Everyone has a Monkey in Her Heart: A Cross-Cultural Study of Conceptual Metaphors in Literary Narrative and Film

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FOREWORD

The cognitive world is founded on top of metaphors. Like an inescapable web, metaphors define almost every aspect of our everyday lives. Every seemingly casual conversation is riddled with an abundance of metaphors. Many of those metaphors, however, are not simply rhetoric constructions – rather, they are ways in which we use concrete, tangible objects that exist in real life to explain abstract concepts that exist in our head. When we draw a comparison between the abstract and the concrete, creating a metaphor, we can then use the concrete to explain the abstract, which is otherwise unexplainable. The name given to these kinds of metaphors is thus called conceptual metaphors.

This simple phrase, “I’m on a trip called life”, is actually a linguistic embodiment of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. In this metaphor, the abstract concept of LIFE is compared to the tangible element A JOURNEY, and we can begin to understand LIFE from the similarities between these two things: life, just like a journey, requires one to physically move around, overcome obstacles and make decisions about future directions. As we can
see, even in a minute-long animated video, metaphors still come into play to offer interpretation on concepts as broad and abstract as “life”. We really cannot escape from metaphors at all – not even when watching a supposedly lighthearted video about an egg yolk on YouTube!

In general, my thesis discusses the ways in which conceptual metaphors can function in areas that are not just limited to the linguistic level – in fact they exist in many other forms too, from artwork, kinaesthetics to entire complex narratives. Since narratives and stories are such a crucial component of life that highly relies on metaphorical language as well as metaphorical thinking, through deciphering the metaphors behind narratives, we can gain a greater perspective on the cognitive aspects of literature itself. My thesis also looks at cross-cultural variations of conceptual metaphors. Since culture accounts for many key differences in general norms and values, it is undoubted that culture plays a similar role on our perspectives towards abstract concepts and our tendency to output those concepts via metaphors as well. I wish to illustrate, through my thesis, that conceptual metaphors are also cultural constructions. They not only embody cultural ideas, but also socialize cultural ideas as educational products that are catered towards specific audiences. Now, if we put the two ideas here together, we can see an overarching question emerging: how do narratives, under the help of conceptual metaphors, function to indoctrinate cultural values in their readers? In other words, how can we learn about cultural ideals through reading a story – no matter if the story comes in the form of a text, or a movie? By the end of the thesis, I hope that I have offered my own answer to this question.

Finally, I not only wish to contribute some perspective to the field of cognitive literary studies, but also wish to demonstrate the ultimate product of a liberal arts
education: a project that combines both of my fields of interests, comparative literature in the humanities and psychology in the sciences, as well as my unique bilingual background in English and Chinese. The humanities and the sciences are never opposed binaries. In fact, they can definitely cross paths and work together to answer bigger questions about the human mind and the nature of artistic creation.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

BASIC FRAMEWORK OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

Conceptual metaphors are mental frameworks used to think about abstract concepts that are otherwise difficult – if not impossible – to think about. Although a conceptual metaphor can take the form of a conventional, linguistic metaphor, its fundamental nature is completely different. The founding scholars in the field of cognitive literary studies, Lakoff, Turner and Geary, present the idea of conceptual metaphors in distinct contrast to conventional metaphors: while a conventional metaphor is a formalistic linguistic technique – an embellishment that serves a rhetorical or aesthetic purpose – a conceptual metaphor is a basic function of human thought (Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Lakoff, 1992; Geary, 2011). According to Geary, conceptual metaphors “[appropriate] concrete language – the words we use for everyday experiences and physical things and sensations – to describe abstractions like thoughts, feelings, emotions, and ideas” (Geary, 2011). Geary’s idea of a conceptual metaphor is comprised of two components: a target and a source. The target is the abstract element, such as “thoughts, feelings, emotions, and ideas” (such as LIFE, DEATH, LOVE); the source is the concrete element, such as “everyday experiences, physical things and sensations” (such as JOURNEY, FIRE, SWEET). By associating the abstract target with the concrete source we establish a mental framework that uses concrete embodied knowledge (of movement, heat, taste etc.) to conceptually elaborate on the otherwise unfathomable abstractions (Kövecses, 2005).

A significant part of Lakoff’s research is to create an index of common conceptual metaphors that appear in everyday language, such as established phrases or idioms (Lakoff 1992). Some examples from Lakoff’s index can serve to illustrate the relationship between
the target and the source. For instance, a very common conceptual metaphor is LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Here, LIFE is the target (abstract element), and A JOURNEY is the source (concrete element). This conceptual metaphor is constructed on the basis of comparing key characteristics of LIFE to that of A JOURNEY. This process of comparison is defined as “mapping” (Lakoff, 1992; Kövecses, 2005), a process that traces “basic, and essential, conceptual correspondences between the source and target domains” (Kövecses, 2005).

Below is a chart that illustrates the most basic mappings of LIFE IS A JOURNEY – the comparisons established here are quite evident and straightforward.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIFE</th>
<th>JOURNEY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Takes a period of time to complete</td>
<td>Takes a period of time to complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meets new people</td>
<td>Meets new people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a beginning point (birth) and a final destination</td>
<td>There is a beginning point and a final destination in a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(death) in a chronological sense</td>
<td>chronological sense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We accomplish things</td>
<td>There are goals and hallmarks to meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We make forward progression</td>
<td>We make forward progression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other people help us out</td>
<td>We meet guides on the way</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After we begin to describe LIFE in terms of A JOURNEY, we can put more and more otherwise senseless or shapeless ideas into context. According to Kövecses, these additional mapping procedures are labeled “inferences”, where “source domains map ideas onto the target beyond the basic correspondences” (Kövecses, 2005). For example, we may consider hardships that we meet in life to be like obstacles that we encounter in journeys, or view rewards we gain in life as identical to the goals and treasurers we obtain in journeys. These mapping are less apparent than the ones mentioned in the chart above,
therefore it requires additional cognitive processes to infer the similarity between those comparisons.

Many established, basic parings between the target and the source “give rise to metaphorical linguistic expressions” (Kövecses, 2005), often taking the form of idioms and expressional phrases. The conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, for instance, can take the form of many different kinds of linguistic constructions that convey this basic idea. As Lakoff points out, numerous expressions in English directly or implicitly convey the idea that life is a journey (Lakoff, 1992). For example, we may say, “graduation is a crossroad” to emphasize on the uncertainties and complexities of this stage of life. Or we might say, “she passed away” to euphemistically refer to someone who has recently died. Both of these expressions hinge on the implicit idea that life itself is a journey that we move through like travellers.

Conceptual metaphors do not only manifest in the linguistic realm. As Lakoff and Johnson establishes, conceptual metaphors truly “reside in the conceptual system, and not just in language” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The essence of conceptual metaphor theory is the process of moving from the abstract to the concrete: a conceptual metaphor is a mental construction that primarily helps our minds concretize abstract concepts, by deliberately comparing those abstract concepts to tangible elements – and these constructs can take many different forms. Overall, when passing something from the abstract world into the concrete world, conceptual metaphors help us transcend that boundary.

As Kövecses explains, there are conceptual metaphors that do not have “linguistic instantiations in everyday language use” (Kövecses, 2005), meaning that it is significantly more difficult to find exact phrases that express these conceptual metaphors. For example,
LOVE IS TWO PEOPLE PERFORMING CHOREOGRAPHY TOGETHER. In this case, we are attempting to understand the abstract concept of LOVE in the concrete terms of TWO PEOPLE PERFORMING CHOREOGRAPHY TOGETHER. There may not exist phrases in language that demonstrate this precise idea, but we may still infer the meaning of LOVE in that specific mental framework. For example, two people must work closely together, it requires practice and time to become completely in sync, and both parties carry the same amount of responsibility towards maintaining this balance. Even with the lack of a clear linguistic foundation, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS TWO PEOPLE PERFORMING CHOREOGRAPHY TOGETHER appears extremely applicable and easy to map onto. Again, this strengthens Kövecses, Lakoff and Johnson’s point indicating how conceptual metaphors are fundamentally mental constructions that do not necessarily require a linguistic-based medium to present themselves, but can appear in various forms (such as, in this case, a more descriptive imagery), as long as they provide us with a metaphorical way of thinking about abstract concepts.

Among the variety of abstract concepts that the human brain attempts to concretize using conceptual metaphors, “emotion” is one of the most common target domains and has generated an abundance of relevant conceptual metaphors (Lakoff, 1993; Kövecses, 2005). As Endarto explains, “by means of conceptual metaphor, human emotions can be clearly conceptualized in the sense of more tangible concepts, in both ‘describing’ and ‘expressing’ emotional states” (Endarto, 2014). Similarly, Kövecses states, “conventionalized language used to talk about the emotions can be an important tool in discovering the structure and contents of emotion concepts” (Kövecses, 2010). Therefore, through the use of linguistically constructed conceptual metaphors, we are able to interpret as well as express
emotions. Conversely, by analyzing particular emotional conceptual metaphors that are embedded in everyday language as well as literature, we could trace back to these original emotions and see how they are regarded and socialized.

CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS AND CULTURE

The study of cross-cultural conceptual metaphors has emerged since linguists discovered that cultures with completely different linguistic backgrounds could share a very similar usage of metaphorical expressions in everyday life (Kövecses, 2010). As Kövecses explains, conceptual metaphors are “inherently cultural...they are culturally specific mental representations of aspects of the world” (Kövecses, 2005). Moreover, “cultural models play a major role in constituting our understanding of the world and constrain the selection of metaphor” (Yu, 1998). Just as culture underlies our basic values and the norms we adhere to, culture affects our cognitive processes as well, including our perception and use of conceptual metaphors. Since conceptual metaphors are, by essence, representations of culture, we can come to understand culture through analyzing conceptual metaphors; on the other hand, conceptual metaphors are also products of culture, where the specificities of culture may influence one’s use of metaphors in perceiving the world. Yu also discusses the need for expanding the research on cross-cultural conceptual metaphors. As Yu implies, “the universality or relativity of conceptual metaphors in human conceptual systems...it would be of great theoretical significance to find out what conceptual metaphors are universal” (Yu, 1998). As we can see, the cross-cultural applicability of conceptual metaphors has always been a central topic to scholars
in the field, especially the questions regarding which conceptual metaphors are universally found and which conceptual metaphors are culturally specific.

Much of the research on cross-cultural conceptual metaphors is centered on the conceptual metaphors that are related to emotions. The psychologist Ekman suggests, “fundamental emotions such as happiness, sadness and anger are universally shared” (Ekman, 1993). Since many core emotions are shared across different cultures, the way those emotions are concretized could provide us a glimpse into how conceptual metaphors function in cross-cultural contexts. A question thus arises: if fundamental emotions are universally shared, to what extent are the corresponding conceptual metaphors likewise shared between cultures?

Previous research has indicated the similarities between some conceptual metaphors used in English and Chinese. For example, Yu found that HAPPINESS IS UP and HAPPINESS IS LIGHT are conceptual metaphors prominent in both English and Chinese, as illustrated by relevant idioms. In English, “jumping with joy” represents HAPPINESS IS UP. An equivalent expression exists in Chinese, “to cheer and bounce around like a bird”. This idiom is also rooted in HAPPINESS IS UP. If we examine those two idioms side by side, we can see that they essentially represent a similar conceptual idea – when a person experiences happiness, it is as if his or her body performs an upward motion. But, as this thesis will explore, there are also major differences in how these same conceptual metaphors get expressed and shaped in Chinese and English.

In this thesis, I examine phenomenon of how conceptual metaphors manifest differently in different languages and cultures, namely English (Western culture) and Chinese (Chinese culture). Two of the key questions underlying my project are the
following: are there conceptual metaphors specific to one culture, which do not exist in other cultures at all? Furthermore, how does the same conceptual metaphor differ when used within different cultural or linguistic contexts?

For the first question, Kövecses discusses the case where “a culture uses a set of different source domains for a particular target domain, or conversely, a culture uses a particular source domain, for the conceptualization of a set of different target domains” (Kövecses, 2005). Just as Ekman suggests, many cultures may share the same target, especially regarding emotions (happiness, sadness, anger and love, etc). However, depending on what sources are available and prominent in these cultures, different conceptual metaphors utilized to map those targets may be very different. To illustrate this point, Lv and Zhang offer an abundance of conceptual metaphors that are prominent in Chinese, but do not have English equivalents. Explaining these differences, Lv and Zhang suggest that “people living in different cultures act and behave differently, and have different physical experiences” (Lv & Zhang, 2012). For example, WARMTH IS WEST WIND in English but WARMTH IS EAST WIND in Chinese. This is largely due to the physical geography of cultures that speak English and cultures that speak Chinese.

Another example would be the mapping of the target LOVE. LOVE is a universal emotion shared by people in both Western and Chinese cultures, yet the specific conceptual metaphors regarding love are immensely different. In Chinese, LOVE IS PAIRED ANIMALS is a common idea. Many works of classical poetry allude to “twin lovebirds” and “phoenixes flying side by side” in order to illustrate romantic love, such as in Bai Juyi’s “The Everlasting Regret” and Li Shangyin’s “Untitled Poem”. This conceptual metaphor is visualized and represented in daily life as well, where the image of “twin lovebirds” often appears on
Chinese marriage cards. As Lv and Zhang explain, this conceptual metaphor has its root deep in Chinese traditions, and the equivalent cannot be found in Western culture (Lv & Zhang, 2012).

Another example is the specific Chinese idiom used to express happiness: “flowers bloom in one’s heart” (心花怒放). The related conceptual metaphor is HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART (Yu, 1998). Yu accounts for this specific conceptual metaphor by suggesting that Chinese values advocate for introversion and emotional containment while Western values are based off of extroversion and emotional expression (Yu, 1998). Therefore, even when a target as universal as HAPPINESS is being mapped, it is paired with a far more contained image (the blooming of a flower in one’s heart is indeed very subtle). On the other hand, in English, we have BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND, which is also hardly seen in the Chinese language (Yu, 1998; Kövecses, 2005). These are all cases where conceptual metaphors mapping the same target could have different sources, due to cultural values and culturally rooted motifs.

Then, what about the second question? Could the same conceptual metaphor exist in various cultures, yet take on slightly different appearances? In particular, there is one conceptual metaphor that could serve as the exemplar to represent how the same idea could appear differently under altering cultural contexts: EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS IN A CONTAINER. Kövecses’ research demonstrates that this conceptual metaphor is prominently present in English, Chinese and Spanish linguistic systems (Kövecses, 2010), which indicates the applicability of a cross-cultural analysis. This conceptual metaphor attempts to concretize “emotions” by comparing them to “elements in a container”. This conceptual metaphor is the combination of a few embodied conceptual metaphors, such as
THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS (Lakoff, 1987), as well as EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER (Kövecses, 2010). All of these conceptual metaphors aim to tackle the similarities between “emotions” and “elements in a container”, in order to help us understand “emotions” better: emotions are generated by the heart and brain, and they are fundamentally contained within ourselves; we can choose whether to continue containing them, or expressing them. In this thesis, I focus on a slightly modified version of this common conceptual metaphor that is common among speakers of both English and Chinese: EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS IN A CONTAINER. To arrive at this variation, I generalized the emotional conceptual metaphors established by Lakoff and Kövecses, and compiled them into a broader comparison. While maintaining the source “container”, I used “elements” in general to replace specific sources such as “fluids”.

Before moving on to any cross-culture analysis, I will begin by examining the use of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS IN A CONTAINER in an everyday English language setting, with a special focus on SADNESS as the target emotion. With regards to the expression of sadness, we have often heard expressions such as “after the incident, she completely bottled up” as well as “I am filled with sorrow”. Both idioms are linguistic extensions of the basic conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS IN A CONTAINER. In both idioms, the target “SADNESS” is mapped onto the source of “ELEMENTS IN A CONTAINER”. The verbs “bottled up” and “filled” demonstrate this cognitive mapping vividly: in “bottled up”, the body is almost directly referred to as a bottle; in “filled with sorrow”, the flowing, shapeless nature of the word “fill” compares the emotion “sorrow” to an element that could be easily compressed and fit into another vessel. Essentially, if we view the body as a bottle, then the sadness could be the liquid or gas contained within that bottle. The feeling of
constraint as well as suffocation, as offered by the source “container”, is indeed in common with the attributions of the target “sadness” – bounded, depressed, a general lower or compressed level of mood.

