

Chappell (to appear) points out that the emphasis of ‘spoken zì’ is placed on the act of ‘articulation’ rather than on the meaning of the zì. The examples presented here support her observation.

Although it is difficult for Chinese, even non-literate Chinese, to imagine their world without the presence of *zì*,¹¹ from an analytical point of view, however, this spoken sense of *zì* can be seen as being identical to that of WORD(S) – one of the sixty semantic primes identified in the NSM framework. The proposed exponent of WORD(S) is termed here as *zì*₁ (cf. Chappell, 2002). Ideally and theoretically, *zì*₂ should be and could be explained via the semantic prime *zì*₁. A preliminary explication of *zì*₂ is proposed as follows:

[C] *Semantic explication of zì*₂ (*zì* [M]) 字₂ ('character word')

- (a) a kind of thing
- (b) people can see things of this kind
- (c) when people see things of this kind, they can know something
- (d) things of this kind say some things like words (*zì*₁) say something
- (e) people can think like this about things of this kind:
- (f) “they are *fāngde* ('square [M])
- (g) they can have many small parts”
- (h) often, when people see things of this kind, they can say one thing after another
- (i) sometimes, when people see things of this kind, they don't know what words (*zì*₁) say the same thing

¹¹ *Literacy* means *shí zì* 识字 [recognise-*zì*] in Chinese. A non-literate person may refer to themselves or may be referred to by others with either of the following words: *bù shí zì* 不识字 [not-recognise-*zì*], *méi wén huà* 没文化 [without-culture], or *wén máng* 文盲 [text-blind]. The next three examples also show how the concept of Chinese writing script permeates and influences the everyday cognition of the Chinese people. First, since ‘personal name’ is termed *míng zì* 名字 in Chinese, everyone, literate or not, knows something about *zì*. Second, even non-literate people know that a pyramid, which is called *jīn zì tǎ* 金字塔 [gold-character-tower/pagoda], is something like ‘a tower in the shape of the character for ‘gold’, *jīn* 金’ (note the pyramidal shape of 人 in the character 金). Third, due to the density of homophones in the Chinese language, Chinese people often give a conventional analysis of the components of the characters for their surnames. For example, a person would say something like ‘my surname is Lǐ – *mù-zǐ-lǐ* 木子李’, meaning the character for the surname *lǐ* 李 is constituted of the characters for *mù* 木 and *zǐ* 子.

The idea behind the explication is that $zì_2$ are things (characters) that integrate visual form (b), meaning (c), and sound (d), which can be read out aloud. Components (e)-(i) give $zì_2$ its distinctiveness – a nonalphabetic, squarish writing script made-up of strokes that does not reflect the grapheme-to-phoneme correlation.¹² ‘Square’ in (f) shows the visual feature of $zì$, which has a strong psychological salience among Chinese people, because the vernacular term for characters ($zì$) is *fāngkuàizì* 方块字 [square- $zì$], meaning ‘tetragraph’.

The discussion in this section has shown that the molecule $zì$ represents the folk notion of the word in Chinese and holds a strong psychological reality for the Chinese people. In this sense, it is akin to the ‘sociolinguistic word’ that Chao Yuen Ren refers to (Chao, 1968, pp.136-137). The fact that Chinese people can speak in ‘written $zì$ ’ (with respect to either Chinese or foreign languages) further illustrates the powerful influence of a long and uninterrupted written tradition on their conception of word and language in general. $Zì$ is deeply embedded not only in the meaning of *bèi*, but also in the Chinese people’s cultural consciousness.

The prevalence and emphasis of the written element in Chinese ‘memorisation’ makes the auditory nature of *bèi* all the more intriguing. The question of why the modality of ‘sound’ has become a developed strategy for memorisation in the

¹² Interestingly, Chinese people readily extend the notion of ‘written $zì$ ’ to scripts of a very different nature. For example, an English typewriter is called *yīngwéndǎzìjī* 英文打字机 [English-written language-hit- $zì$ -machine]. And in general the established writing script of any language is called *wénzì* 文字.

In modern Chinese, *wén* 文 and $zì$ 字, when used independently, refer to ‘text/written language’ and ‘character’ respectively (except in set phrases). In Xǔ Shèn’s *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì* (*Explaining Graphs and Characters*), the first Chinese dictionary (dated 100 AD) that deals with the Chinese script and character analysis and which for the first time grouped characters according to 540 semantic categories (radicals), both *wén* and $zì$ refer to characters, with *wén* referring to non-composite characters, and $zì$ to composite characters (see Norman, 1988, pp. 67-68; Xu, 1963, Preface; cf. SWJZZ).

written Chinese tradition will be addressed in §4.1, where discussion of the features of *zì* will be further taken up.

3.2.4 *Jì* 记 ('try to remember/write down').

In order to have a better understanding of *bèi*, it is important to compare its meaning with that of *jì*, a related, and commonly used 'memorise' word in Chinese. In some contexts, such as (21), *bèi* and *jì* are used in parallel for rhetorical purposes, conveying the general idea of 'memorising'.

(21) 早上可以记记外语单词，或者背背课文。(HDYC, p.181)

Zǎoshàng kěyǐ jìjì wàiyǔ dāncí, huòzhě

morning can ji:RDP foreign language vocabulary or

bèibèi kèwén

bei:RDP lesson/text

'In the morning, one can try to memorise some foreign language vocabulary or texts.'

However, these two concepts differ in some important ways. First, in terms of the objects that they take, those for *bèi* are made up of a string of 'sayable' components, each of which forms a meaningful basic unit, which can be read aloud and understood. But this is not necessarily the case for objects of *jì*. This is why *bèi* cannot take *hànzì* ('Chinese characters') as the to-be-remembered item, yet *jì* can, as in (22). As mentioned earlier (§3.2.1), the components of a character cannot be spelt out. Further, they do not form a meaningful basic unit (see Figure 2).

(22) 中国的汉字是出了名的难学难记。不要说外国人就是中国人要记那么多

汉字也不是一件容易的事。(Ri, 2002, p.63)

Zhōngguóde hànzì shì chūlemíngde nánxué nánjì

China:LIG character be out:PFV:fame:LIG difficult:learn difficult:ji

Bùyàoshuō wàiguórén jiùshì zhōngguórén yào jì

NEG:want:say foreigner even:be Chinese want jì

nàmeduō hànzì yě bùshì yījiàn róngyìde shì。

so: many characters also NEG:be one:CL easy:LIG matter

‘It is well-known that Chinese characters are difficult to learn and remember.

Let’s not talk about foreigners. Even Chinese don’t find it easy to remember

so many characters.’

To *jì* Chinese characters means to remember their stroke order. That is, to *jìbǐshùn* 记笔顺 [*jì*-stroke-order] (cf. **bèibǐshùn* *背笔顺). This suggests that the focus of *jì* is not so much the individual component of the to-be-remembered object, but its configuration and the ‘totality’ of the target object, in other words, the way in which each constituent ‘links’ together to form a whole. As such, whether each part is meaningful or not, or whether each component can stand on its own or not, does not appear to matter for *jì*.

A corollary is that while *bèi* can be employed as a means to achieve understanding because each component of the to-be-remembered item forms a meaningful whole, *jì* falls short of this task. The second difference between *jì* and *bèi*, therefore, lies in their respective goals. If *bèi* aims at *internalisation and understanding*, the chief motivation for *jì* appears to be *to register ‘something’ as*

a whole in a certain way in the brain so as not to forget. This difference is highlighted by the resultative complement that *jì* takes, such as *jìzhù* 记住 [jì-stay] ('remember') (cf. **bèzhù* *背住 [bèi-stay]) and *jìbùzhù* 记不住 [jì-NEG-stay] ('unable to remember something') (cf. **bèibùzhù* *背不住 [bèi-NEG-stay]). *Jì* can also take locative noun phrases such as *jìzài nǎozilǐ* 记在脑子里 [jì-LOC-brain-inside] ('to remember something inside one's brain') and *jìzàixīnlǐ* 记在心里 [jì-LOC-heart-inside] ('to remember in one's heart-mind'), which implies the imagined locus of mental 'storage' for the Chinese people. (Neither **bèizài nǎozilǐ* *背在脑子里 [bèi-LOC-brain-inside], nor **bèizài xīnlǐ* *背在心里 [bèi-LOC-brain-inside] is acceptable.)

The definition of *jì* offered by XHC is suggestive: to *jì* something is akin to 'imprinting' something in one's brain. In other words, *jì* means something like 'to take a mental picture':

(23) 把印象保持在脑子里。(XHC, p.596)

Bǎ yìnxiàng bǎochí zài nǎozili.

BA impression retain/keep LOC brain:inside

'To retain an impression in the brain.'

The interest of *jì* in a 'big picture' seems to put some constraints on the amount of items that it can normally take. To *jì* foreign words and telephone numbers sounds perfectly natural, but when referring to long texts, *jì* does not seem to be suited for the task, possibly due to the cognitive constraints imposed by a text which may be quite lengthy. Thus, the positions of *bèi* and *jì* when they appear together in sentence (21) are not interchangeable.

ABC (268) gives the following translation for *jì*: “(1) remember; bear in mind; commit to memory; (2) write down; record”, suggesting that *jì* is polysemous. Thus, example (24) below can be ambiguous. It can mean either ‘remember this telephone number’ or ‘write down this telephone number’.

(24) 你把这个电话号码记一下/记一记。

Ní *bǎ* *zhège* *diànhuàhàomǎ* *jìyīxià/jìyījì*.

2SG BA this:CL telephone:number *jì:one:CL/jì:one:ji*

‘Remember/write down this telephone number.’

Irrespective of either interpretation for (24), whether recording something on a piece of paper or doing so in the brain, the purpose seems to be the same – in order *not to forget* the telephone number. It does not imply internalisation as would ‘*bèi* telephone number’, which, as mentioned in §3.2.1, is not a natural expression. The fact that an external mechanism, such as ‘writing down’, can be used instead of ‘memorising’ illustrates further that ‘understanding and internalisation’ are not the purpose of *jì*.

Note that in (24), *jìyīxià* or *jìyījì* encodes the ‘delimitative aspect’, meaning ‘doing an action a little bit or for a short period of time’, and that these expressions commonly appear in requests (Li and Thompson, 1981, pp.232-236). However, it is unusual that the delimitative aspect should apply to *bèi*, perhaps because of the naturally ‘heavier’ cognitive load expected of the objects of *bèi*. It is unlikely that a person would *bèi* (especially *bèi₁*) something for ‘a little bit’ or ‘for a short period of time’. *Bèi* requires a lot more concentration and a longer duration of time

(see [b]-[c] in the explication of *bèi*, and earlier discussion of **sùbèi* [fast-*bèi*] vs. *sùjì* [fast-*jì*] in relation to [b]).

Since the aim of *jì* is to ‘take a mental picture of something’, its objects do not have to be restricted to texts or what is written, to the extent that the object of *bèi* does. They can be a matter or an event, or even something abstract, as in (25) & (26). This marks the third crucial difference between *bèi* and *jì*.

(25) 我的脑子里可记不下那么多事。(HDYC, p. 181)

Wǒde nǎozilǐ kě jìbùxià nàmeduō shì。

ISG:LIG brain: inside PART ji:NEG:down that much matter

‘I can’t remember so many things.’

(26) 首先要记如何使用, 然后再记如何维修。(HDYC, p.181)

Shǒuxiān yào jì rúhé shǐyòng, ránhòu zài jì rúhé wéixiū。

first need ji how use then again ji how maintain

‘First, remember how to use it, then remember how to repair it.’

Jì in fact constitutes the core of the general-level ‘memory’-vocabulary in Chinese.

‘Memory’ words such as *jìyì* 记忆 [remember-recollect] (‘memory’), *jìyìlì* 记忆力

[remember-recollect-capacity] (‘memory’), *jìxìng* 记性 [remember-quality]

(‘memory’), *jìdé* 记得 (‘still can remember’), *bùjìdé* 不记得 [NEG-remember]

(‘cannot remember’), and *jìbùqǐlái* 记不起来 [remember-NEG-rise.INC] (‘cannot

recall’) are all built around the word *jì*.

The fourth difference between *jì* and *bèi* lies in the suggestion of ‘sound’. *Jì* does not have such an implication. The above examples also show that the object

of *jì* need not be capable of being vocalised either. Clearly, this difference is related to the other three. A tentative explication for the meaning of *jì* ('memorise/try to remember/bear in mind') in the sense of the mental process of 'remember' is proposed as follows:

[D] *Semantic explication for X jì le yìxiē dāncí* X记了一些单词 ('X "memorised" some foreign words.')

- (a) X thought something like this about something:
- (b) "I now know that it is like this
- (c) if I don't think about it for some time now, afterwards, maybe I will not know that it is like this anymore
- (d) I don't want this to happen
- (e) because of this, I want to think about this something now"
- (f) because of this, X thought about this something for some time
- (g) after this, because of this, X could know the same

The meaning of *jì* is explicated in the general syntactic framework of the third person and the past perfective. Unlike *bèi*, which is more readily preceded by the progressive marker *-zài*, the perfective aspect marker *-le* is the preferred choice for *jì*, in its sense of 'memorise/try to remember'. When *jì* appears in a progressive construction, the natural interpretation would appear to be 'to write down'. This makes sense when we consider that, with regard to the action of a third person, 'reading aloud' and 'writing down', compared with invisible 'mental activity', can be easily observed.

'Like this' in (b) shows that the emphasis of *jì* is the 'general picture' of the target item. Components (c)-(d) describe the motivation of *jì* – in order not to forget. Component (e) shows the volition on the part of the 'doer'. Component (f) describes the mental process. Component (g) shows the result of *jì*.

It seems that *jì* does not preclude using external aids simultaneously. Various external strategies for *jì* can be employed. The most common one is perhaps by

writing down. However, since the action of ‘writing down’ is not always present in the process of *jì* – in its sense of ‘memorise/try to remember’, no mention is made of such an act in the above explication, which attempts to capture the essential meaning components.

It seems that there are some parallels that can be drawn between the mental act of *jì* (*jì*₁) and the act of ‘writing down/record’ (*jì*₂). If *jì*₁ can be likened to making a mental mark, an impression on the brain, ‘writing down’ (*jì*₂) can be seen as an external aid to memory. (If the ‘thought’ elements in components (c), (e), and (f) of the explication are replaced by ‘doing something with one’s *shǒu* (‘hands’)_[M]’, then the explication could be interpreted as *jì*₂.)

It is difficult to say which of the two senses – ‘to try to remember’ or ‘to write down’ – is more basic in the minds of the Chinese people. Given the pervasive influence of writing on Chinese people’s everyday life, the meaning of *jì*₁ is not thought of as being independent of written means. However, viewed from the perspective of the development of writing, the meaning relation embodied in *jì* is suggestive and could shed some light on the earlier views of the Chinese people regarding the use and function of writing and written texts, and is worthy of further in-depth investigation.¹³

¹³ An extensive discussion on this topic, although interesting and important, would lead us too far away from the main focus of this chapter. However, a few things might be considered.

It is a widely shared view among students of language that written language is secondary to speech, and is primarily for recording speech or for transcribing oral language (e.g. Bloomfield, 1933, p.31). This view can be traced back to the ancient Greek philosophers, and could be said to have been based upon experience from alphabetic scripts. For example, according to Aristotle, “spoken words are the symbols of mental experience and written words are the symbols of spoken words” (*De Interpretatione*, 1, 16a 3, quoted in Derrida, 1976, p.11). The question is whether a nonalphabetic writing system, such as that of Chinese, fosters such a similar view of the relationship between the spoken and written language. Surely, the development of a phonetic system is crucial for any full-fledged writing system

3.3 Words of memorisation in English

Obviously, both *bèi* and *jì* are different from memorisation concepts in English. Explicating English 'memorisation' words can help to see where the differences lie. In this section, the meanings of *memorise* and *learn by heart* will be discussed because they both focus on the 'remembering' process, and both suggest that the objects for 'remembering' are made up of components. (*Commit something to memory* is not included in the discussion because it is rarely used in everyday English. The Cobuild Bank of English, for instance, records few examples.) However, there are some key differences between these two English concepts. Firstly, *memorise* aims to remember the details of the specific parts of the to-be-remembered 'thing', whereas *learn by heart* refers to the 'thing' (often made up of words) as a whole. Secondly, *memorise* stresses the mental ability to reproduce the same (i.e. 'know the same'), whereas *learn by heart* has strong suggestions of performance. That is, the 'learner' actually speaks aloud the memorised material (i.e. 'say the same'). Thirdly, *learn something by heart* involves repeating it to oneself over and over again, which is not necessarily the case for *memorise*. The meaning of *memorise* will be analysed first.

Memorise is not frequently used in English. The Cobuild Bank of English does not contain many examples. The following sentences are taken from two-dozen examples appearing in the UK and US spoken corpora:

(see note 4). Nonetheless, the case of Chinese *jì*, and in general, a largely meaning-based script, may indicate that, in the view of Chinese people, the function of writing and the purpose of text may be intrinsically linked with its mnemonic function of '(public) recording' (*jì*₂). In this context, it is important to note that *jì* also represents an important genre in Chinese literature and historiography, which can be traced back to Sima Qian's (145-87? B.C.) *Shǐ Jì* 《史记》 (*Records of the Grand Historian*).

- (27) a. each had a sheet page of photographs for the week to memorise.
 b. That's what he'd said, and he made her memorise it.
 c. memorise the address, then destroy the paper
 d. You do not need to memorise the words. You can easily read them.
 e. I am afraid you will have to try to memorize the progressive script as completely as you can
 g. The Parts Experiments indicated that the best way to memorise a passage is to keep reciting it in its entirety.

To *memorise* is to be able to have the mental ability to reproduce the specific individual components of the to-be-remembered item in exactly the same way, and to do so only through a mental process that does not rely on external aids such as writing down or 'reading aloud'. For instance, 'to memorise the layout of a car' is to remember all of its parts exactly as they are. The to-be-remembered thing is not restricted to what is said and written (see e.g. [27a]). In this sense, *memorise* may be closer to the Chinese *jì* than to *bèi*₁. But the emphasis on specific parts that can be identified and itemised actually aligns it with *bèi*₁. The meaning of *memorise* can be explicated as follows:

[E] *Semantic explication for X memorised something.*

- (a) X thought like this about something:
 (b) "this thing has many parts
 (c) I now know what these parts are
 (d) if I don't think about all these parts for some time now
 (e) afterwards, I will not know them anymore
 (f) I want to know what these parts are afterwards
 (g) because of this, I have to think about all the parts of this something for some time"
 (h) after this, because of this, this person know the same

In contrast, *learn by heart* is mostly to do with things that can be heard. Typical items that satisfy this criterion are words and music, as reflected in the only examples appearing in the US USbooks and Ukbooks sections of the Cobuild corpus [see (25)]. In this ‘verbal’ as well as ‘performative’ aspect, *learn by heart* seems to be closer to *bèi₁* than to *jì*. What is particularly interesting about *learn by heart* is the receptive channel of the target information. It has strong suggestions of ‘hear’ rather than ‘see’.

- (28) a. Before cutting her first teeth she managed to learn by heart the Lord’s Prayer in three languages
- b. Le Père Durand would assign the class a poem to learn by heart

[F] *Semantic explication for X learned something by heart.*

- (a) at one time, X heard something
- (b) when X heard it, X thought like this about this something:
- (c) “this thing has many parts
- (d) I now know what all these parts are
- (e) I can now say what all these parts are
- (f) because now I can hear all these parts if I want to
- (g) it will be good if I know the same when I do not hear all these parts
- (h) if I don’t think the same thing many times now, afterwards, when I can’t hear all these parts, I will not know the same”
- (i) because of this, this person thought about the same thing many times
- (j) because of this, after this, this person could know the same thing when this person does not hear this something
- (k) because of this, after this, this person could say the same thing when this person does not hear this something

Something that can be heard naturally has a temporal sequence. All the

components combined suggest that the target material is sequentially arranged.

