

Cultural Identity and Globalization: Multimodal Metaphors in a Chinese Educational Advertisement

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Abstract. This paper intends to analyze, within the cognitive linguistic paradigm, the multimodal metaphors in an educational advertisement screened on China Central Television (CCTV). Specifically, it analyzes the multimodal manifestation of two conceptual metaphors in dynamic visual and aural, as well as verbal, discourse. It shows that these conceptual metaphors are complex ones composed of cultural beliefs and assumptions, other complex and primary metaphors, and metonymies, combined at various levels with various compositions. The various visual, aural and verbal elements are interactive with and interdependent upon each other when they combine into a “conceptual blend” with “input spaces” in visual, aural and verbal modes. This blend contains conspicuous juxtapositions of various kinds, simultaneous or sequential, which contrast visual, aural or verbal images that are metonymic and metaphoric in nature. These juxtapositions cast in relief the unity and contrast between the Chinese and the Western, between thought and action, between primitivity and modernity, and between tradition and innovation. They all contribute to the central theme of the advertisement that China, thanks to her motivation for change that originates in her “heart”, has undergone the process of modernization and globalization while retaining her cultural identity. [China Media Research. 2007; 3(2):25-32].

Keywords: Cultural identity, globalization, metaphor, metonymy, TV advertisement

This paper intends to analyze, within the cognitive linguistic paradigm, the multimodal metaphors in an educational advertisement screened on China Central Television (CCTV).¹ This advertisement is about two-minutes long. It converges on the linguistic presentation of a short verbal message like a motto: “In everyone’s heart there is a big stage; however big one’s heart is, that is how big the stage is” (每个人心中都有一个大舞台, 心有多大舞台就有多大). While this line is itself metaphorical in nature, it serves as the core of the educational advertisement that is constructed as a blend of multimodal metaphors, i.e. metaphors “whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes” (Forceville, forthcoming). I believe that the TV advertisement, though focused on a Chinese country girl who dances beautifully on the “big stage” of life, is actually metaphorical of China’s process of modernization and globalization while retaining her cultural identity or “Chinese characteristics.”

According to conceptual metaphor theory of cognitive linguistics, a metaphor is primarily a figure of thought, giving rise to understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain.² Conceptual metaphors in people’s conceptual systems influence a great deal how they think, understand, reason, and imagine in everyday life, and “many concepts, especially abstract ones, are structured and mentally represented in terms of metaphor” (Gibbs, 1999, p. 145). However, as Forceville (forthcoming) points out, conceptual metaphor theory has so far been

restricted in an important dimension. While it characterizes metaphors as primarily conceptual in nature and only secondarily manifested in language, the validity of its claims about the existence of conceptual metaphors depends almost exclusively on linguistic evidence in the form of verbal metaphors. If, as it claims, metaphor fundamentally characterizes thinking, and is thus not an exclusive attribute of language, it should be able to produce nonverbal manifestations as well as the purely verbal ones that have so far been the central concern of conceptual metaphor studies. If metaphor does not necessarily appear in verbal form, conceptual metaphor theory can hardly afford to ignore the nonverbal realm.³

In the light of Forceville’s (forthcoming) argument, this study is an attempt to demonstrate, within the cognitive linguistic paradigm, that conceptual metaphors can be manifested nonverbally, multimodally, as well as verbally.

Synopsis of the advertisement

Here is a synopsis of the TV advertisement under discussion. At the beginning, a close-up shot focuses on a Chinese country girl, wearing peasant-style attire and posed for Western ballroom dancing (Figure 1). With the playing of the slow-tempo music of a Chinese folk song *Lan Huahua*,⁴ the girl starts dancing elegantly but repetitively, turning around and around, all alone, in the snow-covered countryside. She keeps turning and turning, along a narrow country path, and through a village with small country houses (Figure 2). As she dances past, it can be seen that she has a gracious smile

on her face, apparently absorbed in the joy of dancing the Western-style ballroom dance, despite the fact that she does not even have a dancing partner. Then, in an urban setting, she dances past the traditional-looking tall dark-red wall (looking similar to those enclosing the Forbidden City; Figure 3) and then a Western-looking sculpture (Figure 4), finally up to the top of a skyscraper, against the metropolitan background bathed in the sun (Figure 5).