The identical conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS IN A CONTAINER appears in Chinese everyday language as well. A prominent idiomatic expression, used both in literature and in daily language, is “chou chang”. Here, the character “chou” directly translates to “sorrow, sadness,” whereas the character “chang” translates to “bowels”. Literally, this expression describes, “bowels filled with sadness”, or in short, “sad bowels”. The introduction of “bowels” here relates to an established Chinese linguistic pattern, where “bowels” is often used as a metaphor itself. Its tangled appearance was often compared to the complexity of human emotions. Therefore, “bowels” is a bodily organ that already carries the connotation of “emotional expression”; due to this key characteristic, it is often seen in emotionally expressive language. Just as with the English idioms, the target “sadness” is mapped onto the source of “elements in a container”. The idea of “chou”, or “sadness, sorrow” serves as the element; the “chang”, the “bowels” plays the role of the container.

Now we can see that the key difference between the English and Chinese expressions lies in the definition of the “container”. In the English expressions, the container was the body – the entire body serves as the bottle, which the sadness fills up. In the Chinese expressions, on the other hand, the container is an organ – the bowels - situated within the body. Where the English idiom uses only one level of containment, the Chinese idiom uses double-containment; the bowels function as an additional layer within the body containing the sadness. This sense of constraint is further amplified in the Chinese
expressions where sadness is compressed to even a smaller volume, hidden deep in an organ that is, itself, within the body. Such an idiomatic representation of bodily containment and constraint is – I will argue in this thesis – a metaphorical expression of forms of emotional restraint commonly promoted and enacted within Chinese culture. As we shall see, the phenomenon of emotional suppression in East Asian culture is seen across a range of emotion-based conceptual metaphors, both negative and positive.

Another common emotional target in both Chinese and English is HAPPINESS. In English, when expressing happiness, idioms such as “I’m jumping for joy” are very common. Here, the target “happiness” is mapped on to the source “jumping”. This idiom is another variation on the core conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER. Firstly, the happiness emerges within the body; then, the happiness becomes so immense that it lifts the body, so that the body rises into the air. Here, the happiness is so powerfully presented that it could not nest in its old container, the body, anymore. It has become so prominent that it literally lifts the body into the air. At this point, the body is no longer a container but an embodiment of happiness itself. Consequently, the boundless sky has assumed the role as the new container, which has become so enormously expanded that the constraints imposed on happiness barely exists. This idiom well expresses the distinctly positive – and distinctly Western – idea of happiness so intense it knows no bounds.

In comparison, a popular Chinese idiom to express happiness is “xi yang yang” (喜洋洋), which translates as “happiness overflows and creates an aura”. Here, “xi” (喜) represents happiness, and “yang yang” (洋洋) indicates a sense of overflowing. This idiom likewise makes use of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER. Like
“soaring with joy”, here, happiness is the ELEMENT and the body is the CONTAINER. But the idea of intense happiness is expressed somewhat differently. Here, happiness is presented as “overflowing” the container of the body – but unlike the English expression, it never entirely transcends the container of the body. It remains defined and bounded by the container, expressed as an “aura” that surrounds the body at a close distance. Like the English idiom “jumping with joy”, the expression “happiness overflows and creates and aura” indicates an emotion so strong that it cannot be entirely contained. However, unlike “jumping with joy” – “letting happiness overflow” in order to create an aura around the body maintains a sense of physical constraint upon the emotion. This idea of physical constraint indicates an ideal of emotional suppression common in Chinese culture. The emotion of happiness expressed by this idiom remains compressed, limited and discreet compared to the happiness of the equivalent English idiom.

While the English idiom frees happiness by positioning it in a container that essentially has no boundaries and providing it with the most visible and dramatic form of expression, a Chinese idiom still works to constrain the expression of happiness. Even if the happiness needs to be somewhat visibly displayed, the Chinese idiom expresses it as subtly as possible. If the primary conceptual metaphor used in the English version is EMOTIONS are ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, the Chinese version might be summed up as EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, WITHIN ANOTHER CONTAINER. In English, the sadness is merely contained by the body; in Chinese, the sadness is contained by the bowels first, which is then in turn contained by the body. As I will argue throughout this thesis, this basic difference in the emotional containment metaphor in English and Chinese reflects differences in cultural attitudes about how emotions should be expressed.
in Western and Chinese culture. Although the same basic conceptual metaphor functions as the underlying cognitive structure of both cultures’ concept of EMOTIONS, the details of the metaphor differ tremendously between Western and Chinese culture.

Kövecses accounts for cultural differences in the EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER metaphor by pointing out issues of generalization: “although this conceptual metaphor is near universal...it functions at an extremely general level. The metaphor does not specify many things that could be specified” (Kövecses, 2005). With Kövecses’ explanation, although EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER preserves its form throughout its appearance in different cultures, that form is a rather generic structure. Many details about how this conceptual metaphor might actually manifest are ambiguous. According to Kövecses, those ambiguous details are precisely where the cultural differences fill in. Kövecses further demonstrates, for example, a component that is left unspecified in EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is “what kind of container is used” (Kövecses, 2005). In the context of our previous discussion, we can immediately see the divergence in the definition of the containers that resulted in the sole cultural differences: a small-scale container that is strictly restrained in the Chinese language, and a large-scale container that has more flexible, expandable boundaries in the English language. Therefore, although EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is commonly used across English and Chinese, how the container itself is defined manifests key cultural differences. Kövecses argues that, “when the generic schema is filled out, it receives unique cultural content at a specific level” (Kövecses, 2005). Here, the idea of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is the “generic schema”, a general pattern that lays the cognitive foundation for us to interpret emotions. Meanwhile,
the exact definition of the CONTAINER, is at a "specific level" that “receives unique cultural content”. The cultural content in the aforementioned Chinese/English example is the general tendency toward emotional containment in Chinese culture of and toward emotional expressiveness in Western culture. These differing cultural expectations inflect the same emotion conceptual metaphor in different ways.

**MULTILEVEL EXPANSION THEORY**

As described by Lakoff, Yu and Kövecses’ a conceptual metaphor is a conceptual schema with details of expression that are subject to change. With regard to this finding, I would like to propose a question: are we able to expand the scope of conceptual metaphor theory to apply to forms of literary expression beyond linguistic constructions? Here, I wish to propose an original theory of conceptual metaphors: the multilevel expansion theory. This theory applies to narrative works including works of literature and movies. With this theory I propose that conceptual metaphors are not limited by Lakoff’s framework of linguistics, appearing solely in the forms of phrases and expressions. As long as a conceptual metaphor follows the cognitive process of concretizing something that is abstract and otherwise difficult to explain by drawing comparisons with tangible items, it can come in many forms: visual, kinaesthetic etc. As I will show in this thesis, conceptual metaphors can underlie multiple elements of narratives, such as character development, use of motifs, and even entire thematic constructs. In fact, in a single narrative, the same conceptual metaphor could exist simultaneously on many different levels, from simple linguistic expressions to symbols, characters, and overall themes.
Earlier research has demonstrated that conceptual metaphors can indeed expand beyond linguistic boundaries. Although the founding researchers in the field such as Lakoff and Johnson based conceptual metaphor theory off of the study of linguistics, conceptual metaphors are not limited to mere linguistic constructions. Kövecses and Geary have expanded the theory of conceptual metaphors and approached those cognitive constructions from a broader perspective, suggesting that conceptual metaphors manifest in other forms as well. Kövecses proposes that, “metaphor, on the cognitive linguistic view, is not an exclusively linguistic phenomenon...conceptual metaphors often materialize, or are realized, in nonlinguistic ways” (Kövecses, 2005). He mentions cases when the source domain is visually represented, such as art, nonverbal communication and even cartoons. The term Kövecses uses to specifically define the ways in which conceptual metaphors can manifest is “embodiment”. As he puts it, nonlinguistic forms “embody” conceptual metaphors in the exact same way as linguistic forms established by Lakoff. For example, for the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, its linguistic manifestation could be carried through expressions such as “getting off track” in one’s career while its visual manifestation could appear in a painting depicting a person seeking for treasure at the end of a long road.

Geary likewise offers an in-depth discussion of how conceptual metaphors can expand beyond the linguistic level as well. Geary introduces a study by Wilkowski et al. to illustrate the power of conceptual metaphors in visual representation (Wilkowski et al., 2009). This study is based on one of the most common conceptual metaphors regarding the target ANGER, which is ANGER IS FIRE. The researchers wanted to study whether the congruency between visual imagery and mapped sources affect people’s ability to recognize the target. In this study, the word ANGER is either depicted in a fiery artistic style
(the word displayed next to animated fire or the words have flames flickering from the
top), or a frosty artistic style (the word displayed in a snow-filled background, or the words
have icicles hanging from them). In this case, given that the foundational conceptual
metaphor is ANGER IS FIRE, then the fiery artistic style would be a congruent realization of
ANGER IS FIRE, whereas the frosty artistic style would be an incongruent realization of
ANGER IS FIRE. The researchers discovered that the participants recognized the word
ANGER more easily when it is paired with the fiery artistic style, since that corresponds to
the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE that they are familiar with. Additionally, this
study reflects that conceptual metaphors can be represented and evoked through
nonlinguistic constructions, such as the fiery and frosty artistic styles in this study. Upon
seeing the fiery artistic style depicting the word ANGER, the participants automatically
translate this visual image into the general conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE; reversely,
if an artist wants to encapsulate the general concept ANGER in a deliberately constructed
word art, then realizing the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE through deliberately
utilizing fire symbols may be an effective approach.

Kövecses, on the other hand, also provides examples from other forms of conceptual
metaphor embodiment to illustrate his point, namely movies and cartoons. First of all, he
argues, “individual images in a movie may be based on one or several conceptual
metaphors” (Kövecses, 2005). The example he provides come from the Disney animated
movie Pocahontas, where a scene of Pocahontas and John Smith falling down a waterfall is
the realization of the conceptual metaphor FALLING IN LOVE IS PHYSICAL FALLING
(Kövecses, 2005). The dynamic nature of this movie scene indicates that conceptual
metaphors can be realized in constructions far more complex than a simple phrase or a
static image – instead, FALLING IN LOVE IS PHYSICAL FALLING is embodied by an entire 2-minute-long scene involving moving characters, dialogues and plot development. The same can happen in cartoons. Compared to static images, cartoons are more similar to the level of complexity of movie scenes in that they too use a set of images to depict ongoing plot and characters. Kövecses explains that “conceptual metaphors are often depicted in a ‘literal’ way” (Kövecses, 2005) in cartoons. For example, upon portraying the concept of LOVE, a cartoon artist may draw on the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS FIRE, and choose to depict someone in love as literally on fire – such as a love-crazed couple whose bodies ignite as they embrace. The freedom of creativity and exaggeration in cartoon allows artists to realize conceptual metaphors in the most literal way possible.

One example of how conceptual metaphors can manifest in images can be found in the Chinese language itself. Chinese characters are largely based on the use of radicals. In every Chinese character, there exists a radical that serves as a categorical label to indicate the nature of the word. For example, for almost all of the emotion-based characters, the fundamental radical is the "心", which directly translates into “heart” (this can be simplified in form and written as “忄” instead, still carrying the same meaning). The most commonly used word to represent emotions is “感情”. Both “感” and “情” are structured with the “heart” radical, with “心” on the bottom of “感”, and “忄” on the left side of “情”. Therefore, in the Chinese linguistic system, the “heart” serves as a representation of emotions; it could even be said that the nature of the “heart” radical itself is an embodiment of the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE HEART. This idea will be discussed with greater detail in Chapter 3.
The radical system infuses Chinese characters with heightened visualization. In other words, for Chinese speakers, upon first seeing an emotion-based character, they automatically see the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE THE HEART expressed through the radical. Moreover, EMOTIONS IS THE HEART is not only embodied by the “heart” radical, but also by many established emotion words and phrases. A common expression in Chinese is “死心”, which literally means “death of the heart”. This represents an emotional state of extreme despair. When describing someone who gives up all hope about something, it is usual to say that his or her “heart has died’. Another expression is “伤心” which means sadness, and it literally translates into “to physically hurt the heart”; “担心” means to worry, with the literal meaning as “carry weight on heart”. Those words, despite primarily being linguistic constructions, already express vivid images of the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS IS THE HEART in their written form. An index including prominent Chinese emotion words is presented in Chapter 2, on page 36.

Interestingly, in one of the Tang Dynasty Tales written in 7th century China, the story of Huo Xiaoyu literally depicts DESPAIR IS THE DEATH OF THE HEART in its plot. The story is a sad love story where a girl tries hard to reunite with the lover who abandoned her for fame and fortune, falls into despair upon realizing his betrayal, and finally dies from heartbrokenness. The story describes her despair, one of the key emotions that this story is centered on, by embodying DESPAIR IS THE DEATH OF THE HEART. In the story, when the girl finally gives up on all hope towards her old lover and decides that she wishes to cut all ties with him, her heart literally “dies” and stops beating all at once, resulting in her death as well. This story, although written a thousand years ago, serves as an example to how the
conceptual metaphor DESPAIR IS THE DEATH OF THE HEART, or rather the Chinese word “死心”, can manifest in not only short imageries but also storylines.

From here, we can begin to see that one thing that both Kövecses and Geary touch on yet neglected to discuss in regards to how conceptual metaphors manifest in narratives: the ways in which extended narratives, such as works of literature or movies, can embody conceptual metaphors at multiple levels. Narratives are comprised of multiple features – from basic linguistic, rhetoric constructions to more advanced literary techniques such as character development and use of motifs. Furthermore, just like movie scenes and cartoons, narratives are also thematic in nature, usually depicting one or more general concepts or themes within the plot.

As I will show in this thesis, thinking about the elements of literary and filmic narrative through the lens of conceptual metaphor theory can help us explain many complexities underlying those narratives. This is where my theory, the “multilevel expansion theory” of conceptual metaphors come into play. This theory proposes that artistic narratives, ranging from works of literature to films, exhibit multiple layers of metaphorical embodiment: character development, plot structure, motifs, imagery, symbols, and so on. As supported by Kövecses and Geary, the embodiment of conceptual metaphors is able to expand to these layers as well – for each of these layers could stand as independent embodiments and realizations of conceptual metaphors. Artistic narratives can thus feature a multilevel expansion of basic conceptual metaphors: “expansion” in the sense that conceptual metaphors expand beyond the linguistic constructions as established by Lakoff to be embodied by respective structuring layers of the narrative; “multilevel” in
the sense that all of those levels function simultaneously in a narrative in order to have an overall effect on the audience.

Returning to LIFE IS A JOURNEY as an example, apart from the linguistic constructions and art representations that we have talked about, works of literature have also embodied this conceptual metaphor. One highly acclaimed contemporary work of fiction is by Cormac McCarthy's “The Road”, which depicts a father and a son journeying through a post-apocalyptic landscape in order to survive. The plot of this entire narrative is an embodiment of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Narratives, like cartoons, have the creative freedom of making metaphorical language literal or even exaggerated. McCarthy's text realizes the JOURNEY and depicts it in many details, including extreme obstacles such as starvation and combat, as well as guides along the way.

Finally, some narratives are constructed deliberately with conceptual metaphors in mind. Kövecses indicate that “successful art and advertisements depend almost entirely on metaphors that resonate with the target audience...especially metaphors that tap into the emotional associations that motivate purchasing decisions” (Kövecses, 2005). The same argument applies to narratives too, especially those with a target audience in mind – they are created in order to evoke emotional response from a specific audience, or even motivate the audience to adopt certain cultural values that those narratives are infused with – and conceptual metaphors are a powerful way of doing so. As the multilevel expansion theory suggests, with the help of conceptual metaphors embedded into multiple layers of literary techniques, a narrative can be an especially powerful tool for socializing its audience into particular values and ideals.
THESIS

There are two primary arguments that I am proposing in this thesis: first of all, not only do different kinds of conceptual metaphors exist in different cultures, but the same conceptual metaphor could also vary depending on the cultural or linguistic context from which it emerged. Secondly, conceptual metaphors are not limited to the form of linguistic constructions. It can also take the form of literary techniques, themes or visual representations, and this phenomenon is present throughout many works of literature and media arts.

In both the case of cross-cultural examination of conceptual metaphors and the investigation of how conceptual metaphors could be expanded beyond the linguistic scope, past scholars have produced plentiful research. Yu, Lv & Zhang look at conceptual metaphors specific to Chinese culture and compare them to their English counterparts; Kövecses and Geary offer in-depth discussions on how conceptual metaphors could be extended from mere linguistic constructions to nonverbal cues and senses. My contribution is that I am taking the aspect of their theories that heighten the cross-cultural applicability and expandability of conceptual metaphors, and focusing on entire narratives such as works of literature and movies – those narratives illustrate my multilevel expansion theory of conceptual metaphors in literature, where the same conceptual metaphor manifests throughout many different levels of elements simultaneously in one single narrative; furthermore, they serve as educational products that indoctrinates cultural norms and values to certain target audiences, thus carrying analyzable significances that could be compared across cultures.

