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METAPHOR AND COMPARATIVE CULTURES

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1. Introduction

Every language has a rich diversity of metaphors, many of which are used in everyday life. These metaphors are deeply rooted in the culture of the people who use that language and therefore convey much information about cultural traditions and common ways. Some metaphorical concepts and expressions are quite unique to a particular language, whereas others, perhaps more fundamental to human experience or thought, are common to all or mostly all languages. Understanding the metaphors of a language provides both a fascinating insight into that culture and an essential key to improved communications.

This paper discusses how metaphors work as an analytical as well as an explanatory parameter when we compare different cultures, and thereby how the knowledge and the understanding of them contribute to cross-cultural communication. To illustrate the discussion, both English and Japanese examples are used.

The studies of metaphors can roughly be divided into three main streams according to what aspect of metaphors they focus on. The first approach, which I tentatively call "rhetoric," sees metaphors as an ornament (Aristotle 1954 rpt.; Fontanier 1968). This viewpoint regards metaphors as an art of verbal persuasion. Metaphors are taken to be a substitution of words, as completely paraphrasable into a non-metaphorical expression by means of an analogy between the substituting word and the word being substituted. Hence, the metaphors are viewed as conveying no new information but just adding some emotional shades of meaning.

The second approach, which I call "semantic," sees metaphor as semantic change (Richards 1936; Black 1962). This view explicates the mechanism of the creation of meaning as an interaction of a metaphorical word and its context. It confines the scope of metaphors within the language system without paying much attention to the influence of metaphor on extra-linguistic reality such as cognition and perception.

The third one, which I call "cognitive," sees metaphors as a way of understanding the world (Ricoeur 1975; Lakoff and Johnson 1980). It views metaphors as an experiential process which has a deep connection with thinking and acting. That is to say, we do not only see the reality as described by metaphors, but we think and act as expressed by metaphors. The present discussion takes the third approach, following Lakoff & Johnson's work (1980) on metaphors.

2. Metaphorical Concepts and Metaphorical Expressions

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 5) define metaphor as follows:

The essence of metaphor is *understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.*
(Italics mine)

Metaphors are put on the cognitive plane where human concepts or thoughts are formed, processed, and developed. In other words, the concept is structured, in large part, metaphorically. And because of these metaphorically structured concepts, we experience things in terms of metaphors.

Here we distinguish between metaphors as concepts and metaphors as linguistic expressions. The relationship between metaphorical concepts and metaphorical expressions is defined in such a way that "metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 6).

Let us look at some of the examples Lakoff and Johnson give (1980, 4).

- (1)
- a. Your claims are *indefensible*.¹
 - b. He attacked *every weak point* in my argument.
 - c. His criticisms were *right on target*.
 - d. I *demolished* his argument.
 - e. I've never won an argument with him.
 - f. You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*
 - g. If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.

- h. He *shot down* all of my argument.

The expressions above describe arguments as if they were a war, using such words and phrases as *indefensible*, *attack every weak point*, *right on target*, *demolish*, *win*, *shoot*, *strategy*, *wipe out*, and *shoot down*. In other words, these expressions reflect the existence of a metaphorical concept like (2):

(2) ARGUMENT IS WAR²

It is important to see that we do not only talk about arguments in terms of war, but also think and act as if arguments were a war. There is a verbal battle with an opponent, which is won or lost. We use such strategies as attacking, defending, and so on. The metaphorical concept ARGUMENT IS WAR structures the experiences we have in arguing.

3. Comparative Cultures: English and Japanese

The distinction between metaphorical concepts and metaphorical expressions gives insights when we compare different cultures. Theoretically, there are four possible combinations of metaphorical concepts and metaphorical expressions in terms of the similarity and the difference of two cultures. Let us look at these four combinations with a few examples and consider their implications in cross-cultural communication.

