Metaphor in Hakka proverbs

Linguistic and cultural constraints

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This paper investigates metaphor in Hakka proverbs by examining a corpus of 933 couplets based on a refined analytic framework from Lakoff & Turner (1989). For the source domain, the being of the state of affairs and the rhetorical relations of the two chunks are identified. For the target domain, the projected theme and the connotative tendency are examined. The results show that source domains significantly correlate with the rhetorical relations and target domains, respectively. Four metaphorical mapping mechanisms based on the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor are proposed for the operation of the global construal. A mirror image mapping is demonstrated: whole-for-part metonymy in the source domain and part-for-whole metonymy in the target domain. Both the evoked knowledge schemas, encompassing real-life Hakka folk experiences, and the projected themes, including family values, individual characters, and evaluations or standards of life, are found to be culturally constrained. A coalescence of linguistic, cultural, and affective forces is claimed to represent the metaphors in Hakka proverbs. The study contributes to a better understanding of metaphors in proverbs by establishing a solid ground from their linguistic and cultural features, and to expanding the conceptual metaphor theory by building the conceptual universality with specific cultural information.

Keywords: Hakka proverbs, rhetorical relations, connotative tendency, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy

1. Introduction

Proverbs continue to be a most powerful and effective instrument for the transmission of cultural values and social morality. Proverbs with succinct linguistic forms formulate an especially interesting form of discourse in so many different languages because, "[a]s compact expressions of important cultural knowledge, proverbs combine a cognitive economy of reasoning with pragmatic force aimed

at influencing other people" (White 1987: 152). An in-depth exploration of proverbs of a community can give a profound outline of the people's way of life, their philosophy and criticism of life, and their moral and social values. The economy in description of proverbs gives rise to their extensive employment of metaphorical imagery and cultural elements, leading to opaqueness for understanding. Hence, systematic cognitive analyses of the linguistic forms and cultural constraints of proverbs are needed for a better interpretation.

Metaphor has been shown as a conceptual matter with a set of mappings between a source domain and a target domain since the cognitive turn due to Lakoff & Johnson's publication of *Metaphors we live by* in 1980. The cognitive force of metaphor allows us to employ the same systematic conceptual apparatus for the successful interpretations not only of a rich array of ordinary linguistic expressions but also of opaque linguistic forms like proverbs (Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Turner 1989). The conceptual approach to metaphor has proved to be quite powerful in accounting for the conceptual mappings between the source concept and the target concept as illustrated by LIFE IS A JOURNEY, ARGUMENT IS WAR, and many other cases given in Lakoff & Johnson (1980). However, the importance of tackling the intertwining relationship between language, thought, and culture in the studies of metaphor has been raised in the extant literature. For instance, Cameron & Deignan (2006) argue that metaphor is both linguistic and conceptual in that the interaction between language and thought should be bi-directional. Kövecses (2002; 2005) maintains that to characterize metaphors, cultural variations are crucial, as metaphors inscribe cultural knowledge and need to be learned within specific socio-cultural groups (cf. also Cameron & Deignan 2006). Studies of metaphor need to "draw generalizations about thought and culture from the systematic analysis of language" (Steen & Gibbs 1999: 6). These claims are particularly crucial for understanding metaphor in proverbs as proverbs that represent cultural tools for people to experience real world situations have the power to instruct people in what to concern, how to understand, and how to lead their lives (cf. Lakoff & Turner 1989: 160).

From a folk literature paradigm, Hung (1985: 142ff) sums up three general important features of proverbs – literary, practical, and normative. He also points out that an analysis of their syntactic structures is missing in the study of proverbs. The three features can be lucidly elucidated by the analysis of the linguistic features, the components of the source domain, the projected themes and their intended purposes of the target domain. To this end, two crucial issues need to be more closely examined with regard to metaphor in proverbs. First, the linguistic elements composing a proverb play an important role in shaping the specific knowledge schemas of the source domain. Hakka proverbs are quite flexible in terms of their length and their composition in that they may range from one to several lines usually without overt linking elements in-between. The linguistic and structural features that trigger

the metaphorical construal of a proverb need to be more rigorously explicated. Second, specific cultural practices also play an important role in understanding the global reading projected by the target domain. Hence the specific cultural knowledge grounded in Hakka proverbial expressions needs to be more lucidly spelled out. In response to the two issues, this study aims to provide a detailed linguistic and cultural investigation of Hakka proverbs. First, the linguistic elements of the source domain of a proverb are examined, identifying its specific layer in the Great Chain, and the rhetorical relations between the syntactic structures of the couplet. Next, the evoked knowledge schemas and cultural practices will be investigated. Then, the target domain will be examined, providing generalizations of the themes and characterizing the connotative tendency and their intended purposes.

In addition to the Introduction, § 2 presents the analytic framework; § 3 presents the method; § 4 presents the results and discussion; § 5 concludes the paper.

2. The analytic framework

The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR proposed by Lakoff & Turner (1989: 170ff) is a conceptual system that encompasses four components – the Nature of Things, the commonplace theory of the relationship between attributes and behaviors, the Basic Great Chain encompassing a hierarchy of beings, the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, and the Maxim of Quantity. The four parts are given below from (1) to (3):

(1) The nature of things plus the Great Chain
HUMANS: Higher-order attributes lead to higher-order behavior.
ANIMALS: Instinctual attributes lead to instinctual behavior.
PLANTS: Biological attributes lead to biological behavior.
COMPLEX OBJECTS: Structural attributes lead to functional behavior.
NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS: Natural physical attributes lead to natural physical behavior.

(2) The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor: A general mapping principle for the construal.

(3) The communicative Maxim of Quantity: Be as informative as is required and not more so.

The model indicates a causal relation where the inherent features of forms of being result in certain behaviors and functions. The hierarchical scale indicates that, although linguistic descriptions may be concerned with nonhuman forms of being such as animals, plants, and complex objects, the activation of the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR allows us to associate the attributes and behavior of nonhumans with

those of human beings. The specific-level schemas triggered by the entire expression are understood globally as expressing generic-level information about the nature of human beings. Take 'big thunder/little rain' for instance discussed in Lakoff & Turner (1989: 174ff). The surface form characterizes a natural event with two sub-events, thunder and rain. However, it is construed as a remark about a person due to the speakers' knowledge schemas and the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR. The combination of the abovementioned components evokes our commonsense knowledge of thunderstorms, and this example is hence interpreted as an unusual situation – loud thunder with surprisingly little rain. Then, afterwards, the relevant information of the source domain is conceptually mapped onto the target domain of human beings, since proverbs are deemed to be concerned about human affairs. The interpretation of this case thus has an effect of exhortation, urging people to behave, not instinctively like the lower-order forms of being described by the expression, but rationally like human beings.

The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR provides a general principle of the conceptual apparatus operated for the understanding of opaque linguistic forms, including proverbs. However, the model focuses more on cognitive and cultural apparatus than on linguistic features exhibited by the forms of the proverbs. To appropriately analyze the data, the current study modifies the model in various aspects.