Components (g)-(h) indicate that *learn by heart* is a desirable act (cf. [g] ‘I have to think about all these parts’ in the explication for *memorise*). Component (i)

indicates that *learn by heart* involves repetition. Phrases in English that contain ‘by heart’ may suggest a certain degree of ‘internalisation’.

It seems that *learn by heart*, unlike *memorise*, can involve repeating something out loud to oneself. In other words, ‘reading-aloud’ could be a preferred modality for *learn by heart*. However, unlike *bèi* where ‘reading-aloud’ is its signature feature, *learn by heart* does not have to *always* employ ‘vocalisation’ as a memorisation strategy.

4. Why is *bèi* an emphasised learning practice?

Setting aside the differences between the Chinese and English memorisation words for a moment, the existence of these words in both languages points to a common presupposition that declarative knowledge does not register automatically or effortlessly in people’s minds. It seems that people generally regard forgetting as a basic mental tendency of human beings.¹⁴ In order to acquire knowledge, people need to make a deliberate mental effort. The Chinese concepts discussed in this paper, in particular *bèi*, suggest the strategies that have been developed by the Chinese people in order to register and retain knowledge.

Given the different attitudes towards the practice of memorisation in Chinese and modern Anglo cultures, and in their respective education realms, it is natural and important to ask why this is the case: why is ‘memorisation’ in general emphasised in Chinese culture, but not in modern Anglo culture? And in particular, why does the ‘sound’ modality play such an important role in the formation of Chinese ‘semantic memory’?

¹⁴ Rose (2003) points out that, viewed from the perspective of human evolution, ‘forgetting’ has a survival value.

Questions like these are especially worth asking when we consider that 'auditory memorisation' bears some resemblance to practices in preliterate cultures, where the oral mode of knowledge transmission prevails (see e.g. Rubin, 1995). Yet China has a long written and print history. Answers to these questions will shed light on a number of issues, including the views and practices of knowledge transmission in both cultures. This section will examine some of the possible contributing factors from linguistic, cultural and historical perspectives in both the Chinese and the modern Anglo contexts.

But before undertaking a close examination, it is useful to distinguish two types of to-be-remembered items: texts (*viz.* things that are made up of *zì*) and formulas (*viz.* things that are like *zì*, including foreign words). It is perhaps not difficult to understand why memorising formulas is insisted upon. Formulas are for practical use and often form the basis of more complex knowledge structures. Once learned and remembered, they become lasting 'skills' that could be performed with automacity. Thus they could participate in the performance of a larger knowledge system with great efficiency (cf. the component 'when this person has to do something with this thing, this person does not have to think about it' in the explication of *bèi*). But with regard to memorising texts, its motivations may not appear so obvious to cultural outsiders. The following discussion is concerned mainly with texts.

4.1 The Chinese context

4.1.1 'Sound' and Chinese language learning.

Chinese 'verbal' learning evokes and is closely associated with sound. In an illuminating article entitled *Reading aloud in learning Chinese*, we find the following observation:

Reading aloud has always been a traditional and effective method in Chinese children's learning of Chinese, and it is now still often applied in Chinese classrooms in primary and second schools. (Wang, 1998, p.85)

Anyone who has firsthand experience of Chinese schools cannot fail to notice the scene of pupils reading aloud or reciting texts in unison. As Wang (1998) says, it is a "time-honoured practice" (p.85). In her study of the history of reading from the period 1000-1800 AD in China, Yu (2003) draws upon a range of source materials, including family instructions, literati autobiographical writings, and foreigner travel diaries, to explore the pedagogical practices of that period. Her conclusion was that the loud chanting of texts and the pressure to recite them were "two of the most prominent themes that ran through both the descriptive and prescriptive discourses" and that 'reciting (*bei*)' was introduced as one of the four basic reading skills (Yu, 2003, p.41).

The importance of 'sound' in Chinese learning practice is reflected in the linguistic evidence. *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Fēnlèi Cídiǎn* 《现代汉语分类词典》 (*A Classifying Dictionary of Modern Chinese*, hereafter XHFC), for example, has the distinct categories of *sòngdú* 诵读 ('reading aloud/reciting') and *yínyǒng* 吟咏

‘reading aloud poems’) (p.552). Under either category, there is a rich cluster of words describing ‘reading aloud texts’. Apart from *bèi* 背, we find *dú* 读 (‘to read; peruse; study’) or *lǎngdú* 朗读 (‘to read aloud’), *niàn* 念 (‘to read out aloud; chant; intone; mumble’), *sòng* 诵 (‘to recite; intone’), *yín* 吟 (‘to chant; intone; sing; recite; moan; sigh’), and *yǒng* 咏 (‘to sing; chant; hum’), among others (translations are all from ZSHC). The definitions for these words include the mention of *fāchūshēngyīn* 发出声音 (‘uttering/making sound’).¹⁵

Textbooks explicitly assign *lǎngdú kèwén* 朗读课文 [read-aloud-lessons] or *niàn kèwén* 念课文 [read-aloud-lessons] as homework. It is perhaps not accidental that to study or to go to school is called *dúshū* 读书 [read-aloud-books] or *niànshū* 念书 [read-aloud-books] in colloquial Chinese (cf. *dúshū rén* 读书人 [read aloud-book-person], a ‘scholar’ or an ‘educated person’).

‘Reading aloud’ is one of the key methods in learning the Chinese language. The question is again why this should be so. It is natural that we first turn to the distinctive features of the Chinese language to look for an explanation. It seems that the practice of reading aloud could result from the following properties of the

¹⁵ In modern Chinese, *bèi* 背 (‘auditory memorisation’) is homophonous and ‘homographic’ with *bèi* 背 (‘back/against’). In classical Chinese, it is also homophonous with *bèi* 倍 (‘multiply’). *Sòng* 诵, which means ‘reading aloud/reciting/memorising’, a synonym of *bèi*, is a free morpheme in classical Chinese. However, in modern Chinese, *bèi*₂ seems to have replaced *sòng* (‘recite’), which can now function only as a bound morpheme, present in compounds such as *bèisòng* 背诵 (‘memorise by reciting’), *lǎngsòng* 朗诵 (‘reciting’), and *sòngdú* 诵读 (‘reading aloud [ancient texts]’).

Compounds such as *dúcuòle* 读错了 [read-wrong-PFV] (‘[You’ve] read it out wrongly’), vs. *xiěcuòle* 写错了 [write-wrong-PFV] (‘[You’ve] written it wrongly’), and *dúyīn* 读音 [read-sound] (‘pronunciation’) all suggest the ‘sound’ element in the meaning of *dú* 读. See Jiang (2000, pp.103-104) for how *niàn* 念, which has the meaning ‘thinking of in one’s heart’ in Archaic Chinese, takes on the meaning of ‘reading aloud’ in Medieval Buddhist texts.

Chinese language; the nonalphabetic writing script; the way Chinese texts are formed; and the disparity between the Classical written and spoken languages. First, the Chinese script. Aspects of some of its features have been mentioned in §3.2.3, where the meaning of Chinese *zì* is explicated. The following quote provides a concise description of the Chinese script in contrast to the English one:

The English alphabetic script is a systematic method for mapping print to sound with an arbitrary system for mapping print to meaning. This means a literate speaker can derive a pronunciation (i.e., one not in their lexical vocabulary) from a printed non-word (e.g. nar) using nonarbitrary print to sound mappings. ... All Chinese languages use a nonalphabetic script. A nonalphabetic script is a relatively arbitrary system for mapping orthography to phonology. All Chinese characters are composed of strokes formed into components that are written together into a square shape to form a single character. The traditional script contains over 40,000 characters although the modern reader needs to learn only the most common 3,000 characters to become literate. (Yin and Weekes, 2003).

Unlike the alphabetic writing system where, to a large extent, rules govern the mapping-out between graphemes and phonemes, the ‘sound’ of a Chinese character cannot be accurately predicted from its form, the graph.

Some explanation is needed in order for the reader to have a better idea of the phonological aspect of the Chinese script. Scholars of the Chinese script generally maintain that over 90% of the characters are *xíngshēngzì* 形声字 [shape/form-sound-zì] (‘phonograms’), i.e. characters that consist of semantic components indicating conceptual categories and sound-bearing components indicating the

pronunciation of a whole character.¹⁶ It is obvious that the nonalphabetic Chinese script does not mean that it is nonphonophoric. In fact, Chao Yuen Ren (1976, p.92) estimates that Chinese characters are 25 percent phonetic in that “a certain number of characters do, or rather did, have certain internal features corresponding to features of sounds in the syllable”. DeFrancis (1989) considers that the pronunciations are generally visible in the characters. He remarks:

[I]f one has memorized the pronunciation of the 895 phonetic elements singled out by Soothill, it is possible in 66 percent of the cases to guess the pronunciation of any given character one is likely to encounter in reading a modern text. (DeFrancis, 1989, p.111)

However, due to phonological changes and the lack of systematisation of phonetic components in history, generally speaking, the exact pronunciation of a character cannot be predicted accurately from its phonetic component, which is itself a discrete character in isolation.¹⁷ Yin’s (1991) analysis, as reported in Yin and Butterworth (1992), shows that, of all the phonetic components in Chinese, nearly 65 percent of characters do not give clear information about their pronunciation (so termed as ‘irregular characters’). Yin and Butterworth’s (1992) study of Chinese dyslexia in patients following brain damage also suggests that some patients use the whole-word approach without relying on the phonetic cue.

¹⁶ As an example, the character 花 (‘flower’), pronounced ‘huā’, is a phonogram: ‘艹’ is the signfic indicating the semantic supercategory ‘grass’, and ‘化’ huà, the phonetic [example cited from Qiu, 2000, p.13; see Qiu, 2000, Chap 8 for a detailed description of the historical development of phonograms.

¹⁷ From the point of view of character philology, phonetic elements often contribute to the meaning of the whole character (see e.g. Qiu, 2000, pp.255-257; Ye, 1997).

In the context of the present study, it is important to bear in mind two critical points. First, the most frequently used characters that are first taught in schools are mostly ‘irregular’ (see e.g. Shu and Anderson, 1999). Second, the large number of individual characters that function as a phonetic component still need to be acquired, as unequivocally pointed out by DeFrancis in the previous quote.

If becoming literate in English (or alphabetically-based languages in general) is premised on learning the (relatively) systematic and predictable relation between grapheme and phoneme, becoming literate in Chinese means learning each individual graph and its corresponding meaning(s), and mapping them to their corresponding (mostly monosyllabic) pronunciation. Added to this is the fact that some characters are polyphonic in nature. For example, 长 can be *cháng* (‘long’) or *zhǎng* (‘to grow’). Undoubtedly, it requires extra effort to learn and memorise.

Owing to the poor correlation between orthography and phonology, learners of the Chinese language have to learn to make an association between the two dissociated systems. Reading aloud can be seen as an explicit and reinforcing strategy that the Chinese people use to make such a connection and to make up for the phonological deficiency. Summarising recent research into the cognitive effect that a writing script has on literacy, Hoosain (1995) points out that meaning extraction is faster with a single character than with a single alphabetic word, while the reverse can be said with respect to pronunciation.

This intuitive, folk approach to the learning of the Chinese language appears to provide an effective strategy to tackle the Chinese reading and writing problem.

Yin and Weekes’ (2003, 2004) review of recent studies in cognitive neuropsychology with aphasic patients suggests two cognitive pathways in Chinese reading and writing to dictation – a lexical-semantic pathway and a direct

or nonsemantic one. Impairment of either pathway could lead to a reading problem. They further point out that, contrary to common belief, developmental dyslexia is prevalent among Chinese children and that core features of dyslexia may be related to phonological deficits.

The second feature of the Chinese language that could give rise to the practice of 'reading-aloud' has to do with the 'unbroken' form of Chinese texts. Unlike alphabetic writing, where white space clearly segments and marks word or phrase boundaries, Chinese written texts are basically made up of a string of characters lacking visual cues to indicate the group sense of words. Ancient texts do not have punctuation. The group sense of words and phrases, and their contextual meanings, can only be gained from reading aloud.

Thirdly, from a historical point of view, reading aloud may also help bridge the gulf between the Classical written language (*wényán*), the model of fine writing and high education, and the spoken or vernacular Sinitic language(s) (*báihuà*) (see Chen, 1999, pp.67-70; Mair, 2001; Pollard, 2000). In particular, traditional Chinese texts are highly lyrical, and regulated in their rhymes and measures. It makes intuitive sense that rhythms that are not easily discernable in a nonalphabetic script could be best appreciated and learned by reading aloud.

The many examples cited earlier in this chapter that mention the ability to *bèi* foreign languages as well as Chinese texts illustrate that reading aloud is such a deeply ingrained habit that Chinese people readily carry it out with respect to all forms of learning pertaining to 'semantic memory', including foreign languages of different scripts.

4.1.2 Hearing and the reception and internalisation of knowledge.

Presumably, if 'visual images' were considered the principal channel for receiving information and knowledge, 'sound' would not have played such an important role in Chinese learning. The emphasis on reading aloud above all points to the general view of the Chinese people that 'inward knowledge receiving' is primarily through spoken transmission, not just through visual images. This is further reflected in conventional Chinese expressions, such as *ěrshúnéngxiáng* 耳熟能详 [ear-familiar-able to-know clearly], which clearly points to the role that the sense of hearing plays in knowledge acquisition and transmission.

The role that sound plays in Chinese learning is all the more interesting if we consider that it is 'hear', not 'see', that is the primary source of knowledge reception in preliterate cultures, as convincingly demonstrated and argued by Evans and Wilkins (2000), based on empirical evidence gathered from a wide range of Australian Aboriginal languages.

But China has a long literary tradition. The Chinese learning experience, as revealed in *bèi*, further supports Evans and Wilkins' conclusion that the privilege given to the sensory modality of 'see' as a dominant source of knowledge in Western cultures is not universally tenable.¹⁸

¹⁸ This is not to say that the visual parameter is not important in the process of *bèi*, or in knowledge transmission; but rather that the sense modality of hearing plays an equally important role.

It should also be noted that research in experimental psychology has demonstrated the advantage of sound in retaining information. Nelson et al. (1974), for example, found that the sensory attributes of a word were as functionally important as its semantic attributes in its memorial representation.

4.1.3 Memorisation and understanding.

The strategy for memorisation that is considered most suitable by the Chinese learner would not have been developed unless there was, in the first instance, a need for memorisation, as reflected in the positive value attached to *bèi*. What could be the motivation for Chinese people to emphasise memorisation? The answers may be found in the Chinese view of the relationship between memorisation and understanding, of how creativity comes about, and of the purpose of learning in general. This section will look at the connections between memorisation and understanding.

In the view of the Chinese people, memorisation leads to and reinforces understanding. It is a means and a process to achieve a deeper understanding. This view has been reported in detail in recent psychological studies. For example, Marton, Alba, and Kun (1996, pp.75-80) find that their Chinese interviewees consider understanding and memorisation as “intertwined and enhancing each other”, and that most subjects “spontaneously distinguished mechanical memorisation from memorisation with understanding”. Citing a subject’s words that “in the process of repetition, ...I would have some new idea of understanding, that is to say I can understand better”, Marton Alba, and Kun conclude that “it is upon this use of memorisation to deepen understanding that the solution of the paradox of the Chinese learner rests” (1996, p.81).

Such a view is deeply rooted in the philosophy of learning expounded by earlier Chinese philosophers of the Confucian tradition. Chu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), for example, has the following to say on the topic of reading:

Generally speaking, in reading, we must first become intimately familiar with the text so that words seem to come from our own mouths. We should then continue to reflect on it so that its ideas seem to come from our own minds. Only then can there be real understanding. Still, once our intimate reading of it and careful reflection on it have led to a clear understanding of it, we must continue to question. Then there might be additional progress. If we cease questions, in the end there'll be no additional progress. (Chu, 1990, p.135)¹⁹

Chu continues to explain that

Learning is reciting. If we recite it then think it over, think it over then recite it, naturally it'll become meaningful to us. If we recite it but don't think it over, we still won't appreciate its meaning. If we think it over but don't recite it, even though we might understand it, our understanding will be precarious. (Chu, 1990, p.138)²⁰

4.1.4 'Familiarity' and repetition.

Elsewhere, Chu Xi also evokes the notion of 'intimate familiarity' (*shú*). Getting familiar with the text suggests duration of time, and naturally entails 'repetition'.²¹

Each time a text is repeated, the learner could be a step further towards understanding. With lengthy texts, Chinese students are asked to *shúdú* 熟读

¹⁹ 大抵观书先须熟读，使其言皆若出于吾之口，继以精思，使其意皆出于吾之心，然后可以有得尔。然熟读精思，既晓得后又须疑不止。如此庶几有进，若以为止如此矣，则终不复有进也。《朱子语类·卷十·学四·读书法上》

²⁰ 学便是读。读了又思，思了又读，自然有意。若读而不思又不知其意味。思而不读纵使晓得终是臬_臬不安。《朱子语类·卷十·学四·读书法上》

²¹ See Chapter 2 for detailed discussion of the notion of *shú* in relation to *shúrén* [cooked-person] ('a person one knows').

[ripe/familiar-read aloud] texts, as required by school textbooks. The quotes by Chu Xi cited in §4.1.3 show clearly that it is not supposed to be mechanical repetition, but rather accompanied by reflective thinking, which is another focal point of the 'normative' attitudes towards learning upheld by Chinese thinkers. Meaning and significance of a text cannot be fully grasped and appreciated unless one thinks it over and is frequently 'engaged with' it, as captured by the saying *dúshūbǎibiàn, qíyìzìxiàn* 读书百遍, 其意自见 [read-book-hundred-times, its-meaning-self-appear] ('One will naturally come to understand its meaning if one reads the book over and over again'). In this respect, both the cult of the literary tradition of the Chinese people (as illustrated by Example 2 in §2, see also Erbaugh, 1990) and the implicit nature of the Chinese literary and philosophical texts play a role. To quote Mair:

Many of the most revered texts in the canon of classical literature consist almost entirely of allusions and quotations from earlier texts. Far from being looked down upon as imitative or uncreative, this sort of intentional (but usually not overt) referencing was held to be the mark of excellence and erudition.

Conversely, the reader who was incapable of recognizing all the allusions and quotations in such works was considered insufficiently learned. LS [Literary Sinitic] thus put a double premium on memorisation: not only did the large number of discrete units of the script (i.e., the thousands of characters) have to be recalled, but a huge corpus of classical literature had to be controlled. Since neither the script nor the classical corpus was based directly on the native spoken languages of those who strove to command them, they required heroic

feats of rote memorisation and prodigious powers of association. (Mair, 2001, p.28).

Ong (1982) considers 'formulaic style' a defining feature of oral cultures (see also Rubin, 1995). 'Formulaic style' is important to Chinese writing too. Reading aloud passages over and over is seen as an 'inroad' of getting familiar with texts and formulaic expressions and styles, which helps master the underlying patterns and structures, and subsequently, leads to one's own creative use. This is well captured by the Chinese saying *shú néng shēng qiǎo* 熟能生巧 [familiarity-can-generate-genius] ('creativity comes from familiarity').

4.1.5 'Modelling', memorisation, and creativity.