3.1. The first possible combination is that two cultures have similar metaphorical concepts and these concepts are expressed in similar metaphorical expressions. The direct translation of this kind of metaphorical expressions from one language to the other preserves meaning as it is intended. For example, in both English and Japanese, time is viewed metaphorically as money. (3) lists some expressions in both languages.

(3) TIME IS MONEY
(Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 7-8)

Japanese Translation
TOKI-WA KANENARI.

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. You're <i>wasting</i> my time. | Kimi-wa boku-no jikan-o roohishi-te i-ru. |
| b. This gadget will save you hours. | Kono doogu-o tsukat-tara, jikan-ga setsuyaku dekiru. |
| c. How do you <i>spend</i> your time these days? | Saikin-wa donna fuu-ni jikan-o o-tsukai desi-ta-ka. |
| d. That flat tire cost me an hour. | Sono panku-ni ichi jikan kakat-ta. |
| e. I've <i>invested</i> a lot of time in her. | Kanojo-niwa takusan-no jikan-o tooshishi-ta. |
| f. He's living on <i>borrowed</i> time. | Jikan-o kari-te iki-te-i-ru yoona mono da. |
| g. You don't use your time <i>profitably</i> . | Kimi-wa jikan-o yuuekini tsukat-te i-nai. |

A concept TIME is metaphorically structured in terms of MONEY in both languages. Furthermore, in both English and Japanese cultures, we behave as if TIME IS MONEY: for example, wages are measured per hour, week, or month, car rental charges are measured by hour, day, week, month, and so on. Thus, when English and Japanese have similar metaphorical concepts and expressions, there should be no problem or little problem in understanding them.

3.2. The second type of combination is that two cultures have similar metaphorical concepts but these are expressed in different metaphorical expressions. Metaphorical expressions often employ idiomatic usages peculiar to a linguistic community, which reflect such cultural phenomena as tradition, custom, life, history, religion, literature, sports, and so on. Therefore, even if the metaphorical concepts are similar, the metaphorical expressions are difficult to understand unless one has a knowledge of cultural phenomena in a given community.

For example, life is viewed as a sport in both American and Japanese cultures. In other words, we both have a LIFE IS A SPORT metaphorical concept. In America, there are a lot of expressions about baseball and football games used to describe our life metaphorically. Let us look at some BASEBALL metaphors.

(4) LIFE IS A BASEBALL GAME (American English)

- Right off the bat*, he asked my age.
- You are way off base in criticizing the boss.
- He *struck out* in his last two business ventures.
- If you don't dress neatly, you won't get to *first base* when you look for a job.
- I had to *pinch-hit* for our chairman.
- Children from the poorest parts of a city often have *two strikes* against them before they enter school.
- Before you sign their contract, get the lawyer to see whether they are not *throwing a curve ball* to you.

In Japan, although we play baseball, and in fact it has become one of the most popular sports nationwide, it is not rooted deeply enough in the Japanese language to have given rise to many metaphorical idioms. Instead, we use *sumo*, Japanese wrestling, to describe life metaphorically.

(5) LIFE IS A SUMO GAME (Japanese)

- Ano seijika-wa nanigoto-ni tsuketemo nebari-goshi-ga aru.
that politician-TOP everything-LOC about sticky-back-NOM exist-PRST³
(That politician has a sticky back about everything.)⁴
[That politician has a lot of grit about everything.]⁵
- Ano kimi-no hatsugen-wa isami-ashi dat-ta-ne.⁶
that you-GEN argument-TOP brave-foot be-PAST-TAG
(That argument of yours was brave foot, wasn't it?)
[That argument of yours was overconfident, wasn't it?]
- Ookura-daijin-wa tooben-de dohyoo-giwa-ni tatas-are-ta.
finance-minister-TOP answer-LOC ring-edge-LOC stand-PASS-PAST
(The minister of finance was made to stand at the edge of the ring.)
[The minister of finance had his back to the wall in congressional debate. No place to retreat.]
- Gunbai-wa sono purojekuto-ni agat-ta.⁷
decision-of-a-referee-TOP the project-DAT rise-PAST