First, for a finer-grained categorization of the source domain, two aspects are included: the identification of the hierarchy of the beings and the rhetorical relations of the two chunks of a couplet. For the former, the layer of beings is expanded from five to seven, adding the layer of spirits, gods, and ghosts, replacing the layer of natural physical things with the layer of natural landscapes, and the layer of the natural system, which includes the twenty-four solar terms system, the universe, and regional festivals. The expanded hierarchy of the beings is given in (4). For the latter, five rhetorical relations of the chunks of a couplet are identified as given in (5), including temporal, additive, contrastive, causal, and conditional relations. Proverbs, typically characterized by terse and balanced structures, are compacted with various degrees of opaque meanings. Identifying the rhetorical relations which operate between the chunks of a couplet can explicitly depict the states of affairs specified by the source domain. Next, for the target domain, three thematic categories of the global metaphorical readings are identified as given in (6), including family values, values of family relations, individual characters, including personal inclinations, abilities, or morality, and standards/evaluations of life, including values and perspectives toward certain circumstances or situations. The positive or non-positive connotative tendency together with its associated purpose is identified as given in (7). Then the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor that allows a mapping from a single specific-level schema of the source domain to a generic-level schema of the target domain is given in (8).

(4) The expanded hierarchy of the beings
GODS [G]: Attributes and events associated with spirits, gods, and ghosts.
HUMANS [H]: Attributes and behaviors associated with human beings.
ANIMALS [A]: Attributes and events associated with animals.
PLANTS [P]: Biological attributes and behaviors associated with plants.
COMPLEX OBJECTS [CO]: Structural attributes and functions associated with complex objects.
NATURAL LANDSCAPE [NL]: Attributes and behaviors associated with mountains, or rivers.
NATURAL SYSTEM [NS]: The twenty-four solar terms system, the universe, and regional festivals.

(5) The five rhetorical relations of chunk1 and chunk2 (C1–C2)[1]
Temporal: C1 and C2 forming a temporal sequence.
Additive: C1 and C2 forming a parallel repetition.
Contrastive: C1 and C2 forming an opposing relation.
Causal: C1 and C2 forming a cause-effect relation.
Conditional: C1 and C2 forming a protasis-apodosis relation.

(6) The three thematic categories of the target domain
Family values [F]: Values of family relations such as filial piety, husband-wife relationship, parent-child relationship, brotherhood and the like.
Individual characters [C]: Personal inclinations, abilities, or morality such as honesty, courage, loyalty, earnestness, thrift, dependability, persistence, hard work, and the like. (cf. Fowers 2005)
Standards/evaluations of life [E]: Standards of life, and evaluations or attitudes toward certain circumstances or situations.

(7) The connotative tendency and the associated purpose
Positive for Encouragement: Encouraging people to act as generalized by the proverb.
Non-positive for Exhortation: Directing people not to act as generalized by the proverb.

(8) The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor: Specifying how the holistic general characterization of a proverb is grounded in the concrete and accessible specific-level schemas evoked by the source domain.

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1. The rhetorical relations are reduced into five with comparison, contrast, and concession merged under the category of contrastive. The original intention is to distinguish a contrastive relation that is symmetric (contrastive) from the one that is asymmetric (concessive). However, one of the reviewers points out that there seems to be an overlap between the two relations and that it is not easy to distinguish one from the other. Another reviewer is also concerned about the exhaustiveness and exclusiveness regarding possible rhetorical relations. In response to these concerns, all the data are re-analyzed based on the revised format. As long as an opposing relation is identified between the two lines, the couplet is categorized into the contrastive type. I owe this modification to the reviewers.

3.   Method

3.1   The data

The data of proverbial expressions are collected from eleven books authored by Hakka writers in Taiwan, including proverbial expressions, sayings, two-part allegorical sayings, riddles, fixed phrases and sentences; these are listed in the References.[2] Hakka people are known as an ethic group of migration due to civil wars, foreign invasions, and other historical reasons. After several major moves, some Hakka people migrated to Taiwan around the middle of the 19th century (Hashimoto 1973; Chappell & Lamarre 2005). Hence, it is quite natural for Hakka usages to be influenced by or adopted from different sources. As long as the usages are common among Hakka people as indicated by the books, they will be counted into the data for the study. Each item from the books was first typed into Excel files. The Hakka characters were then double-checked based on the *Taiwan Hakka dictionary of common words* (臺灣客語常用字辭典) compiled by the Ministry of Education Hakka Dialect Compiling Group in Taiwan in 2011 so that inconsistent usages of Hakka characters could be standardized in the data.[3] Some unknown characters that are presented as romanized forms in the books were also standardized based on the system used in the dictionary. Then, repeated items were deleted. After the reduction, 933 items that consist of a couplet are analyzed in the study.[4]

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2.   They include Deng (1996; 1999), Li (1998), Yang (1999), Lo (2000; 2001), He (2001), Liao (2001), Tu (2002; 2003), and Huang (2005).

3.   The Hakka language spoken in Taiwan, identified as one of the major dialects of Chinese, did not have its own established written system until 1988 when the Hakka people in Taiwan launched the *Give My Mother Tongue Back Movement*. The government in Taiwan responded positively by setting policies for the revival of Hakka languages, such as encouraging publications related to Hakka affairs. As these books were published at different times and the authors used their own character systems, inconsistencies arose regarding the usage of Hakka characters – some used homophonous characters from Mandarin, while some used the original characters traced back to different dynasties before the *Vernacular Movement* in 1919, when modern Chinese was established. Troubled by such inconsistencies in application to education and in regard to the promotion of use, the Ministry of Education in Taiwan has recently been working on standardization of Hakka characters. In addition, since proverbs are often spontaneous expressions of folk wisdom orally transmitted among the public, some of the characters are misused due to homophonous similarities.

4.   In the data, items contain different forms ranging from one line to couplets, or to several lines. Set phrases or sentences, one-chunk common sayings, riddles and two-part allegorical sayings are excluded. The study focuses on analyzing couplets – two lines usually without conjunctions in-between. Among the 933 items, however, the two connectors *m5dong3* [毋當 NEG-compare 'in no comparison of'] (8 tokens) and *dong5go1* [當過 compare-pass 'more than'] (3 tokens), which

3.2   Coding

Based on the analytic framework, all 933 items are coded according to the following steps:

i.   Identification of the source domain of the couplet based on the hierarchy of the beings given in (4). Four types are classified. The first type contains two lines, both depicting human affairs. The second type contains two lines depicting states of affairs of different beings – one human affair and the other non-human affair. The third type contains two lines depicting the same non-human affairs. The fourth type contains two lines depicting two different non-human affairs. These four types will lead to four different mappings onto the target domain for the construal, as will be discussed in § 4.2.
ii. Identification of the rhetorical relations of the two chunks based on the five kinds given in (5).
iii. Identification of the themes of the target domain based on the three types given in (6).
iv. Identification of the connotative tendency of the whole couplet. This step is carried out with questionnaires filled out by 42 Hakka native speakers. A questionnaire with the 933 items is designed with a scale of 5 ranging from very positive to very non-positive. The subjects include 22 males and 20 females. Their Hakka dialects encompass the five Hakka subdialects although the majority speaks the *Sixian* dialect. Ages range from 18 to 60 years old, with 20 persons below 45, and 22 persons above 45. Based on their self-evaluation of their Hakka competence from 1 to 10, almost 90% of them are above average with 38 persons evaluating themselves in the range of 6–10, and 18 persons evaluating themselves above 8.

For the first three steps, the data were divided into two parts for two groups of coders for the first round of coding for consistency. Then the two groups of coders exchanged their respective parts for the second round of coding. Each item was coded twice. Inconsistencies were then discussed among all the coders and reference was made to the original books from which they were collected so as to arrive at a consensus. The author then did the third-round of examination of all the data. The results of the questionnaires are statistically calculated. The following examples illustrate how the method is carried out based on the analytic framework.