Apart from Chapter 1 the introduction, there are three more chapters to my thesis as well as a conclusion. Chapter 1 explains the fundamental theories of conceptual metaphors and offers two new directions of exploration that this thesis will expand upon: variations of the same
conceptual metaphor depending on its cultural context, and the multilevel expansion theory. Chapter 2 dives into psychology theories and uses real-world studies to support the theses proposed in Chapter 1. The two studies based on psychology data carried out in Chapter 2 respectively support the cultural variations in emotional expression and the multilevel expansion theory. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 illustrate the applicability of those two findings to narrative works, showing how the same conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER can manifest in very different ways depending on the cultural values it expresses. These chapters also demonstrate how the multilevel expansion theory can aid the analysis of entire narratives. Chapter 3 focuses on narrative in the form of a work of literature, “Journey to the West”, which is a classical Chinese epic created in the 16th century that endorses many traditional Chinese values towards emotions. Chapter 4 explores narrative in film. It shifts to the analysis of a globally popular animated film called *Monkey King: Hero is Back*, a modern rendition of “Journey to the West”, which deliberately appeals to the values of a Western or globalized audience. The conclusion recaps the main points of this thesis and suggests potential future directions of research.
CHAPTER 2: THEORIES IN PSYCHOLOGY

OVERVIEW

In this chapter, I will approach the two main theses proposed in the past chapter using theories and studies in psychology. Two studies using participant data are conducted to respectively illustrate each thesis.

Study 1 sought to identify relations between participants’ orientation to American culture and their emotion language when they are discussing emotional events in interviews. My hypothesis is that higher orientation to American culture would be positively associated with more frequent use of emotion words, more positive emotion words, greater emotion elaboration and higher quality of emotion discussion.

Study 2 aims to elaborate on the multilayer expansion theory and indicates how the Chinese language inherently embodies conceptual metaphors in a much more visual-based way. It takes Lakoff, Yu and Kövecses’ method of coding for conceptual metaphors in everyday language, and establishes an index of common Chinese emotional words. Through this index, I wish to illustrate the ways in which Chinese emotion words are realized embodiments of conceptual metaphors. This will ultimately expand upon Lakoff’s theory and demonstrate that conceptual metaphors could appear in many forms of embodiment other than linguistic constructions, such as descriptive imagery.

INTRODUCTION

As Kövecses established, different cultural values can account for the differences in conceptual metaphors. Even when the general framework of a conceptual metaphor is universal, cultural differences can still cause differences in some specific details to occur. In particular, as we have seen from the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS
WITHIN A CONTAINER, the Chinese value of emotional containment and the Western value of emotional expression are the defining factors that could explain the difference in the turnout of this conceptual metaphor. Yu indicates it may be due to the influence of traditional Confucius values in East Asian culture, where virtues of modesty and steadiness are much more appreciated (Yu, 1998). Therefore, the expression of emotions is not as visible. I would like to expand upon Yu’s explanation in this chapter by drawing theories from cultural psychology as well as the results of my own conducted study.

Primarily, Ekman proposes the theory of display rules. His study in 1993 investigated in depth the rule of emotional expressions across cultures, and discovered that “culture specific prescriptions about who can show which emotions, to whom, and when...compared to Western culture that encourages the expression and even exaggeration of emotions, Asian cultures in general tend to inhibit emotion-expressive behavior” (Ekman, 1993). This explanation precisely accounts for the general differences in the use of the same conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS IN A CONTAINER. Again, Ekman notes, “there is no evidence suggesting that the emotions experienced in Western culture and Asian cultures are different; only the extent of emotional expression varies” (Ekman, 1993). This indicates that the target “emotions”, positive or negative, is experienced more or less the same in a Western culture and an East Asian culture.

However, the source “container” depends on the respective culture. Linguistic constructions of this source in a Western culture tend to expand the container, whereas linguistic constructions of this source in an East Asian culture tend to either compress the container or add on more layers of containers. Therefore, in general, Western language-based conceptual metaphors are fare more emotionally expressive than East Asian
language-based conceptual metaphors; East Asian language-based conceptual metaphors, on the other hand, demonstrate significant traces of emotional suppression in adherence to display rules, where “Asian cultures in general tends to inhibit emotion-expressive behavior”.

Other studies have also been conducted with the foundation of this primal cultural difference regarding emotional expression and containment. Chen, Kennedy, & Zhou provide very detailed explanations to the cultural variations of emotional expression. They suggest that explicit verbal statements of emotional expression are extraneous in “higher context” cultures, as long as social relationships are maintained through behavior. Higher context cultures that have “close, long-standing connections and in which information is widely shared”. In this case, Chinese culture could definitely be defined as a higher context culture given the ways in which norms were socialized: each individual is measured by their relationship with the entire society, and the group’s general circumstances are regarded before one’s own desires. Therefore, members of Chinese culture are more likely to restrain themselves from emotional expression or control emotion than members of Western cultures (Chen et al., 2012). Therefore, with regards to Chen et al.’s study, we can conclude that the use of emotion language may be influenced by different cultural views, values, and expectations toward emotion itself. This study furthers Ekman’s general claim, and provides more support to the variations in EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER across different cultures.

Finally, Tao et al. conducted a study that specifically measures emotional expression in Chinese immigrant mothers, a special population that has both an American cultural orientation and a Chinese cultural orientation. They suggest that amongst Chinese
immigrant mothers, higher orientation to American culture is associated with more positive emotion words and greater emotional elaboration during discussions with their children (Tao et al., 2012). Similar to Ekman’s arguments, they also proposed that American cultural orientation is congruent with emotional expression whereas Chinese cultural orientation is congruent with emotional containment. The extent of emotional expression versus emotional containment is measured by how many emotion words (such as happy, sad, angry) were used and how elaborate emotion discussions were as those parents participated in conversations with their children. In general, participants who are more oriented to American culture tend to appear a lot more expressive with their emotions during discussions.

**Study 1**

**METHOD**

The sample included 24 first-generation Chinese American immigrant mothers. On average, the children of those mothers were 1.11 years old (range = 0.08-4 years) at the time of initial separation and were separated from both parents for an average of 2.1 years (range = 0.33-5.75 years). All of these mothers have had the experience of sending at least one child back to China to live with other relatives or friends, while both parents remained in the U.S. to work. This experience was for at least 6 months long. Those participants received approximately 60-90 minutes of semi-structured individual interviews assessing their motivations for separation, their experience during separations, and perceived effects of the transnational separations on their child’s development.

The 24 interviews were then transcribed and translated from Chinese or Cantonese into English. Using a quantitative analytical method primarily based off of Tao et al.’s
method (Tao, 2012), each interview was scored from three different aspects: firstly, emotional words present in the parents’ interviews (e.g. happy, sad, worried, love, hate) were kept count and categorized into either positive or negative. Secondly, the number of times the parents elaborated upon an aforementioned emotion was counted. Thirdly, the overall quality of emotion discussion was rated on a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 representing a very expressive and informative emotion discussion.

As for the other variable acculturation to American culture is measured by the participants’ length of time spent in the U.S., as well as their English proficiency level. Their English proficiency level was measured by the average value of the participants’ self-assessed level of reading, understanding, writing and speaking abilities.

RESULTS

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<th>Table 1 – Descriptive Statistics for the Full Sample (n=24)</th>
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<td>Emotion words</td>
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<td>Negative emotion words</td>
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<td>Emotion elaborateness</td>
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<td>Overall quality of emotion discussion</td>
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<td>Number of years spent in the U.S.</td>
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<td>English overall proficiency</td>
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<th>Table 2 – Correlational analysis between parent emotion language and acculturation (n=24)</th>
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<td>*p≤0.05, **p≤0.01</td>
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<td>Number of years spent in the U.S.</td>
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<td>Emotion words</td>
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<td>Emotional elaborateness</td>
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<td>Overall quality of emotion discussion</td>
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Consistent with the hypothesis, parents’ use of positive emotion words, emotional elaboration and overall quality of emotion discussion were positively associated with participants’ years spent in the United States. Our quantitative analysis revealed that the number of years the participant has spent in the U.S. is positively correlated with the use of positive emotion words (p≤0.05), emotion elaborateness (p≤0.01) and overall quality of emotion discussion (p≤0.01) in the participant’s real-life conflict discussion. In other words, the more a participant experiences U.S. acculturation, the more she would be inclined to elaborate upon her emotional expression. This result is in line with Ekman’s argument as well as Tao et al.’s study.

Participants’ overall number of emotion words was non-significant. Relations with a second indicator of acculturation (English proficiency) were non-significant.

**DISCUSSION**

In the context of this study, less American-acculturated Chinese immigrant parents are less likely to express their emotions, even when during discussions that particularly ask for emotional experiences. The results of my study correspond to all of the past literatures and theories that this study is based off of: Ekman, Chen et al. and Tao et al. We can conclude that in general, Western cultures (represented by America) value emotional expression, whereas Chinese culture values emotional containment. Since the use of language, especially emotion language, are under the influence of those cultural values, we
can expect to find variations in the kind of emotion language used across Western and Chinese culture. Emotional conceptual metaphors, often times embodied by emotional language, are also susceptible to the impact of corresponding cultural values. This again echoes Kövecses’ comment, where conceptual metaphors can change according to their related cultural background. We can now acknowledge that the changes in EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER are due to cultural factors. In line with the observations discussed in the past chapter, when EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is used or embodied in a Chinese cultural context, the sense of restraint in the container is likely to be heightened in order to deliver the values of emotional containment. On the other hand, in a Western cultural context, the usage and embodiment of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER may largely focus on expanding the container and enhancing emotional expression.

Putting the multilayer expansion theory into perspective as well, the cultural variation in EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER could occur through many different layers of embodiment of this conceptual metaphor, such as in a constructed narrative. Arguably, if two narratives in two different cultures are both founded on EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, we may find the Chinese-based narrative portraying emotional containment with more heightened attention. The value of emotional containment is also expressed through many different layers of embodiments of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, such as character development and plot structure. For example, a narrative like this could literally have a very emotional character that is imprisoned and “contained” within walls.
Finally, the low significance level of number of emotion words as well as English proficiency level may be due to the limited participant pool that we have access to. In future studies, it would be beneficial to re-conduct the study with more participants to examine whether the outcome of those two variables will change accordingly.

**Study 2**
**METHOD**

I examined the 24 original Chinese transcripts of those emotion discussion interviews, and took note of every emotion word that appeared. Then, I produced a direct English meaning as well as an English literal translation of those emotion words in order to infer the conceptual metaphor that they respectively embody.

**INDEX**

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<th>Common Emotion Words and their Embodied Conceptual Metaphors (n=24)</th>
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Initially, this index indicates the significance of the “heart” in the Chinese language. As discussed previously, “heart” not only serves as the radical for all emotion-based characters, but also plays a crucial role in words and phrases. The section on English literal translation implies that all of the emotion words used in the 24 interviews are in fact, related to “heart”. For words and phrases such as “谈心” (to talk about emotions, or to talk about the heart), “分心” (to be distracted, or to split the heart) and “理解…的心” (to understand someone’s emotions, or to understand someone’s heart), the heart even becomes a direct, exchangeable metonymy for the word “emotions”. It essentially replaces the word “emotions” in those phrases. Therefore, this index essentially reinforces the idea of how the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS IS THE HEART is fundamentally embodied by
almost all of the Chinese emotion language. For every word or phrase – positive and negative emotions included altogether – an imagery of the heart is evoked. Echoing our discussion from last chapter, this greatly establishes the visual nature of the Chinese language, where words and phrases are no longer simple linguistic constructions but descriptive imageries as well. Again, more discussion regarding the importance of the word “heart” in Chinese language will take place in the future chapters.

In general, three conceptual metaphors appear with the highest frequency in this index: EMOTIONS IS THE HEART, EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL and EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER. Since all of those most basic emotion words are already established as embodiments of the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS IS THE HEART, the way in which they each individually manifest reveals more of the image-based, visual nature of the Chinese language. Many of those words and phrases are embodiments of multiple conceptual metaphors merged together. In Kövecses’ terms, this is a trend where several simple conceptual metaphors are combined to create more complex and case-specific conceptual metaphors (Kövecses, 2005). For example, for the word “担心” (worry), it literally translates into “weight on the heart”. This literal translation evokes the imagery of a heart with a weight placed on it. In this imagery, we can see a few different conceptual metaphors. Apart from the foundational EMOTIONS IS THE HEART, there is also EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL, from which we can also infer WORRY IS A WEIGHT specifically. By realizing WORRY IS A WEIGHT as a literal weight placed on the heart, the Chinese word “担心” (worry) thus carries this sense of physicality that embodies EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL, as if people could really feel the sense of heaviness in the heart area when they are worried. Moreover, for “贴心” (to be emotionally intimate), its literal translation “to
touch the heart” also embodies several conceptual metaphors, such as EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL and INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. To be intimate with someone is to literally decrease the distance between bodies; then, if we consider emotions as tangible objects (such as the heart), to become emotionally intimate is to decrease the distance between one person and another person’s heart. In this case, one can even physically touch the heart. This metaphorical embodiment realizes another descriptive imagery, where someone literally presses his or her palm on someone else’s heart to indicate intimacy.

Furthermore, through studying words that embody EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, especially by looking at how CONTAINER is defined, we can examine the degree of emotional containment. Here, we see that the heart often serves as this container. This corresponds to our discussion in the previous chapter about this specific conceptual metaphor. Just as Yu argues, the value that Chinese culture places on emotional containment leads into the tendency of specifically shrinking the size of the container in the universally shared conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER (Yu, 1998). Internal organs, such as the bowels and the heart, are thus used as common representations of the container. In the expressions “心里的压力” (stress, or the pressure in the heart), “心里好像空荡荡的” (emptiness, or the heart feels empty) and “心里很苦” (sadness/pain, there’s bitterness inside the heart), we see the same trend where the heart is treated like a container. Particularly looking at “心里的压力”, it embodied the conceptual metaphor STRESS IS PRESSURE on top of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER. Here, the heart serves as a finite container and the pressure of stress is filling it up like gas, arguably resulting in uncomfortable feelings of swelling or even a fear of combustion. This again induces a sharp, descriptive visual image.
Overall, upon establishing and analyzing this index that consists of common emotion words taken from emotional interviews, we can further see the image-based nature of the Chinese language. This could indicate that for Chinese speakers, these emotion words to them are already highly visual in nature, as they literally appear as imageries that realize some common conceptual metaphors. The descriptive nature of those emotion words is different from their English counterparts, thus introducing additional information to Lakoff’s conceptual metaphor theories rooted in linguistics. While conceptual metaphors still take the primary form of linguistic constructions in English, Chinese conceptual metaphors are already immensely visual in nature, and have transcended the boundaries of linguistics to become more complex mental imageries. Imaginably, if one was to elaborate upon Chinese emotion words and expand them into descriptive short passages or even narratives, we will yield some even more complicated embodiments of conceptual metaphors. Taking “担心” (worry) again as an example, one can construct a narrative on how a person literally have weights attached to his heart due to his constant worry about something, thus realizing this emotion word. Again, this will help us gain a better understanding of how conceptual metaphors manifest in different types of representations, especially narratives, and contributes towards establishing the multilayer expansion theory.
CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN THE TEXT “JOURNEY TO THE WEST”

OVERVIEW

As suggested by my theses in Chapter 1, in Chapters 3 and 4, I will attempt to apply the multilevel expansion theory of conceptual metaphors to entire narratives. I wish to examine this theory’s effectiveness in unpacking how conceptual metaphors are embodied in narratives, as well as its contributions towards our understanding of how narratives are able to convey specific cultural values. Both centered on the analysis of narratives, Chapter 3 will focus on a work of literature – “Journey to the West”, and Chapter 4 will look at a movie – the modern animated rendition of “Journey to the West”, Monkey King: Hero is Back. As works that primarily demonstrate values toward emotion regulation (emotional expression or emotional containment), both the text and the movie draw on the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER as their fundamental embodiment. The diagram below illustrates how the multilevel expansion theory and the cultural variation argument are going to be demonstrated by the narratives featured in Chapters 3 and 4.
EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is the underlying conceptual metaphor present throughout both of the narratives. We have discussed Kövecses’ argument in the past chapters: when positioned in different cultural contexts, a conceptual metaphor may maintain the same general framework yet differ in many details. Specifically, when an emotion-based conceptual metaphor is illustrated in different cultures, the ideas that this conceptual metaphor convey about emotions could be greatly influenced by these different cultures’ values and norms towards emotional expression. As illustrated by the psychology studies in Chapter 2, in this case, when EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is present in Chinese culture, emotional containment will be valued; reversely, when it is present in Western culture, emotional expression will be endorsed.