(The project got *gunbai*.)
[The project got the nod.]

e. *Konna jookyoo-de "mat-ta"-wa nai-daroo.*
such circumstance-LOC 'Wait!'-TOP NEG-FUT
(You don't say, "Wait!" in such a circumstance.)
[You can not call a halt to the proceedings
under circumstances like these.]

f. *Taroo-wa dotanba-de ucchari-o kime-ta.*
Taroo-TOP edge-LOC reversal-ACC make-PAST
(Taroo made a reversal at the edge.)
[Taroo managed to turn the tables on his opponent when
he had his back to the wall.]

g. *Boku-no jinsei-wa kono tokoro kuro-boshi tsuzuki da.*
my(M) life-TOP this place defeat-marks continuation be-
PRST
[My life has been a string of defeat marks.]
(My life has been a string of losses.)

h. *Shinya-ni hait-te, suto-no rooshi kooshoo-ni mizu-ga
hait-ta.*
midnight-LOC enter-ing, stride-GEN labor-management
negotiation-DAT water-NOM enter-PAST
(After midnight, water was brought into the negotia-
tions between labor and management.)
[After midnight, there was a break in the negotiations
between labor and management.]

i. *Noozeigaku-niyotte chooja banzuke-ga happyoo s-are-
ta.*
tax-paying-amount-by millionaire.....ranking-NOM
announcement do-PASS-PAST
(A ranking of millionaires was announced according to
the amount of the tax they paid.)

From the examples above, we can say that both American and Japanese cultures have a metaphorical concept LIFE IS A SPORT, but they use different games in the metaphorical expressions. As a subcategory of the metaphorical concept LIFE IS A SPORT, American culture has LIFE IS A BASEBALL GAME, and Japanese culture has LIFE IS A SUMO GAME. Because the basic conceptual metaphor is the same, the difficulty of understanding metaphorical expressions in the other language is resolved once one learns the cultural phenomena behind the metaphorical expressions in question.

Let us look at another example. In both America and Japan, money is conceptualized metaphorically to measure

value. In other words, in both American English and Japanese, we have a metaphorical concept MONEY MEASURES VALUE; however, as the unit of currency we use in each country is different, we use different expressions as shown in (6) and (7).

(6) DOLLARS MEASURE VALUE (American English)

- a. Let me put in my two cents' worth.
- b. Jones gives As to only one or two students, but in Smith's class, As are a dime a dozen.
- c. He always use 25 cent (50 cent) words.
- d. A penny for your thoughts.
- e. This vase is not worth a penny (a dime, a red cent).

(7) MON⁸ MEASURES VALUE (Japanese)

- a. *Kuyokuyoshi-te-mo ichi-mon-no toku-nimo nara-nai.*
regret-ing-SUBJ one-mon-GEN benefit-DAT become-NEG
(Regretting is not worth one mon.)
[Regretting is worthless.]
- b. *Sonna mono-o ut-te-mo ni-soku san-mon dayo.*
such thing-ACC sell-ing-SUBJ two-soku three-mon be-PRST
(If you sell such a thing, it will bring two-soku
three-mon.)
[Such a thing wouldn't bring you anything much.]

The following examples from (8) to (11) illustrate the fact that sometimes two cultures share similar metaphorical concepts and metaphorical expressions on a more basic and abstract level, but the subcategorization of these metaphorical concepts can vary, and thereby we have different metaphorical expressions.

In both English and Japanese, life or world events are viewed metaphorically as a stage.

(8) "ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE" (English)

- a. Life is a tragedy when seen in close-up, but a comedy in long-shot.
- b. The world is a stage where every man must play a part, and mine is a sad one.
- c. We set the stage for his comeback.
- d. He stage-managed a whole affair.

- e. She always wants to be in the spotlight.
- f. His death rang down the curtain on an age.