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clearly specify a contrastive relation between the two lines, are found. Since these tokens fulfill the format of a couplet except that their rhetorical functions are clearly specified, they are not excluded in the current study. Thanks to two of the reviewers for the clarification of the scope of the study.

(9) 天晴莧菜茄，落雨蕹菜禾 [Source: NS/P][C1–C2: Contrastive][Theme: E][5]
tien1qiang5 han3coi3   kio5,   log8i2 vung3coi3   vo5
sunshine   Chinese spinach eggplant rain   water spinach rice
'If it is sunny, plant Chinese spinach or eggplant; in contrast, if it is rainy, plant water spinach or rice.'

(10) 等水難滾，等子難大   [Source: CO/H][C1–C2: Additive][Theme: F]
den2 sui2   nan5 gun2, den2 zii2   nan5 tai3
wait water hard boil   wait child hard grow
'A watched pot never boils; a watched child never grows.'

(11) 湖鰍搵泥沙，緊搵緊大條   [Source: A/A][C1–C2: Causal] [Theme: E]
fu5qiu1 vun3 nai5sa1 gin2 vun3 gin2 tai3 tiau5
loach   soak silt   more soak more big CL
'Because the loach was soaked in the silt, its shape became bigger and bigger.'

(12) 一儕比得一儕，山歌比得採茶 [Source: H/CO][C1–C2: Conditional][Theme: E]
id4 sa5 bi2-ded4   id4 sa5 san1go1 bi2-ded4   cai2   ca5
a   CL compare-POT a   CL folk-song compare-POT picking tea
'If one person can be compared with another, then folk-songs can be compared with tea-picking.'

(13) 千跪萬拜一爐香，毋當生前一碗湯[6] [Source: H/H][C1–C2:Contrastive][Theme: F]
qien1   kui2 van3   bai3   id4 lu5 hiong1 m5dong3
thousand kneel ten thousand worship a   MW incense NEG-compare
sen1qien5 id4 von2 tong1
lifetime   a   MW soup
'A person's worship of the souls of his parents on bended knees and filling an incense censer with incense sticks after their death is no comparison with his act in serving a bowl of soup to his parents during their lifetime.'

Example in (9) shows a contrastive relation of two different states of affairs – one of the solar system and the other of the plants. The theme conveying a perspective toward life is categorized as an evaluation of life. Example in (10) describes an additive relation with two different states of affairs – one with a complex object and the other with a human affair. The theme conveying a parent's expectation of raising children is categorized as a family value. Example in (11) describes a causal event due to an animal behavior – a loach becoming bigger and bigger because of being

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5. This case shows a "relation embedded in relation" as pointed out by one of the reviewers. Within each line, a conditional relation is observed, whereas across the two lines, a contrastive relation is observed. The classification of the C1–C2 relation for this case is contrastive as the relation across the lines is examined.

6. This example is one of the examples that contains a connector in-between the two lines.

soaked in silt. The theme that remarks on a situation that is getting worse due to a lack of earlier preventive action is categorized as an evaluation of life. Example in (12) indicates a condition between two different state of affairs – one human affair and the other complex object. The theme conveying an attitude toward human relations is categorized as an evaluation of life. Example (13) indicates a contrastive relation of two human affairs. The theme of this proverb clearly conveys a family value of filial piety.

4. Results and discussion

In what follows, § 4.1 reports the cross-distribution of the rhetorical relations and the source domain, the cross-distribution of the source domain and the thematic categories of the target domain, and the results of the connotative tendency. Section 4.2 proposes four mapping mechanisms based on the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor for metaphorical interpretations, and § 4.3 provides a holistic and interactive delineation of the knowledge schemas and cultural constraints.

4.1 Distribution of the categorizations

In what follows, Table 1 presents the cross-distribution of the rhetorical functions and the four types of the source domain. Table 2 presents the cross-distribution of the four types of the source domain and the projected themes of the target domain. The results of the connotative tendency of the questionnaires are reported afterwards.

Table 1. The cross-distribution of the rhetorical relations and the source domain

Source	C1–C2						
	T	A	R	C	D	Total	(%)
Type 1	59	198	188	55	75	575	(61.6)
Type 2	2	53	4	6	4	69	(7.4)
Type 3	32	115	61	33	36	277	(29.7)
Type 4	1	5	3	0	3	12	(1.3)
Total (%)	94 (10.1)	371 (39.8)	256 (27.4)	94 (10.1)	118 (12.6)	933	(100)

$\chi^2 = 59.41$ ($df = 12$), $p < 0.01$; $\varphi = 0.25$, $p < 0.01$.
*T: temporal; A: additive; R: contrastive; C: causal; D: conditional
**Type 1: [H]-[H]; Type 2: [H]-[NH]; Type 3: [NHx- NHx]; Type 4: [NHx- NHy]

The most salient linguistic features of Hakka proverbs can be summed up as parallelism and antithesis. Structurally, they are characterized by succinct and symmetric chunks which are parallel to each other. Table 1 shows that among the five rhetorical

relations, the additive relation (39.8%) stands out as the highest pattern. Since the most salient and evident feature of a proverb is parallelism, the forms of couplets are seen with parallel syntactic constituents occurring within the two chunks, nouns to nouns, verbs to verbs, and adverbs to adverbs. The addition of the second chunk often serves for a repetitive thought – emphasizing the two sides of the same coin. Parallelism is further accompanied by the other salient feature of a proverb – antithesis – with two things or descriptions directly opposite to each other in nature or function. In Table 1, the contrastive and the conditional (occupying 27.4%, and 12.6%, respectively), comprise forty percent (40%) of the total number of occurrences. While most couplets lack connectives between the chunks, an antithetical relationship is present between them, lending the couplet to the contrastive relation. Adding up the use of repetition, contrast, causality, and condition gives rise to almost ninety percent (89.9%) of the total. The result comes as no surprise considering the parallel and antithetical nature in the formation of a proverb. Parallel structures give rise to emphasis, and antithesis gives rise to antagonistic effect. Both rhetorical strategies lead to the efficacy of a proverb as a terse aphorism, with its normative purpose. Furthermore, both chi-square (χ^2) and phi (φ) tests are utilized to test whether there is a correlation between the rhetorical functions and the four types of the source domain. The results reveal that the rhetorical functions and the four types of the source domain have a significant association ($\chi^2 = 59.41$, $p < 0.01$; $\varphi = 0.25$, $p < 0.01$), suggesting that the distribution of the five rhetorical functions is not the same across the four types of the source domain.

Table 2. The cross-distribution of the source domain and the target domain

Source	Target			Total	(%)
	F	C	E		
Type 1	46	119	410	575	(61.6)
Type 2	12	13	44	69	(7.4)
Type 3	13	22	242	277	(29.7)
Type 4	0	2	10	12	(1.3)
Total (%)	71 (7.6)	156 (16.7)	706 (75.7)	933	(100)

$\chi^2 = 39.03$ ($df = 6$), $p < 0.01$; $\varphi = 0.21$, $p < 0.01$.
*F: Family values; C: Individual characters; E: Standards/Evaluations of life
**Type 1: [H]-[H]; Type 2: [H]-[NH]; Type 3: [NH_x- NH_x]; Type 4: [NH_x- NH_y]

Table 2 shows that human affairs are depicted most in the data with the total of type 1 (61.6%) and type 2 (7.4%) together close to seventy percent (69%). Such a tendency has a lot to do with the non-referentiality feature exhibited by the couplets. This grammatical strategy is employed in the syntactic structures in the following ways: the subject is either omitted, hence replaced with a zero subject, or represented by a non-referential generic form. Like the other two linguistic

features, non-referentiality is closely related to the normative nature of a proverb. Proverbs often serve didactic purposes – guiding people to behave appropriately. Interestingly though, a seemingly paradoxical representation of the meaning in proverbs is observed. An understanding of the egotistic concerns of human beings themselves and a suppression of individual eccentricity goes hand in hand. Furthermore, both chi-square (χ^2) and phi (φ) tests are utilized to test whether there is a correlation between the four types of the source domain and the three thematic categories of the target domain. The results reveal that the two aspects have a significant association ($\chi^2 = 39.03$, $p < 0.01$; $\varphi = 0.21$, $p < 0.01$), suggesting that the distribution of the four types of the source domain is not the same across the three thematic categories of the target domain.