Creativity, in Chinese people's eyes, comes from a solid foundation and modelling. Popular sayings such as *Dúshū pò wànjuàn, xiàbǐ rú yǒushén* 读书破万卷, 下笔入有神 [read-books-break through-ten thousand-scroll, put-brush-as if-have-spirit] ('Well read leads to creative writing') reflect such a cultural viewpoint. As put succinctly by Han in his study of Chinese historiography,

Chinese philosophy of education held that wide learning was the foundation of any creative work. One must study masterpieces of literature, art, calligraphy, and music until they were familiar, understood, and digested before any creative work could be done in these fields. (Han, 1955, pp.30-31)

Han was also quick to point out the downside of this practice by saying that "This was good, but there was the inherent danger of deadening patterns. Rigid forms

and adherence to patronized schools of thought in the interpretation of the Classics were required of the candidates for civil service. They also must remember all the literary taboos” (ibid.). Such a problem was raised by the same Chu Xi, quoted above, who centuries ago differentiated reciting for ‘examination learning’ (learning for the sake of another) and ‘true learning’ (learning for oneself) (Chu, 1990). The pyramid examination system, which is still in place today, is surely responsible in part for pushing ‘mechanical memorisation’. However, this does not undermine the value and meaning attached to *bèi* by Chinese people as an effective learning procedure.

4.1.6 Memorisation and the literary tradition.

As we have already seen throughout the chapter, the discussion of *bèi* is inseparable from a consideration of Chinese literary tradition. Recent findings in archaeology add further evidence to the general belief that *bèi*, reciting, and memorisation have played an important role in preserving, transmitting, and standardising ancient canons. As Ames and Hall report,

While there seems to be certain fluidity to the transmission of these early documents, the recent archaeological finds are uncovering increasingly early versions of relatively standardized texts, suggesting that ‘canonization’ and rote memorization had some force in consolidating the documents and preserving their integrity. (Ames and Hall, 2001, p.2)

The incredibly long tradition in China of using *bèi* to preserve cultural heritage still persists today, as demonstrated throughout this chapter.

The following quote provides a nice summary of how the folk Chinese practice and strategies of learning are brought into play to ensure that the literary tradition continues. Most interestingly, this quote shows how the different sense modalities are 'summed up' in establishing a connection between the written and spoken Chinese worlds.

China has an abundant literary heritage, and literary appreciation is an important component of learning Chinese. Reading aloud is beneficial to this part of learning as well. To achieve this purpose, learners have to read aloud, using appropriate facial expressions to show the theme, feelings, and images of the material as well as they can. This kind of reading involves the senses of sight and hearing and the skill of speaking at the same time; it sets up a connection between the eye and the ear, the mouth and the brain, which helps to internalise the writing system and contributes to the full appreciation of the material. (Wang, 1998, p.87)

4.2 Amidst the modern Anglo context

Despite the fact that an increasing body of research has shown that memorisation and repetition contribute to understanding (see e.g. Nelson, 1977; Kemper, 1996; Marton, Alba, and Kun, 1996; Bo and Watkins, 2000), they are not encouraged educational practices in modern Anglo societies such as Australia. This, however, has not always been the case. Before the widespread use of printing, and even before the mid-20th century, memorisation was widely practiced and modelling was valued (Nelson and Fivush, 2000).²²

²² Hilary Chappell (p.c) pointed out to me that, while learning things off by heart

What could be the possible cultural forces that made modern Anglo culture move away from memorisation as an education practice?

It seems that the cultural ethos of 'thinking for oneself' combined with the cultural value of 'individuality' could be the root cause for not favouring the idea of being able to reproduce something that is 'the same', which is central to the meaning of memorisation-related concepts. The following comment made by Dorothy Lee, though relating to a different area of learning, is particularly revealing and driving home the different values in Chinese and Anglo cultures that respectively encourage and discourage such modelling and repetition:

In my study...I have found originality valued and exercised where learning was acquired by imitation and repetition with hard discipline and a multitude of regulations. In China, for instance, the learning of painting came after the mastery of calligraphy, which was taught through prolonged tracing and copying, under conditions of rigorous discipline. The Tao of painting itself includes an immense number of minutely detailed regulations. All this would seem to spell a devaluation of the free spirit, of individuality. Yet this is exactly what was valued. (Lee, 1976, p.52)

It seems that once the widespread use of printing freed people from committing material to memory in learning, the value of 'thinking for oneself' led to two intertwined 'education phenomena' in Anglo societies. One was the proliferation of external memory devices, or in Donald's (1990) words "this shift is from

has definitely fallen into disrepute in Anglo-Australian schools (being thought of as too mechanical and lacking in creativity), the generations that grew up before the mid-20th century were expected to learn many items off by heart, including poems, quotations, speeches and songs (for public performance).

internal to external memory storage devices” (p.273), which she regards as the third cognitive transition of the human mind in history. The other phenomenon has to do with the importance attached to knowing *how to use* the external storage/memory system (see Donald, 1990). Knowledge transmission thus relies heavily on external resources and devices (such as calculators and computers).

By contrast, according to Liu and Zheng (1990, pp.70-21), widely read books following the invention of printing in China were those for learning how to write characters, for divination, and calendars. *Bèi* suggests that orality remains a key mode of knowledge and cultural transmission. For Chinese people, knowledge that is not internalised through reading aloud and hearing will not become ‘my’ knowledge. Such internalised ‘inside’ knowledge is considered a valuable personal attribute. Because of this, the cultivation of memory remains an important cultural practice. This could also be understood in the Confucian idea of learning as self-cultivation (see e.g. Tu, 1985b; Lee, 1996; Li, 2003). In this light, external materials seem to exist merely as a model or ‘reminder’, rather than as the locus of learning for the Chinese people. This is in keeping with the brief remarks made earlier on (section 3.3) regarding the function of texts in Chinese culture in relation to the discussion on *jì* (‘write down/try to remember’). What has been revealed in the foregoing discussion is in fact different views, attitudes and approaches towards learning and towards some fundamental assumptions about learning. Culture encourages different styles of learning and remembering.

5. Theoretical and methodological implications

This chapter has attempted to address, from a linguistic perspective, the paradoxical question raised by Watkins and Biggs (eds., 1996) – how can Chinese learners be so successful academically when their teaching and learning seem to be so oriented to rote memorisation?

In fulfilling this objective, this chapter has undertaken a detailed semantic analysis of the word *bèi* ('auditory memorisation'), which refers to a highly valued educational practice in Chinese culture, and has compared its meaning with *jì* ('try to remember'), a related concept. Relying on linguistic evidence and tests, the semantic analysis has revealed that *bèi* is polysemous, with *bèi*₁ focusing on the mental process of 'memorising', and *bèi*₂ on its outcome. A schematic semantic formula has shown that *bèi*₁ prototypically relates to verbal learning, as a means for achieving internalisation and deep understanding. This is made possible by reading aloud, committed mental effort and repetition. All these key semantic components of *bèi*₁ are lacking in *jì*, which is akin to 'taking a mental picture', and takes objects that are not restricted to 'texts'. Perhaps the most interesting contrast between *bèi*₁ and *jì* in the context of this study is their respective associated 'memorisation' strategies – 'vocalisation' versus 'writing down'. With regard to the meaning of *bèi*₂ ('reproducing from memory/reciting'), the semantic analysis has also shown very clearly that its practice goal is typically not for public performance.

A close examination of the meaning of *bèi* has allowed this study to further explore the underlying values and beliefs behind *bèi*, in particular the reasons that can explain its reading aloud feature, given that China has a long written and print history. It has shown that a range of factors – the nature of the Chinese script, the

importance attached to the sense modality of 'hearing' as a channel for knowledge transmission, the cultural attitudes and beliefs about the relation between memorisation and understanding, the notion of 'familiarity', as well as the literary tradition – all play a role in shaping the concept and the practice of *bèi*.

The study has several theoretical implications. Firstly, it appears that the written script has profound cognitive consequences on learning strategies. Secondly, the study lends support to the emerging evidence from research relating to educational psychology that there are different successful approaches towards learning – namely 'memorising with understanding' (e.g. Kemper, 1996; Marton, Alba, and Kun., 1996). Thirdly, culture plays an important role in encouraging different styles of learning, and that the style of education is bound up with the values of a society.

By attending to a key cultural and educational concept from an insider's perspective, with the aid of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, this study has not only aligned itself with the spirit of the learner-centred approach, as advocated by the editors of the book *The Chinese Learner*, but also made possible a culture-internal view that is simultaneously accessible to non-Chinese researchers.

Readers may wonder what lies behind and beyond the English word *rote memorisation* which is used in interview transcriptions with Chinese informants and which is used throughout Briggs and Watkins' book. It is understandable that using Chinese indigenous concepts can be equally puzzling for non-Chinese researchers. This dilemma is always present in research and discussion involving cross-cultural subjects, interpretation and analysis. It seems that even scholars who demonstrate considerable cultural sensitivity cannot help but be constrained by the cultural bias contained within any language, including English. For example, in

their very sensitive discussion of learning traditions in Anglo-Australian and Asian societies and their implications for international students studying in Australia, Ballard and Clanchy (1997, Chap 2) point out that, while the 'reproductive approach', which entails 'memorisation and imitation', a dominant learning strategy in many Asian societies aiming at 'conserving knowledge', is also employed in Anglo-Australian society, it is mainly restricted to primary school education. The emphasis of Australian education (particularly in later years) is on the 'analytical' and 'speculative' approach, with the goal of 'extending knowledge' in order to foster originality, creativity and an 'independent and critical style of thinking'. Unsurprising then, words like 'memorisation' and 'imitation' in English do not inspire positive associations. On the contrary, words such as 'independent' are inherently positive. The unintentional bias embedded in the descriptive language highlights the need for a culturally independent metalanguage that can reveal a culture-internal view.

Thus, from a methodological point of view, the Natural Semantic Metalanguage used in formulating the meaning of the key concepts in question provides a possible methodological resource in portraying meaning. At the same time, meanings represented in the metalanguage facilitate intra and inter-linguistic comparison, as also demonstrated in this chapter. Jerome Bruner writes:

For you cannot understand mental activity unless you take into account the cultural setting and its resources, the very things that give mind its shape and scope. Learning, remembering, talking, imagining: all of them are made possible by participating in a culture. (Bruner, 1996, pp. x-xi)

This chapter has shown how it can be possible from a linguistic perspective to 'participate' in another culture, and how this can lead to revelations of the underlying views and beliefs about learning and education propagated in that culture.

STROKE-ORDER CHART

LESSON 1

啊	丨	凵	口	㇀	㇁	㇂	㇃	㇄	㇅	啊			10
													11
白	丿	丨	𠃍	白	白								5
都	一	十	土	𠃍	耂	耂	耂	耂	耂	都	都		10
													12
高	丨	一	十	𠃍	𠃍	𠃍	高	高	高	高			10
好	㇀	女	女	㇁	㇂	好							6
很	丿	彳	彳	彳	彳	很	很	很					9
見	丨	目	目	目	目	見							7
姐	㇀	女	女	姐	姐	姐	姐	姐					8
嗎	丨	凵	口	㇀	㇁	㇂	嗎	嗎	嗎	嗎	嗎		12
													13
們	丿	丨	丨	們	們	們	們	們	們	們			10
呢	丨	凵	口	㇀	㇁	呢	呢						8
你	丿	丨	丨	你	你	你							7
您	丿	丨	丨	你	你	你	你	您	您	您			11
生	丿	一	一	生	生								5

Figure 2 Illustration of character stroke order
(Source: DeFrances, 1964, p.393)



歌唱 → 小白船

目标 ◆学习这首歌,试着边唱边用乐器演奏。

提示 ◆你会随这首乐曲跳舞吗? 试试看!

小白船

佚名 词曲

1=D 3/4

5—6 6 | 5—3 | 5 3 2 1 | 5— — | 6—1 | 2—5 | 3— — | 3— — |
蓝 蓝 的 天 空 银 河 里 , 有 只 小 白 船 。

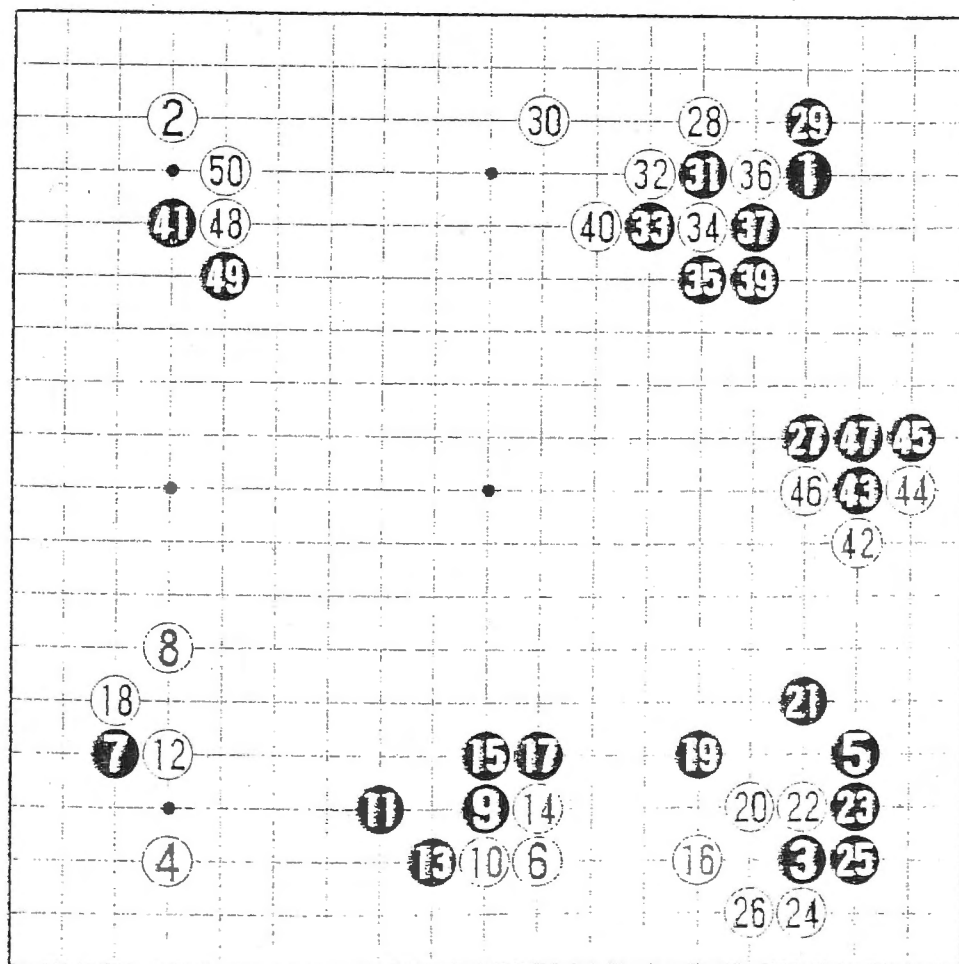
5—6 | 5—3 | 5 3 2 1 | 5— — | 6—1 | 5—2 | 1— — | 1— — |
船 上 有 棵 桂 花 树 , 白 兔 在 游 玩 。

3—3 | 3—2 | 3—6 | 5— — | 3—2 | 3—6 | 5— — | 5— — |
没 有 莲 儿 没 有 桨 , 帆 儿 也 不 见 ,

1— — | 5— — | 3—5 | 6— — | 5 3 1 | 5—2 | 1— — | 1— — ||
飘 呀 飘 呀 , 飘 向 西 天 。

Figure 3 Illustration of *yuèpǔ* ('musical score')
(Source: Jin, ed., 2000, p.4)

第一谱 1-50



38-31

Figure 4 Illustration of *qípǔ* ('diagram for recording the sequences of moves in chess')
(Source: QY, 2005, p. 39)

Chapter 7

Conclusion: Semantics, Linguistic Evidence and Empirical Universals of Language – keys to the study of cultural psychology

Genuine universals of culture or cognition cannot be formulated if we do not have at our disposal some well established universals of language... only a universal language can allow us to formulate generalizations about different cultures from a culture-independent point of view. (Wierzbicka, 2005d, p.257)

1. Linguistic evidence as an entry point into a culture's psychology

This thesis represents a first detailed and systematic linguistic – in particular semantic – analysis of Chinese indigenous psychology from a culture-internal perspective. It is a response to the growing interest in, and the need for, understanding Chinese experience from an insider's point of view within the field of psychology, not to mention the need for such understanding in an increasingly globalised world.

The thesis has attempted to address two fundamental questions arising from an examination of the methodological issues facing the rising field of Chinese indigenous psychology. The first is how indigenous modes of psychological functioning can be identified, and the second is how they can be made accessible and intelligible to cultural outsiders.

The thesis has demonstrated that linguistic evidence – culturally important key words and phrases, idioms, speech routines and phraseological patterns – is able to provide an entry point into the psychological universe of people from a given culture. Thus, it provides answers to the first question.

As shown in Chapter 2, cultural key words such as the word pairs *shēngrén* [raw/uncooked-person] and *shúrén* [cooked-person], and *zìjǐrén* [self-person] ('insider/one of us') and *wàirén* [outsider-person] lead us to the fundamental social categories that make up Chinese interpersonal relationships. The set phrases *nèiwàiyǒubié* ('insider and outsider have difference') and *yóushūzhìqīn* ('from far to close'), which are closely related to these basic social categories, embody the overarching principles governing Chinese social interaction. A reliance on linguistic evidence allows us, for the first time, to delve into and uncover the conceptual basis of Chinese social organisation and social interaction, and enables us to dispel the confusion surrounding the claims made about Chinese communicative style (i.e. whether it is 'positive politeness' or 'negative politeness'). Chapter 3 represents the first detailed study of the meanings of and the cultural norms concerning Chinese facial expressions. We have seen that linguistic descriptions of facial expressions provide valuable information on how Chinese people perceive, judge and conceptualise facial gestures, and that, moreover, the evaluative attitudes embedded in these linguistic labels (such as the negative attitude associated with *mēifēisèwǔ* [eyebrow-fly-facial expression-dance]) reveal the predominant cultural attitudes towards facial behaviour in a given social context. Similarly, an examination of the rich domain of emotion-describing taste words in Chinese, the topic of Chapter 4, brings us to a better understanding of this culturally salient means of emotion description and

conceptualisation. The rich cluster of terms related to *kǔ* ('bitter') and *suān* ('sour'), which express 'sad' feelings, further provides empirical evidence that 'sadness' is an elaborated emotion domain in Chinese culture (cf. Shaver, Wu, and Schwartz, 1992). Chapter 5 demonstrates that it is the linguistic evidence that points us to the important link between the Chinese sensory experience of *wèi* ('taste') and various cognitive processes and states, such as feeling, knowing, and thinking. In doing so, it reveals a way of experiencing and conceptualising which is characteristic of the Chinese people and important to the Chinese cultural tradition, but which has gone virtually unnoticed in the current study of conceptual systems. Chapter 6 shows that through the cultural key word *bèi* ('auditory memorisation'), we are able to enter into the Chinese educational and learning discourse, and bring to light a culture-internal view of beliefs about verbal learning. The empirical findings that emerge from the chapter shed light on the Chinese people's conception of the relationship between learning, memorisation and understanding, and on the influence of the written language on the culturally preferred way of learning.

All of the themes pursued in the individual chapters either have not been discussed in the literature on Chinese psychology or have been studied without taking into consideration the language Chinese people use for talking about their particular experiences. The thesis has demonstrated that researchers of Chinese psychology can gain new and important insights from an understanding of the folk psychology embodied in the language that ordinary (non-expert) people routinely use to talk about their experiences. This is particularly clear in Chapter 6. An examination of the culturally important concept *bèi* has shown not only the nature of Chinese beliefs about learning and knowledge formation, but also the preferred

modalities in verbal learning, which enables us to explore further the motivational forces behind such a practice. In this way, we can see why the modality of ‘sound’ has become a developed strategy for memorisation in the written Chinese tradition.