(9) THE WORLD IS A STAGE (Japanese)

- a. Kekkōn hirooen-no maku-ga agat-ta.
wedding reception-GEN curtain-NOM rise-PAST
(The curtain of the wedding reception has risen.)
[The wedding reception has started.]
- b. Ano hito-wa sekai-o butai-ni katuyakushi-te i-ru.
that man-TOP world-ACC stage-LOC work-actively-ing be-PRST
(That man works actively in the world as a stage.)
[The whole world is his stage.]
- c. Watashi-no deban-wa mada desu-ka.
I(F)-GEN time-to-go-on-stage-TOP yet be-PRES-Q
(Has my time to go on stage come yet?)
[Has the time come yet when I should show up?]
- d. Ano hito-wa itsumo shuyaku de-nai-to kiniira-nai.
that man-TOP always leading-actor be-NEG-COMP like-NEG
(That man always wants to play the leading role.)

Both cultures share the basic metaphorical concept of THE WORLD AS A STAGE. The following examples show, however, how they differ in the subcategorization of the WORLD IS A STAGE metaphor.

(10) THE WORLD IS A SHAKESPEAREAN THEATER (English)

- a. What a Romeo he is!
- b. He's a real *Shylock*.
- c. He made sure that he got his *pound of flesh*.

(11) THE WORLD IS KABUKI⁹ (Japanese)

- a. Kono seikoo-de ano hito-wa hinoki-butai-o fun-da.¹⁰
this success-INST that man-TOP cypress-stage-ACC step-PAST
(That man appeared on the stage of a first class theater by this success.)
[This success has brought that man in to the limelight on the stage of a first class theater.]

- b. Kono shigoto-ga ano otoko-no hanamichi¹¹-o kazaru
koto-ni naru-daroo.
this project-NOM that man-GEN flower-way-ACC decorate-COMP become-FUT
(This project will decorate his way to retirement.)

- c. Anata-no ohako¹²-wa nan-desu-ka.
you-GEN favorite-party-trick-TOP what-be-PRST-Q
(What is your favorite party trick?)

Probably this second combination is the richest area of comparative cultures where we can find a lot of interesting examples. It also shows that in spite of the apparent diversities of cultural phenomena used in metaphorical expressions, the underlying basic concepts are, in large part, similar.

3.3. The third possible combination is that two cultures do not share metaphorical concepts but use similar metaphorical expressions. This combination is most crucial to recognize, because miscommunication is most likely. The direct translation of this type of metaphorical expressions from one language to another makes sense as they share such metaphorical expressions. However, the metaphorical concepts which underlie the linguistic expressions are different, and thereby different meanings are conveyed.

For example, in English culture sweetness is regarded as good and sourness as bad, whereas in Japanese culture, sweetness is not always good. In fact, it is more bad than good.

(12) SWEET IS GOOD; SOUR IS BAD (English)

- a. You are sweet.
- b. What sweet music!
- c. You are my sweetheart.
- d. Yes, honey! (*sugar*)
- e. His secretary is a real peach.
- f. The car turned out to be a real lemon.
- g. That's only sour grapes.
- g. That experience soured me on religion.

(13) AMAI (sweet) IS BAD¹³

a. Aitsu-wa amai.
you-TOP sweet
(You are sweet.)
[You are immature, simple-minded, weak.]

b. Ano sensei-no saiten-wa amai.
that teacher-GEN grading-TOP sweet
(That teacher is sweet in grading.)
[That teacher is an easy grader.]

c. Obaa-san-ga mago-o amayakasu-node komat-te i-ru.
grandmother-Mrs-NOM grandchild-ACC sweet-treat-because
worry-ing be-PRST
(Because our grandmother treats her grandchild sweetly,
we are worried about it.)
[Because our grandmother spoils her grandchild with
treats, we are worried about it.]

d. Sonna ha-no uku-yoona hyoogen-o tsukawa-nai-de
kudasai.
Such teeth-GEN float-like expression-ACC use-NEG-ing
please-IMP
(Please don't use such a sweet expression that makes my
teeth float.)
[Please don't use such a flattering expression.]