Finally, we identify the forty-two raters' conceptual judgments of the connotative tendency of the tokens by using a t-test method to examine whether the average rating point significantly deviates from uncertainty (3 on the scale meaning unable to decide on the connotative tendency). The statistical results show that 33.1% of the tokens tend to be interpreted positively, 34.8%, non-positively, and 32%, left to be undecided. Cross-examination of the four types of the source domain and their connotative tendency reveals a quite interesting result. Among all the non-positive tokens (325 tokens), 69.5% of them (226 tokens) come from type one. The analysis suggests that when specific human affairs are involved in the source domain, a proverb tends to convey a negative construal, utilized for exhortation. This result might not be surprising as it indicates a significant correlation of the intended purpose and the linguistic features. Notice that the linguistic features of subject omission or non-referentiality not only tones down the embarrassment which would result from criticism of others and the severe impact of the teaching but also enables the general truth or wisdom of the application of the point to endure. Its indirectness entailed by the linguistic features reinforces its pragmatic force for communicative effectiveness (cf. White 1987). On the other hand, non-referential genericity serves to salvage the impoliteness of warning and blaming others, or teaching others moral lessons. It also implies a set of general principles or abstract community values for one to follow, hence promoting the normative function in an effective manner (cf. Hung 1985).

4.2 The mapping mechanisms for metaphorical interpretations

We understand proverbs are used to make comments about human beings. How do we know what general understanding a proverb conveys? In addition to establishing a more lucid analysis of the linguistic features of the proverbs, the refined analytic framework provides a more solid ground for the application of the two principles – the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor and the communicative Maxim of

Quantity. The metaphorical interpretation needs to be grounded in the linguistic elements of the specific construction of a proverb, which provide the more concrete metonymic bases in the source domain for the metaphorical mapping. The specific-level situations of proverbs evoke specific-level schemas that encompass explicit details and concrete images, allowing us to understand generalized global interpretations in terms of specific-level scenarios. The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, "which maps a single specific-level schema onto an indefinitely large number of parallel specific-level schemas that all have the same generic-level structure as the source-domain schema," (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 162) is what makes the reasoning feasible. The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor can be explicitly represented by four mapping mechanisms in correspondence with the four types of the source domain. In the source domain, a whole-for-part metonymy is operated with a proverbial expression highlighting certain attributes or behaviors of the beings. Through metaphorical mapping, the evoked specific-level schema is mapped onto the target domain with a projected theme. As the themes do not give an exhaustive list of human nature, a part-for-whole metonymy is operated in the target domain, showing how proverbs are concerned about humanity in general. Type one represents a source-domain schema with two human affairs; type two, one human affair and one non-human affair; type three, two identical non-human affairs (as shown by the subscript x); and type four, two different non-human affairs (as shown by the different subscripts x and y). Notice that from type one to type four, the degree of meaning opaqueness tends to increase as the amount of efforts that needs to be made for reasoning increases when a proverb does not involve human affairs. The following four figures represent the four types, respectively. An example is given for each type for illustration.
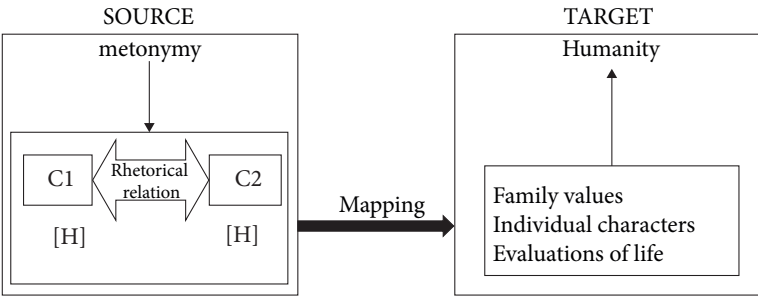
Type 1

Figure 1. GENERIC IS SPECIFIC METAPHOR (Type 1)

(14) 半夜想該千條路，天光本本磨豆腐 [Source: [H/H][C1–C2: Temporal][Theme: E]
      ban3ia3   xiong2 ge3   qien1   tiau5 lu3, tien1gong1 bun2bun2
      midnight think   that   thousand CL   way   daybreak   still
      mo3   teu3fu3
      grind   soybean curd
      'Thinking of thousands of ways of living at midnight, one still has to grind
      soybeans to make bean curd the next day. – One should face the reality given
      all possible imagination.'

This couplet depicts a scenario with two specific sequential events, the first one de-
scribing a situation in which a person can have various thoughts for possible career
development at midnight, and the second one describing the reality in which he still
needs to do what is needed to earn a living. This scenario metonymically highlights
two specific human behaviors in the source domain. The specific-level schema is
then mapped to a projected generic theme – an evaluation upon life – how one
should face the reality given all possible imagination. Indulging in a little romantic
daydreaming regarding how one can earn a lot more money is not uncommon.
Hence, the understanding of its metaphorical reading tends to be relatively trans-
parent as the proverb depicts an experience people can easily relate to.

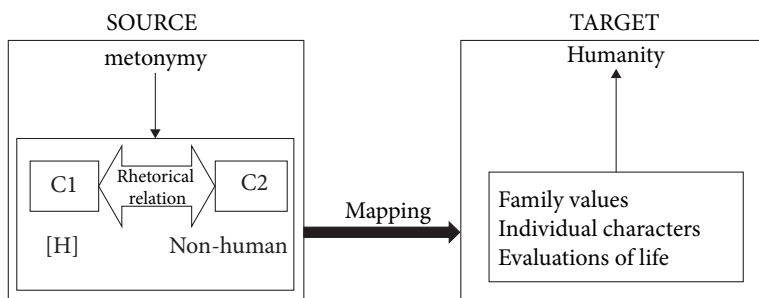**Type 2**

Figure 2. GENERIC IS SPECIFIC METAPHOR (Type 2)

(15) 一儕比得一儕，山歌比得採茶 [Source: H/CO][C1–C2: Conditional][Theme: E]
      id4 sa5 bi2-ded4   id4 sa5 san1go1 bi2-ded4   cai2   ca5
      a   CL compare-POT a   CL folk-song compare-POT picking tea
      'If one person can be compared with another, then folk-songs can be compared
      with tea-picking. – To avoid making comparisons based on insignificant matters
      is to respect the merits of each person.'