Additionally, not only that this conceptual metaphor will differ across different cultures, but the embodiments of this conceptual metaphor – as educational products that
indoctrinates cultural norms and values to certain target audiences – will differ too. Here, we have two contrasting narratives: the text “Journey to the West” representing Chinese values and the movie *Monkey King: Hero is Back* representing Western values. Presumably, while the text embodies EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER with a focus on emotional containment, the movie embodies EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER in an alternative way that promotes emotional expression instead.

According to the multilevel expansion theory, in a single narrative, there are multiple levels of ways in which EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER can be embodied and realized. These embodiments expand beyond the scope of pure linguistic constructions, as they primarily come in the form of literary techniques. In Chapters 3 and 4, we will focus on imageries, character development and the use of motifs. Those three different levels embody EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER simultaneously in different ways. It is the accumulation of those multiple levels of embodiments that add up to the entire narrative. This theory can be applied to different kinds of narratives – in our case it is text and movie.

**INTRODUCTION**

“Journey to the West” is a classic Chinese epic written by Wu Chengen in the 16th century Ming Dynasty. Based off of a historical account of the Tang dynasty Buddhist Monk’s travels, this narrative adds in more fantastical elements as well as traditional Chinese folklores to detail the storyline. Overall, it is about a Monk from the Tang Court who travels to the west (Central Asia and India) in order to seek for enlightenment as well as to obtain sacred Buddhist scrolls. However, he must overcome a multitude of hardships
in order to achieve those treasures and enlightenment. These are depicted as the “eighty-one hardships” that the Monk eventually defeats on his way to the west. To aid the Monk’s journey, the Gautama Buddha and the Guanyin Bodhisattva designates three “mentees” to the Monk. The first one is the monstrous Monkey King, a naturally powerful monkey born from a stone, otherwise known as Sun Wukong. The Monkey wrecked havoc in the heavenly realms during his rebellion against the deities, and he was eventually punished and imprisoned under a mountain. The only way for him to redeem himself is to wait for the Monk to free him, and then become the Monk’s protector on this journey. The entire text unravels as the development of the Monk and the Monkey's characters take place. The other two mentees are the Pig (Zhu Wuneng) and Friar Sand (Sha Wujing). The team of four finally completes this journey to enlightenment and sacred scrolls after overcoming all of the hardships and defeating all of the monsters scattered along the way. In the end, all of them achieve Buddhahood and ascend to the heavenly realm.

In the subsequent discussion, I will refer to EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER as the conceptual metaphor most central to understanding the values behind this story. In this text, literary techniques such as imageries, character development and motifs all embody this conceptual metaphor. Ultimately, they work to express an instructive idea deeply embedded in Chinese culture and Buddhism teachings, which advocates for emotional containment.

THE “HEART MONKEY”

Initially, two conceptual metaphors crucial in Chinese culture are both embodied by the characterization of the Monkey in the text: EMOTIONS IS THE HEART, and EMOTIONS
IS A MONKEY. We have discussed EMOTIONS IS THE HEART in past chapters, and we will be examining how it functions in relation to EMOTIONS IS A MONKEY in the Chinese language and culture to create the idea of the “heart monkey” – a prominent phrase that stemmed from Buddhist teachings. Essentially, I wish to provide contextual information and illustrate that the characterization of the Monkey is exactly the embodiment of the “heart monkey” – a concept combined from conceptual metaphors EMOTIONS IS THE HEART and EMOTIONS IS A MONKEY.

I will begin by expanding on the discussions surrounding EMOTIONS IS THE HEART that was presented in the previous chapters, yet left for further elaboration. The word “心” (heart) in the Chinese linguistic and literary tradition carries some significant connotations: it is frequently regarded as a word interchangeable with the overall concepts of “mind” and “emotions”. According to Yu, Chinese culture considers emotions to stem from the heart (Yu, 1998). The heart is the sole point of origin, and emotions can only occur if the heart is impacted. Therefore, the word “heart” is often used as a metonymy for mind and emotions. When Chinese language or literature alludes to “heart”, it most likely consists those connotations as well. The abundance of the appearance of “heart” in emotional Chinese idioms clearly illustrates its significance. For example, the idiom “惊心动魄” translates into “to shock the heart and startle the soul”, and it represents an extreme state of fear. In this idiom, the emotion of fear is never mentioned directly; instead, it is conveyed in parallel with the imagery of “to shock the heart”. Moreover, the idiom “心如死灰” translates into “the heart is like dead ashes”. This idiom is used to convey emotions of sadness and despair. Again, this idiom neglects direct reference to the emotion of sadness.
and replaces it with a metaphorical description of the heart instead. Finally, in colloquial Chinese, when two people are attempting to communicate emotions, a common phrase would be "你对我的心是什么样的". The literal translation is "what is your heart like to me", which is equivalent to asking, "How do you feel towards me". Branching off of this phrase, other similar ways of expression would be "don't you understand my heart [feelings] for you" and "here is my heart [feelings] for you to see". As indicated by the brackets, if we are to translate those phrases to English and communicate their meanings with an English speaking audience, replacing the word "heart" in those phrases with "emotions" or "feelings" will even communicate their intended meanings more successfully. From these cases, we can see the parallels drawn between "heart" and emotions in Chinese language and literature.

With this new lens to view the word "心" (heart), we can begin to examine the use of "heart" in "Journey to the West". Throughout the text, a nickname attributed to The Monkey is "heart monkey" (心猿). Again, given the interchangeability of heart, mind and emotions in Chinese language, "心猿" (heart monkey) is sometime also referred to as "情猿" (emotion monkey) in Chinese, where the character "情" literally translates into "emotion". The fluidity behind the word "heart" also prompted multiple English translations of this word, where "心猿" (heart monkey) is often translated into "mind monkey" as an euphemism. In order to maintain consistency, we will be using the literal translation, "heart monkey" (心猿), throughout this discussion: in subsequent textual references, I will change all of the translation of "mind monkey" into "heart monkey" instead.
The idea of “heart monkey” (心猿) originated as a Buddhist concept, most commonly seen from the Vimalakirti Sutra: “Since the [heart] of one difficult to convert is like [a monkey], govern his [heart] by using certain methods and it can then be broken in.” (Dudbridge, 1970). A conceptual metaphor specific to Buddhist culture, EMOTIONS IS A MONKEY is thus established. Here, EMOTIONS is the target and MONKEY is the source. By comparing the abstract idea of emotions to a monkey, which is a tangible element prominent in the physical world, we can understand the essential characteristics that Buddhist teachings attribute to emotions: emotions are restless, unpredictable and uncontrolled like a monkey. Since monkeys are generally viewed as animals that are wild and untamed, this conceptual metaphor clearly shines a negative light on uncontrolled emotions, posing them as equivalent to wild beasts. Furthermore, this even implies that people who fail to contain their “heart monkey” are also uncultured or undisciplined. Therefore, one of the ways to become a cultured, enlightened individual is to “govern his or her heart” and to figuratively tame the “heart monkey” – in other words, to restrain uncontrolled emotions. As Tsai et al. suggest, religion is a cultural system that usually coexists with a national cultural system, which could effectively communicate values, views and ultimately socialize the way people feel and perceive emotions (Tsai, 2011). Given the prominence of Buddhism in China, the didactic nature behind “heart monkey” is already deeply embedded in everyday Chinese language and culture.

Another term that evolved later, which has an equivalent meaning to “heart monkey”, is “thought horse” (意马). Those two words are usually used alongside each other, eventually evolving into a widely used Chinese idiom xin yuan yi ma (心猿意马), which literally translates into “heart monkey and thought horse”. Together, the “heart
monkey” and the “thought horse” resemble a chaotic state of the human mind, where emotions and thoughts are uncontrolled and roaming around freely. Often times, this word would be heard in classroom contexts where teachers are scolding their students for their inability to give attention or calm down: “You are letting your xin yuan yi ma（heart monkey and thought horse, 心猿意马）run loose again! Control yourself or else your grades will drop!” Similarly, when athletes lose in competitive matches, their coach would often attribute their loss to the “heart monkey”, stating “it is your xin yuan yi ma（心猿意马）that hindered you from focusing on the match”. Thus, we can see that in Chinese culture, “heart monkey” is usually associated with negative connotations – the volatility of emotions is viewed as something generally harmful. It is viewed as an impediment to one’s attentiveness, self-motivation and diligence, especially when there is a clear, fruitful goal in mind to achieve – in the case of the classroom, it is “studying and acquiring good grades”；in the case of sports, it is “winning the competition”. As a result, one who fails to restrain his or her “heart monkey” is deemed to receive punishment of some sort, often bearing negative consequences. Therefore, one must learn to tame his or her “heart monkey” in order to achieve productive goals, learn self-cultivation and fit into a Chinese cultural script.

Then, how does the “heart monkey” come into play in “Journey to the West”? Wu Chengen draws an evident connection between this Buddhist concept and the Monkey King in his story by deliberately referring to The Monkey as the “heart monkey”（心猿）. In this case, the characterization of The Monkey is actually a deliberate act to personify the “heart monkey”. Drawing our focus back to conceptual metaphor theory, the character of The Monkey is a fictionalized literalization of the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS IS A
MONKEY. This conceptual metaphor is primarily used to concretize the Buddhist outlook on emotions: emotions are wild and uncontrolled. Then, in order to illustrate this outlook more effectively, Wu Chengen actually brings this metaphorical monkey to life in “Journey to the West” in the form of the Monkey King. Still following the construction of EMOTIONS IS A MONKEY, here, the characteristics resembled by the Monkey are embodiments of characteristics of EMOTIONS – emotions could be fierce and untamed, and the Monkey behaves similarly. In order to make those abstract characteristics concrete and understandable by more readers, Wu Chengen chooses the character The Monkey to become the source, where he literally displays those characteristics throughout the story. For instance, his fierceness could be seen from his prideful exclamation “I am the Great Sage Equal to Heaven” (Wu, trans. 1955), and his uncontrollability is demonstrated through the multiple times where he disobeys The Monk’s orders and carries out plans singlehandedly. Moreover, The Monkey is portrayed as an extremely emotional character – he is most commonly seen in a rash, heated anger, which in turn always drives him to make impulsive decisions, such as killing monsters on the way without consulting The Monk's opinion or following the Buddhist teachings of compassion: “…realizing that she was an evil spirit, Monkey did not wait to argue about it, but raised his cudgel and struck at her head” (Wu, trans. 1955). Additionally, he also displays evident happiness and sadness. When The Monk vows to take him as an apprentice and free him from the mountain, he was described as “the delighted monkey [who] pleaded” (Wu, trans. 1955). When The Monk asks him to leave because of his misdeeds, the monkey “holding back his tears he bowed good−bye to his master, then sadly but with care he gave instructions...[as he reaches the East shore] the sight of it reminded him of the Tang Priest, and he could not stop the tears from rolling
down his cheek” (Wu, trans. 1955). Here, we can see that The Monkey’s emotions are heightened and always exposed to the reader: no other character in the team is described with such an abundance of emotional language. Wu Chengen inserts many details to describe the emotional awareness associated with The Monkey, such as depicting his sadness towards leaving The Monk with specific regards paid to his tears – he tries to hold back tears at first, yet finally lets loose of his sadness once he leaves The Monk’s sight. Overall, the depiction of the Monkey King’s personality and the deliberate portrayal of his emotionality make his character an effective concretization of the target EMOTIONS.

The connection drawn between The Monkey and the term “heart monkey” usually occurs in the titles of the chapters. For instance, chapter fourteen, which primarily tells the story where The Monkey finally abides to The Monk’s rules and agrees to protect him throughout the journey, is named as “The Heart Monkey Finds the Right Path” (心猴归正) (Wu, trans. 1955). Additionally, chapter thirty-four, where The Monkey accidentally falls into the trap of a monster, is named as “The Demon King’s Cunning Causes the Heart Monkey Trouble” (魔王巧算困心猿) (Wu, trans. 1955). In both of those titles, The Monkey is directly called the “heart monkey”. Therefore, in the eyes of a reader well equipped with Buddhist knowledge, the connection between The Monkey’s characterization and the concept “heart monkey” is heightened from the very beginning.

In conclusion, the strong Buddhist background of “Journey to the West” as well as the deliberate nickname given to The Monkey suggests that the Monkey King here in the story is indeed a personification of the “heart monkey” idea in Buddhist teachings. In addition, the interchangeability of “heart” and emotions in Chinese culture sets the precedence for our following discussion on the significance of The Monkey’s
characterization. Therefore, it is safe to recognize him as an embodiment of whimsical, unsettling and uncontrollable emotions as well as a literalization of EMOTIONS IS A MONKEY. Through tracing the internal development of The Monkey as well as his interactions with his external environment, we can clearly see how emotions are regarded in the story.

**IMAGERIES IN FANTASTICAL ELEMENTS**

Upon establishing The Monkey’s character as an embodiment of dynamic emotions, Wu Chengen relies on metaphors tremendously. Interestingly, the fantastical nature of “Journey to the West” gives Wu Chengen the leeway to literalize several emotional conceptual metaphors that are based off of the word “heart”. There are a few attributes that Buddhism has assigned to emotions, as we have already discussed in the section about the “heart monkey”: whimsicality, instability and unsettledness. Those emotional attributes are also associated with particular emotional conceptual metaphors that are deeply rooted in Chinese language and culture, where these abstract attributes are deliberately compared to tangible elements in order to make them more easily understandable. Essentially, Wu Chengen takes those conceptual metaphors regarding attributes of emotion and literalizes them into different magical powers that The Monkey holds. The genre of fantasy-epic allows this realization to happen, for it accommodates creativity and exaggeration.

Primarily, in the story, The Monkey has two major magical powers: seventy-two transformations that allow him to transform freely into other objects and figures; and the “somersault cloud”, where he can fly and travel for thousands of miles on cloud just by doing one simple somersault. Here, I will suggest that each magical power is an
embodiment of a different emotion-based conceptual metaphor: EMOTIONS ARE TRANSFORMATIONS and BEING EMOTIONAL IS SOARING.

Both the transformations and the somersault cloud are described with vivid details in the text. In the beginning of the story, The Monkey acquires those skills from an old hermit master. The first scene where the power of the transformations is depicted is when the Monkey’s peers and fellows ask him to demonstrate his magic skills.

“‘Turn into a pine tree,’ they all said. Sun Wukong clenched his fist, said the magic words, shook himself, and changed into a pine tree. It was truly: Green and misty throughout the four season, raising its upright beauty to the clouds. Not in the least like a demon monkey, every inch a tree that withstands frost and snow.” (Wu, trans. 1955)

Through this depiction, we can see that the Monkey has truly mastered the arts of transformation, as he executes the magic easily and precisely. The tree he transforms into is “not in the least like a demon monkey”, which indicates the great success in his transformation. Further in the story, this magic skill has saved the Monkey and his team several times, for he would transform into flies to spy on the enemies or transform into inanimate objects to hide from foes. The magic skill of transformation, I argue, is a highly visual embodiment of the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE TRANSFORMATIONS. To establish the ground for this conceptual metaphor, a common idiom in Chinese language is “变心” (change of heart). An expanded version would be “人心善变” (the human heart is easy to change), or “人心多变” (the human heart can have many different variations). This idiom represents the changeability and unpredictability of human emotions: especially for “人心多变”, it indicates that human emotions are volatile to the extent that it varies
tremendously from time to time. Furthermore, although the English translation of “whimsicality” appears quite neutral, those few idioms are all designated to use in negative contexts, most often when someone is criticized for being unsteady, inconsistent or unfaithful. For example, when one’s feelings towards their romantic partner changes or when one gives up on a skill or interest, those idioms would usually come into play. Those idioms point at one of the three major attributes of emotion: whimsicality. As indicated by “人心多变” (the human heart can have many different variations) in particular, the emotional conceptual metaphor supporting those few expressions could be seen as EMOTIONS ARE VARIATIONS, or EMOTIONS ARE TRANSFORMATIONS – this conceptual metaphor is centered on communicating the whimsical nature of emotions, by heightening this particular attribute and comparing it with the concrete process of physical transformations or metamorphoses. The common ground here between the target and the source is “the ability to change”. In the description of The Monkey’s three main magical powers, one of them corresponds directly with this attribute of emotion – the seventy-two transformations. He acquires this skill from the very beginning of the story, from his first master, the Patriarch Bodhi. With this skill, The Monkey is capable of shape shifting: he can transform himself to a tiny insect to spy on monsters, or a gigantic piece of rock to beat and imprison monsters. If we view The Monkey as the embodiment of emotions, then his magic of seventy-two transformations is a literalization of the whimsical nature of emotions.