Furthermore, two points relating to the linguistic evidence that have emerged in the course of this thesis are worth emphasising here. One is that it is important to pay attention to the evaluative information contained within linguistic evidence, because it provides valuable insight into the shared attitudes of people from a given group and allows us to pinpoint the predominant cultural attitudes and norms. For example, the strong positive evaluation associated with the word *bèi* (‘auditory memorisation’) shows the strong positive values attached to this practice by the Chinese people. Similarly, taking into consideration the negative feeling associated with the speech act verb *sùkǔ* [tell-bitter] (‘to vent one’s grievances’) and the strong positive feeling associated with the word *chīkǔ* [eat-bitter] (‘to endure hardship’) has enabled us to discern and define culturally endorsed attitudes towards emotion and towards ‘suffering’ (see §3.1 of Chapter 4).

The other important point is that linguistic tests, such as collocational tests, can help us detect the general patterns of meaning. For example, the fact that *suān* (‘sour’)-related emotion words can readily form phrases with *lèi* (‘tears’), but not with *kū* (‘cry’), shows that these emotion concepts are intrinsically linked with tears and that they thus concern deeply private feelings, because *kū* (‘cry’) has a public dimension (cf. §5.3 of Chapter 3). As another example, the collocational tests conducted with *bèi* (‘auditory memorisation’) and *jì* (‘try to remember/write down’) add further evidence that *bèi* relates primarily to the aim of understanding and internalisation, while *jì* relates to the aim of not forgetting.

2. The value of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage for linguistic and cultural notation

Relying on linguistic evidence to identify indigenous modes of experiencing constitutes only the first step to establishing a culture-internal perspective. The answer to the second central question of this study – how to make indigenous modes of thinking accessible to the outsider – lies in the use of an empirically established universal language. Throughout the thesis, this universal language, the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), has been employed consistently and systematically in linguistic and cultural description and analysis. The thesis has demonstrated the usefulness of this universal language in its capacity to explain, in a precise and clear manner, seemingly inexplicable indigenous ideas and concepts to cultural outsiders and in its diverse practical applications.

The nearly six dozen explications and cultural scripts elaborated throughout the thesis testify to the explanatory power of this universal language. Meanings are rigorously and carefully analysed, and clearly and fully stated. The explications offered here are self-explanatory, and they do not resort to more complicated language or technical labels which would require further explanation and clarification. For example, notions such as *zìjǐrén* [self-person] and *wàirén* [outside-person] discussed in Chapter 2 are often too easily and readily labelled as ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’. Such technical language does not help to uncover their deep semantic meaning and the interrelations between these concepts. However, as we have seen, the NSM is able to reveal the ‘interdependent’ nature of these conceptual structures. As another example, the meaning of words for describing emotions and mental states is often thought of as too abstract and too elusive to pin down. Chapters 4 and 5 have shown that this is not the case. As difficult and

elusive as their meanings are, they can be rigorously analysed and fully elucidated. As we have also seen in Chapter 5, where the popular, yet highly culture-specific, approach of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is replaced by the NSM to analyse the link between physical and conceptual experience, the use of a culture-independent, universal language like the NSM makes it possible for researchers to always stay close to the local view and remain well-grounded in the local context and tradition.

Perhaps one of the more important contributions that this thesis has made in answering the second question is that it has shown how semantics can offer a way into the mind, and how rigorous and in-depth linguistic analysis can lead to a better understanding of what local participants mean in cross-cultural research settings, as well as providing some effective linguistic solutions for research involving cross-cultural translation and interpretation. Chapter 6 again provides a good example in this regard. The meaning of *bèi* can be faithfully rendered into any other natural language via the culture-independent medium of the NSM (cf. the Chinese scripts in the appendix), without being misleadingly and pejoratively represented via the English word 'memorise'.

3. A comparative perspective: directions for future research

With their meanings anchored in empirical universals, the linguistic and cultural descriptions presented in this thesis can also serve as a platform for future comparisons across cultures, for the Natural Semantic Metalanguage is ultimately a *tertium comparationis*, which can enable cross-cultural comparison to be carried out on some common basis. We have already seen how NSM allows us to compare meanings crosslinguistically on an equal basis when we compare the meanings of

Chinese emotion-describing tastes words and English ones (cf. §4.4 of Chapter 5), and when we compare Chinese and English ‘memorisation’ related words. Even though the comparative analyses were carried out on a small scale, it was clear that without a common yardstick, there could be no basis for comparison.

The analysis arrived at in each chapter – the cultural models of social organisation, emotion expression, cognitive states, and learning – can be further extended to cross-cultural comparison. For example, it can be expected that cultures differ in the emphasis they place on certain demarcations of interpersonal relationships. And such demarcations are psychologically important to a people, and highlight fundamental differences in the norms of social behaviour. Following the findings in Chapter 2, it can be expected that systematic, cross-cultural investigation of the ways in which human relationships are conceptualised and their role in social interaction will shed light on both the commonality and the differences that exist in ways of human interaction. The cultural scripts formulated in Chapter 3, for example, also form a platform for comparing emotional norms in Chinese and other cultures. One may compare the norms proposed in that chapter with those in Wierzbicka’s (1999) extensive study of emotional expression in Anglo-American culture, where ‘showing good feelings’ is also encouraged, but, as Wierzbicka’s study makes clear, is associated with a very different set of cultural values and beliefs. One may also compare these norms with those in Japanese and Korean cultures, in which it is generally believed that the self is operating under a different cultural model from that in North America, namely, the model of ‘interdependence’ (in Northeast Asia) as opposed to the model of ‘independence’ (in North America) (cf. Markus and Kitayama, 1994). Further research along these lines will shed light on the similarities and differences in the

relation between the self and others in these countries. It is precisely in this kind of detailed comparative analysis that cultural scripts can be most useful.

Two decades ago, Alan Howard in his paper entitled *Ethnopsychology and the Prospects for a Cultural Psychology* (the epilogue to the volume *Person, Self, and Experience: Exploring Pacific Psychologies* edited by Kirkpatrick and White [eds., 1985], now one of the defining works in ethnopsychology) pointed out the following three challenges as those that, in his view, the future of the field of ethnopsychology faced:

[I]t appears that from both the universalistic and particularistic perspectives ethnopsychology faces a formidable array of theoretical and methodological problems. Obtaining valid accounts of indigenous theories without significantly altering them by virtue of our intrusion may be an unobtainable goal. ...

Sensitivity to the complementarity involved in data collection is doubtlessly more important for ethnopsychological analysts than for nomothetically inclined theorists. We must also be especially alert to the presuppositions we employ in translating texts into *ethnotheory*. The problems of comparison—the only road to a universalistic cultural psychology—are likewise monumental.

(Howard, 1985, pp.417-418; original emphasis).

Two decades later, such methodological issues are still at the centre of the study of human experience, whether it focuses on local experience or sets out to identify regular patterns across cultures (e.g. Moore and Mathews, eds., 2001). This thesis has shown that a universal language like the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, along with a well-developed semantic theory, can meet all of these challenges. To

obtain valid accounts of indigenous theories without imposing on them an external point of view is no longer an 'unobtainable goal' when a universal language is in place. Likewise, the task of cross-cultural comparison, though monumental, is made feasible and achievable with the application of a common yardstick. The Natural Semantic Metalanguage, being an empirical universal language, is able to fulfil this function. If the ultimate goal of cultural psychology is "the comparative study of the way culture and psyche make each other up" (Shweder and Sullivan, 1993, p.498), the theory of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage and the theory of cultural scripts are able to provide a common basis for such comparative studies.

Appendix I: Explications and Cultural Scripts in Chinese

Chapter 2

[A] 熟人

- (a) 人们会这样看待有些人:
- (b) “我已经知道这个人是谁有一段时间了
- (c) 这个人知道我是谁有一段时间了
- (d) 一段时间前, 我不会这样想
- (e) 后来, 我看到这个人的时候, 跟这个人说了话
- (f) 同时, 这个人跟我说了话
- (g) 像这样子有了一段时间
- (h) 因此现在我会像人们知道对方是谁那样来跟这个人说话”
- (i) 人们不会这样看待所有的人
- (j) 人们不得不以另一种方式看待另一些人

[B] 生人

- (a) 人们不得不这样看待有些人:
- (b) “我不知道这个人是谁
- (c) 我不会像人们知道对方是谁那样来跟这个人说话”

[C] 自己人

- (a) 人们会这样看待有些人:
- (b) “他们住在同一个地方
- (c) 我是他们中的一个
- (d) 我跟他们一起做许多事情
- (e) 他们会知道我的许多事情
- (f) 我会跟他们说许多事情
- (g) 所有这些事情, 我不会和别人说
- (h) 当我想到他们的时候, 我感觉很好
- (i) 当他们要我为他们做事情的时候, 我不得不为他们做”
- (j) 另一些人不是这样的, 我不得不以另一种方式看待这些人

[D] 外人

- (a) 人们会这样看待有些人:
- (b) “我不会像看待自己人那样来看待这些人
- (c) 我不会像跟自己人那样跟这些人说话
- (d) 我不用像为自己人那样为这些人做事情
- (e) 我不要这些人知道我的许多事情”

[E] (文化脚本) 内外有别

[许多人这样想:]

我不会以同样的方式对所有人这样说话

(因为我不会以同样的方式看待所有的人)

我会以某种方式对熟人说话

我不会以同样的方式对生人说话

对生人我不得不以其它方式说话

我会以某种方式对自己人说话

我不会以同样的方式对外人说话

对外人我不得不以其它方式说话

[F] (文化脚本) 由疏至亲

[许多人这样想:]

如果有些人这样看待我, 是好的

“这个人是自己人

所以, 如果我会像跟自己人那样跟他们说话, 这样会很好”

[G] (文化脚本) 打招呼

[许多人这样想:]

当我看到熟人的时候, 如果我有一段时间没见到这个人

我不得不对这个人说这样的话:

“我现在看到你了

我知道你现在在做什么

我想更多地知道你在做的事”

如果我这样说, 这个人会想我对其有好的感觉

如果我不这样说, 这个人会想我对其有不好的感觉

如果这个人不是熟人, 我不用说这样的话

[H] (文化脚本) 同X

[许多人这样想:]

当我对一个人说到另一个人的时候

如果我说这样的话, 是好的

“我这样看待这个人:

‘我知道这个人的一些事情

这个人同样知道我的一些事情’

当我这样看待这个人的时候

我对这个人有好的感觉

这个人会以同样的方式看待我

当这个人这样看待我, 这个人会对我有好的感觉”

[I] (文化脚本) 老X

[许多人这样想:]

当我对一个人说到另一个人的时候

如果我说这样的话, 是好的

“我这样看待这个人:

‘我知道这个人是谁很长时间了

我看到这个人的时候常常跟这个人说话

所以, 我会说我知道这个人的很多事情

这个人也会这样说到我’

当我这样看待这个人的时候

我会对这个人有好的感觉

我会像看待自己人那样看待这个人”

[J] (文化脚本) 别客气

[许多人这样想:]

当和别人在一起时, 如果他们不是自己人, 人们不得以某些方式做事/说话

当和自己人在一起的时候, 人们不必这样做事/说话

当一个人和另一个人在一起时, 如果另一个人不是自己人

若这个人另一个人说这样的话: “你和我在一起时, 我要你像对自己人那样

做事/说话”, 是好的

Chapter 3

[A] 吐/伸舌头

- (a) 我现在知道些什么
- (b) 这之前, 我不知道这样的事情会发生
- (c) 因此我有不好的感觉
- (d) 我想说些什么
- (e) 我不知道现在我会说些什么

[B] 撇嘴

- (a) 我现在知道这个人做了什么
- (b) 我这样看待这个人做的事: “这是不好的”
- (c) 我因此想要说些什么
- (d) 现在我什么话都不想说

[C] 死眉瞪眼

- (a) 我现在知道发生了什么事情
- (b) 我这样看待这件事情: “这是坏的”
- (c) 我以前没有想到过会发生这样的事情
- (d) 我不想要发生这样的事情
- (e) 我不会因此而做任何事情

[D] 目瞪口呆

- (a) 我现在知道发生了什么事
- (b) 我以前没有想到过会发生这样的事
- (c) 所以, 我有不好的感觉
- (d) 于是我想要说些什么
- (e) 我现在什么都说不了, 因为我现在什么都想不了

[E] 咬牙切齿

- (a) 我这样看待某个人:
- (b) “这个人做了很坏的事情”
- (c) 我不要这个人做这样的事情
- (d) 所以, 当我想到这个人的时候, 我感觉很不好
- (e) 所以有一段时间我这样想:
- (f) “如果我做得了的话, 我要对这个人做坏的事情”
- (g) 我知道现在我做不了

[F] 瞪着眼

- (a) 有人做了坏事
- (b) 因为我不想要人们做这样的事情
- (c) 所以我有不好的感觉
- (d) 于是, 我现在想要做些什么
- (e) 我不知道我还做得了什么

[G] 扬眉吐气

- (a) 有一段时间, 我感觉很不好, 因为我做不了许多事情
- (b) 现在我做得了了
- (c) 因此现在我感觉很好

[H] 眉飞色舞

- (a) 我知道有好事发生了
- (b) 所以我有好的感觉
- (c) 我要其他人知道我有好的感觉
- (d) 所以我要做些什么
- (e) 人们想: 如果一个人常这样做, 是不好的

[I] (文化脚本) 堆笑

[许多人这样想:]

当我看到熟人时, 如果这个人想我对其有好的感觉, 是好的
所以, 如果当这个人看到我脸时, 这个人会由此想到我对其有好的感觉, 是好的

[J] (文化脚本) 陪笑

[许多人这样想:]

(a) 我会这样看待其他一些人:

“这些人在我之上

这些人会对我说这样的话:

‘我要你做这事

我不要你做这事’

我不会对这些人说这样的话”

- (b) 当我和这样一个人在一起时, 如果这个人因为想到什么事情而有好的感觉, 那么当这个人看到我脸的时候, 如果这个人会由此想到我也有好的感觉, 是好的
(如果在同时, 这个人会听到什么, 并由此会想到我也有同样的想法, 是好的)

[K] (文化脚本) 赔笑

[许多人这样想:]

(a) 我会这样看待其他一些人:

“这些人在我之上

这些人会对我说这样的话:

‘我要你做这事

我不要你做这事’

我不会对这些人说这样的话”

- (b) 有时这样一个人会因我做的事而对我说坏话
在这样的时候, 如果这个人想到我由此会对其有不好的感觉, 是不好的
在这样的时候, 当这个人看到我脸时,
如果这个人会由此想到我对其有好的感觉, 是好的

[L] 忍

(a) 所有的人都会这样看待有些事情:

“我要这些事情发生

我知道如果我不做某些事情, 这些事情将不会发生

所以, 我要做这些事情

如果我不得不做很久, 我并不因此不想做这些事情

如果我因此有不好的感觉, 我并不因此不想做这些事情”

(b) 如果一个人总是这样想, 是好的

如果一个人在有坏的感觉时, 仍这样想, 是好的

在别人对这个人做了坏事时, 如果这个人仍这样想, 是好的

(c) 如果一个人由此而做了许多事情, 是好的

(d) 如果一个人会是这样一个人, 是好的

[M] 和

(a) 每个人会这样看待有些人:

“这些人住在同一个地方, 他们在这个地方做许多事情”

(b) 如果这中间的一个人这样看待另一些人:

“当我知道其中一人不要我做某事的时候, 我不会做

当我知道其中一人要做某事的时候, 我不会说:

‘我不要你做这件事’

当我因为其中一人做了什么而有坏的感觉时,

我不会因此对这个人做坏事”

这是好的

(c) 如果所有这些人都这样想, 是好的

如果所有这些人都这样生活, 是好的

(d) 如果他们这样生活, 别人会这样看待这些人:

“这些人在一起像一个东西一样”

(e) 如果他们像这样生活, 这些人会在同一个地方生活得很好

如果他们像这样生活, 好事会发生在这些人的身上

这对所有这些人都好

(f) 当一个人有一段时间不得不和其他人在同一个地方

如果这个人以同样的方式看待这些人, 是好的

如果他们都这样想, 他们就会在同一个地方很好地做许多事情

这对所有的人都好

[N] (文化脚本) 涵养

[许多人这样想:]

当一个人感觉到什么时, 如果别人在看到这个人的脸时

会由此知道这个人感觉到了什么, 这是不好的

[O] (文化脚本) 掩饰好的感觉

[许多人这样想:]

当一个人因为有很好的事情发生在其身上而感觉很好时,

如果别人在看到这个人的脸时知道这个人有这样的感觉, 这是不好的

[P] (文化脚本) 掩饰坏的感觉

[许多人这样想:]

当一个人因为有很坏的事情发生在其身上而有很不好的感觉时，
如果别人在看到这个人的脸时知道这个人有这样的感觉，这是不好的

[Q] (文化脚本) 公开示哀恸哭

[许多人这样想:]

(a) 所有的人都会这样看待其他一些人：

“这些人好比我的一部分
我好比这些人的一部分”

(b) 当有很坏的事情发生在其中的一个人身上时

(当其中的一个人死去的时候)

如果别人在看到我脸时，会知道我有很坏的感觉（如同别人在这样的时候
有很坏的感觉一样），这是好的

如果在这时，别人能听到些什么（就像在有坏事发生在某人身上，

别人会听到这个人有很坏的感觉时一样），这是好的

(如果我感到哀，是好的)

Chapter 4

[A] 心里很苦 (苦)

- (a) X 感觉到了什么是因为 X 想到了什么
- (b) 有时候, 一个人这样想:
- (c) “有坏事发生在我身上很久了
- (d) 我因此有很坏的感觉
- (e) 我不要对别人说我很坏的感觉
- (f) 因为我不知道如何向别人说我的感觉
- (g) 如果我说了, 他们不会知道我有怎样的感觉
- (h) 他们不会知道因为同样的事情并没有发生在他们身上”
- (i) 当这个人想到这些时, 这个人很长时间有很坏的感觉
- (j) X 有这样的感觉
- (k) 是因为 X 这样想
- (l) 通常, 人们在看到这个人的脸时能知道这个人有什么样的感觉

[B] (文化脚本) 不流露坏的情感

[许多人这样想:]

如果一个人在有很坏的感觉时, 对别人这样说, 是不好的

[C] (文化脚本) 不流露自己的情感

[许多人这样想:]

如果一个人在有什么感觉时, 对别人这样说, 是不好的

[D] (美国社会的文化脚本) 知道自己有什么样的感觉的重要性

[许多人这样想:]

如果我知道自己有什么感觉, 这是好的
如果我知道自己为什么有这种感觉, 这是好的
如果我思考自己为什么有这种感觉, 这是好的

[E] (美国社会的文化脚本) 重分析和描述自己情感的倾向

[许多人这样想:]

我要知道在这个时候我有什么样的感觉
我要知道自己为什么会有这样的感觉
我要对此思考
如果我知道我为什么会有这样的感觉, 我会做些什么

[F] (美国社会的文化脚本) 通过理性分析对自己的情感加以‘控制’

[许多人这样想:]

当我有坏的感觉时, 如果我会对此加以思考的话, 是好的
如果我思考的话, 我就不会再有这样的感觉

[G] 吃苦 (苦₂)