At this point, the line “In everyone’s heart there is a big stage” appears on the screen, getting closer and bigger, as the backdrop turns into a darkened screen (Figure 6). All of a sudden, the audio shifts from the slow-tempo Chinese folk music to a fast-tempo Western ballroom dance music. Now, the country girl is dancing with a male partner in the black suit of swallow-tailed tuxedo. They together make a great variety of beautiful moves and poses (Figure 7). Again, they dance past the Western-looking sculpture (Figure 8) and the

traditional-looking dark-red wall (Figure 9), and then back up to the round top of another skyscraper, this time with 24 other pairs of similar-looking dancers following them. While taking the leading role, the first pair dances around the top of the skyscraper, followed by the rest 24 (Figure 10). Then, as the leading couple dances in the foreground, the remaining 24 pairs change into a matrix of four by six dancing in the background (Figure 11).

At this time, the line “However big one’s heart is, that is how big the stage is” draws nearer and larger when the background fades into a black screen (Figure 12). After this, the country girl becomes alone again, turning around slowly to a stop (Figure 13). Finally, as the audio shifts back to the Chinese folk music of *Lan Huahua*, the girl stands still, with her back toward the audience, looking far at the skyline of the modern metropolitan (Figure 14). The final scene provides a “global” view of the big city with many tall buildings.



Figure 1. Posed for dancing



Figure 2. Past a village



Figure 3. Past a wall



Figure 4. Past a sculpture



Figure 5. On a skyscraper



Figure 6. Stage in the heart



Figure 7. Dancing in pair



Figure 8. Past the sculpture



Figure 9. Past the wall



Figure 10. Leading the way



Figure 11. Leading and supporting



Figure 12. Size of heart and stage



Figure 13. Dancing alone again



Figure 14. Gazing afar standing

Analysis

In this section, I analyze the TV advertisement to show that its didactic and aesthetic effects are achieved through, among other things, multimodal manifestations of two common conceptual metaphors: LIFE IS A JOURNEY and LIFE IS A STAGE. Apart from these two conceptual metaphors, the TV advertisement also contains several conceptual metonymies, which both motivate and constitute the metaphors, and help set off in relief the unity and contrast of cultural identity and globalization that characterize contemporary China.

Before I proceed to analyze the conceptual metaphors and metonymies that define the TV advertisement for what it means, I first briefly comment on the Chinese cultural conceptualization of the HEART and the verbal message that serves as the core of the

advertisement under discussion. In the tradition of Chinese culture, the “heart” (心 *xin*) is regarded as the organ for thinking and understanding, as well as feeling, and more generally as the central faculty of cognition (Yu, 2003, forthcoming). This cultural conceptualization of the “heart” contrasts with the Western dualism that maintains the heart-mind dichotomy, i.e. the heart is the seat of emotions whereas the mind, associated with the brain, is the center of thoughts.

In light of the above comment, I would like to point out that the verbal message in the TV advertisement, i.e. “In everyone’s heart there is a big stage; however big one’s heart is, that is how big the stage is,” is a manifestation of the Chinese conceptualization of the “heart” as the central faculty of cognition, as well as an

instantiation of the popular conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A STAGE. On the “stage” of life, people play various roles, some being more important and successful than others. One’s degree of success in the external life (the size of the stage) is attributed and related to the mental capacity of one’s internal world, the “heart” (the size of the “heart”), in a metaphorical fashion. That is, only when one can “think big” (i.e. with “a big heart”) can one “act big” on the “big stage” of life. So interpreted, the verbal message of the TV advertisement reveals the following combination of propositions and metaphors:

- (1) a. HEART IS THE THINKING ORGAN THAT DESIGNS ACTIVITY OF LIFE
 b. SUCCESS IN LIFE ORIGINATES IN HEART
 c. DEGREE OF MOTIVATION FOR SUCCESS IS SIZE OF HEART
 d. MORE MOTIVATED FOR SUCCESS IS BIGGER OF HEART

In this group, (1a) and (1b) are two propositions that reflect the Chinese cultural conceptualization of the “heart” whereas (1c) and (1d) are metaphors that are rooted in the cultural beliefs of the “heart” as the central faculty of cognition. The metaphorical nature of the culturally constructed understanding of the “heart” is quite obvious. This understanding can be summarized by a more general complex metaphor: ONE’S MENTAL CAPACITY IS SIZE OF ONE’S HEART.