On the other hand, we have the somersault cloud serving as the Monkey’s second special magic skill. Apart from the freedom to transform, the Monkey can also essentially fly and travel long distances in short periods of time due to the somersault cloud.
“Sun Wukong used his skill to perform a series of somersaults that carried him fifty or sixty feet into the air, then walked around on the clouds for about as long as it takes to eat a meal. He covered about a mile altogether before landing in front of the Patriarch, folding his arms across his chest, and saying, ‘Master, that’s flying and soaring in the clouds.’ The Patriarch laughed.” (Wu, trans. 1955)

This is a description of the otherwise difficult to understand somersault cloud. To perform this magic, the Monkey must “perform a series of somersaults that carried him fifty or sixty feet into the air, then [walk] around on the clouds”. Here, the somersault cloud that The Monkey specializes in is also the embodiment of a common Chinese idiom. The idiom is “心飞到九霄云外” (the heart has flown beyond nine layers of clouds). A variation of the same idea would be “心比天高” (the heart is higher than the sky). Both idioms represent unsteadiness and lack of immediate attention, and they are most commonly used to frame strong emotional unsettledness or even a general state of high emotional arousal. Their internal cognitive structure is related to the conceptual metaphor, BEING EMOTIONAL IS SOARING. In this conceptual metaphor, the state of “being emotional” – high emotional arousal – is the target, and the act of soaring is the source in comparison. The commonality between a state of high emotional arousal and the act of soaring is that they are both unsteady and somewhat out of touch with mundane stability. Here, they carry very evident negative connotations in Chinese culture. For instance, both idioms are most likely to appear in a classroom setting. When the teacher wishes to scold a student when he or she does not pay enough attention, the teacher would describe the student as someone who’s mentally absent from the class, whose heart “has flown beyond nine layers of clouds”. Occasionally, when one feels intense emotional unsettledness – often excitement
and giddiness – one could also use this phrase for self-mockery: “I am so excited for tonight that I cannot focus in class anymore – my heart has flown beyond nine layers of clouds!” It is crucial to point out that this idiom does not carry a strong sense of emotional containment – instead, it describes an image where the heart is loose of all its restraints and has reached beyond the furthest of all the clouds. However, in comparison to other idioms in an English-speaking culture that also utilizes the imagery of clouds, such as “being on cloud nine” that represents pure joy, the negative light surrounding this idiom could reveal an important norm in Chinese culture: although emotional arousal is not taboo, letting this arousal run overboard and “fly too high” could result in a loss of steadiness and attention, which then in turn leads to potential failure and inability to attend to practical concerns. Therefore, already from the negative connotation surrounding these idioms, we can see a preference towards emotional containment and a state of low emotional arousal in Chinese cultural norms.

Returning to the story, The Monkey’s signature power is the somersault cloud – when he makes a somersault, where he flies and controls clouds, he is able to travel all across the world in a split second. This is another attribute of emotions: it has the potential of becoming an overwhelming distraction, even enough to the extent that it could sweep someone off their feet and hinder them from achieving practical goals in life. The somersault cloud is again an expression of that attribute, as well as a literalization of BEING EMOTIONAL IS SOARING. When the unsettled “heart monkey” in the story somersaults and flies, we are thus reminded of the idiom “心飞到九霄云外” (the heart has flown beyond nine layers of clouds) which draws this comparison in the first place.
Through analyzing the literalization of emotional conceptual metaphors using fantastical elements, we can see how Wu Chengen is furthering The Monkey's characterization as the “heart monkey”: The Monkey is the embodiment of “emotions”; therefore his inherent magical powers correspond to “attributes of emotions”. Most significantly, the existence of magic in the setting of “Journey to the West” particularly heightens how uncontrolled emotions could be powerful and dangerous. The Monkey not only possesses those attributes, but they are literally his “magical powers” that could be used to advance on the journey, destruct monsters, or potentially cause threat to Tang Monk’s entire team. The use of fantastical elements here implies the idea of a double-edged sword in a hyperbolical way – if those magical powers are well contained and utilized, they could be used to repel enemies; yet if they become unbounded they have the potential to hurt the innocent. Similarly, the epic is suggesting, if individuals could keep those attributes of emotions under control, then they are more likely to fuel motivation through emotions instead of letting those emotions become a source of distraction and drawback. In general, the process of literalizing emotional conceptual metaphors into magical powers provides extensive characterization to The Monkey the “heart monkey”, whose solid character establishment in turn concretizes the abstract idea of “emotions” even more.

**MOTIF OF CLOTHING**

Given that The Monkey is the embodiment of emotions we can see The Monkey as an equivalent to the target of this conceptual metaphor, EMOTIONS. Then, some of the diverse motifs surrounding his character automatically become the matching source, A CONTAINER. By examining the various ways in which The Monkey literally faces
“containment” in the plot, we can see how EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is literalized and illustrated in forms other than linguistic constructions. In the story, the containment of The Monkey usually occurs through two major motifs: clothing and the golden hoop on his head.

In “Journey to the West”, The Monkey is deliberately characterized by many traits of otherness in order to exhibit his untamed nature. Firstly, he is a monkey in human form, which already implies beastliness. Moreover, when he first emerges in front of The Monk, he is utterly naked and covered in dirt. The lack of clothing here directly connects him to the wilderness and distances him from human culture. In correspondence, during The Monkey’s journey to Buddhist enlightenment and character development, there are three instances in the text where he is provided with clothing, all of them taking place when the master-apprentice relationship between The Monk and The Monkey has just begun to emerge and form.

The first time occurs right after The Monk frees The Monkey from the Five Elements Mountain and agrees for The Monkey to follow him ahead. Immediately following his release, The Monkey insists on killing a tiger in order to “find himself some clothes” (Wu, trans. 1955). In awe, The Monk watches as he “wrapped round his waist to cover the lower half of his body and tied firmly with a creeper he pulled down from beside the path”. This gesture could be seen as The Monkey’s first active attempt to contain himself within culture norms and attempt to pass as an ordinary human disciple. The highlight where he specifically covers “the lower half of his body” resembles an emerging awareness towards shame, where he learns to conceal his genitalia. This is another sign where the human norms of taboo and accepted behavior are restraining The Monkey.
However, the nature of this set of clothing – the tiger hide and the creeper – is still strongly associated with the wilderness and a sense of savageness. For the second time, The Monk directly provides The Monkey with clothing.

“Monkey’s sharp eyes had observed his master take off a short white cotton tunic, which he did not put on again, so Monkey grabbed it and put it on himself...‘Splendid, splendid,’ replied Sanzang. "it makes you look quite like a real monk. If you don’t mind cast-offs," he added, ‘you can go on wearing that tunic.'" (Wu, trans. 1955)

Here, this tunic carries more significance because it was a piece of clothing that comes from The Monk himself. As The Monk acknowledges, this tunic “makes [The Monkey] look like a real monk” – this is an indictor of acceptance as well as responsibility. By wearing the tunic, The Monkey assumes the appearance of a monk, which automatically restrains him to Buddhist disciplines as well. On a literal level, this container will restrict his body from doing certain physical movements that are too animal-like; on a figurative level, it will bring about more social expectations towards his behavior, which motivates his self-cultivation and self-control.

Finally, when The Monk is settled on taking The Monkey in as his apprentice and a member of his team, he purposefully provides The Monkey with a set of clothing: “a dazzling brocade tunic and the hat with inlaid golden patterns.” (Wu, trans. 1955) This instance takes place shortly after their journey has just begun, when The Monkey returns to The Monk again after the first argument that they had with each other. The Monk asks him to replace the previous tunic with these new clothes. Notably, here, The Monk still carries mistrust and fear towards The Monkey due to his uncontrollable temper as well as
powers. Of course, in relation to the subsequent plot, the giving of clothing in this scene specifically is a technique that the Guanyin Bodhisattva and The Monk carry out together in order to gain control over The Monkey, which we will discuss in more depth in a latter section. If we only examine the significance of this scene independently, when The Monk provides The Monkey with clothing, this act serves as a symbolic invitation extended to this wild monkey, inviting him into the human world of Buddhism, culture and self-discipline. The Monk describes these clothes as “I used to wear them when I was young. With that hat on you can recite scriptures without ever having been taught them, and if you wear that tunic you can perform the rituals without any practice” (Wu, trans. 1955). This description here again uses fantastical elements to literalize figurative or implied meanings. As we have discussed previously, the clothing given to The Monkey are symbolic representations of Buddhist scripts and norms. Through The Monk’s description, we can see that when the monkey puts on the tunic and the hat, he not only becomes associated with Buddhist ideas and norms, but also literally acquires the ability to “recite scriptures and perform rituals” (Wu, trans. 1955). Again, this demonstrates how clothing serves as a physical and cultural container.

For all three of those instances, The Monkey initiates the obtainment of clothing, as if he is keen on succumbing himself to Buddhist teachings and human culture, and abandon his previous behaviors associated with the wilderness. Here, we can see that clothing essentially represents “control and restraint”. As The Monkey completes the process from nakedness to wearing clothes, he is simultaneously experiencing the transformation from having uncontrolled, utter freedom to living under certain cultural norms and religious scripts.
When we view the monkey as the embodiment of "emotions", then the act of putting on clothes as a literalization of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER – the clothes are not only containing the monkey physically by restraining his movements, but also containing him figuratively by giving him a set of rules to adhere to, including the Buddhist view stating that "emotions are distractions and therefore should be controlled". The speech given by The Monkey after he agrees to join The Monk's team sufficiently explains his deliberateness in putting himself under the container of social norms: “I was to give up evil-doing, return to the Buddha’s Law, and do all I could to protect the traveler when he went to the Western Paradise to worship Buddha and fetch the scriptures.” We can see that Wu Chengen is portraying the central conceptual metaphor, EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, as the primary idea to this epic narrative: in order to “return to the Buddha’s Law” and achieve enlightenment, ordinary people must first learn to contain their emotions, as symbolized by how the monkey must first be tamed by discipline.

**MOTIF OF THE GOLDEN HOOP**

The most prominent motif of containment throughout the entire story is the golden hoop. Unlike clothing, which resembles containment through its symbolic and cultural meaning, the magical golden hoop in the story is precisely created by the Guanyin Bodhisattva for the sole purpose of containing the “heart monkey”. The Monkey wears the golden hoop on his head throughout the entire journey. This image described in the story is the literalization of the central conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER – the “heart monkey” is the target, EMOTIONS, and the golden hoop is the
source, CONTAINER. When The Monkey is wearing a golden hoop on his head, him as the embodiment of emotions is literally contained within this exterior container that restrains his behavior as well as temper. This is another evident case where the thematic idea of emotional containment is delivered through the use of this recurrent, crucial motif. By tracing the appearance of this motif, I discovered three major instances where the golden hoop was heightened, each of them representing a vital developmental point in The Monkey's characterization: in the beginning of the journey, during the climax of the journey and in the very end of the journey.

Primarily, following the previous discussion about clothing, the golden hoop is directly derived from the hat that The Monk gave to The Monkey. When the Guanyin Bodhisattva instructs The Monk to give The Monkey the set of clothing, the key is to lure him into putting on the hat. The golden hoop is hidden at the rim of the hat; once The Monkey puts it on, he can never take it off again. This is the first time that the golden hoop appears in the story.

"'My home isn't far to the East from here,' she said, 'so I expect he's gone there. I've also got a spell called True Words to Calm the [Heart], or the Band−tightening Spell. You must learn it in secret, and be sure to keep it to yourself. Never leak it to anyone. I'll go and catch up with him and send him back to you, and you can give him that tunic and hat to wear. If he's disobedient again, all you have to do is recite the spell quietly. That will stop him committing any more murders or running away again.'"

"Then he put the hat on his head. As soon as he had the hat on, Sanzang stopped eating and silently recited the Band−tightening Spell."
'My head aches, my head aches,' cried Brother Monkey, but his master went on and recited the spell several times more. Monkey, now rolling in agony, tore the hat to shreds, and Sanzang stopped reciting the spell for fear he would break the golden hoop. The moment the spell stopped the pain finished. Reaching up to feel his head, Monkey found something like a golden wire clamped so tightly around it that he could not wrench or snap it off.” (Wu, trans. 1955)

From this scene, we can begin to see the major characteristics of the golden hoop. Firstly, as the Guanyin Bodhisattva explains, “if he's disobedient again, all you have to do is recite the spell quietly. That will stop him committing any more murders or running away again”. This golden hoop works primarily when The Monkey is behaving “disobediently...committing murders or running away” – his committed murders often occur under the context where he acts rashly on his anger and kills monsters and bandits on a whim; running away happens in correspondence with his power of the somersault cloud, where he generally acts unsettled, unstable and easily distracted from his mission on the journey. Therefore, this golden hoop could be seen as a tool for emotional regulation – it is precisely used to refrain the negative attributes of emotions as viewed from a Buddhist perspective, and make whimsical emotions more controllable. Secondly, the golden hoop looks like “a golden wire clamped so tightly around [the head] that he could not wrench or snap it off”. This indicates the persistence and long-lasting effect of this container. Once The Monkey begins to wear it, he can never take it off. Secondly, it functions in conjunction with the “band-tightening spell”, which the Guanyin Bodhisattva has taught The Monk to use. Whenever The Monk recites this spell, The Monkey will immediately succumb to the pain and regulate his behavior to match his master's instructions. Interestingly, this spell is also
named “True Words to Calm the Heart” (Wu, trans. 1955) – when the spell is recited, it calms down the heart of The Monkey as a character, and controls his emotions and behaviors. Since The Monkey is the “heart monkey”, the embodiment of emotions, controlling him is the equivalent to controlling emotions. A Qing Dynasty scholar, Huang Zhouxing provides an insightful comment on the nature of this spell: “the 'band-tightening spell', otherwise known as ‘True Words to Calm the Heart’. This band is not the band worn on the head, but the band worn on the heart.” (Wu, trans. 1955) Therefore, we can begin to see why the golden hoop is the literalization of emotional containment. Furthermore, viewing the magical power of the golden hoop in relation to The Monkey's own magical powers, we can see that the golden hoop’s power triumphs over all – when The Monk recites the spell, The Monkey has no other way to combat against it except to refrain his behaviors and plead for forgiveness. The Monkey's magical powers as well as his heated temper are already too dangerous and uncontrollable, as we have established previously; however, the existence of this golden hoop could help to regulate those unpredictable powers as well as The Monkey's own whimsical, emotion-driven temperament.

Throughout the entire story, all the times when The Monk uses the “band-tightening spell” is when The Monkey acts rashly or disobeys general Buddhist teachings. Chapter twenty-seven is a very typical case where The Monk uses the “band-tightening spell” on The Monkey. In this chapter, The Monkey was the only one in the team who could recognize a monster disguised as ordinary human, and he tries to attack the monster three times, each with the monster metamorphosing into a different human. Unable to see the monster’s real nature, The Monk mistakes The Monkey’s intentions and wrongfully believes that his rashness and whimsicality have led him to killing three innocent people.
Every time The Monkey "kills" the monster, The Monk recites the spell until he apologizes and promises to control his behaviors. Eventually, The Monkey angers his master to the point that The Monk expels him as an apprentice.

‘If you don’t want me any longer, master, please say the Band-loosening Spell and I’ll take it off and give it back to you. I’ll gladly agree to you putting it round someone else’s head. As I’ve been your disciple for so long, surely you can show me this kindness.’ Sanzang was deeply shocked.

‘Monkey,’ he said, ‘the Bodhisattva secretly taught me the Band-tightening Spell, but not a band-loosening one.’” (Wu, trans. 1955)

This is a very interesting instance when The Monk reveals to The Monkey that there is no spell that could counterbalance the effects of the golden hoop – “the Bodhisattva secretly taught [him] the Band-tightening spell, but not a band-loosening one”. The value placed upon emotional containment is again communicated through this detail: it is desired for emotions to be contained; yet it is less unacceptable for emotions to be “loosened up” again. Once emotions are contained, there should not be a way to release them.