Example in (12), repeated here in (15), depict two different states of affairs – one human affair and the other, complex objects. The couplet indicates a condition – If one person can be compared with another, then folk-songs can be compared with tea-picking. The same reasoning can be explicated for this example. Through mapping, the specific source-domain schema is projected to a theme of a standard of life. The insignificant comparison between two different and independent events is used as an analogy to describe the inadequacies inherent in making comparisons between people. Thus, to avoid making comparisons based on insignificant matters is to respect the merits of each person.
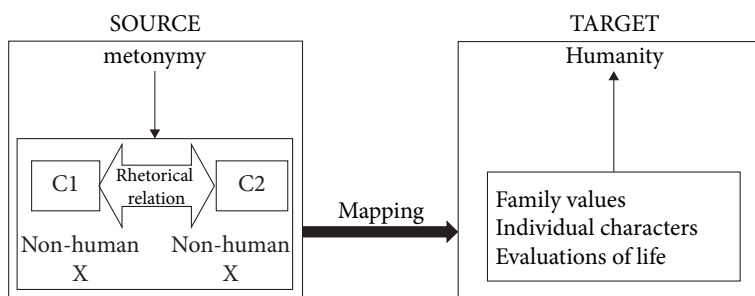
Type 3

Figure 3. GENERIC IS SPECIFIC METAPHOR (Type 3)

(16)   冬瓜大好做菜，鹹菜細好上台 [Source: P/P]; [C1–C2: Additive][Theme: E]
dung1gua1   tai3 ho2 zo3coi3,   ham5coi3   se3   ho2
winter melon big   good make dish, salted greens small   good
song1toi5
mount the platform
'Wax gourd is big and good for making dishes; preserved greens are good for sale. – Just as all things in their beings are good for something, so every man has his strong and weak points.'

Type 3 with two identical non-human affairs includes six possible combinations. The couplet in Example (16) contains two parallel descriptions highlighting the salient attributes of two plants. While similar reasoning can be explicated, understanding this case however requires more effort as its metaphorical reading is more opaque than the previous two. The source-domain schema that evokes lower forms of being in the hierarchy of beings requires an understanding of the attributes of certain plants. Essentially, proverbs concern human beings, offering us ways of understanding the complex capabilities of human beings. This proverb, although highlighting salient attributes of plants, is hence understood to lay out a

target-domain schema for human understanding – just as all things in their beings are good for something, so every man has his strong and weak points.
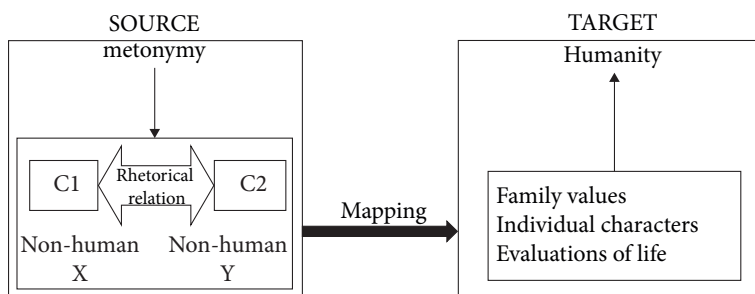
Type 4

Figure 4. GENERIC IS SPECIFIC METAPHOR (Type 4)

(17) 天晴莧菜茄，落雨蕹菜禾　[Source: NS/P] [C1–C2: Contrastive] [Theme: E]
tien1qiang5　han3coi3　　　kio5,　　log8i2　vung3coi3　　vo5
sunshine　　Chinese spinach　eggplant　rain　water spinach　rice
'If it is sunny, plant Chinese spinach or eggplant; in contrast, if it is rainy, plant water spinach or rice. – All things in their being are good for something.'

Example (9), repeated here in Example (17), illustrates Type four. This type includes several possible combinations with the most opaque meanings. Unlike those cases in Type three, these cases evoke two different layers in the hierarchy of beings in the source domain. Since two different beings are involved, the complexities of the source-domain schema add up, hence demanding even more efforts in reasoning. Example (17) indeed maps out a similar targeted theme as Example (17) – namely, all things in their being are good for something. Nevertheless, the linguistic expressions in the couplet indicate that one needs to have not only knowledge of the natural system, but also its impact upon growing certain plants or vegetables.

4.3　Knowledge schemas and cultural constraints

The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor is explicitly spelled out with four mapping mechanisms in correspondence with the four types of source domain in § 4.2. The next question to ask is: What is the pertinent information for the activation of the mapping mechanisms for such a broad array of data? It is to be shown that how speakers evoke their commonsense knowledge depends strongly on their cultural perspectives of their surroundings and livelihood, which in turn lead to their perspectives of interpersonal relationships and/or their standards or values with regard

to life. The expanded model provides specific relevant information for the Maxim of Quantity to work.

The practical aspects of human life are manifested in the knowledge schemas which compose the source domain, encompassing matters related to livelihood and natural surroundings. In the analytic framework, the hierarchy of beings given in (4) is expanded because Hakka proverbs evoke not only beings of the basic Great Chain but also gods, spirits, ghosts and natural systems and landscapes. The analysis of the data shows that proverbs convey a cultural value highly appreciated by Hakka people. First of all, the habitats of Hakka people have often been in barren and sterile mountainous areas that are short of resources. Hence, they have tended to cultivate a certain attitude to respect the universe and the unknown, to worship natural things and the physical heritage in their surroundings, and to do their farming according to the solar system.[7] The related proverbial expressions represent the reification of a strong belief in the power of gods, spirits, ghosts, legendary idols, ancestors, heaven, earth, sun, moon, stars, and land which may exercise control over family prosperity. While the faith can sometimes be superstitious, and often mixed with fear, it guides their conduct as manifested in proverbs.

Consider the following examples. Example (18) illustrates a case in which references to gods, particularly the Earth God, is often made in Hakka proverbs. The Earth God, whose temple is often found at the edges of rice fields, is believed to protect their lands and crops and is worshipped respectfully. Nevertheless, this couplet parallels the Earth God with two animals, showing how the Earth God is also deemed as an amiable member just in the neighborhood. The source domain depicts two different non-human affairs (type four) metonymically highlighting their behaviors. As fierce and powerful as tigers are when compared to dogs, they dare not make any movement to exercise their power if the God of the Earth does not allow them to. The specific-level schema, through the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, is then mapped to the target domain with the projected theme of a standard of life – respectful worship of gods. The intended purpose is to encourage a humble attitude when facing the universe. In Example (19), the source domain contains two scenarios of human affairs (type one). Although the specific-level schema partly triggers fields and gods, the delineation that metonymically highlights the behaviors of a person's insatiable desire is not uncommon and is explicitly expressed by the parallel syntactic structures. The specific-level schema, through the GENERIC

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7. The word 客家 *hag4 ga1*, literally meaning guest people, sums up the history of the migration of Hakka people. The following saying summarizes the mountainous nature of the living environment of Hakka people: 無山毋逢客，無客毋歇山 *mo5 san1 m5 fung5 hag4, mo5 hag4 m5 hed4 san1* [NEG mountain no meet Hakka, NEG Hakka no live mountain] 'Whenever there are mountains, there are Hakka people; wherever there are Hakka people, there are mountains.'

IS SPECIFIC metaphor, is then metaphorically mapped onto the target domain with the projected theme of individual character – greediness. The normative function of exhortation is embedded in the intended purpose – how one should not be too greedy, should keep one's feet on the ground, and should dedicate oneself honestly to what is in hand to be done. In the same manner, Example (20), with the source domain of type three depicting the states of affairs of nature, gods and ghosts, conveys a similar cultural conception, and in turn encourages an optimistic attitude of accepting whatever life gives them.