- (a) 有时, 坏事会发生在一个人身上
- (b) 这个人不得不因此很长时间做许多事情:
- (c) 当这个人做这些事情时, 这个人这样想:
- (d) “我不要做这些事情
- (e) 因为我做的时候, 身体中有很不好的感觉
- (f) 我不会想: ‘我将不做这些事情
- (g) 我现在不得不做这些事情’
- (h) 如果我做的话, 以后好事会发生在我身上”
- (i) 当坏事发生在这个人身上时, 如果这个人会这样想, 是好的
- (j) 如果这个人会这样做的话, 是好的
- (k) 如果这个人会是这样一个人, 是好的

[H] 苦涩

- (a) X感觉到了什么是因为X想到了什么
- (b) 有时候, 一个人这样想:
- (c) “我感觉很坏
- (d) 因为坏事正发生在我身上
- (e) 我知道这是由于我以前所做的事
- (f) 所以, 我知道我不会说: 我不要这件坏事发生在我身上”
- (g) 当这个人想到这些时, 这个人感觉很坏
- (h) X有这样的感觉
- (i) 是因为X这样想

[I] 酸楚

- (a) X感觉到了什么是因为X想到了什么
- (b) 有时候, 一个人这样想:
- (c) “现在正发生着很不幸的事
- (d) 我不想要这样的事发生
- (e) 我不会想: 我因此会做些什么
- (f) 因为我知道我什么都做不了”
- (g) 当这个人想到这些时, 这个人在那一刹的感觉很坏
- (h) 同时, 这个人眼中有泪
- (i) X有这样的感觉
- (j) 是因为X这样想

[J] 辛酸

- (a) X感觉到了什么是因为X想到了什么
- (b) 有时候, 一个人这样想:
- (c) “有一段时间, 许多坏事发生在我身上
- (d) 我不要这样的事情发生在我身上
- (e) 我那时什么都做不了
- (f) 由于这, 我很长的一段时间感觉很坏”
- (g) 当这个人想到这些时, 这个人在那一刹的感觉很坏
- (h) 同时, 这个人眼中有泪
- (i) X有这样的感觉
- (j) 是因为X这样想

[K] 心酸

- (a) X 感觉到了什么是因为 X 想到了什么
- (b) 有时候，一个人这样想到另一个人：
- (c) “有很坏的事情正发生在这个人身上
- (d) 这对这个人很不好
- (e) 这个人不会说：我不要这样的事发生在我身上”
- (f) 当这个人这样想到另一个人时，这个人在那一刹的感觉很坏
- (g) 同时，这个人眼中有泪
- (h) X 有这样的感觉
- (i) 是因为 X 这样想

[L] 酸₂

- (a) X 感觉到了什么是因为 X 想到了什么
- (b) 有时候，一个人这样想：
- (c) “好事正发生在另一个人身上
- (d) 这件好事没发生在我身上
- (e) 我要这样的好事发生在我身上
- (f) 所以我想要做些什么
- (g) 我什么都做不了”
- (h) 当这个人想到这些时，这个人在那一刹的感觉很坏
- (i) (同时，这个人眼中有泪)
- (j) X 有这样的感觉
- (k) 是因为 X 这样想

[M] 甜蜜

- (a) X 感觉到了什么是因为 X 想到了什么
- (b) 有时候，一个人这样想：
- (c) “很好的事情正发生在我身上
- (d) 以前我想要这样的事发生
- (e) 现在我想要这件事发生在我身上的时间更长些
- (f) 我不会不想着这件事
- (g) 我不要再想别的事情”
- (h) 当一个想到这些时，这个人很长时间有很好的感觉
- (i) X 有这样的感觉
- (j) 是因为 X 这样想

[N] *feel bitter*

- (a) X感觉到了什么是因为X想到了什么
- (b) 有时候，一个人这样想：
- (c) “坏事正发生在我身上
- (d) 我不要这样的事情发生在我身上
- (e) 如果我做得了的话，我要做些什么
- (f) 我知道我什么都做不了”
- (g) 当这个人想到这些时，这个人感觉很坏
- (h) X有这样的感觉
- (i) 是因为X这样想

[O] *feel sour*

- (a) X感觉到了什么是因为X想到了什么
- (b) 有时候，一个人这样想：
- (c) “我要某件好事发生在我身上
- (d) 我以为这件事会发生在我身上
- (e) 我为此有好的感觉
- (f) 现在我不会再这样想
- (g) 因为有人做了些什么
- (h) 我以前没有想到这个人会做这样的事
- (i) 由于这，我对这个人有不好的感觉
- (j) 这个人应该知道我会要他知道我对他有不好的感觉”
- (k) 当这个人想到这些时，这个人感觉很坏
- (l) X有这样的感觉
- (m) 是因为X这样想

Chapter 5

[A] 滋味₁

- (a) 当一个人尝什么东西时
- (b) 这个人会有一段时间感觉到什么
- (c) 这个人会知道一些有关这个东西的什么

[B] 滋味₂

- (a) 一个人有一段时间感觉到了什么, 是因为这个人想到了什么
- (b) 像这个人在尝什么东西时所感觉的一样

[C] 回味₁

- (a) 现在一个人在想:
- (b) “不久前, 我尝了什么东西
- (c) 当我尝这个东西时
- (d) 我想到这个东西的许多好的方面
- (e) 当我在想这些好的方面时, 我感觉很好
- (f) 我现在要对这些好的方面想一段时间”
- (g) 于是, 这个人现在对这些好的方面想一段时间
- (h) 当这个人想这些好的方面的时候, 这个人感觉很好

[D] 回味₂

- (a) 一个人现在在想这样的事情:
- (b) “不久前, 我做了什么事情
- (c) 当我在做这件事的时候, 我有好的感觉
- (d) 由于这, 我后来会想到这个东西的许多好的方面
- (e) 后来, 我想到这些好的方面时, 我有很好的感觉
- (f) 我现在要对这些好的方面想一段时间”
- (g) 于是, 这个人现在对这些好的方面想一段时间
- (h) 像人们在尝了好的东西后会对这些好的东西想一段时间一样

[E] X_{东西}入味

- (a) 有时一个人会这样看待某个东西:
- (b) “当我尝这个东西时, 我感觉很好
- (c) 我想到这个东西的很多好的方面
- (d) 我要很长时间尝这个东西
- (e) 我不要尝任何其它东西”
- (f) 这个人会样看待这个东西的所有部分

[F] X_人动_补rùwèi₂ 入味

- (a) 当一个人在做某事时, 这个人会有很好的感觉
- (b) 这个人会样想:
- (c) “我要很长时间有这样的感觉
- (d) 所以, 我要很长时间做这件事
- (e) 我现在不要做任何其它事情
- (f) 就像我在尝很好吃的东西时不要尝任何其它东西一样”

[G] 体味

- (a) 当某事(X)发生在一个人身上时, 这个人会感觉到什么
这个人会知道有关这件事(X)的一些东西
- (b) 这个人会这样想:
“我要知道这些东西是什么
如果我不对这件事情的许多方面想一段时间,
我就不会知道这些东西是什么
所以, 我要对这件事情的许多方面想一段时间”
- (c) 于是, 这个人对这件事情的许多方面想了一段时间
- (d) 此后, 这个人会这样来看待这件事(X):
“我现在知道这些东西是什么”

[H] 品味₁

- (a) 有时, 一个人在尝东西的时候, 会这样看待这东西:
- (b) “这是好的东西
- (c) 我要知道有关这东西更多好的方面
- (d) 如果我在尝的时候不对这个东西想一段时间,
就不会知道这些好的方面
- (e) 所以, 在尝的时候我要对这个东西想一段时间”
- (f) 当这个人尝这个东西时, 这个人会想一段时间
- (g) 如果这个人像这样想的话, 这个人就会知道有关这个东西更多好的方面

[I] 品味₂

- (a) 有时, 一个人会这样看待某个东西:
- (b) “这是好的东西
- (c) 我要知道有关这东西更多好的方面
- (d) 如果我不想一段时间, 我不会知道这些好的方面
- (e) 所以, 我要对这个东西想一段时间”
- (f) 这个人因此想了一段时间
- (g) 如果这个人像这样想的话, 这个人就会知道有关这个东西更多好的方面
- (h) 就像一个人在尝东西时会知道有关这个东西更多好的方面一样

[J] X有品味

- (a) 有时, 一个人会这样看待另一个人(X):
- (b) “如果什么东西是好的, 这个人会知道这是好的东西
- (c) 就像一个人在尝什么好的东西时会知道这个东西是好的一样
- (d) 如果什么东西是不好的, 这个人会知道这是不好的东西
- (e) 就像一个人在尝什么不好的东西时会知道这个东西是不好的一样
- (f) 因此我会对这个人有很好的看法”

[K] 汉语中与‘味’相关的思维状态模式

当一个人尝什么东西时,

这个会有一段时间感觉到什么;

[这个人会有好的感觉; 这个人会有坏的感觉]

这个人会由此知道些什么;

[这个人会知道这东西是好的; 这个人会知道这个东西是不好的]

这个人会对这个东西想一段时间

Chapter 6

[A] X 在背 1 课文

- (a) 有一段时间，X 在做什么事情，就像人们有这样想法时所做的一样：
“现在我看得到这个东西
这个东西有很多部分
所有这些部分都是字
我都知道这些字是什么，因为我看得到这些字
如果在不看这些字的时候，我也会同样地知道这些字是什么，样会很好
我知道如果我不做些什么，在不看这些字的时候就不会知道这些字是什么
所以，我要做些什么”
- (b) 因此，有一段时间，这个人在做什么
当这个人在做的时候，这个人一个字接着一个字地说
人们会听到这个人这样说
如果这个人要看这些字，这个人看得到这些字
这个人很多次思考这些字
这个人不会在同时思考其它的事情
- (c) 那时，有人会这样看待这件事：
“如果这个人这样做一段时间
以后这个人不看这个东西的时候，这个人也会说这个
当这个人不得不用这个的时候，这个人不必对此进行思考
如果这个人这样做许多次的话，这个人就会知道关于这个东西更多的事情”
- (d) 人们想：如果一个人这样做，是好的

[B] X 在背 2 书

- (a) X 在以某种方式说某些字
(b) 就像一个人有这样的想法时所做的一样：
(c) “我不得不说一些字
(d) 这些字是某个东西的（组成）部分
(e) 我不得不一个字接着一个字地说
(f) 如果我这样说，人们就会知道这个东西是什么”
(g) 如果 X 以这种方式在说这些字，有人会这样想：
(h) “我知道这些字是某个东西的（组成）部分
(i) 我现在知道这个东西是什么
(j) 就像我看到一些字时会知道某个东西是什么一样”

[C] 字₂

- (a) 一种东西
- (b) 人们看得到这种东西
- (c) 当人们看到这种东西的时候，人们会知道些什么
- (d) 这些东西会像字（字₁）一样说些什么
- (e) 人们会这样看待这种东西：
- (f) “它们是方的
- (g) 它们有许多小的部分”
- (h) 通常，当人们看到这种东西的时候，他们会一个接着一个地说
- (i) 有时，当人们看到这种东西时，他们不知道什么字（字₁）会说同样的

[D] X 记了一些单词

- (a) X 这样看待某个东西：
- (b) “现在我知道这个东西是这样的
- (c) 如果现在我不对这个东西想一段时间的话，
我可能以后不会知道这个东西是这样的
- (d) 我不要这样的事情发生
- (e) 所以，现在我要对这个东西想一段时间”
- (f) 于是，X 对这个东西想了一段时间
- (g) 以后，X 会知道同样的

[F] *X memorised something*

- (a) X 这样看待某个东西：
- (b) “这个东西有许多部分
- (c) 现在知道这些部分是什么
- (d) 如果我不对这些部分想一段时间的话
- (e) 以后我不会知道这些部分是什么
- (f) 因为我想知道这些部分是什么
- (g) 所以我不得不对这个东西所有的部分想一段时间”
- (h) 因此这个人以后会知道同样的

[G] *X learned something by heart*

- (a) 在某个时间，X 听到了什么
- (b) 当 X 听到的时候，X 这样看待这个东西：
- (c) “这个东西有许多部分
- (d) 现在我知道所有这些部分是什么
- (e) 现在我会说所有这些部分是什么
- (f) 我要听的话，现在我会听到所有这些部分
- (g) 如果在我听不到这个时，也会一样知道这个东西，这样会很好
- (h) 如果现在我不对这个东西同样地思考许多次的话，
在我听不到这个的时候，就不会一样地知道这个东西”
- (i) 于是，这个人对这个东西同样地思考了许多次
- (j) 所以，以后，当在听不到这个时，这个人也会一样知道这个东西
- (k) 所以，以后，当在听不到这个时，这个人也会一样说这个东西

References

- General references
- Chinese autobiographical writings
- Abbreviations for dictionaries and corpora
- Abbreviations for media sources

General references

Adamopoulos, John, and Walter J. Lonner

- 2001 Culture and psychology at a crossroad: historical perspective and theoretical analysis. In D. Matsumoto (ed.), 11-34.

Allen, Keith

- 2001 *Natural Language Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ames, Roger T., and David L. Hall

- 2001 *Focusing on the Familiar: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of Zhong Yong*. Honolulu: Hawai'i Press.

Athanasiadou, Angeliki and Elzbieta Tabakowska (eds.)

- 1998 *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ballard, Brigid and John Clanchy

- 1997 *Teaching International Students: A Brief Guide for Lecturers and Supervisors*. Canberra: IDP Education Australia.

Barmé, Geremie R.

- 2005 Towards a New Sinology. *Chinese Studies of Association of Australia Newsletter* (May issue), 5-9.

Barzini, Luigi

- 1996/[1964] *The Italians*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Bateson, Gregory, and Margaret Mead

- 1942 *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Bellah, Robert N., William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler and Steven M. Tipton (eds.)

- 1996 *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. (Updated edn.) Berkeley: University of California Press.

Berry, John. W.

- 1969 On cross-cultural comparability. *International Journal of Psychology*, 4, 119-128.

Berry, John W. and Uichol Kim

- 1993 The way ahead: from indigenous psychologies to a universal psychology. In U. Kim and J. W. Berry, (eds.), 277-280.

Besemeres, Mary

- 2002 *Translating One's Self: Language and Selfhood in Cross-Cultural Autobiography*. Oxford/Bern: Peter Lang.

Biggs, John

- 1996 Western misperception of the Confucian-heritage learning culture. In D. Watkins and J. Biggs (eds.), 45-68.

Blackman, Carolyn

- 1997 *Negotiating China: Case Studies and Strategies*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Bloomfield, Leonard

- 1933 *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bo, Dahlin, and David Watkins

- 2000 The role of repetition in the processes of memorising and understanding: a comparison of the views of German and Chinese students in Hong Kong. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 70, 65-85.

Boas, Franz

- 1911 *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, v.1. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 40.

Bond, Michael Harris

- 1991 *Beyond the Chinese Face: Insights From Chinese Psychology*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

- 1992 Finding the Middle Way: the role of emotions in Chinese life. Paper presented at the International Conference on Emotion and Culture. University of Oregon, June 10-14.

Bond, Michael Harris (ed.)

- 1986 *The Psychology of the Chinese People*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

- 1996 *The Handbook of Chinese Psychology*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Brick, Jean

- 1991 *China: A Handbook in Intercultural Communication*. Macquarie University, Sydney: National Centre for English Language and Teaching and Research.

Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson

- 1987 *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bruner, Jerome

1990 *Acts of Meaning*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

1996 *The Culture of Education*. Massachusetts/London: Harvard University Press.

Camras, Linda, Harriet Oster, Joseph Campos, Rosemary Campos, Tatsuo Ujiie, Kazuo Miyake, Lei Wang, and Zhaolan Meng

1998 Production of emotional facial expressions in European American, Japanese, and Chinese infants. *Developmental Psychology*, 34, 616-628.

Cao, Xue-qin, and E. Gao

1999 *Hónglómèng* [A Dream of Red Mansions]. Beijing: People's Literature Press. (Original work published in mid 18th Century.) (HLM)

Carbaugh, Donal A.

1988 *Talking American: Cultural Discourse on Donahue*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

CCC (Chinese Culture Connection)

1987 Chinese values and the search for culture-free dimensions of culture. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 18(2), 143-164.

Centre for Chinese Studies Research [Hàn xué Yánjiū Zhōngxīn] (ed.)

1992 *Zhōngguó rén de Jiàzhíguān Guójì Yántáohuì Lùnwènjí*. [Proceedings of International Chinese Conferences on Values in Chinese Societies.] 2 Vols. Taipei: Centre for Chinese Studies.

Chai, Ch'u and Winberg Chai (eds.)

1967 *Book of Rites: An Encyclopaedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institutions*. New York: University Books.

Chan, David. W.

1985 Perception and Judgment of Facial Expressions Among the Chinese. *International Journal of Psychology*, 20, 681-692.

Chan, Jimmy

1996 Chinese intelligence. In M. H. Bond (ed.), 93-108.

Chao, Yuen Ren

1968 *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

1976 *Aspects of Chinese Sociolinguistics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Chao, Yuan Ren and Lian-sheng Yang

1962 *Guóyǔ Zìdiǎn* [Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese]. Massachusetts: The Harvard-Yenching Institute, Harvard University Press.

Chappell, Hilary

1994 Mandarin semantic primes. In C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka (eds.), 109-147.

- 2001 Typology of evidential markers in Sinitic languages. In H. Chappell (ed.), *Sinitic Grammar: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 56-84.
- 2002 The universal syntax of semantic primes in Mandarin Chinese. In C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka (eds.), 243-322 (Vol.1).
- to appear The phonological versus grammatical status of the word in Mandarin.
- Chen, Jiangong and Danian Zhao
1992 *Huángchénggēn*. Beijing: Author's Publishing House.
- Chen, May Jane and Jong Tsun Huang
1982 Attributes of intelligent behaviour: perceived relevance and difficulty by Australian and Chinese students. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 13 (2), 139-156.
- Chen, Ping
1999 *Modern Chinese: History and Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Chen, Yingfang (ed.)
2003 *Yímín Shànghǎi: 52 Rén de Kǒushù Shílù* [Migrating to Shanghai: A Faithful Oral Recording of 52 Migrants]. Shanghai: Xuelin Publishing House.
- Cheung, Fanny M., and Kwok Leung
1998 Indigenous personality measures: Chinese examples. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(1): 233-248.
- Cheung, Fanny M., Kwok Leung, Jian-Xin Zhang, Hai-Fa Sun, Yi-Qun Gan, Wei-Zhen Song, and Dong Xie
2001 Indigenous Chinese personality constructs: is the five-factor model complete? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(4), 407-433.
- Chu, Xi
1990 *Learning To Be A Sage: Selections From the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically*. (Translated by D. K. Gardner.) Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Classen, Constance
1993 *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Cole, Jonathan D.
1998 *About Face*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Creel, H.G.
1953 *Chinese Thought: From Confucius to Mao Tse-Tung*. New York/Toronto: New American Library.

- D'Andrade, Roy
 1987 A folk model of the mind. In D. Holland & N. Quinn (eds.), 112-148.
- 1995 *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- 2001 A cognitivist's view of the units debate in cultural anthropology. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 35 (2), 242-257.
- D'Andrade, Roy, and Glaudiva Strauss (eds.)
 1992 *Human Motives and Cultural Models*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Danesi, Marcel
 1990 Thinking is seeing: vision metaphors and the nature of abstract thought. *Semiotica*, 80 (3/4), 221-237.
- Darwin, Charles
 1998[1872] *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. (3rd edn.). London: HarperCollins.
- DeFrancis, John
 1964 *Character Text for Beginning Chinese*. Massachusetts: Yale University.
- 1989 *Visible Speech: The Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- DeFrancis, John (ed.)
 1997 *Alphabetically Based Computerised Chinese-English Dictionary*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin. (ABC)
- Derrida, Jacques
 1976 *Of Grammatology* (Translated by G. C. Spivak). London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Donald, Merlin
 1990 *Origins of the Modern Mind: Three Stages in the Evolution of Culture and Cognition*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Duranti, Alessandro
 1997 Universal and culture specific properties of greetings. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 7(1), 63-97.
- Eibl-Eibesfeldt, Irenäus
 1972 Similarities and differences between cultures in expressive movements. In R. A. Hinde (ed.), *Nonverbal Communication*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 297-312.