Note that (12)a and (13)a are exactly the same as
expressions, but the meaning is completely different.

Although this combination of different metaphorical
concepts and similar metaphorical expressions is very
important from a cross-cultural point of view, it is not
easy to find examples. One of the possible reasons might be
that the differences appear in a subtle way so that they are
easily overlooked. Let us consider this subtlety by looking
at how SOFTNESS is seen metaphorically in English and
Japanese.

(14) SOFT IS BAD (English)

- a. He is a *soft* man.
- b. He's a bit *soft* in head.
- c. The fruit has gone *soft*.
- d. The judge gave a *soft* sentence in the case.
- e. That professor is a *soft* grader.
- f. Bill is *soft* with his children.
- g. He's really *soft-headed*.
- h. The sales person *soft-soaped* a naive customer.

- j. My grandmother is a *soft* touch.
- k. You *softy*!
- l. The troops were *softened* by luxurious living.

The examples above illustrate the existence of a
metaphorical concept SOFT IS BAD; however, there are some
counter-examples which illustrate that SOFT IS GOOD.

(15) SOFT IS GOOD (English)

- a. She has a *soft* heart.
- b. We are having a *soft* winter this year.
- c. Music *softened* his heart.

The existence of GOOD metaphors of softness in English is
understandable, because it seems that SOFTNESS has a system
of ambivalent conceptual meanings--one being BAD when the
STUPID or the SPOILING aspect is highlighted; the other
being GOOD when the MILD aspect is highlighted. Yet, it
might be true that this sort of ambivalence shows up as a
complexity of metaphorical concepts, which makes it
difficult to detect the third combination. In case of
SOFTNESS, when we compare this with its Japanese
counterpart, there is a partial overlapping in terms of GOOD
aspect, although this overlapping is subtle and confusing,
as is shown below.

(16) YAWARAKAI (soft) IS GOOD (Japanese)

- a. Ano hito-wa atama-ga yawarakai.
that man-TOP head-NOM soft.
(That man's head is soft.)
[That man is flexible in thinking.]
- b. Ano musume-wa monogoshi-ga yawarakai-node sukida.
that girl-TOP attitude-NOM soft-because like-PARST.
(I like that girl, because her attitude is soft.)
[I like that girl, because her attitude is gentle.]
- c. Ano shijin-wa yawarakai seishin-no mochinushi da.
that poet-TOP soft spirit-GEN ownie be-PRST
(That poet has a soft spirit.)
[That poet has a flexible mind.]

Note again that (14)b and g and (16)a are very similar

expressions, but the meaning is quite different between English and Japanese because they do not share the same metaphorical concept.

Another possible reason why it is difficult to find examples of this type may well be that the differences between two cultures do not appear this way so often. We might be able to speculate that the more basic and prototypical the metaphorical concepts are, the more universal they are. If this speculation is correct, then as a consequence, the third combination must be rather rare in basic metaphorical concepts.

3.4. The last type of combination is that two cultures have different metaphorical concepts and express them in different metaphorical expressions. Without a knowledge of such metaphorical concepts or expressions (and also the cultural phenomena behind the expressions), it is difficult to communicate cross-culturally. Nevertheless, the possibility of miscommunication should be less than with the third combination, because the metaphorical expressions themselves do not make sense when translated from one language to the other.

Let us look at where, in the human body, ideas are located metaphorically in English and Japanese.

(17) IDEAS ARE IN THE MIND (English)

- a. I'll keep your opinion *in mind*.
- b. Do you have any idea *in mind*?
- c. He couldn't *make up his mind*.
- d. What's *on your mind*?
- e. You *put me in mind* of the actress I knew long ago.
- f. *To my mind*, it was a silly mistake.

In English, as we have seen, IDEAS are located in the mind, which is viewed metaphorically as a container. In Japanese, on the other hand, they are not located in the mind but in the belly, which is also viewed metaphorically as a container.