Finally, the golden hoop appears again in the very ending of the story to serve as a concluding point to the journey.

“‘Master,’ Monkey said to the Tang Priest, ‘now that I’ve become a Buddha just like you, surely I don’t have to go on wearing this golden hoop. Do you plan to say any more Band-tightening Spells to tighten it round my head? Say a Band-loosening Spell as quickly as you can, take it off, and smash it to smithereens. Don’t let that Bodhisattva or whatever she is make life miserable for anyone else with it.’
‘It was because you were so uncontrollable in those days that this magic was needed to keep you in order.” Sanzang replied. "Now that you are a Buddha it can of course go. There is no reason for it to stay on your head any longer. Feel there now.’ When Monkey raised his hands to feel he found that it had indeed gone.” (Wu, trans. 1955)

The disappearance of the golden hoop may seem like the central conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is irrelevant now, since the container is completely gone. However, I wish to argue that the container or the “golden hoop” did not actually vanish; instead, it has become internalized and thus takes no more physical shape. The fact that it is no longer visible does not mean that it doesn’t exist. The golden hoop used to serve as a container that restrains The Monkey externally, reliant on the help of The Monk’s spell; however, after The Monkey truly learns to control his emotions, he has internalized the “golden hoop” and morphed it into an invisible psychological threshold that reminds him to control his temper and calm down from his states of high arousal. From the text, we can see that the need for this golden hoop in the first place is conditional – “it was because you were so uncontrollable in those days that this magic was needed to keep you in order”. Now, when The Monkey becomes a Buddha, the golden hoop can naturally disappear because that condition no longer applies: as a Buddha who has achieved enlightenment and mastered the skill of internal emotional containment, The Monkey no longer needs a physical container to serve as an external reminder. As a Buddha, his emotional containment thus becomes timeless. Therefore, through this last appearance of the golden hoop, we can see that we did not lose the central conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER; in fact, we
actually reinforced this conceptual metaphor by illustrating that the container – this value placed upon emotional containment – is always going to exist.

Throughout the entire journey depicted in the text, we can see the significance of the golden hoop in communicating the central conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER. The golden hoop is a materialized, external container set firmly upon the “heart monkey”. On a literal level, it does help The Monk effectively regulate his apprentice’s behavior and helping him achieve. The psychological journey that The Monkey goes through in the story, with the disciplinary help from the golden hoop, is literally his personal growth achieved in the direction of emotional containment – learning how to control his temperament, high arousal state and spontaneity – which is greatly desired by Buddhism teaching. On a figurative level, if we again see The Monkey as the embodiment of emotions (target, EMOTIONS), then this golden hoop that he wears is the container that refrains him (source, CONTAINER).

THEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS

If we view “Journey to the West” as a complete epic narrative, we can see how the general idea of emotional containment dominates the narrative thoroughly and serves as the most significant main theme of the story. Previously, we have established that the use of conceptual metaphors is able to expand beyond the linguistic level and literalize in many other literary forms, such as characterization and motif use. In this section, we will proceed to explore how EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER manifests in the thematic construction of the epic.
A technique widely used in the narrative of “Journey to the West” to indicate the story’s core values is poetry. In every chapter, Wu Chengen utilizes poems as a device to prove commentary and offer didactic instructions from an omnipotent perspective.

For example, the poem in chapter seven highlights the overall theme of emotional containment:

“A monkey’s transformed body weds the human mind. The heart is a monkey – this, the truth profound... The Horse works with the Monkey – and this means both Heart and Thought, Must firmly be harnessed and not ruled without.” (Wu, trans. 1955)

“猿猴道休假人心，心即猿猴意思深…马猿合作心和意，紧缚拴牢莫外寻。”

Wu Chengen’s voice as an omnipotent narrator emerges prominently from this poem. Here, he directly summarizes the main theme of the story and communicates the desired Buddhist teachings to the readers: human emotions are just like monkeys; one must “firmly harness Heart and Thought” in order to achieve Buddhist enlightenment. Moreover, this poem effectively parallels the plot of the story. This poem appears in chapter seven, which is entirely centered on how The Monkey, who deems himself “The Great Sage Equal to Heaven” wreaks havoc in the heavenly realm. By the end of the chapter, the Buddha finally defeats him and imprisons him under the Five Elements Mountain. Examining this poem in correspondence with the chapter itself, we can see that it provides a succinct summary to the overall plot: while the poem instructs the readers to “firmly harness the heart monkey”, the Monkey King in the story is literally tamed and constrained by the Buddha himself. Again, the literary technique of utilizing commentary poetry reinforces the central conceptual metaphor that “Journey to the West” is based off of: EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER. As discussed previously, the poem
teaches the readers to contain their emotions; on the other hand, the plot demonstrates how The Monkey, the embodiment of emotions (target, EMOTIONS), is finally captured and “contained” by the Five Elements Mountain (source, CONTAINED). Here, the poem and the plot complement each other and present the central idea in correspondence: emotional containment is most desired in this cultural context.
CHAPTER 4: CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN THE MOVIE MONKEY KING: HERO IS BACK

OVERVIEW

Monkey King: Hero is Back is one of the most successful Chinese movies made in 2015, as it retells the story of the classical literary work "Journey to the West" specifically to appeal to a global audience. Soon after its premiere in China, it quickly rose to huge popularity, setting a new record in the box office for animated films in China, edging out other movies, both local and imported, such as Kung Fu Panda 2. As The Beijing News suggests, the only thing that could compare to Hero is Back in terms of overall reception, is perhaps the original text itself (Cui, 2015). As two prominent works that are 400 years apart, the text and the movie are similar in a wide variety of ways, using the same characters and settings, as well as a similar plotline. However, the film’s attempt to cater to a global audience resulted in crucial differences from the original book. Specifically, this attempt modifies some of the key cultural values that the text has originally presented. In this chapter, I argue that the central conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is embodied differently by the movie, since the movie targets the Western market as well as a global audience. I will continue to use the multilevel expansion theory to unpack how different visual and narrative techniques in the movie embody EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER together.

INTRODUCTION

Initially, the animated film has a strong ambition of opening a global market. One indication of the film’s global success is that it was one of the few locally produced Chinese
films to make it to the Cannes film festival. It also received $2.1 million box office earnings outside of China, consequently breaking the record for “the most box office that a Chinese animated movie has ever received abroad” (Wei, 2015). It was officially shown in several countries abroad, including the United States, Russia and the United Arab Emirates. An official English-dubbed version was made to make the film available to an English speaking audience, specifically featuring Jackie Chan, one of the most internationally recognized celebrities, as the voice dub for the Monkey King, so that his stardom could aid the promotion of the movie. The movie is also purchasable on several prominent American-based websites, such as YouTube and Amazon.

Apart from superficial adjustments such as voice dubbing, what other attempts made this movie specifically appealing to a global audience? One of the comments taken from Amazon by an American viewer perfectly tackles the question of cultural exchange: “The voice actors for this film were recognizable and familiar. I’ve always been a fan of Jackie Chan...this film is easily accessible to both Asian and Western audiences” (Magness, 2016). From this comment, we can see the primary advantages of “Monkey King: Hero is Back” in catering to an international audience: voice acting and accessibility. We have discussed the “Jackie Chan effect” earlier; now, we are about to examine how the values of the movie echo that of “both Asian and Western audiences”. In terms of the content, the director Tian Xiaopeng’s work made sure that despite the story being based off a classical, centuries old, Chinese narrative, the film’s plot is still as accessible to an international audience. This Amazon comment also heightens the accessibility of the film, and it appears that Tian’s attempt of acculturating “Journey to the West” to American culture has been very successful.
These are the movie’ receptions amongst the audience. Then, how would Tian himself evaluate this attempt of adapting a classical story? Through examining the director Tian’s interview transcripts, we can also catch a glimpse of his primary intentions upon creating this rendition of the classical “Journey to the West”, especially regarding cultural values. “It is difficult to make a rendition of the classical ‘Journey to the West’,,” says Tian, “Because in the eyes of people nowadays, there are some points in the original story that are very hard to understand, and some of the values that the text promote are contradictory with the values of a modern day audience.” (Tian, Interview, 2015) This comment directly taps into the arguments surrounding the movie’s portrayal of the original story’s ideals. It appears that Tian’s awareness of the applicability of the text’s values in a modern day context has become one of the primary motivations for him to create a rendition that would reunify a classical literature from hundreds of years ago with a modern audience that has grown up in a globalized society with an abundance of exposure to other cultural norms, especially American culture. Again, this motivation ties in to Tian’s attempt to create a narrative that would resonate with not only a group of people growing up in a closed-off Chinese cultural environment, but also those who have been widely exposed to globalization, as well as an international audience.

Although less covered by Western media, most of the comments from East Asian based newspapers on Hero is Back are inarguably supportive. Want Daily from Taiwan comments “[the movie] absorbs nutrition from the traditional Chinese legend, yet retells it in a way similar to those Disney hero movies, so that even the international community can experience the legend for themselves. In the text, we see how he goes from longing for the outside world to learning how to control himself, but in the movie, he instead seeks for the
power within and emerges as a hero” (Want Daily, 2015). The Beijing News also offers positive comments on the movie, claiming that the differences between the movie and the text make the movie’s adaptation extremely powerful and successful, and yet both narratives “present the ultimate growth of a true hero...and teaches us about the modern ideals of freedom” (Cui, 2015). However, on the other hand, Beijing Times has been one of the most active critical voices, with one of its main arguments targeted towards the characterization. Beijing Times thinks that both the Monkey and the Monk are “unsuccessful mixtures of Western and Chinese culture that undermine the wisdom from the original books”, making them “caricatures that a Chinese audience cannot relate to” (Zu, 2015). Here, we can begin to see a trend where the most significant praise and criticism of the film both stem from its attempt to merge Western and Chinese cultural ideals. In particular, as The Want Daily compliments Hero is Back for its deliberate tactic to imitate a traditionally Western Disney hero movie in order to appeal to an International audience. Beijing Times, on the other hand, argues strongly against it, claiming that the Westernization of this movie makes it hard to relate to and criticizing its inaccessibility to a Chinese audience. Ultimately, the biggest controversy of this movie in China boils down to its alteration of cultural values embedded in the original story's original characters, especially the Monkey and the Monk, who serve as the heroes of the narrative and provide a model for its heroic ideals.

What could account for the controversies regarding those different newspapers’ comments? I argue that the key lies in the cultural values put forth – audience with different cultural orientations may receive the values portrayed in this movie’s narrative very differently. If we examine the reader demographics of those newspapers, we can see
that The Want Daily is geared toward an international-based audience, with readers in both Mainland China and Taiwan, as well as many Chinese and Taiwanese living abroad. *The Beijing News*, instead, caters to a younger audience in China. However, amongst them, Beijing Times is known to base its audience group in the local Chinese community, and it presumably endorses very traditional Chinese values. This may provide a preliminary explanation as to why the deliberate culture mix was viewed as undesirable by Beijing Times, yet strongly favored by the other two newspapers. Given the starkly different audience demographics, this phenomenon can ultimately be traced down to the differences in cultural values.

Overall, different Chinese newspapers endorse different values regarding emotional expression as opposed to emotional containment, depending on their target audience’s demographics. Essentially, the reviews of this movie in China are an index of how this movie has departed from traditional Chinese values – the older newspapers that are heavily rooted in traditional Chinese culture appreciate this movie much less than newer newspapers that appeal to a younger, more globalized pool of readers. This chapter will aim to decipher those specific cultural differences as well as how they are represented in order to provide a better explanation to why this controversy exists. Primarily, for a Westernized or global audience, the film was a hit; however in China, the film has encountered more problems regarding its central values. This controversy particularly pertains to China’s current state of transition from endorsing traditional values to opening up and adopting more globalized values.

Then, through comparing *Hero is Back* to “Journey to the West”, what are the Chinese cultural norms that the movie deliberately presented differently in order to appeal
to an International audience? Moreover, how is that change in value delivered by the movie’s use of narrative techniques and characterization? I suggest that the movie, like the text, inculcates cultural values of emotion regulation. It is, I will argue, precisely the movie’s alteration in the foundational emotion conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER that allows it to open up the classic Chinese tale story of the Monkey King to the perspective of a Western audience. The cultural differences in East Asian and Western attitudes towards emotion expression underlie the difference in the embodiment of this conceptual metaphor, which results in starkly different character development as well as use of motifs. Ultimately, I wish to suggest in this chapter that the globalized modern audience’s dramatically positive response and the mixed response of the Chinese audience to Hero is Back results largely from its successful appeal to Western cultural values, regarding the expression and containment of emotions.

PLOT AND BACKGROUND

While “Journey to the West” is well known for its embedded Buddhist teachings on cultivating calmness, Hero is Back is almost antithetical to the original Buddhist teachings on emotion, as it instead calls for a high emotional expressivity. As discussed in the previous chapter, the theme of emotion regulation is prominent throughout the original story. It is, an epic narrative that teaches its readers how to regulate their emotions: “containing the heart monkey” is, the text suggests, the pathway to true enlightenment.

In using Sun Wukong the Monkey King again as one of its protagonists, the Hero is Back is also adopting the original conceptual metaphor expressed through that original character. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Monkey King character is a living
embodiment of the Chinese conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE A MONKEY ("heart monkey"), which expresses the common Chinese idea that emotions are wild forces in need of cultural taming and containment.

The magical skills possessed by the Monkey King in the original story, the seventy-two transformations and the somersault cloud, also appear in the movie. Thus, the character development and plot surrounding the Monkey once again serve as the key components that metaphorically express the works’ attitudes toward the expression and containment of emotions. The theme of emotion regulation remains integral to the movie, but instead of advocating for emotional containment, like the text, the movie promotes the opposite: emotions should not be contained, but be freely expressed.

The movie begins with a review of one of the key scenes in the text, where Sun Wukong the Monkey, calling himself "the Great Sage Equal to Heaven" wreaks havoc in the heavenly realm and defeats almost all of the heaven guards until the Buddha himself appears. The Monkey is punished by the Buddha and imprisoned under the mountain. At this point, the actual story begins with trolls attacking a heavily populated town where the trolls try to capture all of the children in the town. In a departure from the original book, our other protagonist, the Monk, appears here as a child around the age of 10 who has strayed off from his mentor due to his persistence in saving an innocent girl. Carrying the girl in a basket, he temporarily hides in a cave to get away from the trolls, and there he happens to encounter the Monkey who has been imprisoned in that spot for over a thousand years. After releasing the Monkey from the cave, the Monk realizes that the Monkey’s power is constrained by a mysterious golden hoop securely fastened around his wrist, yet neither he nor the Monkey are able to remove it. Although the Monkey was often
annoyed at the Monk’s immense curiosity as well as his affection, he agrees to protect the Monk during his journey home in repayment for his freedom. However, in the middle of the journey, the antagonist Hundun reveals himself as a monster that survives on eating children. He was the one who commanded the trolls to kidnap children in the first place. The Monkey, restrained by the hoop, is unable to fight back when Hundun attacks their [del] party, causing the little girl to be taken away. When the Monk asks the Monkey to help him find the little girl, the Monkey refuses out of frustration at his loss of power and claims that he does not desire to be a hero. Disappointed, the Monk runs off alone to save the little girl, yet gets trapped in Hundun’s lair. Finally, upon realizing the deep care that he has developed for the Monk, the Monkey finds all the children, and engages Hundun in an epic battle under the encouragement of the Monk. The Monk rushes out from his safe hiding spot in an attempt to help the Monkey, but ends up buried under fallen rocks. Witnessing this scene and thinking that the Monk has died, the Monkey fights Hundun again out of anger and pain. In this process, he is able to shatter the constraining hoop and release all of his powers, consequently reemerging as “the Great Sage Equal to Heaven” and defeating Hundun. In the end, the Monkey discovers that the Monk was only injured. Together, they send all the kidnapped children back home, and embark on a new journey.

In this section, I will draw comparisons between characterization and the use of motifs in the movie and the text specifically related to the “heart monkey”, in order to illustrate the shifts in cultural norms of emotion. I will focus on the characterization of the Monkey and the Monk, as well as two major motifs, the golden hoop and fire.
CHARACTERS: MONKEY

In response to the criticisms about the Monkey’s characterization, Tian acknowledges that he wants to “stay away from the mainstream kind of hero, and provide a new interpretation of a character that everyone is already so familiar with”. He furthers that claim by expressing, “For the first half of the movie, the Monkey remains low-energy and all he wants is to live a peaceful life, which could be quite unexpected to the audience who is used to seeing the ultra-hyper Monkey King who causes chaos in the heavenly realm. Of course, this is largely due to his imprisonment” (Tian, interview, 2015).