Ekman, Paul

- 1972 Universals and cultural differences in facial expressions of emotion. In J. Cole (ed.) *Nebraska Symposium of Motivation 1971* (Vol 19). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 207-293.
- 1973 *Darwin and Facial Expression: A Century of Research in Review*. New York: Academic Press.

Ekman, Paul and Wallace V. Friesen

- 1971 Constants across cultures in the face and emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 17, 124-129.
- 1975 *Unmasking the Face: A guide to Recognising Emotions From Facial Expressions*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Enriquez, Virgilio G.

- 1993 Developing a Filipino psychology. In U. Kim and J.W. Berry (eds.), 133-151.

Erbaugh, Mary S.

- 1990 Taking advantage of China's literary tradition in teaching Chinese students. *The Modern Chinese Language Journal*, 74 (1), 15-26.

Evans, Nicholas

- 1992 Multiple semiotic systems, hyperpolysemy and the reconstruction of semantic change in Australian languages. In M. D. Morrissey and G. Kelleman (eds.), *Diachrony within Synchrony: Language, History and Cognition*. Bern: Peter Lang, 475-508.

Evans, Nicholas and David Wilkins

- 1998 *The Knowing Ear: An Australian Test of Universal Claims about the Semantic Structure of Sensory Verbs and their Extension into the Domain of Cognition*. Cologne: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft (Arbeitspapier 32).
- 2000 In the mind's ear: the semantic extensions of perception verbs in Australian languages. *Language*, 76(3), 546-592.

Fehr, Beverly and James A. Russell

- 1984 Concept of emotion viewed from a prototype perspective. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General Section*, 113, 464-486.

Fei, Xiaotong

- 1937 *Xiāngtǔ Zhōngguó* [Earthbound China]. Beijing: The Commercial Press.

Fernández-Dols, José Miguel

- 1999 Facial expression and emotion. In: P. Philippot, R. Feldman and E. J. Coats (eds.), 242-261.

Firth, Raymond

- 1972 Verbal and bodily rituals of greeting and parting. In J. S. La Fontaine (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ritual: Essays in Honour of A. I. Richards*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1-38.

Fischer, Agneta H. (ed.)

- 2000 *Emotion and Gender: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Fridlund, Allan J.

- 1994 *Human Facial Expression: An Evolutionary View*. San Diego, California: Academic Press.
- 1997 The new ethology of human facial expressions. In J. A. Russell and J. M. Fernandez-Dols (eds.), *The Psychology of Facial Expression*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 103-132.

Frijda, Nico H.

- 1986 *The Emotions*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gabrenya, William K. and Kwang-Kuo Hwang

- 1996 Chinese social interaction: harmony and hierarchy on the good earth. In M. H. Bond (ed.), 309-321.

Gao, Ge, Stella Ting-Toomey, and William Gudykunst

- 1996 Chinese communication processes. In M. H. Bond (ed.), 280-293.

Gao, Shangren, and Zhongfang Yang (eds.)

- 1991a *Zhōngguó rén, Zhōngguó xīn: Chuántǒng Piān* [Chinese People, Chinese Mind – on Tradition]. Taipei: Yuanliu Publishing House Pty Ltd.
- 1991b *Zhōngguó rén, Zhōngguó xīn: Réngé yǔ Shèhuì Piān* [Chinese People, Chinese Mind – on Personality and Society]. Taipei: Yuanliu Publishing House Pty Ltd.
- 1991c *Zhōngguó rén, Zhōngguó xīn: Fāzhǎn yǔ Jiàoxué Piān* [Chinese People, Chinese Mind – on Development and Education]. Taipei: Yuanliu Publishing House Pty Ltd.

Geertz, Clifford

- 1984/[1974] From the native's point of view: on the nature of anthropological understanding. In R. Shweder and R. LeVine, (eds.), 123-136.

Goddard, Cliff

- 1997 Contrastive semantics and cultural psychology: 'surprise' in Malay and English. *Culture and Psychology*, 3(2), 153-181.
- 2002a The search for the shared semantic core for all languages. In C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka (eds.), Vol. I, 5-40.

- 2002b The on-going development of the NSM research program. In C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka (eds.), Vol. II, 301-321.
- 2003 Whorf meets Wierzbicka: variation and universals in language and thinking. *Language Sciences*, 25, 393-432.
- 2006a Ethnopragmatics: a new paradigm. In C. Goddard (ed.), 1-30.
- 2006b "Lift your game Martina!": deadpan jocular irony and the ethnopragmatics of Australian English. In C. Goddard (ed.), 65-98.
- 2006c Explication as experimentation: the evolving NSM metalanguage. Talk given at the Natural Semantic Metalanguage Workshop. April 12, 2006. The Australian National University, Canberra.
- Goddard, Cliff (ed.)
 2006 *Ethnopragmatics: Understanding Discourse in Cultural Context*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Goddard, Cliff and Anna Wierzbicka
 2004 Cultural scripts: what are they and what are they good for? *Intercultural Pragmatics* 1(2), 153-166. (Special Issue on Cultural Scripts, guest edited by C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka).
- Goddard, Cliff and Anna Wierzbicka (eds.)
 1994 *Semantic and Lexical Universals: Theory and Empirical Findings*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 2002 *Meaning and Universal Grammar: Theory and Empirical Findings* (2 Volumes). Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- 2004 Special Issue on Cultural Scripts. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 1(2).
- Goleman, Daniel
 2003 *Destructive Emotions and How We can Overcome Them: A Dialogue with the Dalai Lama*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Gough, Kathleen
 1968 Implications of literacy in traditional China and India. In J. Goody (ed.), *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 68-84.
- Graham, Angus C.
 1992 *Two Chinese Philosophers: The Metaphysics of the Brothers Ch'êng*. Illinois: Open Court.
- Greenblatt, Sydney L.
 1982 The sociological study of social interaction and interaction patterns in Chinese society. In S. L. Greenblatt, R. W. Wilson and A. A. Wilson (eds.), *Social Interaction in Chinese Society*. New York: Praeger, 1-27.

- Gu, Yueguo
1990 Politeness phenomena in modern China. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14(2), 237-257.
- Ha, Jin
1999 *Waiting*. London: William Heinemann.
- Hall, David L. and Roger Ames
1987 *Thinking through Confucius*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Hall, Edward
1966 *The Hidden Dimension*. New York: Doubleday.
- Han, Yu-shan
1955 *Elements of Chinese Historiography*. California: W. M. Hawley.
- Hao, Mingjian and Wei Sun (eds.)
1991 *Zhōngguó Yīngyòng Lǐyí Dàquán* [The Compendium of Chinese Social Etiquette]. Shanghai: Culture Publishing House.
- Harbsmeier, Christoph
1995 Some notions of time and history in China and in the West. In C. Huang and E. Zürcher, (eds.), *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 49-71.
1998 'Kū', 'qì' biàn [On distinctions between 'cry' and 'weep' in Archaic Chinese]. In X. Guo (ed.), *Gǔhànyǔ Yúfǎ Lùnjí* [A Collection of Articles on Archaic Chinese Grammar]. Beijing: Chinese Language Press, 723-735.
2001 The rhetoric of pre-modern prose style. In V. H. Mair (ed.), 881-908.
- Harkins, Jean and Anna Wierzbicka (eds.)
2001 *Emotions From Crosslinguistic Perspective*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hasada, Rie
2006 Cultural scripts: glimpses into the Japanese emotion world. In C. Goddard (ed.), 171-198.
- Hayes, James
1985 Specialists and written materials in the village world. In D. Johnson, A. J. Nathan, and E.S. Rawski (eds.), *Culture in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 75-111.
- Heelas, Paul, and Andrew Lock (eds.)
1981 *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self*. London: Academic Press.
- Heelas, Paul
1981 Introduction: indigenous psychologies. In P. Heelas and A. Lock (eds.), 3-18.
- Hessler, Peter
2002 *River Town: Two Years on the Yangtze*. London: John Murray.

Ho, David Y. F.

- 1986 Chinese patterns of socialization: a critical review. In M. H. Bond (ed.), 1-37.
- 1988 Asian psychology: a dialogue on indigenisation and beyond. In A. C. Paranjpe, D. Y.F. Ho, and R. W. Rieber (eds.), 53-77.
- 1990 Asian psychology: a dialogue on indigenisation and beyond. In A. C. Paranjpe, D.Y.F. Ho, and R.W. Rieber, 53-77.
1994. Filial piety, authoritarian moralism, and cognitive conservatism in Chinese societies. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs*, 120, 347-65.
- 1996 Filial piety and its psychological consequences. In M. H. Bond (ed.), 155-165.
- 1998 Indigenous psychology. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(1), 88-103.

Hochschild, Arlie

- 1983 *The Managed Heart*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hoffman, Eva

- 1989 *Lost in Translation*. New York: E. P. Dutton.

Hofstede, Geert

- 1980 *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage.

Holland, Dorothy, and Naomi Quinn (eds.)

- 1987 *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hoosain, Rumjahn

- 1995 Getting at the sound and meaning of logographic and alphabetic scripts: In I. Taylor and D. Olson (eds.), *Scripts and Literacy: Reading and Learning to Read Alphabets, Syllabaries and Characters*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 131-144.

Howard, Alan

- 1985 Ethnopsychology and the prospects for a cultural psychology. In Kirkpatrick and White (eds.), 401-420.

Hsu, Francis L. K.

- 1972 *Americans and Chinese: Two Ways of Life*. New York: Abelard Schuman.
- 1985 The self in cross-cultural perspective. In A. J. Marsella, G. DeVos, and F. L. K. Hsu, (eds.), 24-55.

Humboldt, Wilhelm von.

- 1971 *Linguistic Variability and Intellectual Development*. (Translated by George C. Buck & Frithjof A. Raven.) Florida: University of Miami Press.

- Hwang, Kwang-Kuo
 1987 Face and favour: the Chinese power game. *American Journal of Sociology*, 92 (4), 944-974.
- 1999 Filial piety and loyalty: two types of social identification in Confucianism. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 2, 129-149.
- 2000 Chinese relationalism: theoretical construction and methodological considerations. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 31(2), 155-178.
- Hymes, Dell H.
 1962 The ethnography of speaking. Reprinted in J. Fishman (ed.) 1968. *Readings on the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton, 99-138.
- Izard, Carroll E.
 1991 *The Psychology of Emotions*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Jackendoff, Ray
 2002 *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jakobson, Roman
 1971 Boas' view of grammatical meaning. In R. Jakobson, *Selected Writings*. The Hague: Mouton, 489-496.
- Jiang, Shaoyu
 2000 *Hànyǔ Cíhuì Yúfǎshǐ Lùnwénjí* [A Collection of Papers on the History of Chinese Lexicon and Grammar]. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- Jin, Xiaomei, ed.
 2000 *Yòu'éryuán Jiàoyù Huódòng Shèjì – Yīnyuè* [Educational Activity Designs for Kindergarten – Music]. Beijing: Chinese Children and Youth Press.
- Jorio, Andrea de
 2000[1832] *Gesture in Naples and Gesture in Antiquity* [A translation of *La Mimica Degli Antichi Invesigata Nel Gestire Napoletano* Gestural expression of the ancients in the light of Neapolitan gesturing]. Introduction and notes by Adam Kendon. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Kang, Qixue (ed.)
 2001 *Zhùyīn Gùshì Lèyuán – Hónglómèng* [*Pīnyīn* Story World – A Dream of Red Mansions]. Beijing: Sinolingua.
- Katriel, Tamar
 1990 'Griping' as a verbal ritual in some Israeli discourse'. In D. Carbaugh, (ed.), *Cultural Communication and Intercultural Contact*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 99-114.
- Kecskes, Istvan
 2003 *Situation-Bound Utterances in L1 and L2*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Kemper, David
 1996 The intention to both memorise and understand. *Higher Education*, 31, 341-354.
- Kim, Uichol
 2001 Culture, science, and indigenous psychologies: an integrated analysis. In D. Matsumoto (ed.), 51-76.
- Kim, Uichol, and John W. Berry (eds.)
 1993 *Indigenous Psychologies: Research and Experience in Cultural Context*. London: Sage Publications.
- Kim, Uichol, and John W. Berry
 1993 Introduction. In U. Kim and J.W. Berry (eds.), 1-29.
- King, Ambrose Yeo-chi
 1994 *Kuan-hsi* and network building: a sociological interpretation. In W. Tu, (ed.), 109-126.
- Kirkpatrick, John, and Geoffrey M. White (eds.)
 1985 *Person, Self, and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kitayama, Shinobu and Hazel Rose Markus (eds.)
 1994 *Emotion and Culture: Empirical Studies of Mutual Influence*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Klineberg, Otto
 1938 Emotional expression in Chinese literature. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 33, 517-520.
- 1940 *Social Psychology*. New York: Henry Holt and Company
- Knapp, M. L.
 1972 The field of nonverbal communication. In C. J. Steward and B. Kendall (eds., *On Speech Communication: An Anthology of Contemporary Writings and Messages*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 57-72.
- Kornacki, Paweł
 2001 Concepts of anger in Chinese. In J. Harkins and A. Wierzbicka (eds.), 255-290.
- Krifka, Manfred (ed.)
 2003 Special issue on 'Natural Semantic Metalanguage'. *Theoretical Linguistics*, 29 (3).
- Kubin, Wolfgang (ed.)
 2001 *Symbols of Anguish: In Search of Melancholy in China* (In memoriam Helmut Martin [1940-1999]). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

- Kupperbusch, Cenita., David Matsumoto, Kristie Kooker, Sherry Loewinger, Hindeko Uchida, Carinda Wilson-Cohn, and Nathan Yrizarry
 1999 Social norms in nonverbal behaviour. In P. Philippot, R. S. Feldman and E. J. Coats (eds.), 17-44.
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson
 1980 *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
 1999 *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lander, Yury A.
 2005 How to do things with primes. Review of Cliff Goddard and Anna Wierzbicka (Eds.) *Meaning and Universal Grammar*, 2 vols., Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002. *Studies in Language*, 29 (2), 463-476.
- Lau, Dim Cheuk
 1983 *The Analects* [translation]. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Lawrence D. H.
 1993/[1968]. *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Lee, Dorothy
 1976 *Valuing the Self: What We Can Learn from Other Cultures*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Lee, Wing On
 1996 Cultural context for Chinese learners: conceptions of learning in the Confucian tradition. In D. Watkins and J. Biggs (eds.), 25-42.
- Lee-Wong, Song Mei
 2000 *Politeness and Face in Chinese Culture*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Lehrman, Alexander
 2006 Meaning as Grammar. Review of Cliff Goddard and Anna Wierzbicka (Eds.), *Meaning and Universal Grammar: Theory and Empirical Findings*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam [Studies in Language Companion Series, 60] 2 Vols. 2002. *Language Science*, 28, 497-507.
- Leung, Patrick W. L and Peter W. H. Lee
 1996 Psychotherapy with the Chinese. In M. H. Bond, (ed.), 441-456.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude
 1969 *The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology*. (Translated from French by John and Doreen Weightman.) New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Lew, William J. F.
 1998 *Understanding the Chinese Personality: Parenting, Schooling, Values, Morality, Relations and Personality*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

- Li, Charles N. and Sandra A. Thompson
1981 *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Li, Cunxin
2003 *Mao's Last Dancer*. Victoria: Penguin Group (Australia).
- Li, Jin
2003 U.S. and Chinese cultural beliefs about learning. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 95(2), 258-267.
- Li, Yiyuan, and Kuo-shu Yang (eds.)
1988 *Zhōngguó rén de Xìnggé* [The personality of the Chinese People]. Taipei: Laureate Books.
- Liang, Shiqiu
1973 *Zuìxīn Shíyòng Hànyīng Cídiǎn* [A New Practical Chinese-English Word Dictionary]. Taipei: The Far East Book. (ZSHC)
- Lim, Tae-Seop
1994 Facework and interpersonal relationships. In S. Ting-Toomey (ed.). *The Challenge of Facework: Cross-Cultural and Interpersonal Issues*. Albany: State University of New York, 209-230.
- Lin, Yu-tang
1935 *My Country, My People*. New York: John Day.
- Liu, Guojin and Rusi Zheng
1990 *The Story of Chinese Books*. (Translated by Y. Zhou.) Beijing: Beijing Foreign Languages Press.
- Liu, In-mao
1986 Chinese cognition. In M. H. Bond (ed.), 73-105.
- Lu, Jianmin and Zhen Ma
1999 *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Xūcí Sǎnlùn* [Essays on Modern Chinese 'Empty Words']. Beijing: Chinese Language Press.
- Lu, Wangying
1998 The beginnings of literacy for rural children. In K. Perry (ed.), 18-21.
- Luo, Ningxia
1998 The importance of early education. In K. Perry (ed.), 27-28.
- Lutz, Catherine
1985 Ethnopsychology compared to what? Explaining behavior and consciousness among the Ifaluk. In J. Kirkpatrick and G. M. White (eds.), 35-78.
1988 *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- 1990 Engendered emotion: gender, power and the rhetoric of emotional control in American discourse. In C. Lutz and L. Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 69-91.
- Lutz, Catherine and Geoffrey M. White
1986 The anthropology of emotions. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, 405-436.
- Lü, Shuxiang
1941 *Zhōngguó Wénfǎ Yàoliùè* [Outline of Chinese Grammar]. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- McCawley, James D.
1983 Review: *Lingua Mentalis: The Semantics of Natural language*, by Anna Wierzbicka. Sydney/New York: Academic Press. 1980. pp. Xi, 367. *Language*, 59, 654-659.
- Mair, Victor H.
2001 Language and script. In V. H. Mair (ed.), 19-57.
- Mair, Victor H. (ed.)
2001 *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Manstead, Anthony S. R., Agneta H. Fischer and Esther B. Jakobs
1999 The social and emotional functions of facial displays. In P. Philippot, R. S. Feldman, and E. J. Coats (eds.), 287-316.
- Mao, Luming Robert
1994 Beyond politeness theory: 'face' revisited and reviewed. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 21(5), 451-486
- Markus, Hazel Rose and Shinobu Kitayama
1991 Culture and the self: implications for cognition, emotion and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.
1994 The cultural construction of self and emotion: implications for social behaviour. In S. Kitayama and H. R. Markus (eds.), 89-132.
- Marsella, Anthony J., George DeVos, and Francis L. K. Hsu (eds.)
1985 *Culture and Self: Asian and Western Perspectives*. New York/London: Tavistock Publications.
- Marton, Ference, Gloria Dall'Alba, and Tse Lai Kun
1996 Memorizing and understanding: the keys to the paradox? In D. Watkins and J. Biggs (eds.), 69-84.
- Matisoff, James
1996 Review of Anna Wierzbicka's *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction*. *Language*, 72, 624-630.