(18) IDEAS¹⁴ ARE IN HARA (BELLY) (Japanese)¹⁵

- a. Hayaku hara-o kime-nasai.
quickly belly-ACC decide-IMP

(Decide your belly quickly.)
[Make up your mind quickly.]

b. Aitsu-wa hara-ga suwat-te i-ru.
you-TOP belly-NOM sit-ing be-PRST
(His belly is sitting.)
[He is determined.]

c. Hara-o kukut-te irasshai.
belly-ACC close-ing come-IMP-POL
(Please come with your belly closed.)
[Please come with your mind made up.]

d. Kinoo-wa itaku-mo-nai hara-o sagur-are ta.
yesterday-TOP hurting-even-NEG belly-ACC examine-PASS-
PAST
(Yesterday my belly was examined even though it didn't hurt.)
[Yesterday questions were asked even though I didn't do anything wrong.]

e. Hara-o wat-te hanashiaou.
belly-ACC break-ing talk-let's
(Let's talk with our bellies cut open.)
[Let's speak openly.]

f. Taroo-no kuchi to hara to-wa chigau.
Taroo-GEN mouth belly and-TOP different
(Taroo's mouth and belly are different.)
[Taroo says one thing, and means another.]

g. Ano hito-wa hara-ni ichi-motsu aru yooda.
that man-TOP belly-LOC one-thing exist seem-PRST.
(It seems that that man has something in his belly.)
[It seems that that man has something wicked in mind.]

h. Sono kaidan-wa hara-no yomi-ai-ni shuushishi-ta.
the meeting-TOP belly-GEN read-each-other-LOC start-to-
end-do-PAST.
(People at the meeting read each other's belly from beginning to end.)
[People at the meeting tried to read each other's intentions from beginning to end.]

i. Taroo-wa hara-no naka-o zettai-ni mise-nai.
Taroo-TOP belly-GEN inside-ACC never see-let-NEG
(Taroo never lets others see inside of his belly.)
[Taroo conceals his real intentions.]

4. Conclusion

To conclude, we have seen that the introduction of metaphor as a parameter of comparative cultures leads to a systematic comparison of the modes of thought (that is, metaphorical concepts) in two cultures based on concrete data (namely, metaphorical expressions) in the languages spoken in these cultures. The classification of comparisons shows in theory that the difficulty of cross-cultural communication and the frequency of miscommunication increase in the following order: 3.1 (same metaphorical concepts and expressions), 3.2 (same metaphorical concepts but different expressions), 3.4 (different metaphorical concepts and different expressions), and 3.3 (different metaphorical concepts but same expressions).

As we have seen, the richest area of comparison is the second combination, namely, that the two cultures share basic metaphorical concepts but express them in different metaphorical expressions. Sharing metaphorical concepts means sharing ways of seeing reality. Although it is always very important to understand the differences between cultures, it is also very important to understand their similarities. In this regard, to see that basic metaphorical concepts are more similar than different will bring an awareness that we are similar, which I think is crucial in developing an open attitude of understanding different cultures and different peoples.

What remains for further research and consideration is the problem of levels of abstraction and the problem of emotional or affective meaning inherent in metaphor. The first problem shows up a potential shortcoming of this analysis, because it is the level of abstraction which decides whether two cultures share certain metaphorical concepts or not. It is a matter of the stance of the researcher. If one stands on a fairly abstract level, that is, on a very basic metaphorical conceptual level, then I assume that one would see most of the comparisons fall into category 3.2 (the two cultures have the same metaphorical concepts but different metaphorical expressions). On the other hand, if one stands on a rather concrete level, namely, on a more specific metaphorical conceptual level, then, one would see most of the comparisons fall into category 3.4 (the two cultures have different metaphorical concepts and different metaphorical expressions). Yet, as a whole, I think that the methodology of categorization and comparison still makes a point, if one is careful enough to

define where he/she stands on the abstraction ladder.