(18) 伯公毋開嘴，老虎毋敢打狗 [Source: G/A][C1–C2: Conditional][Theme: E]
bog4gung1   m5   koi1   zoi3,   lo3fu2   m5   gam2   da2   gieu2
God of Earth NEG open mouth, tiger NEG dare hit dog
'Fierce and powerful as tigers are, they dare not make a movement to attack dogs, if the God of the Earth does not allow them to. – People should keep a humble attitude when facing the universe.'

(19) 有了千田想萬田，做了皇帝想神仙 [Source: H/H][C1–C2: Additive][Theme: C]
iu1   liao2   qien3   tien5   xiong2   van2   tien5,   zo3   liao2
you PERF thousand field think hundred thousand field be PERF
fon5ti3   xian2   siin5xien1
emperor think god
'When having had a thousand acres of field, one thinks of getting a hundred thousand acres; when being an emperor, one thinks of becoming a god. – One should not be too greedy, should keep one's feet on the ground, and should dedicate oneself honestly to what is in hand to be done.'

(20) 有山就有水，有神就有鬼   [Source: NL/G][C1–C2: Additive][Theme: E]
iu1   san1   qiu2   iu1   sui2,   iu1   siin5   qiu3   iu1   gui2
have mountain then have water, have gods then have ghosts
'Whenever there is a mountain, there is water; whenever there is a god, there is a ghost. One has to be humble facing the universe. – One should keep an optimistic attitude of accepting whatever life gives them.'

The discussion has lent weight to the claim that language, cognition and culture are intertwined. The specific-level schemas of source domains and the projected themes together with their associated purposes of target domains can be seen from differences in metaphor choice (cf. Deignan 2008). Hakka cultural repertoires give rise to the knowledge schemas that underlie their conceptual systems. In addition to gods, natural landscapes, and natural systems, the great variety of subjects encompass agricultural matters, daily life experiences, family relationships, businesses, and allusions to historical, semi-historical, legendary, mythical and imagined persons or events. Living with scant resources in barren land, Hakka people are known for their hard-working nature in developing subsistence agriculture, practicing

self-sufficiency in farming by growing various crops and raising domestic animals for helping out with the farming or for feeding themselves and their families. They grow produce by creating terraces along steep hillsides to cultivate rice paddies, peanuts, fruits, or vegetables for food or to cultivate trees or plants to make utensils and clothing. Domestic animals, such as dogs, pigs, cows, chickens, sparrows, ravens, cats, and rats, and animals found in the fields or mountains, such as foxes, tigers, snakes, monkeys, and horses, occur in the expressions with their salient attributes or behaviors highlighted. Plants and vegetables grown in different seasons are also found in the expressions with their salient attributes specified.

Next, consider animal proverbs. Humans and animals are the only two forms of being with both attributes and behaviors. Understanding and experiencing one kind in terms of the other is conceptually natural (Lakoff & Turner 1989; Kövecses 1995, 2002). When such an analogy is manifested, traces of Hakka cultural constraints are also observed. The salient attributes or behaviors of animals are taken as inherent and instinct in the here and now for food or for safety. Dogs bark, guard the land, and bite thieves to prevent them from stealing domestic animals or property; cows are kept in the pen for plowing the land; pigs are fed to grow bigger for selling; mice dig holes; and cats are for catching mice to prevent them from stealing crops. References to these animals which accompany Hakka people in their surroundings are employed for the construction of Hakka proverbs. Three examples can illustrate. The case in (21) depicts two states of affairs involving cows and horses (type three). There can be various kinds of behaviors related to cows and horses. In this example, two specific ones are metonymically highlighted, evoking the knowledge schema regarding what are expected good cows and good horses – those stick to what they are supposed to do. Cows are expected to work hard treading leftover hay mixed with dung into manure. Good cows that always stay in a pen can tread as much manure as expected. Likewise, good horses that never leave their saddles are always ready to go. These two specific-level schemas map out a projected target theme of an evaluative attitude toward what responsible persons should be – the ones who always fulfill their duties. The normative purpose is to encourage people to cultivate a character of playing their proper roles by doing their duties responsibly, and desiring nothing more than what they already have.

Many examples employing different kinds of animal behaviors serve similar advice for performing one's duties, being content with one's self or desiring nothing more than what one has already had. Contrast the two examples (22) and (23). Both couplets employ a contrast of the behaviors of hens and roosters (type three). The first line of each describes expected behaviors of hens as to raise chicks and roosters as to call in the morning; the second line of each describes deviations from such expectations. Example (22) contrasts raising chicks by hens and roosters, showing how the former is much easier than the latter. Example (23) contrasts the calls of hens and roosters, indicating if a hen crows, it can get herself killed. Both cases evoke

specific-level schemata based on animals' behaviors. Both are construed globally to insinuate how severely inappropriate a circumstance is when a woman tries to do a man's job. Such an attitude reflects a dominant patriarchal mentality of favoring men over women in traditional Hakka agricultural community, when physical power is what is needed the most in developing agriculture on less fertile land. The knowledge structures based on the commonsense experience of the habits of animals are metaphorically used for their social and moral implications. Both examples are used for passing negative comments or for blaming people of overestimating their capabilities. The normative function for exhortation is hence quite lucidly demonstrated – a directive to behave rationally like human beings rather than instinctively like lower-order forms of being described by the expression (cf. Lakoff & Turner 1989).

(21) 好牛毋出欄，好馬毋離鞍　　　[Source: A/A][C1–C2: Additive][Theme: C]
ho2　ngiu5　m5　cud4　lan5, ho2　ma1　m5　li5　on1
good cow　NEG　leave pen　good horse　NEG　leave saddle
'Good cows never leave the pens; good horses never leave the saddles. – Responsible persons should always fulfill their duties.'

(22) 雞嫲帶子簡單，雞公帶子像拖帆 [Source: A/A][C1–C2: Contrastive][Theme: E]
gie1ma5 dai3　zii2　　gien2dan1, gie1gon1 dai3　zii2　qiong3
hen　　raise chicken simple　　rooster　raise chicken like
to1　fam5
drag sail
'Raising a chick is a simple job for a hen, but a very difficult one for a rooster. – It is severely inappropriate for people to overestimate their capabilities.'

(23) 雞公啼係本分，雞嫲啼愛剮頭 [Source: A/A][C1–C2: Contrastive][Theme: E]
gie1gung1 tai5　he3　bun2fun3, gie1ma5 tai5　oi3　cii5　teu5
rooster　　crow is　duty　　hen　　crow will chop head
'If a rooster crows, it is his duty; if a hen crows, she can get her head chopped off. – It is severely inappropriate for people to overestimate their capabilities.'

Like animal proverbs, plant proverbs are also deeply related to Hakka people's practical experience, with their construal deeply rooted in their specific cultural knowledge schemas of growing plants. Both animal proverbs and plant proverbs, which vividly portray the agricultural patterns of life of Hakka people, clearly represent their core cultural conceptions – farming on a sunny day and studying on a rainy day (晴耕雨讀). Hence the projected themes reflect their emphasis on diligence, thrift, simplicity, perseverance, dexterity and cherishing of resources, and the like. In Hakka plant proverbs, the salient features of plants are highlighted, and the procedure of growing plants according to the seasons is often expressed, or sometimes reference is made to the instruments used to plant them. The conceptions, indicating the agricultural knowledge of farmers, follow from a belief that as long as crops are planted at the right time, in the right place, with the right skills, they will flourish

for harvest. The projected metaphorical meanings are abundant. Quite a few examples imply a philosophy or a standard of life, encouraging people to do things in a proper order based on a meticulous plan and advance step-by-step when doing things, just as plants grow, flourish and may be harvested if cultivated in a timely manner. The Chinese calendar has a twenty-four solar-term system, sub-classifying the four seasons into finer-grained twenty-four categories. They specify the conditions of the weather and the climate so as to provide guidance for agriculture and for real-life experience. Examples are given below in reference to the commonly-found vegetables and plants of Hakka people, conveying the value of doing things in a step-by-step fashion.