First, I analyze the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. In the TV advertisement, the girl undertakes a journey going, or more exactly, dancing all the way from the field of the snow-covered countryside to the top of a skyscraper in a large metropolitan area. This journey, however, is metaphorically designed to manifest, visually, the common conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. In other words, it is not a physical journey taking place through space, but one that is a metaphor for subject experience and abstract advancement in life.

The LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor creates mappings from the source domain of journey to the target domain of life and establishes correspondences between various items within these two conceptual domains, as shown in (2). The arrows indicate the direction of the metaphorical mappings from the source to the target domain.

- (2) LIFE IS A JOURNEY
 a. JOURNEY → LIFE
 b. TRAVELER → PERSON
 c. TRAVEL ON JOURNEY → EXPERIENCE IN LIFE
 d. PATH OF JOURNEY → WAY OF LIFE
 e. DESTINATION → GOAL

In the advertisement, the traveler is the country girl. For her, traveling is dancing Western ballroom dance that she really enjoys even though she does it all alone, without a partner initially. For her, the path of the journey runs from the cold of snow-covered countryside to the warmth of the sun-bathed modern metropolitan, and from the country field to the top of a skyscraper in a big city. More abstractly, this is a path of going upward in spatial conceptualization of success in life.

It is noteworthy that LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a complex metaphor that represents the combination of a couple of cultural beliefs and some primary metaphors, as shown in (3):

- (3) LIFE IS A JOURNEY
 a. PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE GOALS IN THEIR LIFE
 b. PEOPLE SHOULD ACT SO AS TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS
 c. STATES ARE LOCATIONS
 d. CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (FROM ONE TO ANOTHER LOCATION)
 e. CAUSES ARE FORCES
 f. ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOTIONS
 g. PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS

Here, (3a) and (3b) present two propositions as the cultural beliefs or assumptions upheld by people who subscribe to the complex metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY; (3a–e) are primary metaphors of the so-called Event Structure Metaphor, which is a metaphor system responsible for the conceptualization of various abstract events (see Yu, 1998, Chap. 5).

At this point, I want to underscore another aspect of the significance of the country girl ending up on the top of a skyscraper after dancing all the way from the country field. This, I believe, is the visual manifestation of a primary conceptual metaphor SUCCESSFUL IS UP, i.e. A MORE SUCCESSFUL STATUS IS A HIGHER LOCATION, which is combined with the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor to form another complex metaphor, as in (4):

- (4) SUCCESSFUL CAREER IN LIFE IS UPWARD MOVEMENT ON JOURNEY
 a. LIFE IS A JOURNEY
 b. SUCCESSFUL IS UP

That is, DEGREE OF SUCCESS IN LIFE IS HEIGHT OF LOCATION. HIGHER is mapped onto MORE SUCCESSFUL, and a higher location represents a more successful status in life. In the advertisement, the journey that the country girl has undertaken is a journey from a small village to a large metropolitan, and from backwardness to modernity. At the end of the journey, she can enjoy, at a very high vantage point, a “global view of her world” that she could not have had if she had not had danced all

the way from the field of the countryside to the top of a skyscraper in a modern city.

Now, I turn to analyzing the multimodal manifestation of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A STAGE. This conceptual metaphor is, again, a complex metaphor that represents the combination of a number of components at different levels. First look at (5) below:

- (5) LIFE IS A STAGE
- a. PEOPLE ACT TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS IN LIFE
 - b. PEOPLE'S ACTION IN LIFE IS EVALUATED BY OTHERS
 - c. ACTION IN LIFE IS ACTION ON STAGE
 - d. STATES ARE LOCATIONS
 - e. ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOTIONS

Here (5c) is the key metaphorical component. This metaphor is motivated by a more fundamental figurative relationship, a metonymy, ACTING ON STAGE STANDS FOR ACTING IN LIFE. That is, acting on the stage is only part of the whole, acting in life, as an instantiation of the more general conceptual metonymy PART STANDS FOR WHOLE. In (5d) and (5e) are two primary metaphors in the Event Structure Metaphor System. Life is a series of states whereas a stage is a special kind of location. The actions that people take in life, whether concrete or abstract, are generally understood as self-propelled motions through space. In this particular case, actions taken in life are metaphorically conceptualized as artistic moves of ballroom dancing. Besides, I assume that the cultures that subscribe to the LIFE IS A STAGE metaphor also hold the propositions in (5a) and (5b), in combination with (5c). Thus, the conceptual parallel is perceived as the following. People act to achieve success in life, as much as performers act to achieve success on the stage; their actions in life are evaluated by others, as much as actors and actresses' performances are watched by their audience.

The LIFE IS A STAGE metaphor establishes, for instance, the correspondences between the following elements in two conceptual domains.

- (6) LIFE IS A STAGE
- a. STAGE → LIFE
 - b. PERFORMANCE ON STAGE → ACTIVITY IN LIFE
 - c. ROLES ON STAGE → PEOPLE IN LIFE

In the TV advertisement, the country girl dances all the way from a small village to a big city. Her performance can be divided into four phases. In the first phase, she is alone and starts dancing ballroom dance. Her moves, though graceful, are repetitive, metaphorically representing, I suggest, her persistency and perseverance in pursuit of her goal. In the second phase, she is joined by a male dancing partner wearing the standard ballroom dance apparel (i.e. a black suit of

swallow-tailed tuxedo and black leather shoes), as in sharp contrast with her Chinese peasant-style clothing. Together, they two make all kinds of beautiful moves and poses, accompanied by a fast-tempo Western ballroom dance music. Their fast-tempo movements, accompanied by the fast-tempo music, are metaphorical of their fast advancement in life. In the third phase, the country girl, with her dancing partner, plays a leading role in dancing, and is metaphorically a leader in life. In the last phase, she becomes alone again, stops dancing, and gazes afar while standing still. This is when she achieves some deep understanding of life, i.e. UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING (see Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Yu, 2004): "In everyone's heart there is a big stage; however big one's heart is, that is how big the stage is."

However, LIFE IS A STAGE is not yet sufficient to capture the figurative meaning of the verbal message in particular and the TV advertisement in general. It still needs to combine with another primary metaphor SUCCESSFUL IS BIG, so as to form another complex metaphor, A SUCCESSFUL LIFE IS A BIG STAGE. This further combination is given in (7).

- (7) A SUCCESSFUL LIFE IS A BIG STAGE
- a. LIFE IS A STAGE
 - b. SUCCESSFUL IS BIG

That is, the size of one's stage is metaphorically correlated with the degree of success in one's life: DEGREE OF SUCCESS IN LIFE IS SIZE OF STAGE. The bigger one's stage is, the more successful one is in life. It is worth noting that the top of the skyscraper, where the girl, her dancing partner, and 24 other pairs are dancing, looks very much like a big stage. Thus, the metaphor A SUCCESSFUL LIFE IS A BIG STAGE is manifested visually through moving images, accompanied by musical sounds, as well as linguistically through the verbal message appearing on the TV screen.

Apart from the two major conceptual metaphors discussed above, the TV advertisement has also deployed a number of metonymies to achieve its didactic purpose and artistic effect. For instance, in the verbal message, "In everyone's heart there is a big stage; however big one's heart is, that is how big the stage is," we can say that, initially, the reference to the "stage" is a metonymy for the "performance on the stage," i.e. STAGE FOR PERFORMANCE ON STAGE, or more generally LOCATION OF ACTIVITY FOR ACTIVITY. In this case, the figurative mapping takes place from one thing to another within the same conceptual domain. It is through further mapping across the domains that the metaphor ACTIVITY IN LIFE IS PERFORMANCE ON STAGE is constructed.