This reference precisely captures the character of the Monkey in *Hero is Back* – which is a stark departure from the original Monkey in “Journey the West”. As previously mentioned, the Monkey in “Journey to the West” is a high affect character – he expresses the most emotion out of everyone in the traveling group, and he is very easily angered, heartened or saddened. His emotions also tend to appear with very high arousal, resulting in more extreme expressions such as bursting into tears or leaping up and down with joy. Furthermore, he never tries to conceal his affection for his master, the Monk, exhibiting great happiness when the Monk gives him clothing and evident sadness when the Monk asks him to leave. In general, the Monkey in “Journey to the West” is a highly emotional character who comes to be less and less expressive as the story progresses. However, in the movie, the Monkey first appears as an aloof character, who actively avoids expressing any affection that he may have for the Monk. He often deliberately tries to create emotional distance between them with his words and actions, going so far as to deny the good deeds that he has done. Moreover, he evades any kind of heroic responsibilities, despite the
Monk’s persistence in trusting him. The screenshot below captures one of the most typical moments representing the Monkey’s characterization in the film:

(Tian, 2015)

In this scene, the Monkey and the Monk leave the cave where the Monkey was trapped and arrive at a forest to sleep for the night. The Monk, who grew up listening to stories about the Monkey, excitedly asks the Monkey many questions about his past and confesses his admiration: “The great sage equal to heaven is my hero! Is it true that you have 72 different kinds of transformations? Is it true that you have eyes like golden fire?” (Tian, 2015) In response, the Monkey barely answers those questions, and calls them “childish musings” (Tian, 2015). By shying away from claiming the title “the great sage equal to heaven”, he also avoids any potential responsibilities of acting as a traditional Buddhist hero. Here, he appears particularly avoidant to the Monk, acknowledging publically that the Monk was “annoying him” (Tian, 2015). Even when the monk
acknowledges his gratitude and expresses his admiration, the Monkey covers up his emotions by scowling and putting on a cold, indifferent face. He furthers his aloofness through explaining that he did not follow the Monk here out of friendship or compassion, but it was merely to repay the Monk’s kindness for releasing him from the cave. This scene precisely brings all of those minute details together to solidify the characterization of the Monkey: someone who seeks solitude and constantly tries to suppress emotions in exchange for nonchalance, detachment and calmness.

If we view this portrayal in light of the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, we can see that the Monkey here has fully embodied emotional containment. The “heart” of the “heart monkey” is now calm, peace seeking and reserved, in stark opposition to the high arousal as depicted in the text. Furthermore, when the Monkey serves as a container for his own emotions, he purposefully ensures that those emotions are confined within him by distancing himself from the Monk as well as the Monk’s admired values of high affect heroism. Here, the “heart monkey” is fully trapped in the invisible container that he has constructed himself.

Echoing Tian’s own comments on the Monkey’s characterization, these heightened characteristics significantly diverge from the portrayal of the Monkey in the original book. Interestingly, the Monkey who we meet at the beginning of the movie seems like he would have fit the ending of the text. Upon his introduction, he has already mastered emotional containment, actively suppressing not only negative emotions such as anger and sadness but also positive emotions like happiness, thankfulness and love. This monkey seems to have reached the Buddhist ideal of a disciplined individual with self-control over his emotions.
However, the movie does not stop here. Instead, it goes on to portray a negative aftermath of achieving such rigorous emotional containment. From the perspective of the text, this Monkey should indeed be powerful, since he no longer struggles with the challenges of self-discipline. Yet, as we can see from the movie, the Monkey's power does not grow accordingly with his developed skills of emotional containment. Instead, he appears with significantly weakened power. It seems that his emotional containment has not, in fact, brought him any tangible benefit in the context of the movie. In other words, without leading to physical power or enlightenment, the achieved state of emotional containment does not manifest itself as an asset in the film. This leads us to question the nature of emotional containment as portrayed in the movie: is it really what the directors intend for the Monkey to achieve, just like in the text, or are there a completely different set of values regarding emotion regulation set up by the film?

As the character of the Monkey develops over the course of the plot, we begin to see the nature of hindrance that emotional containment brings to the characters, and thus start to view it as something negative instead of an asset. This is especially prominent in the scene below:
After the intense buildup of the Monkey's aloofness and desire to escape from heroic responsibilities, this plotline comes to a climax near the end of the story, where a conflict between the Monkey and the Monk finally breaks out regarding whether the Monkey should help the Monk in saving the kidnapped children. As indicated by the screen caption, the Monk tries to convince the Monkey to save the children, claiming that he is the “protector as the legends say”; however, the Monkey rejects this plead by saying “it’s none of [his] business”, and that he does not intend on becoming a hero (Tian, 2015). This scene
stands in full contrast with a similar, climactic scene in the text where the Monkey and the Monk have a major conflict, in chapter twenty-seven, where the Monk asks the Monkey to leave after he kills the same monster disguised as various human three times. In the text scene, their conflict is entirely centered on the Monkey’s lack of emotional control, where he lets loose of his anger and rashly kills the monster, upsetting the Monk who was blinded by the monster's disguise and thought that the Monkey had killed innocent people. As a result, the Monk not only recites the hoop-tightening spell multiple times as punishment, but also deems that the Monkey is an undisciplined savage who does not deserve to remain in the team. Yet, in this movie scene, the source of conflict is utterly reversed: the Monk becomes the one eager to seek for revenge from the monster, while the Monkey remains reluctant to extend a hand of help. The source of conflict thus shifts from the Monkey's rashness in the text to the Monkey's guardedness in the movies, indicating a change in the ideals surrounding emotionality.

Furthermore, in the text, the Monk asks the Monkey to leave, but in the movie, the Monk leaves alone to seek for the kidnapped children. In both scenarios, through separating from the Monkey, the Monk falls into danger and is ultimately saved by the Monkey, where they ultimately come to a happy resolution and resolve the past conflict. In the text, the Monkey promises to never kill by emotional impulse again; in the movie, the Monkey appears in Hundun's lair and saves all the children by channeling power from his feelings of anger and pain. Both resolutions occur with the Monkey's character developing – but in two opposing directions. If we look at these parallel scenes in the text and the movie from a generalized perspective, we can see that the text Monkey resolved the conflict by becoming more emotionally contained, whereas the movie Monkey regained the Monk’s
friendship and trust by rediscovering his sense of empathy and allowing his emotions to flow. In the opposing outcomes of those two character-development scenes, we can see a stark difference in the value placed on emotional containment in the text and the movie respectively.

In general, this scene marks the change in attitude towards emotional containment, finally confirming that the directors here intend on picturing emotional containment in a negative light, as opposed to following the text’s values that advocate for a high degree of emotional containment. The Monkey here is an accurate embodiment of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER. The directors deliberately depict the “heart monkey”, representing EMOTIONS, as someone who is confined to an internal CONTAINER that hinders him from emotional expression. However, instead of portraying that characterization with praise, the directors choose to reveal underlying problems that occur as the result of emotional containment, and they stage a conflict similar to that of the text to exhibit this problem. In order to examine the nature of this conflict from the perspective of two clashing values, we must understand the significance of the Monk’s character as well as his interactions with the Monkey.

CHARACTERS: MONK

In both the text and the movie, the Monk is the most prominent character who establishes a relationship with the Monkey. Overall, the Monk serves as an essential pathway to understanding the monkey. Specifically, the Monk functions as a mirror as well as a role model to the Monkey – in both narratives, the Monkey achieves his final goal and obtains power through following the Monk’s footsteps and becoming more like the Monk.
In essence, the Monk was much more static than the Monkey in terms of character setting – it seems as if the Monk always served as a perfect, mentor-like goal for the Monkey to work towards, and every step he takes to become more like the Monk will lead him to the power of enlightenment. In turn, the Monk himself does not develop significantly in terms of personality.

To begin, in the text, the Monk appears early on as the Monkey’s mentor. He is the one who first released the Monkey from the mountain that was imprisoning him, as well as who finally lead the Monkey to Buddhist enlightenment. Through learning about the cultivation of calm through the Monk and enduring the Monk’s disciplinary punishments of the hoop-tightening spell, the Monkey was finally able to control his emotions and become a Buddha by the end of the journey. Particularly regarding emotions, the Monk presents the perfect example of emotional containment by being calm, coolheaded and logical; the main conflicts in the relationship between the Monk and the Monkey are also usually with respect to their different approaches to emotions. With the text strongly advocating for emotional containment, the way for the Monkey to achieve the power of enlightenment was to become exactly like the Monk.

However, in the movie, although the Monk is portrayed as the Monkey’s equal friend instead of a mentor, he still serves as an exemplar for the Monkey in conveying the values that are important. This time, even with the Monkey attempting to regain his physical powers instead of enlightenment, the Monkey still acquires that power through becoming more like the Monk, a precise parallel to that relationship development in the text. Consequently, as the values the Monk endorses change from book to movie, the expectations placed upon the Monkey’s character development also appear different. Most
significantly, instead of depicting the Monk as an emotionally suppressed character, the directors choose to make him very emotionally expressive. In order to execute this idea, the directors even deliberately alter the age of the Monk, making him a little boy. The natural setting in age smoothly transits the Monk from emotional containment to emotion expressiveness, as children are typically expected to exert less control over their emotions.

Furthermore, the movie characterizes the Monk as someone who loves legendary heroes rather than a diligent student invested in Buddhist teachings. Even in the beginning scenes of the movie, we see the Monk’s elder mentor scolding him for this exact behavior. Throughout the entire movie, the Monk also carries around a stuffed animal in the shape of a monkey, to represent the “great hero Monkey King” in his heart. This stuffed animal appears much more endearing to him than other items he owes with more Buddhist significance. Here, by downplaying the associations between Buddhist values and the Monk, the directors justify the Monk’s high affect state and turn him away from the expectations usually connected to Buddhism, namely the cultivation of emotional control. Through those attempts, the audience is thus able to resonate with the altered characterization of the Monk significantly better, particularly his preference for emotion expression.

Many narrative techniques carry over from the original book to the movie, including the use of the Monk to serve as a mirror for the Monkey. The contrast between those two characters often result in conflict, and ultimately motivates the Monkey to change and become more like the Monk. When the text Monk reflects the Monkey’s lack of self-control in emotions, the movie Monk actually reflects the opposite – the Monkey’s lack of emotions and empathy. Since the Monk functions as a role model across both narratives for the
Monkey to learn from, especially emotion regulation, the movie Monkey also comes out of the other end of the journey, acquiring the new value that emotion expression is better than emotional containment, which he has taken from the Monk.

Overall, from examining the key characteristics of the Monk, we can determine the most desired values in the context of the narrative, in both the text and the movie. The Monk in the movie appears as a very expressive character that shies away from emotional containment, which is a stark contrast with the Monk in the text. This is similar to the case of the Monkey, who switches from the impulsive, rash, heroic “Great Sage Equal to Heaven” in the text to the detached, gloomy Monkey who actively avoids emotions and heroic acts.

In both the text and the movie, the Monkey gains an awareness of the flaws in his values through direct conflict with the Monk, as if the Monk is a mirror to reflect things that the Monkey is lacking. The Monkey usually realizes a difference between the Monk’s values and his own values, and gradually grows to adopt the Monk’s values. On the other hand, through interactions with the Monkey, the Monk is able to teach the Monkey his own values, particularly regarding whether emotions should be contained, and instill those values in the Monkey.

**MOTIF OF THE GOLDEN HOOP**

The movie inherits the key conceptual metaphor from the text, EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, as well as the central motif that is utilized to literalize it – the golden hoop that constrains the Monkey’s power. Returning to the commentary of *The Beijing News*, the golden hoop serves as one of the most significant indicators of the changes made in the movie.
The hoop first appears when Sun Wukong escapes from the cave under the help of the Monk. If we turn to the first visualization of the hoop in the text, the hoop is cleverly dissembled by the beautiful hat, and Sun Wukong choose to put the hat on, tricked by its beauty. Since the hat comes from the Guanyin bodhisattva herself to protect the Monk from Sun Wukong’s threatening and uncontrolled power, it represents an enlightened wisdom that counteracts against the untamed, savage nature of the Monkey. The Guanyin bodhisattva’s positive connotations as a prominently worshipped Buddhist figure further this spillover effect towards the hoop itself. This primarily associates emotional containment with a positive nature and prompts the readers to view the hoop as a necessary and reliable key for the Monk to train his heart monkey.

In the movie, although the hoop still plays one of the most significant roles, its external appearance no longer suggests the same idea. The film suggests a change in attitude toward the hoop from the very first shot: instead of a delicate hat, layers of heavy chains now mask the hoop. The symbol of chains inherently evokes a sense of constraint and imprisonment: this imagery stirs negative feelings within the audience, leading them to
see the hoop primarily as a cuff that takes away freedom and induces pain, instead of a useful – and religiously sanctioned – disciplinary tool. Moreover, the movie shies away from discussing the origin of this hoop by deliberately keeping its purpose ambiguous and weakening the Guanyin bodhisattva’s role in this entire narrative. Therefore, the positive affects that the audience may bear towards the Guanyin bodhisattva would no longer spillover and influence their opinions of the hoop.

(Tian, 2015)

The directors again heighten the strong negative sense of containment through using the hoop as a key plot device. In Sun Wukong’s debut battle scene in the movie, he is supposed to fight the rock giant and protect the Monk as well as himself, yet the hoop drags him to the ground just as he was about to release his powers, causing the rock giant to achieve a temporary victory. This incident is in stark contrast to the original story. In the story, the hoop can only be activated when the Monk recites the hoop-tightening spell (otherwise known as the heart calming spell), and it functions to solely serve the Monk’s interest in taming the Monkey in contexts where the Monkey is overly emotional. In other
words, the hoop serves as the Monk’s mysterious gadget to contain his heart monkey, and it is used at the Monk’s will. Yet in the movie, the hoop seems to bear a sole goal to restrain the Monkey, despite the given context. Furthermore, the Monk does not have access to the hoop – instead of being protected by the hoop when the Monkey releases uncontrolled anger and rashness, the hoop literally causes the Monkey to lose his powers even when he is trying to protect someone, which directly puts the Monk in danger. Compared to how the Monk is training his heart monkey using the hoop in the text, the hoop in the movie appears much more like a burden that both the Monk and Monkey want to overcome.

There are even instances where the Monk tries to remove the hoop for the Monkey, but fails because he does not know how. The deliberate disassociation between the Monk and the hoop heightens the directors’ choice to change the positive associations with the hoops into negative ones. Here, once we see our protagonists stuck in danger due to the hindrance of the hoop, we are then further conditioned to view the hoop as an excessive annoyance. This action of antagonizing the hoop demonstrates a view towards emotional containment contradictory to what the original books have presented.
(Tian, 2015)

The final buildup of the hoop’s negative connotation appears in the last few scenes, where the Monkey thinks that the Monk has died trying to save him from the villain Hundun. However, just as he was about to release his powers and fight Hundun to honor the Monk, his hoop once again restrains his power and drags him to the ground. In this scene, the direct portrayal of the Monkey’s emotional state parallels the changes in the hoop. Firstly, this is a crucial moment where the Monkey demonstrates an outburst of emotions, marked by his roars of pain, anger and frustration. In fact, this is one of the few moments where the Monkey stops veiling his emotions towards the Monk and projecting deliberate aloofness. This moment also completes the narrative of the Monkey and Monk’s friendship, where the Monkey is finally forced to confront his deep, heartfelt emotions towards the Monk. In this case, the directors focus on the hoop again to mirror this significant instance in the emotional development of the entire movie. The parallel drawn
between the emotional development plot and the hoop makes the hoop's metaphorical meaning even more evident.