(24) 毋種今年竹，哪有來年筍   [Source: P/P][C1–C2: Conditional][Theme: E]
m5   zung3 gim1ngien5 zug4,   nai3   iu1   loi5ngien5 sun2
NEG   plant   this year   bamboo, where have   next year   bamboo shoot
'If bamboo is not planted this year, where do bamboo shoots come from next year? – One should do things in a step-by-step manner.'

(25) 天晴莧菜茄，落雨蕹菜禾   [Source: NS/P][C1–C2: Contrastive][Theme: E]
tien1qiang5 han3coi3   kio5,   log8i2 vung3coi3   vo5
sunshine   Chinese spinach eggplant rain   water spinach rice
'If it is sunny, plant Chinese spinach or eggplant; if it is rainy, plant water spinach or rice. – One should think highly of oneself and at the same time to respect others.'

Apart from rice, which is a staple for Hakka people when considering the plentiful and various kinds of ways in which rice is prepared by Hakka people, bamboo shoots, Chinese spinach, eggplant, and water spinach are also common staples. In order to have good crops for harvest, the key action is to plant them properly. The philosophy coming from this conception is quite down to earth. The global construal carries a commonly appreciated value of life – to think highly of oneself and at the same time to respect others. The reasoning goes as follows: Just as different vegetables or crops grow in different seasons for different staples, so all things in their being are good for something. The following cases in (26) and (27) both convey the same theme: All things in their being are good for something, utilized to encourage people to respect the merits or preferences of others.

(26) 冬瓜大好做菜，鹹菜細好上台   [Source: P/P][C1–C2: Additive][Theme: E]
dung1gua1   tai3 ho2 zo3coi3,   ham5coi3   se3   ho2
winter melon big   good make dish, salted greens small   good
song1toi5
mount the platform
'Wax gourd is big and good for making dishes; preserved greens are good for sale. – People should respect the merits or preferences of others.'

(27) 細材燒得大火，細斧斬得大樹倒 [Source: CO/CO][C1–C2: Additive][Theme: E]
se3   coi5   seu1-ded4 tai3 fo2, se3   fu2 zam2-ded4 tai3
small firewood burn-POT big fire small axe chop-POT big
su3 do2
tree fall
'Small firewood can burn into a big fire; small axes can chop a big tree down. –
People should respect the merits or preferences of others.'

In addition to employing lower forms of being, Hakka proverbs have quite a lot of
instances that directly refer to human affairs or events, occupying seventy percent
of the data (type one and type two). Since the pragmatic and social function of a
proverb lies in its educating purpose, employing human affairs or events locates the
scenario in a mutually understandable cultural situation that is more transparent
for drawing appropriate inferences. As discussed in § 4.1, the linguistic features
of subject omission and non-referential genericity help salvage the impoliteness
that is implied; yet, they also imply a general community values that should not be
violated. Prominent cultural conception of the Hakka community can be found in
human proverbs depicting different scenarios. Example (12), also repeated in (15),
particularly is a reflection of Hakka-specific cultural features. Both *san1go1* (山歌)
'folk-song' and *cai2ca5* (採茶) 'tea-picking' are typical activities in early agricultural
Hakka society. Living among mountains and hills, Hakka people used to cultivate
tea for a living. Tea-pickers often communicate with each other by means of singing
folk-songs, entertaining themselves while working. The reasoning goes as follows:
Just as it is nonsense to compare folk-songs with tea-picking, so it is nonsense to
make comparisons between two individual persons. Such a projected value of life is
accomplished by the parallel two lines of the couplet and the mapping mechanism
discussed before. Example in (28) illustrates another situation, in which human
jobs are directly mentioned in the proverbial expressions – both firewood-picking
and shrimp-catching are decent jobs that people do for living, and hence deserve
high appreciation.

(28) 有人上山撿樵，有人落河捉蝦 [Source: H/H][C1–C2: Additive][Theme: E]
iu1   ngin5   song1   san1   giam2 ceu5,   iu1   ngin5   log8
have person go   mountain pick   firewood have person go
ho5   zog4   ha5
river catch shrimp
'Some people go to the mountains to pick firewood; some go to the rivers to catch
shrimp. All decent jobs that people do for a living deserve high appreciation.'

The other prominent theme projected by human affairs is family values including rela-
tionships between spouses, siblings, in-laws, and other family members. Basically, the
kernel value lies in the belief that harmony brings wealth, which strongly encourages

the acceptance of the concept that a peaceful harmonious family will prosper and that such condition can lead to the success of everything. Among the theme of family values, filial piety stands out immediately. Hakka people deem respect for their parents and worship of their ancestors highly-valued virtues. Example (13) is a very typical example. To worship the souls of one's parents on bended knees and to burn incense sticks after their death is seen as a futile act in expressing one's filial piety; in contrast, to serve a bowl of soup to one's parents during their lifetime is seen as being worthy in showing one's love to them. A striking contrast is characterized in this couplet: to make enormous efforts for one's parents after their death is in no comparison with performing the simple act of serving them a bowl of soup when they are alive. The proverb thus exhorts people not wait until it's too late to show their love and respect for their parents when they are alive. Examples of various human affairs to represent this thematic value can be given to illustrate this point, as shown below in (29) and (30), both reminding that daily attendance to parents even with simple food or short greetings is much better than worshiping them with lavish tributes.

(29) 爺娘在生奉四兩，當過死後拜豬羊[8] [Source: H/H][C1–C2: Contrastive][Theme: F]
ia5ngiong5 cai3sang1 fung3 xi3liong1, dong1-go3   xi2 heu3
parents   alive   serve four tael   compare-pass die after
bai3   zu1iong5
worship pig lamb
'Attending to one's parents' needs when they are alive surpasses worshiping with pork and lamb after they are dead. – Do not wait until it's too late to show your love and respect for your parents when they are alive.'

(30) 掀開眠帳問一下，當過洋蔘燉鴨嫲 [Source: H/H][C1–C2: Contrastive][Theme: F]
ien1koi1 min5zong3   mun3 id4 ha3, dong1-go3   iong5sem1
open up mosquito net ask   one time compare-pass ginseng root
dun1 ab4ma5
stew duck
'Showing concern about one's parents' well-being surpasses stewing ginseng root with duck for them. – Do not wait until it's too late to show your love and respect for your parents when they are alive.'

At the same time, raising decent and virtuous children is also considered as an equally important cultural value. In fact, raising children is such a heavy responsibility that it is often considered a long process, as expressed by some of the proverbs. Example (10), repeated here in (31), vividly depicts such a situation. The couplet contains two parallel chunks with two different states of affairs – one involves a complex object and the other involves a human affair (type two) in the source domain. Both

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8. These two examples contain the connector *dong1-go3* [當過 compare-pass] 'in no comparison with'.

lines metonymically highlight specific aspects of whole events. While many possibilities can be associated with an event of boiling water with a pot, the first chunk depicts an experience of waiting for a pot to boil, a quite common experience not difficult for us to relate to. In a similar manner, while many aspects can be associated with the situation of raising children, the second chunk depicts an experience of waiting for children to grow up. Two evoked parallel specific-level schemas emphasize how time can be perceived quite slowly when one concentrates on the expectation of something to happen. The schemas then are projected to a more general characterization of the psychology of parents in terms of parenthood. This family value stands for a general characterization of Hakka cultural value – the responsibility of shouldering the long-lasting process of raising children.