In the following, I discuss several other metonymies in the visual and aural modes. In effect, these metonymies under analysis are all integrated into

the complex of conceptual metaphors. The first visual metonymy is STYLE OF CLOTHING STANDS FOR CULTURE. The girl wears typical peasant-style clothing, which is metonymically associated with Chinese culture that is traditionally agrarian and agricultural. It fits well into the rural setting at the beginning of the advertisement. However, this style of clothing is conspicuously at odd with Western ballroom dance. The most conspicuous contrast appears when the country girl in the Chinese peasant-style clothes is dancing Western ballroom dance with a male partner in swallow-tailed tuxedo, which is the standard Western-style ballroom dance apparel. It is a conspicuous visual “blend” of contrasting Chinese and Western styles. Subsequently, 24 other pairs of dancers join and follow them, wearing exactly the same attires as they do. I would suggest that the country girl’s peasant-style clothing is metonymic of the cultural identity of the Chinese in general, and it is part of the visual metaphor for the retention of cultural identity in the process of modernization and globalization. Although her surrounding has changed drastically over time, her Chinese peasant-looking appearance has remained the same.

Another metonymy I want to mention is STYLE OF DANCE STANDS FOR CULTURE. Ballroom dance is associated metonymically with Western cultures in the developed countries that embody modernity and superiority in various areas in the world today. In the TV advertisement, the country girl could have danced a Chinese folk dance, which would be very appropriate for her identity represented metonymically by her Chinese peasant-looking appearance. Instead, what we see is a “conspicuous blend” of the Chinese peasant-looking appearance and the Western elegance of ballroom dance. As is masterfully designed, indeed, the Chinese country girl dancing Western ballroom dance is a powerful visual metaphor for the process of modernization and globalization that China has undergone in the past twenty years or so. The metonymy STYLE OF DANCE STANDS FOR CULTURE, realized visually, is an important component of that complex metaphor. In the process of mapping, we can trace the following steps of metonymic mapping governed by the principle of contiguity: BALLROOM DANCE → WESTERN CULTURE → DEVELOPED COUNTRIES → MODERNIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION. However, if we omit and ignore the two intermediate steps, we have a cross-domain mapping that is metaphorical: BALLROOM DANCE → PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION.

The third metonymy to be discussed is STYLE OF PHYSICAL SETTING FOR CULTURE. This metonymy is visualized mainly by the juxtaposition of two conspicuous contrasts representing contrasting cultures. The first contrast consists of the countryside vs. the metropolitan. In the countryside, which is the physical

setting of the first portion of the advertisement, we see an open field covered by white snow, and a small village with small wood houses. In stark contrast, what we see in the second half of the advertisement is a large metropolitan area with numerous skyscrapers. This represents the contrast between the underdeveloped and the developed, and primitivity and modernity. The second contrast is that between the tall dark-red wall and the Western-looking sculpture, which are both shown twice. For the first time, the country girl dances past them alone, and for the second time, the girl and her partner dance past them together. The tall dark-red wall looks like those enclosing the Forbidden City, the royal palace that was off limit to ordinary people in the last feudal dynasties of China. It is, therefore, metonymically associated with a traditional culture of isolation characteristic of China before it was opened up to the outside world over twenty years ago. The Western-looking sculpture, on the other hand, is a visual metonymy of the influence of Western culture present in contemporary China following the implementation of its open-door policy. It is worth pointing out that these visual contrasts brought out by the metonymy, STYLE OF PHYSICAL SETTING FOR CULTURE, play an important part in the visual manifestation of the two conceptual metaphors, LIFE IS A JOURNEY and LIFE IS STAGE.

Finally, I turn to the metonymy STYLE OF MUSIC STANDS FOR CULTURE. Two kinds of music are played through the advertisement. At the beginning, as the country girl starts dancing ballroom dance, the music accompanying her dance is not Western ballroom dance music, but the music of a Chinese folk song *Lan Huahua*. The play of the Chinese folk music, instead of Western ballroom dance music, adds to the cultural context and cultural identity created by visual images of the country girl’s Chinese peasant-style attire and the physical setting of the Chinese countryside. That is, music is used as one of the tools to create cultural context and cultural identity. After the pair and group dancing, the country girl is alone again, standing motionless on the top of a skyscraper, gazing afar at the panorama of the modern metropolitan. The audio, at this point, shifts back from the Western ballroom dance music to *Lan Huahua*, the Chinese folk song music, for the final seconds of the TV advertisement. This shift in musical style is designed, I argue, to suggest, metonymically, the retention of cultural identity despite the fact that the physical setting has changed from the countryside to the metropolitan, and from primitivity to modernity. The country girl has not lost her cultural identity, her appearance remaining the same, even though her state of life has drastically changed, as metaphorically and metonymically represented by the change of locations and physical settings. She is now embedded in a modernized and globalized environment, as visually represented by the “global view” of a