- Matsumoto, David
 1996 *Culture and Psychology*. California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- 2001 Introduction. In D. Matsumoto (ed.), 3-10.
- Matsumoto, David (ed.)
 2001 *The Handbook of Culture and Psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Meadows, Thomas Taylor
 1970/[1847] *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China and on the Chinese Language*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice
 1962 *Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mey, Jacob
 2000 *Pragmatics*. London: Blackwell.
- Miller, P. J and L. Hoogstra.
 1992 Language as a tool in the socialization and apprehension of cultural meanings. In T. Schwartz, G. M. White, and C. A. Lutz (eds.), *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 83-101.
- Moore, Carmella C. and Holly F. Mathews (eds.)
 2001 *Psychology of Cultural Experience*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Nelson, Douglas L., Joseph W. Wheeler, Richard C. Borden, and David H. Brooks
 1974 Levels of processing and cuing: sensory versus meaning features. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 103 (5), 971-977.
- Nelson, Katherine and Robyn Fivush
 2000 Socialisation of memory. In E. Tulving and R. I. M. Craik (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Memory*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 283-296.
- Nelson, Thomas O.
 1977 Repetition and depth of processing. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 16, 151-171.
- Niemeier, Susanne, and René Dirven (eds.)
 2000 *Evidence for Linguistic Relativity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Norman, Jerry
 1988 *Chinese*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ong, Walter J.
 1982 *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London/New York: Methuen.

- Ots, T.
1990 The angry liver, the anxious heart and the melancholy spleen: the phenomenology of perceptions in Chinese culture. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 14(1), 21-58.
- Owen, Stephen
1992 *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Pachard, Jerome L.
2002 *The Morphology of Chinese: A Linguistic and Cognitive Approach*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Pachard, Jerome L. (ed.)
1998 *New Approaches to Chinese Word Formation: Morphology, Phonology and Lexicon in Modern and Ancient Chinese*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Palmer, Gary B.
2000 Review article: *Understanding Culture Through Their Key Words and Semantics: Primes and Universals*, by Anna Wierzbicka. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 10 (2), 279-284.
- Pan, Wenguo, Po-Ching Yip, and Saxena Yang
1993 *Hànyǔ de Gòucífǎ Yánjiū* [Studies of Chinese Word Formation, 1898-1990]. Taipei: Student Book Co., Ltd.
- Pan, Yuling
2000 *Politeness in Chinese Face-to-Face Interaction*. Stanford: Ablex.
- Pan, Zhongdang, Steven H. Chaffee, Godwin C. Chu, and Yanan Ju
1994 *To See Ourselves: Comparing Traditional Chinese and American Cultural Values*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Paranjpe, Anand C., David Y.F. Ho, and Robert W. Rieber (eds.)
1988 *Asian Contributions to Psychology*. New York: Praeger.
- Pavlenko, Aneta
2005 *Emotion and Multilingualism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Perry, Kate
1998 Literacy at home. In K. Perry (ed.), 3-7.
- Perry, Kate (ed.)
1998 *Culture, Literacy and Learning English: Voices from the Chinese Classroom*. Portsmouth: Boynton/Cook.
- Philippot, Pierre, Robert S. Feldman and Erik J. Coats (eds.)
1999 *The Social Context of Nonverbal Behaviour*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Pike, K. L.
1967 *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Plutchik, Robert
1994 *The Psychology and Biology of Emotion*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Pollard, David
2000 *The Chinese Essay*. (Translated, edited and with an Introduction by David Pollard.) New York: Columbia University Press.
- Pye, Lucian
1982 *Chinese Commercial Negotiating Style*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Qiao, Jian, and Naigu Pan (eds.)
1998 *Zhōngguórén de Guānniàn yǔ Xíngwéi* [Conceptions and Behaviour of the Chinese People]. Taipei: Liwen Culture Publishing House Pty. Ltd.
- Qiu, Xigui
2000 *Wénzìxué Gàiyào* [Chinese Writing]. (Translated by G. L. Mattos and J. Norman.) Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and The Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.
- Ri, Xin
2002 *Zhōngguó Háizi Xuéxí fǎ* [Ways of Studying for Chinese Children]. Beijing: The New World Publishing House.
- Rosaldo, Michelle Z.
1980 *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 31-60.
- Rose, Steven
2003 *The Making of Memory: From Molecules to Mind*. London: Vintage.
- Rubin, David C.
1995 *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-out Rhymes*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Russell, James A.
1991 Culture and the categorisation of emotion. *Psychological Bulletin*, 110, 426-450.
1994 Is there universal recognition of emotion from facial expression? A review of the cross-cultural studies. *Psychological Bulletin*, 115, 102-141.
- Russell, James A. and Michelle Yik
1996 Emotion among the Chinese. In M. H. Bond (ed.), 166-188.

- Russell, James A. and José Miguel Fernández-Dols (eds.)
 1997 *The Psychology of Facial Expression*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sapir, Edward
 1949 *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality*. David Mandelbaum (ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schwartz, Benjamin
 1985 *China's Cultural Values*. (Occasional Paper No. 18.) Arizona State University: Centre for Asian Studies.
- Seligman, Martin E. P.
 2002 *Authentic Happiness/Using the New Positive Psychology to Realize Your Potential for Lasting Fulfilment*. New York: Free Press.
- Seligman, Martin, E. P., Tracy A. Steen, Nansook Park, and Christopher Peterson
 2005 Positive psychology progress: empirical validation of interventions. *American Psychologist*, 60(5), 410-421.
- Shaver, Phillip R., Shelley Wu, and Judith C. Schwartz
 1992 Cross-cultural similarities and differences in emotion and its representation. In M. S. Clark (ed.) *Emotion: Review of Personality and Social Psychology*, 13, 175-212. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Shek, Daniel. T. L. and Jenny. W. K. Mak
 1987 *Psychological Well-Being of Working Parents in Hong Kong: Mental Health, Stress and Coping Responses*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Service.
- Shen, Shanhong
 1998 *Zhōngguó Yǔyán Wénhuà Bèijīng Shuāngjiě Cídiǎn* [A Chinese-English Dictionary with Cultural Background Information]. Beijing: The Commercial Press. (ZYWBC)
- Sherif, Muzafer.
 1965 Formation of social norms: the experimental paradigm. In H. Proshansky and B. Seidenberg (eds.), *Basic Studies in Social Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 461-471.
- Shields, Stephanie
 2002 *Speaking from the Heart: Gender and the Social Meaning of Emotion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Shore, Bradd
 1996 *Culture in Mind: Meaning Construction and Cultural Cognition*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Shu, Hua and Richard C. Anderson

- 1999 Learning to read Chinese: the development of metalinguistic awareness. In J. Wang, A. W. Inhoff, and H. C. Chen (eds), *Reading Chinese Script: A Cognitive Analysis*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1-18.

Shweder, Richard A.

- 2003 *Why Do Men Barbecue? Recipes for Cultural Psychology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- 2004 Deconstructing the emotions for the sake of comparative research. In A. S. R. Manstead, N. Frijda, and A. Fischer (eds.), *Feelings and Emotions: The Amsterdam Symposium*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 81-97.

Shweder, Richard and Robert A. LeVine (eds.)

- 1984 *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Shweder, Richard and Maria A. Sullivan

- 1993 Cultural psychology: who needs it? *Annual Reviews of Psychology*, 44, 497-523.

Sinha, Durganand

- 1997 Indigenizing psychology. In J. W. Berry, Y.H. Poortinga and R. Pe-Pua (eds.), *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology (Vol.1): Theory and Method*, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 129-169.

Slobin, Dan I.

1996. From 'thought and language' and 'thinking for speaking'. In J. J. Gumperz and S. C. Levinson (eds.), *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 70-96.
- 2000 Verbalized events: a dynamic approach to linguistic relativity and determinism. In S. Niemeier and R. Dirven (eds.), *Evidence for Linguistic Relativity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 107-138.

Smith, Arthur H.

- 1890 *Chinese Characteristics*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

Smith, Kyle D.

- 1995 Introduction: social psychological perspectives on layperson's theories of emotion. In J. A. Russell, (ed.), *Everyday Conceptions of Emotions*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer, 399-414.

Smith, Peter B. and Michael H. Bond

- 1998 *Social Psychology Across Cultures* (2nd edn). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Solomon, Richard H.

- 2003 *Chinese Negotiating Behavior: Pursuing Interests Through 'Old Friends'* (with a new essay by Chas. W. Freeman, Jr.). Washington: United States Institute of Peace.

- Soothill, William Edward
 1942 *The Student's Four Thousand Characters and General Pocket Dictionary*. (16th edn.. Preface dated 1889.) London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd.
- Spackman, Matthew P. and W. Gerrod Parrott
 2001 Emotionology in prose: a study of descriptions of emotions from three literary periods. *Cognition and Emotion*, 15(5), 553-573.
- Spence, Jonathan
 1998 *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds*. London: Penguin Books.
- Spencer, Walter Baldwin and Francis James Gillen
 1927 *The Arunta: A Study of a Stone Age People*. London: Macmillan.
- Stearns, Peter N.
 1994 *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style*. New York: New York University Press.
- Strafford, Charles
 1995 *The Roads of Chinese Childhood: Learning and Identification in Anyang*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Strauss, Claudia and Naomi Quinn
 1997 *Cognitive Theory of Meaning*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Stubbs, Michael
 2001 *Words and Phrases: Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sue, Stanley
 1983 Ethnic minority issues in psychology: a re-examination. *American Psychologist*, 38, 583-592.
- Sun, Long-ji
 2004/[1988] *Zhōngguó Wénhuà de Shēncéng Jiégòu* [The Deep Structure of the Chinese Culture]. Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press.
- Sundararajan, Louise
 2005 Happiness donut: a Confucian critique of positive psychology. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*, 25(1), 35-59.
- Sweetser, Eve
 1990 *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Synott, Anthony
 1991 Puzzling over the senses: from Plato to Marx. In D. Howes (ed.), *The Variety of Sensory Experience*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 61-75.

Tien, Adrian

- 2005 *The Semantics of Children's Mandarin Chinese: The First Four Years*.
Unpublished PhD thesis. University of New England, Armidale.

Triandis, Harry C.

- 2001 Individualism and collectivism: past, present, and future. In D. Matsumoto (ed.),
35-50.

Traugott, Elizabeth C. and Richard B. Dasher

- 2002 *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Travis, Cantherine

- 1998 *Omoiyari* as a core Japanese value: Japanese-style empathy. In A. Athanasiadou
& E. Tabakowska (eds.), 83-103.

Tu, Wei-ming

- 1985a Selfhood and otherness in Confucian thought. In A. J. Marsella, G. DeVos and F.
L. K. Hsu (eds.), 185-230.

- 1985b *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation*. Albany: State
University of New York Press.

- 1994a Preface. In W. Tu, (ed.), v-x.

- 1994b Cultural China: the periphery as the centre. In W. Tu, (ed.), 1-34.

Tu, Wei-ming (ed.)

- 1994 *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*. Stanford:
California University Press.

Tung, May Paomay

- 2000 *Chinese Americans and Their Immigrant Parents: Conflict, Identify, and Values*.
New York: The Haworth Clinical Practice Press.

Varela, Francisco, Evan Thompson, and Eleanor Rosch

- 1991 *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience*. Cambridge:
MIT.

Viberg, Åke

- 1984 The verbs of perception: a typological study. In B. Butterworth, B. Comrie and Ö.
Dahl (eds.), *Explanations for Language Universals*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de
Gruyter, 123-162.

Vinge, Louise

- 1975 *The Five Senses: Studies in a Literary Tradition*. Lund: LiberLaromedel.

Wang, Gungwu

- 1991 *The Chineseness of China: Selected Essays*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

- 1994 Among Non-Chinese. In W. Tu (ed.), 127-147.

- Wang, Kui
1998 Reading aloud in learning Chinese. In K. Perry (ed.), 85-88.
- Wang, Li
1947 *Zhōngguó Xiàndài Yúfǎ* [Modern Chinese Grammar]. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- Watkins, David and John Biggs (eds.)
1996 *The Chinese Learner: Cultural, Psychological and Contextual Influences*. Hong Kong/Victoria: Comparative Education Research Centre/The Australian Council for Education Research.
- Watson, James and Evelyn S. Rawski
1986 *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Watts, Richard, Sachiko Ide, and Konrad Ehlich
1992 Introduction. In R. Watts, S. Ide, K. Ehlich (eds.), *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History: Theory and Practice*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1-17.
- West, Stephen H.
1997 Playing with food: performance, food, and the aesthetics of artificiality in the Sung and Yuan. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 57(1), 67-106.
- Whorf, Benjamin L.
1956 *Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. (Edited and with an introduction by John B. Carroll.) Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Wierzbicka, Anna
1972. *Semantic Primitives*. Frankfurt: Athenäum.
- 1980 *Lingua Mentalis: The Semantics of Natural Language*. Sydney: Academic Press.
- 1986 Human emotions: universal or culture-specific? *American Anthropologist*, 88(3), 584-594.
- 1992a *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1992b Emotion and facial expression: a semantic perspective. *Culture and Psychology*, 1, 227-258.
- 1993a A conceptual basis for cultural psychology. *Ethos*, 21 (2), 205-231.
- 1993b Reading human faces: emotion components and universal semantics. *Pragmatics and Cognition*, 1(1), 1-23.
- 1994 Emotion, language, and 'cultural scripts'. In S. Kitayama and H. R. Markus, (eds.), 130-196.

- 1995 Emotion and facial expression: a semantic perspective. *Culture and Psychology*, 1, 227-258.
- 1996 *Semantics: Primes and Universals*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1997 *Understanding Cultures Through Their Key Words: English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1998 Russian cultural scripts: the theory of cultural scripts and its applications. *Ethos*, 20, 401-432.
- 1999 *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- 2002a Semantic primes and universal grammar in Polish. In C. Goddard, A. Wierzbicka (eds.), *Meaning and Universal Grammar: Theory and Empirical Findings* (vol. 2). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 65-144.
- 2002b Australian cultural scripts—*bloody* revised. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34(9), 1167-1209.
- 2003a Introduction. In *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction*. (2nd edn.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, v-xxvii.
- 2003b Russian cultural scripts: the theory of cultural scripts and its applications. *Ethos* 30(4), 401-432.
- 2003c Emotion and culture: arguing with Martha Nussbaum. *Ethos*, 1(4), 577-600.
- 2003d Introduction. In A. Wierzbicka, *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction* (2nd edn.). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 2004a Happiness in cross-linguistic & cross-cultural perspective. *Daedalus*, 133(2), 34-43.
- 2004b The English expressions *Good Boy* and *Good Girl* and cultural models of child rearing. *Culture & Psychology*, 10(3), 257-278.
- 2005a Preface: bilingual lives, bilingual experience. *Multilingual & Multicultural Development* (Special issue on Languages and Emotions: A Crosslinguistic Perspective, guest edited by A. Pavlenko and J. Dewaele), 25(2/3), 94-104.
- 2005b Universal human concepts as a tool for exploring bilingual lives. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 9(1), 7-26.
- 2005c In defence of 'culture'. *Theory & Psychology*, 15(4), 575-597.
- 2005d Empirical universals of language as a basis for the study of other human universals and as a tool for exploring cross-cultural differences. *Ethos*, 33 (2), 256-291.

- 2006 *English: Meaning and Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- In press (a) A conceptual basis for intercultural pragmatics and world-wide understanding. In M. Pütz and J. Eff, (ed.), *Contrastive Pragmatics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- In press (b) The theory of the mental lexicon. In *Handbook of Linguistics and Communication Science (Slavic Languages)*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wilkins, David P.
 1996 Natural tendencies of semantic change and the search for cognates. In M. Durie and M. Ross (eds.), *The Comparative Method Reviewed: Regularity and Irregularity in Language Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 264-304.
- Williams, Raymond
 1976 *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Flamingo, Fontana.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig
 1958 *Philosophical Investigations*. (3rd edn., translated by G. E. M. Anscombe.) New York: Macmillan.
- Wu, David Y. H.
 1996 Chinese children socialisation. In M. H. Bond (ed.), 143-154.
- Xu, Ju
 1998 From the womb to the cradle: the practice of tai jiao. In K. Perry (ed.), 22-24.
- Xu, Shen
 1963[100AD] *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì* [Explaining Graphs and Characters]. Beijing: China Books.
- Xunzi.
 340-245 B.C. *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works by J. Knoblock*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Yang, Hsien-Yi, and Gladys Yang
 1994 *Dream of Red Mansions* (Translation of Hónglóumèng). Beijing: Foreign Language Press.
- Yang, Kuo-shu
 1986 Chinese personality and its change. In M. H. Bond (ed.), 106-170.
- 1988a *Zhōngguó rén de Tuìbiàn* [The Metamorphosis of the Chinese People]. Taipei: Guìguàn Túshū.
- 1988b *Zhōngguó rén zhī xiàodào de gàiniàn fēnxi*. [Chinese filial piety: a conceptual analysis]. In K. Yang 1988a, 31-64.
- 1988c *Zhōngguó rén zhī yuán de guānniàn yǔ gōngnéng* [The Chinese concept of *yan* and its function]. In K. Yang 1988a, 1-30.

- 1995 Chinese social orientation: an integrative analysis. In T.Y. Lin, W.S Tseng, and E. K. Yeh (eds.), *Psychotherapy for the Chinese*. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 19-39.
- 1997 Indigenising Westernised Chinese psychology. In M. H. Bond (ed.), *Working at the Interface of Cultures: Eighteen Lives in Social Sciences*. London: Routledge, 62-76.
- Yang, Kuo-shu, and Chongyi Wen (eds.)
 1982 *Shèhuì jíxíngwéi kēxué yánjiū de zhōngguóhuà* [Sinicisation of the Research on Social and Behavioural Sciences]. Taipei: Centre for Ethnology Studies, Sinica Academia.
- Yang, Kuo-shu, and David, Y. F. Ho
 1988 The role of *yuan* in Chinese social life: a conceptual and empirical analysis. In A. C. Paranjpe, D. Y. F. Ho, and R. W. Rieber (eds.), 263-281.
- Yang, Kuo-shu, and Guanghui Ye
 1991 *Xiàodào de xīnlǐxué yánjiū* [A psychological study of 'filial piety']. In S. Gao and Z. Yang (eds.), 193-259.
- Yang, Kuo-shu, and Michael Harris Bond
 1990 Exploring implicit personality theories with indigenous or imported constructs: the Chinese case. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 1087-1095.
- Yang, Xiaoli
 1998 *Jiànmaobiànsè, yìzài yánwài: cóng chéngyǔ kàn hàn mínzú de tǐtài yǔ* [Distinguishing facial expressions, meanings behind words – looking at the body language of Chinese people from Chinese set phrases]. In W. Hu (ed.) *Wénhuà yǔ Jiāojiè* [Culture and communication]. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 386-294.
- Ye, Veronica Zhengdao
 2004 'La Double Vie de Veronica': Reflections on my life as a Chinese migrant in Australia. *Life Writing* 1(1), 133-146. (Reprinted from *Mots Pluriels*, 2003, 23.)
- Ye, Zhengdao
 1997 *Wǔ zhōng wèihé yào yǒu 'yǔ'* [Why did the character of 'dance' have 'feather' in it]? *Yǎo Wén Jiào Zì*, 6, 14-15.
- 2000 *The Language of Emotions in Chinese: A Study Based on Hónglómeng*. MA thesis. Canberra. Australian National University.
- 2001a An inquiry into 'sadness' in Chinese. In J. Harkins and A. Wierzbicka (eds.), 359-404.