The second problem is indeed more profound and important in the current trends in the studies of metaphors where the cognitive/semantic function of metaphor is treated as a central issue. Human communication is not merely a matter of cognitive/semantic process. It involves an emotional process as well. I would recommend that we should incorporate the rhetorical function of metaphor with the cognitive and semantic function in a new light. Needless to say, the problem of feeling is very important in cross-cultural communication too.

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Notes

- 1 Metaphorical expressions are indicated in italics.
- 2 Metaphorical concepts are indicated by the statements in capital letters.
- 3 A word-by-word English translation is given beneath each example sentence.

The following are the meanings of the abbreviations of grammatical relations marked in capital letters: TOP (topic); NOM (nominative or subject); ACC (accusative or direct object); DAT (dative or indirect object); GEN (genitive); LOC (locative); INST (instrumental); PROG (progressive tense); PRST (present tense); PAST (past tense); IMP (imperative); SUBJ (subjunctive); NEG (negative); CAUS (causative); HON (honorific); F (female); M (male); and POL (polite style).
- 4 Literal translation is indicated by parenthesis.
- 5 Free translation is indicated by brackets if necessary.
- 6 In *sumo*, one can be on the verge of winning, of pushing one's opponent out of a ring, but can push so hard that one overbalances and steps out of the ring oneself. This is called "being brave foot." Thus, "to be brave foot" in life is to defeat oneself by overconfidence.
- 7 *Gunbai* is a wooden racket-like object used by the referee to indicate the winner.
- 8 *Mon* is a unit of Japanese old currency. One *mon* is one thousandth of a *yen*.
- 9 *Kabuki* is Japanese classical theater.
- 10 *Hinoki-butai* literally means a stage made of Japanese cypress wood. The stage of Kabuki Theater is made of *hinoki*; thus, the word means a first class theater.
- 11 *Hanamichi* is an elevated passageway running from the stage the back row of the orchestra.
- 12 *Ohako* is a name for a collection of eighteen classical *kabuki* plays favored by great actors.

13 Conversely, *SHIBUI* (bitter) IS GOOD in Japanese. For example, "kare-wa *shibumi* gakatta ni-maime da" (He is bitter and good-looking) [He is tasteful and good-looking]; "naka naka *shibui* shumi desu-ne" (You have a bitter taste, don't you?) [You have a sophisticated taste, don't you?]

14 For the purpose of comparison, I use the concept of IDEA here. However, strictly speaking, it is not "ideas" in an English sense, but *honno* (honest feeling) or *honshin* (honest thought) that is in the belly. I owe this sharp insight to Carl Becker.

15 IDEAS ARE IN HARA (BELLY) metaphor shows up most uniquely in the traditional way of suicide (*seppuku*-cut belly) by *samurai* (warriors), in which they cut their belly with a sword with an intention of showing that the inside of their belly is clean, namely an attempt to prove their innocence or honor.

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METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS ABOUT MOTHER IN ENGLISH AND JAPANESE

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1. Introduction

Psychiatrists often claim that ties between a mother and her children are excessively close in Japan. Sociologists and others, moreover, assert that mothers' status in the family has gradually improved recently in both America and Japan. One of the main purposes of this paper is to investigate whether those claims are reflected in English and Japanese. Metaphorical expressions about "mother" are focused on, claim Lakoff and Turner (1989, xi), because "metaphor allows us to understand ourselves and our world in ways that no other modes of thought can."

2. Haha and Mother

2.1 Prototype of Mother

According to Lakoff (1987), the concept of "mother" for Americans is formed by combining various kinds of models about a mother, such as the following:

- The birth model: The person who gives birth is the mother.
- The genetic model: The female who contributes the genetic material is the mother.
- The nurturance model: The female who nurtures and raises a child is the mother of the child.
- The marital model: The wife of the father is the mother.
- The genealogical model: The closest female ancestor is the mother. (Lakoff 1987, 74)