modern metropolitan, but her cultural identity is retained, as represented visually by her Chinese peasant-style attire, and aurally by the Chinese folk music played for the last few seconds to complete the whole advertisement.

In sum, the metonymies discussed all fall into one general pattern, where PROTOTYPICAL ITEMS OF A CULTURE STAND FOR THAT CULTURE. As we have seen, this conceptual metonymy can be manifested both visually and aurally, as well as verbally.

Conclusion

One of the crucial insights of the cognitive linguistic theory of metaphor is that verbal metaphors systematically manifest underlying conceptual metaphors. There is already ample and still growing linguistic evidence, in support of this claim, discovered by empirical studies of a broad spectrum of world languages and from cross-cultural perspectives. If, as cognitive linguists have argued, metaphor is primarily conceptual in nature as a cognitive mechanism characterizing the mode of thought or the way of thinking, it follows that conceptual metaphors should emerge in nonverbal manifestations as well as verbal ones. So far, there are not many empirical studies focused on nonverbal or multimodal manifestations of conceptual metaphors despite the fact that such studies are theoretically essential to consolidate the validity of conceptual metaphor theory (see Forceville, forthcoming). This overwhelming preference to the study of verbal over nonverbal manifestations of conceptual metaphors needs correcting for the sound development of conceptual metaphor theory. The present study represents part of the attempt toward that end.

In this study, I have analyzed the multimodal manifestation of two conceptual metaphors in dynamic visual and aural, as well as verbal, discourse. I have shown that these conceptual metaphors are complex ones composed of cultural beliefs and assumptions, other complex and primary metaphors, and metonymies, combined at various levels with various compositions. The various visual, aural and verbal elements are interactive with and interdependent upon each other when they combine into a “conceptual blend” with “input spaces” in visual, aural and verbal modes. This blend contains conspicuous juxtapositions, simultaneous or sequential, of contrasting visual, aural or verbal images that are metonymic and metaphoric in nature. These juxtapositions cast in relief the unity and contrast between the Chinese and the Western, between thought and action, between primitivity and modernity, and between tradition and innovation. They all contribute to the central theme of the advertisement that China, thanks to her motivation for change that originates in her “heart,” has undergone the process of modernization

and globalization while retaining her “Chinese characteristics.”

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Notes

1. In this paper the term *metaphor* is used in a broad and a narrow sense. The broad sense includes both metaphor and metonymy in the narrow sense of the terms. In actuality, “the distinction between metaphor and metonymy is scalar, rather than discrete: they seem to be points on a continuum of mapping processes” (Barcelona, 2000b, p. 16). According to cognitive linguistics, metonymy is a more fundamental cognitive phenomenon than metaphor, and metaphor is very often motivated by metonymy (Barcelona, 2000a; Panther & Radden, 1999). This cognitive linguistics view of metaphor and metonymy will gain further support in the analysis that follows.
2. For cognitive linguistic studies of metaphor, metonymy, and figurative language in general, see, e.g., Barcelona (2000a), Dirven & Pörings (2002), Gibbs (1994), Gibbs & Steen (1999), Johnson (1987), Kövecses (2002, 2005), Lakoff (1987), Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 1999), Lakoff & Turner (1989), Panther & Radden (1999), Sweetser (1990), Turner (1991, 1996), and Yu (1998)
3. For pioneering work on nonverbal and multimodal metaphors within the cognitive linguistic paradigm, refer to many of Forceville’s empirical and theoretical studies (e.g. 1994, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2005, forthcoming).
4. More exactly, *Lan Huahua* is a folk song from northern Shaanxi Province, which belongs to the part of China considered as the place of origin of Chinese civilization. In China, songs of this kind are known as “northern Shaanxi folk songs.”

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