- 2001b Los sentimientos morales de la 'tristeza' china: Una ilustración del acercamiento del Metalenguaje Semántico Natural (MSN) al análisis de algunas emociones chinas 'básicas', *Isegoria* (Special issue on ethics and moral sentiments) n° 25, 201-222. (Translated by Silvia K. Yankelevich.)
- 2002 Different modes of describing emotions in Chinese: bodily change, sensations and bodily images. *Pragmatics and Cognition* (Special issues on The Body in the Description of Emotion, edited by N. Enfield and A. Wierzbicka) 10(1/2), 304-340.
- 2004a The folk model of Chinese facial expressions: a linguistic perspective. *Culture and Psychology*, 10(2), 195-222.
- 2004b When 'empty words' are not empty: examples from the semantic analyses of some 'emotional adverbs' in Mandarin Chinese. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 24(2), 139-162.
- 2004c Chinese categorisation of interpersonal relationships and the cultural logic of Chinese social interaction: an indigenous perspective. *Intercultural Pragmatics* (Special issue on Cultural Scripts edited by C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka) 1(2), 211-230.
- 2005 Reflections on the new Introduction to Anna Wierzbicka's *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction* (2nd edn), 2004. *RASK*, 22, 111-122.
- 2006 Why the 'inscrutable' Chinese face? Emotionality and facial expression in Chinese. In C. Goddard (ed.), 127-170.
- In press a Why are there two 'joy'-like emotions in Chinese: from theory to empirical findings. In P. Santangelo and D. Guida, (eds.), *Love, Hatred and Other Passions: Questions and Themes on Emotion in Chinese Civilization*. Leiden: Brill.
- In press b Returning to my mother tongue: Veronica's journey continues. In M. Besemeres and A. Wierzbicka (eds.), *Translating Lives: Australian Stories of Language Migrants*. Queensland University Press.
- Forthcoming The paradox of the emergent 'I': a personal reading of some recent autobiographies from Mainland China.

Yin, Wengang

- 1991 On Reading Chinese Characters: An Experimental and Neuropsychological Study. Ph.D Dissertation. University of London.

Yin, Wengang and Brian Butterworth

- 1992 Deep and surface dyslexia in Chinese. In H. Chen and O. J. L. Tzeng (eds.), *Language Processing in Chinese*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers, 349-366.
- 1998 Chinese pure alexia. *Aphasiology*, 12 (1), 65-76.

Yin, Wengang and Brendan Stuart Weekes

2003 Dyslexia in Chinese: clues from cognitive neuropsychology. *Annals of Dyslexia*, 53, 255-275.

2004 Dyslexia in Chinese. In I. Smythe, J. Everatt and R. Salter (eds.), *International Book of Dyslexia: A Cross-Language Comparison and Practice Guide*. New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 39-45.

Yu, Li

2003 *History of Reading in Late Imperial China, 1000-1800*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. East Asian Languages and Literatures, Ohio State University.

Yu, Ning

1998 *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from Chinese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

2003 Chinese metaphors of thinking. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 14 (2/3), 141-165.

Yu, Ying-shi

1989 *Cóng Jiàzhí Xìtǒng Kàn Zhōngguó Wénhuà de Xiàndài Yìyì* [The Contemporary Meaning of the Chinese Culture Viewed from Value System]. Taipei: Times Culture Publishing House Pty. Ltd.

1992 *Zhōngguó Wénhuà hé Shídài Biànciān* [Chinese Culture and Change of Time]. Taipei: Sanmin Books.

Zhang, Jianxin, and Michael Harris Bond

1998 Personality and filial piety among college students in two Chinese societies: the added value of indigenous constructs. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(3), 402-417.

Zhang, Longxi

1988 The myth of the Other: China in the eyes of the West. *Critical Inquiry*, 15, 108-131.

Zhu, Xi

1962 *Zhuzi Yǔlèi*. 8 Volumes. Li, Jingde (ed.). Taipei: Zhengzhong Books.

Chinese autobiographical writings

An, Dun (ed.)

- 1998 *Juéduì Yīnsī: Dāngdài Zhōngguó rén Qíngǎn Kǒushù Shílù* [Absolute Privacy: Oral Records of Contemporary Chinese Emotions]. Beijing: The New World Publishing House.

Chen, Yingfang (ed.)

- 2003 *Yímín Shànghǎi: 52 Rén de Kǒushù Shílù* [Migrating to Shanghai: A Faithful Oral Recording of 52 Migrants]. Shanghai: Xuelin Press

Dou, Wentao

- 2003 *Zhēnqíng Miànduì – Míngxīng Sānrénxíng* [Face with True Feelings: Three Way Interviews of Celebrities]. Beijing: Modern Press.

Hoogewerf, Rupert, and Tong Chen (eds.)

- 2003 *Qíngǎn Cáifù* [The Emotional Make-up of China's Entrepreneurs]. Hainan: Hainan Publishing House.

Lu, Youqing

- 2000 *Shēngmìng de Liúyán – 'Sǐwáng Rìjì' Quán Xuǎnběn* [Messages of Life: A 'Death Diary']. Beijing: Huayi Publishing House.

Ou, Shouji

- 2003 *Shànghǎi Guīxiù – Yí gè Fùrén de Réngshēng Zìzhuàn* [Shanghai Lady: The Autobiography of a Shanghai Woman]. Shanghai: Culture and Arts Publishing House.

Rui, Naiwei, Zhujiu Jiang

- 2001 *Tiānyá Qíkè – Wǒmen Piāobó de Wéiqí Shēnghuó* [Chess Players of the Far Corners of the Earth: Our Life as 'Go' Wanderers]. Shanghai: Xuelin Press.

Wang, Xiaohui

- 2001 *Wǒde Shìjué Rìjì: Lǚdé Shēnghuó Shíwǔ Nián* [My Visual Diary: Fifteen Years in Germany]. Shanghai: Xuelin Press

Xu, Zhaoxia

- 2002 *Rìbǎn de Zīwèi—Dōngjīng Shēnghuóquān Jìshí* [The Experience in Japan: A Record of Life in Tokyo]. Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Press.

Yang, Jiang

- 2003 *Wǒmen Sā* [We Three]. Beijing: Sanlian Press.

Zhang, Shurong

- 2001 *Duōqíng Réngshēng* [A Life of Many Loves]. Beijing: China International Broadcasting Press.

Zhang, Weinian

- 1998 Literacy acquisition: the difference between urban and rural areas. In K. Perry (ed.), 31-32.

Abbreviations for dictionaries and corpora

- ABC *Alphabetically-Based Computerized Chinese-English Dictionary*. J. DeFrancis (ed.). NSW: Allen & Unwin. 1997.
- CGC *Chángyòng Gòucí Cídiǎn* [The Chinese Dictionary of Word Formation]. X. Fu and Z. Chen (eds.). Beijing: China People's University Press. 1982.
- CH *Cíhǎi* [A Dictionary and Encyclopaedia of the Chinese Language] (Revised edn.). Z. Xia (ed.). Shanghai: Reference Press. 1999.
- CHANT (Chinese Ancient Texts) Database. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong. 1995
- CCELD *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary*. London: HarperCollins. 1987
- COBUILD Collins Cobuild Bank of English. [<http://titania.cobuild.collins.co.uk>].
- GHC *Gǔdài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn* [A Dictionary of Archaic Chinese]. F. Chen (ed.). Beijing: The Commercial Press. 1999.
- GYZD *Guóyǔ Zìdiǎn* [Concise Dictionary of Spoken Chinese]. Y. R. Chao and L. Yang (eds.). Massachusetts: The Harvard-Yenching Institute, Harvard University Press. 1962.
- HCXC *Hànyǔ Chéngyǔ Xiǎo Cídiǎn* [The Little Chengyu Dictionary] (Revised edn.). The Reference Book Research Centre of the Commercial Press (ed.). Beijing: The Commercial Press. 2004.
- HDC *Hànyǔ Dà Cídiǎn* [The Great Dictionary of the Chinese Language]. Shanghai: The Great Dictionary of the Chinese Language Press. 1995.
- HDYC *Hànyǔ Dòngcí Yòngfǎ Cídiǎn* [Dictionary of the Usage of Chinese Verbs]. Z. Meng, H. Zheng, Q. Meng, and W. Cai (eds.). Beijing: The Commercial Press. 1999.
- HGC *Hànyīng Shuāngjiě Hànyǔ Guànyòngyǔ Cídiǎn* [An English Dictionary of Chinese Idioms]. Z. Ma and G. Yang (eds.). Beijing: Modern Press. 1995.
- HLM *Hónglómèng* [A Dream of Red Mansions]. Xueqin Cao and E Gao. Beijing: People's Literature Press. (Original work published in mid-18th Century). 1998.
- HLMYC *Hónglómèng Yǔyán Cídiǎn* [Hongloulou Language Dictionary]. D. Zhou (ed.). Beijing: The Commercial Press. 1995.
- JXHC *Jīngxuǎn Hànyīng Yīnghàn Cídiǎn* [Concise Chinese-English English-Chinese Dictionary]. Beijing: The Commercial Press/Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2000.
- LDEL *Longman Dictionary of the English Language*. 1998 (New edn.). Harlow: Longman. 1998.

- SWJZZ *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì Zhù* [Annotations to Explaining Graphs and Characters]. (Written by Xu Shen. Annotated by Duan Yucai. Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Press. 2001.
- XHC *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn* [A Dictionary of Modern Chinese]. Linguistics Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (ed.). Beijing: The Commercial Press. 1998.
- XHFC *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Fēnglèi Cídiǎn* [A Classifying Dictionary of Modern Chinese]. D. Dong (ed.). Shanghai: The Great Dictionary of the Chinese Language Press. 1998.
- XHXC *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Xūcí Cídiǎn* [A Dictionary of Modern Chinese 'Empty Words']. X. Hou (ed.). Beijing: Beijing University Press. 1999.
- XHZTB *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Zìpín Tōngjì Biǎo* [Frequency Charts of Chinese Characters]. National Language and Scripts Working Committee/National Standards Bureau (eds.). Beijing: Chinese Language Press. 1992.
- XZ *Xīnhuá Zìdiǎn* [Xīnhuá Dictionary] (10th edn.). Linguistics Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (ed.). Beijing: The Commercial Press. 2004.
- ZHXC *Zōnghé Hànyīng Xíyǔ Cídiǎn* [A Comprehensive Chinese English Dictionary of Chinese Idioms]. Beijing: Wuzi Publishing House. 1984.
- ZSHC *Zuìxīn shíyòng hànyīng cídiǎn* [A New Practical Chinese-English Dictionary], S. Liang 1973. Taipei: The Far East Book Publishing Company. 1973.
- ZYWBC *Zhōngguó yǔyán wénhuá bèijīng hànyīng shuāngjiě cídiǎn* [A Chinese-English Dictionary with Cultural Background Information], S. Shen (ed.). Beijing: The Commercial Press. 1998.

Abbreviations for media sources

- G— *Gùshìhuì* [Story Collection]. Shanghai: Culture and Arts Press.
- PY— *Péngyǒu* [Friends]. Australia: Asia-Pacific Multiculture Publishing Development Pty. Ltd./Shaanxi Women's Friend Magazine.
- QJ— *Qiūjú Dǎguānsi* [The Story of Qiuju]. Y. Zhāng (Director). Youth Film Production Company/Hong Kong Yindu Co.
- QY— *Qíyì* [The Art of Chess]. Harbin: Modern Sports Magazine Press.
- W— *Wáng Shǒuxiān de Xiàtiān* [High Sky Summer]. J. Li (Director). China Film Group. 2002.
- X— *Xiānghúnǚ* [Women from the Lake of Scented Souls]. F. Xie (Director). Tianjin Film Studio. 1993.

XDJT—*Xiandai Jiating* [Modern Family]. Shanghai Modern Family Magazine Press.

XMWB—*Xinmin Wanbao* [Xinmin Evening News]. Shanghai Wenxin Group.

XMZK—*Xinmin Zhoukan* [Xinmin Weekly]. Shanghai Wenxin Group.

XWCB—*Xinwen Chenbao* [Shanghai Morning Post]. Jiefang Daily News Corp.

Chinese References

- 一般参考文献
- 纪实作品（包括口述实录）
- 辞典
- 报刊杂志及影视

一般参考文献

- 曹雪芹、高鄂，1998，《红楼梦》。人民文学出版社。(HLM)
- 陈建功、赵大年，1992，《皇城根》。作家出版社。
- 费孝通，1937，《乡土中国》。商务印书馆。
- 高尚仁、杨中芳，(编)，1991a，《中国人·中国心—传统篇》(本土心理学新纪元研讨会论文集)。台北远流出版事业股份有限公司。
- 高尚仁、杨中芳，(编)，1991b，《中国人·中国心—人格与社会篇》(本土心理学新纪元研讨会论文集)。台北远流出版事业股份有限公司。
- 高尚仁、杨中芳，(编)，1991c，《中国人·中国心—发展与教学篇》(本土心理学新纪元研讨会论文集)。台北远流出版事业股份有限公司。
- 汉学研究中心，(编)，1992，《中国人的价值观国际研讨会论文集》上、下。台北汉学研究中心。
- 郝铭鉴、孙为，(编)，1991，《中国应用礼仪大全》。上海文化出版社。
- 何莫邪 (Harbsmeier, Christoph), 1998, ‘哭’、‘泣’ 辨。郭锡良，(编)，《古汉语语法论集》。北京语文出版社，723-735。
- 金小梅，(编)，2000，《幼儿园教育活动设计—音乐》。北京中国少年儿童出版社。
- 蒋绍愚，2000，《汉语词汇语法史论文集》。北京商务印书馆。
- 康祺雪，(改编)，2001，《注音故事乐园—红楼梦》。北京华语教学出版社。
- 李亦园、杨国枢，(编)，1988，《中国人的性格》。台北桂冠图书公司。
- 梁实秋，1973，《最新实用汉英词典》。台北远东出版社。(ZSHC)
- 陆俭民、马真，1999，《现代汉语虚词散论》。北京语文出版社。
- 吕叔湘，1941，《中国语法要略》。北京商务印书馆。
- 潘文国、叶步青、韩洋，1993，《汉语的构词法研究》。台北学生出版有限公司。
- 乔健、潘乃谷，(编)，1998，《中国人的观念与行为》。台北丽文文化事业股份有限公司。
- 裘锡圭，1988，《文字学概要》(第一版)。商务印书馆。(英文版2000年由G.L. Mattos 和 J. Norman 翻译, 加州大学伯克莱分校早期中国协会和东亚研究院出版)。
- 日新，2001，《中国孩子学习法》。北京新世界出版社。
- 沈善洪，(编)，1998，《中国语言文化背景双解词典》。北京商务出版社。(ZYWBC)
- 孙隆基，2004/[1988]，《中国文化的深层结构》。广西师范大学出版社。
- 王立，1947，《中国现代语法》。北京商务印书馆。
- 许慎，1963/[100AD]，《说文解字》。北京中华书局。
- 杨国枢，1988a，《中国人的蜕变》。台北桂冠图书公司。
- 杨国枢，1988b，中国人之孝道的概念分析。杨国枢，1988a, 31-64。
- 杨国枢，1988c，中国人之缘的观念与功能。杨国枢，1988a, 1-30。

- 杨国枢、文崇一,(编), 1982,《社会及行为科学研究的中国化》。台北中央研究院民族学研究所。
- 杨国枢、叶光辉, 1991, 孝道的心理学研究: 理论方法及发现。高尚仁 & 杨中芳, (编), 1991a, 193-259。
- 杨晓黎, 1997, 鉴貌辨色, 意在言外: 从成语看汉民族的体态语。胡文仲(编), 《文化与交际》。北京外语教学与研究出版社, 386-394。
- 叶正道, 1997, ‘舞’中为何要有‘羽’? 《咬文嚼字》第六期, 14-15。
- 余英时, 1989, 《从价值系统看中国文化的现代意义》。台北时报文化出版企业有限公司。
- 余英时, 1992, 《中国文化与时代变迁》。台北三民书局。
- 朱熹, 《朱子语类》, 黎靖德(编), 1962。台北正中书局。

纪实作品

- 安顿, (编), 1998, 《绝对隐私: 当代中国人情感口述实录》。北京新世纪出版社。
- 陈映芳, (编), 2003, 《移民上海: 52 人的口述实录》。上海学林出版社。
- 窦文涛, (编), 2003, 《真情面对—明星三人行》。北京现代出版社。
- 胡润、陈彤, (编), 2003, 《2003 财富情感》。海南出版社。
- 刘德观, 1991, 《我的财富在澳洲》。上海文艺出版社。
- 陆幼青, 2000, 《生命的留言—<死亡日记>全选本》。北京华艺出版社。
- 欧守机, 2003, 《上海闺秀—一个妇人的人生自传》。上海文艺出版社。
- 芮乃伟、江铸久, 2001, 《天涯棋客—我们漂泊的围棋生涯》。上海学林出版社。
- 王小慧, 2001, 《我的视觉日记: 旅德日记十五年》。上海学林出版社。
- 徐朝霞, 2002, 《日本的滋味—东京圈生活纪实》。广东人民出版社。
- 杨绛, 2003, 《我们仨》。北京三联出版社。
- 张树荣, 2001, 《多情人生》。中国国际广播出版社。

辞典文献

- CGC—《常用构词词典》。傅兴岭、陈章焕(主编)。中国人民大学出版(1982)。
- CH—《辞海》(修订本)。夏征农(主编)。上海辞书出版社(1999)。
- CHANT—《汉达文库》。香港中文大学(1995)。
- GHC—《古代汉语词典》。陈复华(主编)。商务印书馆(1999)。
- GYZD—《国语字典》。赵元任, 杨联升(编)。哈佛大学燕京出版社(1962)。
- HCXC—《汉语成语小词典》(修订本)。商务印书馆辞书研究中心(编)。
商务印书馆(2004)。
- HDC—《汉语大词典》(十卷本)。上海汉语大词典出版社(1995)。
- HDYC—《汉语动词用法词典》。孟宗, 郑怀德, 孟庆海, 蔡文兰(编)。
商务印书馆(1999)。
- HGC—《汉英双解汉语惯用语词典》。马中林、杨国章(编)。北京现代出版社(1995)。
- HLMYC—《红楼梦语言词典》。周定一(主编)。商务出版社(1995)。
- JXHC—《精选汉英英汉词典》。商务印书馆/牛津大学出版社(2000)。
- SWJZZ—《说文解字注》。许慎(撰)。段玉裁(注)。上海古籍出版社(2001)。
- XHC—《现代汉语词典》(修订本)。中国社会科学院语言研究所(编)。
商务印书馆(1998)。

- XHFC—《现代汉语分类词典》。董大年（编）。上海汉语大词典出版社(1998)。
- XHXC—《现代汉语虚词词典》。侯学超。北京大学出版社(1999)。
- XHZTB—《现代汉语字频统计表》。国家语言文字工作委员会/国家标准局（编），北京语文出版社(1992)。
- XZ—《新华字典》（第十版）。中国社会科学院语言研究所（编）。商务印书馆(2004)。
- ZHXC—《综合汉英习语词典》。北京物资出版社(1984)。
- ZSHC—《最新实用汉英词典》。梁实秋。台北远东出版社(1973)。
- ZYWBC—《中国语言文化背景双解词典》。沈善洪（编）。商务出版社(1998)。

报刊杂志及影视

- G—《故事会》，上海文艺出版社。
- PY—《朋友》，澳大利亚亚太多文化出版社/中国陕西女友杂志社。
- QJ—《秋菊打官司》，张艺谋（导），青年电影制片厂/香港银都机构（1992）。
- QY—《棋艺》，当代体育杂志社。
- W—《王首先的夏天》，李继贤（导），中国电影集团（2002）。
- X—《香魂女》，谢飞（导），天津电影制片厂（1993）。
- XDJT—《现代家庭》，上海《现代家庭》杂志社。
- XMWB—《新民晚报》，上海文新集团。
- XMZK—《新民周刊》，上海文新集团。
- XWCB—《新闻晨报》，上海解放日报报业集团。
- ZHMD—《中华美德》，上海辞书出版社（2002）。