Such a deeply ingrained cultural value can be manifested in other cases, as illustrated by examples in (32) and (33), which emphasize how raising children needs to be watchful and attentive. Example (32), which specifies two human affairs with a conditional relation (type one), denotes how children need to be disciplined in time; otherwise, they become too stubborn to be disciplined later when they are growing up. The specific-level schema is mapped out to family values of parenthood in terms of principles of fostering children. The normative function is to give advice on how important it is to discipline children in a timely way. The exhortation can be even stronger as illustrated by the example in (32), in which a comparison of raising children and raising animals is presented in parallel, warning how parents may be blamed as very irresponsible if they do not discipline their children appropriately.

(31)　等水難滾，等子難大　　　　[Source: CO/H][C1–C2: Additive][Theme: F]
　　　den2 sui2　nan5 gun2, den2 zii2　nan5 tai3
　　　wait　water　hard　boil　　wait　child　hard　grow
　　　'A watched pot never boils; a watched child never grows. – Shouldering the responsibility of raising children is a long-lasting process.'

(32)　細細仔毋搵，大仔搵毋彎　　[Source: H/H][C1–C2: Conditional][Theme: F]
　　　se3se3e2　m5　vud4, tai3e2　vud4　m5　van1
　　　small-SF　NEG　bend　big-SF　bend　NEG　bent
　　　'If not bent when (a child) is small, he becomes unbendable after growing up. – It is important to discipline children in a timely way.'

(33)　養子毋教如養虎，養女毋教如養豬 [Source: H/H][C1–C2: Additive][Theme: F]
　　　iong1　zii2　m5　gau1　　　i5　iong1　fu2, iong1　ng2　　　m5
　　　raise　son　NEG　discipline　like　raise　tiger　raise　daughter　NEG
　　　gau1　　　i5　iong1　zu1
　　　discipline　like　raise　pig
　　　'If parents do not discipline their sons, it is as though they were raising tigers; if parents do not discipline their daughters, it is as though they were raising pigs. – Raising children needs to be watchful and attentive.'

In sum, this section has provided how the analytic framework works with three aspects. First, the distribution of the categorizations of the corpus is presented and discussed. In terms of linguistic features, the analysis reveals that the rhetorical relations have a lot to do with parallelism, and antithesis and that non-referentiality has to do with the normative purpose. In terms of how metaphorical interpretations are derived, four conceptual mapping mechanisms, based on the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, are shown for the operation of the global construal. A mirror image is displayed by the source domain and the target domain. In the source domain, specific-level schemas are highlighted through whole-for-part metonymy; in the target domain, more general values for humanity are conceived through part-for-whole metonymy. In terms of cultural constraints, the analysis reveals that the four types of the source domain significantly correlate with the three thematic categories of the target domain. Both the evoked knowledge schemata, encompassing real-life Hakka folk experiences, and the projected themes, including family values, individual characters, and evaluations or standards of life, are found to be rooted in Hakka cultural values.

5.   Conclusion

The study has shown that understanding metaphor in proverbs involves two crucial aspects: the linguistic components that express the propositions and the cultural constraints embedded in the formation of proverbs. White (1987: 155) suggests a three-step interactive construction for the process:

> [t]he speaker (1) perceives and evaluates a social situation in terms of an abstract cultural model, (2) articulates that point of view in a proverb expressing one or more interlinked propositions, which is then (3) interpreted by the listener, who expands on those propositions by locating them in the relevant cultural model and drawing appropriate inferences.

This study, integrating linguistic, cultural, and affective perspectives, has investigated metaphor in proverbs by delving into the crucial features for the successful interpretations of the proverbial expressions stated in the quotations. Utilizing a refined and expanded model, the study extensively teased out the linguistic forms, and rhetorical relations formulating the propositions expressed, the knowledge schemas and cultural constraints contingent on real-life experiences, and the projected themes and their intended purposes, and the connotative tendency embedded in the metaphorical construal. The use of this model has demonstrated the grounding bases for GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor and offered an analytic framework for tackling metaphorical proverbs. It has advanced to uncover not only the

linguistic and conceptual operations of metaphor in language and thought but also the specific cultural values rooted in these usages. The findings, with the analysis of the linguistic features and cultural specifics embedded in metaphor, contribute to a more systematic in-depth understanding of proverbs.

Kövecses (2010: 667) points out that "the major driving force behind variation is context. This is defined by contextual factors, such as differences in key concepts in a culture, history, and environment." He further points out that cultural factors, both global and local, "can all trigger, prompt, facilitate, or simply prime, singly or in combination, the use of conventional or unconventional and novel metaphorical expressions in the discourse" (Kövecses 2010: 690). This study did not take the actual social usages among discourse participants into consideration. Although metaphorical proverbs express meanings of general truth or folk wisdom, novel interpretations of such proverbs can emerge due to different contextual factors as suggested by Kövecses.

For one thing, agricultural practice has now taken a new shape with more efficient and effective instruments due to modern technology; for another, the previously common large families with several generations living together have been replaced by much smaller families with fewer family members. Still another has to do with the connotative association of each proverb, which can involve participants' judgments in actual discourse interaction. The results of the connotative tendency reported in this study are based on conceptual judgments of the forty-two native speakers. While more subjects can provide stronger support of the results, the usage of a proverb is still highly contingent upon the context. As one of the reviewers has pointed out, it is sometimes hard to decide on the connotation. A case like the following can have either a positive or a non-positive connotation when a context is appropriate.

(34) 泥蛇一畚箕，毋當一尾青竹絲　　[Source: A/A][C1–C2: Contrastive][C]
nai5sa5　　　　　　　　*id4 bun3gi1 m5-dong3*　　*id4 mi1*
common rice paddy snake a　MW　　NEG-compare a　CL
qiang1zug4xi1
green bamboo viper
'A wicker scoop of common rice paddy snakes is not as good as a green bamboo viper. – Numerous mediocre men are no comparison to one talented man.'

The reviewer, summarizing the entry from the *Taiwan Hakka dictionary of common words*, points out that it is explained as denoting a positive meaning for flattering.[9] On the contrary, some people consider this case as carrying non-positive

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9. I owe the discussion here to one of the reviewers.

connotation. The contrast of two kinds of snakes is used for an analogy of a contrast of two kinds of persons: mediocre ones vs. talented ones, implying that numerous mediocre men are no comparison to one talented man. This proverb then intends to serve as prevention, discouraging people to not just settle for being mediocre but to strive to be excellent. The discrepancy might arise due to focusing on two different components, either from that of numerous mediocre men or from that of one talented man.

These contextual factors may not only lead to different forms of metaphorical conceptualization but also trigger different connotative meanings. The educational purposes of metaphorical proverbs can only be realized in an effective way when the contexts and circumstances under which particular proverbs are used are fully explained (cf. Hung 1985). The examination of the exact relationships of the components of a proverb and its appropriate context will be a necessary endeavor in the future to allow for an appreciation of the significance of the use of proverbs for communicative purposes.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

CL	classifier
MW	measure word
NEG	negation, negative
PERF	perfective marker
POT	potential marker
SF	suffix

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