Particularly, in correspondence to the Monkey's release of his previously suppressed emotions, flames emerge from the hoop as well. This is a literalization of the conceptual metaphor, EMOTIONS IS FIRE, where the source FIRE directly echoes the visible flames. Specifically, ANGER IS FIRE speaks to the setting of this context, because anger is the most prominent emotion within the Monkey here. The deliberate parallel between this imagery and the Monkey's emotional moment in the plot again strengthens the connection between the hoop motif and emotions. Viewing this scene in the context of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, on a literal level, the fire engulfs the hoop, yet the hoop still manages to withstand the ferocity of the fire; on a metaphorical level, when the Monkey tries to express his emotions, the values of emotional containment once again restrains from doing so, and forces him into calmness and control. Then, when the fire almost swallows the hoop, it is identical to the Monkey’s emotions leaking out from under the container and finally revealing its form. Bridged by the two key conceptual metaphors, EMOTIONS IS FIRE and EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, the literal portrayal here in the movie scene is essentially interchangeable with the concepts of EMOTIONS.

Lastly, this final scene completes the negative buildup towards the hoop. Since the Monk has always been portrayed as the movie’s primary hero towards the audience, it is natural for many people to develop fondness and empathy for him. As he dies in this scene, the audience is programmed to empathize with the Monkey and mourn over the Monk’s death, many of which will long for the Monkey to kill Hundun and avenge the Monk. In this
case, when the audience realize that is it exactly the hoop that has been hindering the Monkey from performing the heroic act that they all wanted to see happen, their opinion towards the hoop can hardly be positive. At this point, the hoop has finally lost all of its positive connotations of discipline and instead joins the team of the perpetrators, who do nothing in the movie except to create obstacles for the protagonists. Consequently, we see the directors’ view towards emotional containment through how the literalized source for CONTAINER is depicted. Therefore, while reading the text, the audience may be far more understanding towards the hoop and the spell, recognizing that despite the pain it induces, it is an essential part of discipline that the Monkey must endure in order to achieve enlightenment as well as the desired, Buddha-like emotional calmness. However, while watching the movie, given the antagonistic light that the hoop has consistently been under, the audience would be likely to have a much higher empathy towards the Monkey as they witness his struggles and pain caused by the hoop throughout the movie. Finally, upon reaching this scene, after seeing how the hoop indirectly allowed the Monk’s death to take place, the majority of the audience would in fact root for the Monkey in this battle against the restraint of the hoop. In a metaphorical sense, the audience wants to see the Monkey become emotional instead of calm and aloof, and even use that emotion to fuel his magical powers to achieve revenge. In essence, the positive or negative connotation assigned to the hoop in the text and the movie causes the audience to either support or criticize emotional suppression.
To further the difference in the attitude towards emotional containment, the story in the movie regarding the hoop begins to diverge here from the text’ original path. This includes the breaking of a significant rule – in the original books, the hoop, under the spell of the Guanyin Bodhisattva, has always been undefeatable. It exerted effective influence on the Monkey despite the context in which it was used – no matter if the Monkey was throwing a tantrum or if the Monk simply thought that he was disobeying orders. In fact, we repeatedly witness how the Monkey tries to fight back and complain about the spell, but never succeeds.

To completely twist the original books’ outlook on emotional containment around, the directors not only purposefully painted the hoop in a negative light from the very beginning, but also takes away its undefeatable quality. This scene finally gives the audience a gleeful moment when the Monkey bears the pain of the hoop, stands up slowly, and actually shatters the hoop into small shards as he releases his power. The shattering of the hoop, in this climax, is an extremely symbolic moment that marks the utter rejection of
the emotional containment portrayed in “Journey to the West”. Again, if we view the entire portrayal of “the heart monkey who wears a power-controlling hoop” as the literal embodiment of the conceptual metaphors EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, then it is specifically heightened on the sense of strict containment as opposed to the way this conceptual metaphor is usually used in Western culture, which often loosens up the boundaries of such containment. Here, through shattering the hoop, we can distinguish a key attribution of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER in the context of this movie: the directors are not simply trying to create a narrative that embodies the Western-oriented version of this conceptual metaphor; instead, they portray the traditional Chinese-oriented value of emotional containment first, and then show their active rejection by shattering the hoop in the climax scene of the movie. In other words, instead of coming in with preconceptions of emotional containment and perpetuating it throughout the movie, the directors actually show this drastic change in EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER on screen in the most powerful way. The Beijing News clearly picked up on this dramatic revision with their statement that, “the most shocking change in the movie is how the Monkey King shatters his golden hoop by himself and regaining freedom” (Cui, 2015). Right at this moment, this specific conceptual metaphor shifts from its original Chinese-oriented meaning over to a new Western-oriented meaning. Therefore, the directors here are actually creating a narrative to not only appeal to a wider International audience, but to also deliberately change the views of a Chinese audience who has most likely been exposed to “Journey to the West” and its embodied values long before.
Following the shattering of the hoop, a detailed, zoom-in shot is given to the Monkey’s arm, where the hoop had, in the movie, originally appeared. The remains of the hoop have in fact transformed into the Monkey’s protective armband, and a glimmering, golden light washes over the “hoop”. Finally, as the Monkey stands up steadily, the light
fades away like dust. Here, the golden light represents a sense of new birth as well as power.

This scene furthers the change in the portrayal of the hoop motif, and it sets a perfect contrast with the final scene of the hoop in the text. The two different directions that the hoop has taken are demonstrated through the forms that it ultimately takes: it becomes invisible in the text, and it remains wrapped around the Monkey’s body for a different purpose in the movie. First of all, by the end of the text, the Monkey asks the Monk to take the hoop off for him since he has already become a Buddha, and the Monk reveals to him that the hoop has in fact already disappeared. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this instance marks the internalization of the hoop. After the Monkey truly learns how to control his emotions, the hoop becomes an invisible, eternal constraint on his heart. Here, the constraint has never really disappeared – it is just manifesting in a different way that heightens the Monkey’s new achieved self-discipline and emotional containment. On the other hand, in this scene, we see another instance of hoop internalization that appears very different from the text. Initially, the purpose of this internalization is the exact opposite to the text: the hoop, instead of serving as an external constraint that stops the Monkey from protecting people and expressing emotions, it has actually morphed into his armor, which then turns around to protect him and help him release his previously controlled powers of emotions. Again, in reference to the commentary from *The Beijing News*, “in the text, we see how he goes from longing for the outside world to learning how to control himself, but in the movie, he instead seeks for the power within and emerges as a hero” (Cui, 2015). The contrast between “longing for the outside world” and “seeking within” speak to this process of internalization. When seeking for power – be it physical strength or spiritual
enlightenment – the Monkey must endure and overcome particular hardships. In the text, the Monkey learns to tame his internal emotions during his journey through the world; however in the movie, the Monkey “seeks for the power within” by channeling his previously concealed emotions, and uses that as the source of his power. Unlike the text, instead of acquiring something new such as the Buddhist scrolls of enlightenment to enhance his power, the Monkey discovers that he has those powers he longed for all along – they were simply the emotions buried within that he has repeatedly ignored or tried to suppress.

Overall, in both the text and the movie, the internalization of the hoop serves as the most crucial indicator of the Monkey’s character development in emotion regulation. In the text, he achieves a final emotional containment – the hoop has tamed him entirely, granting him the ability to control himself, therefore there is no need for the help of a visible hoop. In the movie, however, he achieves a final emotional outburst – instead of being tamed by the hoop, he turns around and tames the hoop, first destroying it and then incorporating it into his own powers. In a metaphorical sense, the two narratives are suggesting dramatically different values: while the text indicate that power can only be acquired after mastering an utter control over emotions, the movie implies that power is at its greatest when one learns to release emotions and use those emotions as fuel.

Interestingly, both the text and movie suggest the same outcome – despite how power is achieved, the Monkey will always become the hero of the story after his journey. As for the power that he acquires, it is closely associated with the sense of protecting and helping other people in both narratives. This suggests that regardless of how emotional containment is perceived and employed in different cultures, both the Chinese-oriented
narrative and a Western-oriented narrative, hundreds of years apart, ultimately share the same core values of heroism: to defeat the evil and protect the weak. That value not only transcends cultural boundaries, but also time.

**MOTIF OF FIRE**

As mentioned earlier, the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS IS FIRE, or specifically ANGER IS FIRE plays a prominent role in the development movie. Similar to the way that the golden hoop motif embodies EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER, when the image of fire appears in the movie, it also means to resemble emotions.

Primarily, we must return to the conceptual metaphor itself to discuss this motif. By acknowledging EMOTIONS IS FIRE (ANGER IS FIRE), we are comparing the target EMOTIONS (ANGER) to the source FIRE. Here, EMOTIONS as a vague concept share similarities with the concrete element of FIRE to a significant extent, with some characteristics painted with a negative light: both EMOTIONS and FIRE could be recognized as dangerous and uncontrollable. This is especially prominent in the case of ANGER, where both ANGER and FIRE carry a degree of aggressiveness, as they could both result in harm to people. Moreover, both EMOTIONS and FIRE can be intensified by an external stimulus and consequently grow in extent, such as triggers to EMOTIONS as fuels to FIRE. However, on the other hand, the nature of FIRE also suggests a sense of passion, warmth as well as power. This then provides EMOTIONS with some more positive connotations in the entire conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FIRE. Again, by analyzing the appearance of this conceptual metaphor in the movie as a series of visual motifs, we are able to decipher the
target EMOTIONS from the source FIRE, and thus come to recognize the directors’ outlooks and values on emotions in general.

(Tian, 2015)
The use of fire as a motif largely occurs in the ending climax scene of the movie, after the Monkey has shattered his hoop and powerfully embraces emotional expression instead of emotional containment. The appearance of the fire motif occurs simultaneously as the movie portray to Monkey to experience a real moment of emotional outburst, where he roars in pain about the loss of his friend. This leads us to consider the association between the metaphorical meaning of this motif and emotion expression. 

In the first scene, fire is the key imagery complementing the Monkey's symbolic transformation – when the Monkey unleashes his emotions and allows anger to serve as his motivation, he flies through a rock and the rock literally emerges into a ball of fire surrounding him. Moreover, this fire actually molds the rock into an entire armor that tightly fits his body, protecting him from the antagonist. The second and third scenes are aftermaths following the first scenes. The second scene portrays a similar transformation to the first scene, where flames directly morph into the Monkey’s cape. Finally, in the third scene, although fire no longer appears directly in those two key scenes, we still see
imageries that resemble the idea of fire in a symbolic sense – for example, in the second scene, through setting the entire color tone of the scene in black and blue, the directors purposefully highlighted the Monkey’s red, glowing eyes as well as flowing red hair. Red is a color often associated with fire, especially when the color itself is portrayed with a glowing light or displayed in movement. Therefore, although fire was not directly present here, the directors use this stark redness to establish a symbolic connection and make the audience draw their attention once again to the ongoing fire motif. This is the same case as the Monkey’s soaring red cape, where it literally looks like a blazing fire on the far horizons.

Notably, even though FIRE as a source is often compared to targets for its whimsical and uncontrolled nature, in the scene here, the Monkey seems to master the skills of manipulating fire and using it as a source of power. Specifically, instead of using the fire to attack the antagonist, the Monkey actually views it solely as a source of protection that occurs during his metamorphosis. Through heightening the sense of protection instead of aggressiveness in the fire surrounding the Monkey, the directors actively attribute another layer of meaning to the concept of emotions: emotions, even one of the most explosive ones such as anger, have the potential to protect people instead of harming them. This defies people’s traditional expectations towards the use of FIRE as a source and forces the audience to consider a new possibility to interpret the target EMOTIONS.

Furthermore, this appears to indicate a sense of emotion regulation. Here, despite that the Monkey has the ability to use this fire to attack the antagonist out of anger, he refrains himself from doing so, and instead calmly waits for the fire to morph into his armor. The appearance of the fire, in connection with the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS IS FIRE, echoes the Monkey’s ultimate choice of expressing his emotions instead of
containing them. Yet, these emotional expressions seem calm and healthy – when the Monkey lets loose of his emotions, his control over them has not actually diminished, as he never lashes out at the antagonist in rage nor hurts innocent people due to emotional impulse. In fact, the fire, alongside the shattering of the golden hoop, becomes another source of his power.

Through the literalization of emotion-based conceptual metaphors such as EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER and EMOTIONS IS FIRE, the movie discusses values regarding emotional containment. Primarily, they twist the original advocacy towards emotional containment that the text reveals by pairing the hoop, the source of containment, with negativity and actively making it breakable. As the hoop no longer plays an effect, the fire is able to flow through freely. The visual image here of the Monkey surrounded by fire, coming both externally and from within, indicates the symbolic portrayal of an emotion release. Then, from the way that fire is utilized and regarded as a source of controlled, stable power and protection, we can see that the directors are in fact establishing a definition of emotion containment a step further than before: letting loose on emotional containment does not equate to an utter loss of control. Instead of suppressing all emotions precisely like the text suggests, the movie instead implies that embracing the flowing of emotions effectively is beneficial, as long as a degree of control is maintained.
CONCLUSION

In Chapter 1, I outlined the fundamental theories of conceptual metaphors and provided two of my own theses: firstly, the multilevel expansion theory of conceptual metaphors in narrative argues how a conceptual metaphor can manifest in various different forms across a single narrative, as embodied by many different literary techniques. Secondly, the cultural variability of conceptual metaphors implies that the same conceptual metaphor can manifest very differently in different cultural contexts, depending on its host culture’s norms and values. I chose to focus on EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER as the primary conceptual metaphor to work with. In Chapter 2, I explored both theses using theories in psychology and conducted my own studies. Ultimately, the results of my studies supported these two theses – study 1 illustrates that cultural values can immensely influence one’s emotional expressivity, determining whether one would choose to contain emotions or express emotions; study 2 shows that conceptual metaphors can transcend the boundary of linguistics and manifest in other forms such as images. In Chapter 3 and 4, I apply these findings to an analysis of a text “Journey to the West” as well as a movie Monkey King: Hero is Back. Overall, I discovered two things; both are in correspondence to my theses: the same conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER can manifest very differently in a narrative that embodies traditional Chinese values on emotional containment and in a narrative that embodies more Westernized values on emotional expression. We can see that the CONTAINER alters significantly when comparing these two narratives side by side. On the other hand, EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is embodied through various different levels in the same narrative, such as imageries, character
development and motifs, expanding beyond the boundaries of linguistic constructions. In the end, it is those multiple levels of metaphoric embodiment that finally form the entire narrative, thus powerfully presenting the overall theme regarding “how to regulate emotions”. From Chapters 3 and 4, we can conclude that narratives are able to convey and even indoctrinate cultural values on emotions because of the ways that they embody emotion-based conceptual metaphors. In our case, when the “containment” side of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is embodied, the narrative “Journey to the West” can teach people to cultivate calmness and refrain emotions from pouring out; when the “expression” side of EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER is embodied, the narrative Hero is Back can also teach people to confront their emotions, seek for internal power within those emotions and release emotions at the right time.

The duality in “Journey to the West” and Hero is Back opens up another layer of discussion regarding cultures and cultural changes. As Kövecses indicates, “The conceptualization of a given emotion can change through time within a given culture, depending on how the target is defined.” (Kövecses, 2005) Although both narratives are based on the same story and produced in the same culture, the values they each respectively endorse are immensely different. 21st century China, while actively embracing a globalized future, introduced many Western-based values and norms into its culture. In the time gap of 400 years between the text and the movie, the target EMOTIONS have been defined in such drastically divergent ways that those two narratives embody EMOTIONS ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN A CONTAINER differently as well. From the ways in which the same story could be told and ways in which conceptual metaphors could be embodied across time, we can see a trend of shifting values within a given culture.
The analyses regarding “Journey to the West” and *Hero is Back* can provide applicable insight to the field of the social sciences. It touches on an important question: how are we influenced by literature? Or, in other words, *what can literature do to us?* In the context of this thesis, I have explained the ways in which a narrative can indoctrinate the values regarding emotion regulation into its audience. Of course, the value placed on regulating emotions is only a single aspect of “cultural values”; presumably, other cultural values could be conveyed and indoctrinated in the same way using similar techniques that involve conceptual metaphors. This idea is especially significant in the field of child development, with regards to exposing children to existing cultural values. A child who grew up in the 19th century introduced to the story of “Journey to the West” through the original text would have a very different understanding and outlook of emotion regulation, compared to a child who grew up in the 21st century introduced to the story of “Journey to the West” through the movie adaptation. To the former child, to become a hero means to have precise restraints on emotions that are otherwise “wild and untamed”; to the latter child, to become a hero means to channel power through emotions and express them in order to defeat the evils in this world. Consequently, the former child might be more inclined to contain emotions, whereas the latter child might be more inclined to express emotions. Something as simple as reading a book or watching a film could drastically change the way a child thinks and behaves. Conceptual metaphors in literature and film are essential in shaping our values and identities.
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