What does our face mean to us?*

Ning Yu
University of Oklahoma

This study is a semantic analysis of metonymic and metaphoric expressions involving body-part terms for the face in Chinese. These expressions are discussed regarding four perceived roles of face, namely, as highlight of appearance and look, as indicator of emotion and character, as focus of interaction and relationship, and as locus of dignity and prestige. It is argued that the figurative extensions are based on some biological facts about our face: it is the most distinctive part on the interactive side of our body capable of revealing our inner states. Referring to English the study shows that the terms for the face in both languages have developed figurative meanings along similar routes with similar stops. It also shows that the concepts of "face and facework", admittedly ubiquitous in all cultures, are manifested more richly in Chinese than in English — a reflection of cultural differences in values attached to those concepts. Finally, a hypothetical "Triangle Model" is proposed to account for the relationship between language, culture, body, and cognition.

1. Introduction

Our face is one of the most important parts of our body. Its importance is determined fundamentally by the kind of body we have and how it functions. Specifically, the face is the body part that is most distinctive of a person. It is on the interactive side, the front, of our body. Whenever we want to interact with somebody or something, our face turns to the person or thing. Conversely, we turn our face away, leaving the person or thing behind. The face is really the focus of human interaction. It conveys or betrays our intentions and states of mind. Consciously or unconsciously, it shows our emotions and feelings. Thus, our face is the most important identity mark of who we are, both physically and socially. The human face has, for two decades, captivated research interests in

Pragmatics & Cognition 9:1 (2001), **1–36.** ISSN 0929–0907

multidisciplinary science including psychology, clinical case studies, neuroscience, and computer science (Stevenage 2000). In social and behavioral sciences, for much longer, the concept of face has been an important theoretical construct and research subject for various disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, linguistics, communication as well as psychology (Tracy 1990).

In this study I make a semantic analysis of what our face means to us in our language. In particular, I study metonymic and metaphoric extensions in the form of compounds and idioms containing the lexical items denoting the face in Chinese. I also refer to English for comparison. The English word *face* has two basic counterparts in modern Chinese: *lian* 'face' and *mian* 'face', the other derivatives including *lianmian, liankong, miankong, yanmian,* all denoting the face. Besides, *mianzi,* derived from *mian* 'face', means "outer part of something" and "face" in abstract senses, but not "face" as part of our body. In the next four sections I examine how *lian* 'face' and *mian* 'face' derive their metonymic and metaphoric extensions based on the role of face as part of our body. These four sections bear the headings "Face as highlight of appearance and look", "Face as indicator of emotion and character", "Face as focus of interaction and relationship", and "Face as locus of dignity and prestige". I should note at the outset that, while I treat them as four separate topics, they are in essence closely linked to one another in intricate ways. Over the four sections, we will follow two parallel tracks: one extending from the biological to the social face and the other from the metonymic to the metaphoric face.

The central claims of this study are that the peculiar nature of our face actually shapes our metonymic and metaphoric understanding of certain abstract concepts and that what our face means to us really emerges from what our face does for us. I hope that my study will shed some light on the philosophical aspect of human meaning and understanding by highlighting their bodily basis that, until recently, had been largely overlooked (see Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999). In conclusion I will propose a hypothetical "Triangle Model" to account for the complicated relationship between language, culture, body and cognition.

2. Face as highlight of appearance and look

A very common metonymy, richly manifested in language, is *the face stands for the person.* The bodily basis for this metonymy is that the face, with eyes, nose and mouth on its front and ears to its sides, is the most distinctive part of a person.

For that reason we identify or remember people primarily by their face. Picture IDs show people's face. One thing that stands out in our memory of people is their face. For instance, we refer to old or new members of a group as "old or new faces", as in (1):[1]

(1) a. *lao miankong* 'old face (i.e., old member)'
b. *xin miankong* 'new face (i.e., new comer)'

As the face-for-person metonymy is extended to objects and abstract things via metaphor, we then refer to the most important surface (often the front) of something and the outward appearance or apparent state of something (abstract) as "the face". For example:

(2) a. *men-mian* (door-face) 'face, facade, front (e.g., of a shop)'
men-lian (door-face) 'face, facade, front (e.g., of a shop)'

There is little doubt that the metaphor here derives from the kind of body we have: the face is the most distinctive body part that is on our interactive side or front. Further illustrating the metaphoric extension are the idioms below:

(3) a. *mian-mu yi-xin* (face-eyes entirely-new) 'take on an entirely new look; present a completely new appearance'
b. *mian-mu quan-fei* (face-eyes all-different) 'lose one's identity; a complete change; all looks wrong or different; be changed or distorted beyond recognition'
c. *gai-tou huan-mian* (change-head switch-face) 'change the appearance but not the essence; dish up the same old stuff in a new form; sell old wine in a new bottle'
d. *ren-mian shou-xin* (human-face beast-heart) 'the face of a man but the heart of a beast; a beast in human form'
e. *ge-mian xi-xin* (change-face wash-heart) 'flay the face and wash the heart; turn over a new leaf; thoroughly reform oneself; redeem oneself by a thorough change'

In Chinese, as in (3a) and (3b), the compound *mian-mu* 'face-eyes' means "appearance" or "look" in general. More often than not it refers to the appearance or look of things rather than humans, giving rise to a metaphorical extension. While the face represents the appearance of something as a whole, it represents the appearance only, not the essence. The change of the face as well as the head (3c) does not change the essence, which is represented by the heart (3d). A thorough change requires that one "change his face and wash his

heart" (3e). In the sentence below *lao miankong* 'old face' of (1a) refers to the characteristic playing style or "appearance" of a soccer team.

(4) *Gai dui yi gai gong-ruo shou-qiang de lao*
this team completely changed offense-weak defense-strong MOD old
miankong, zhu chang yi si bi yi da-sheng ke dui.
face home field by four to one rout visiting team
'This team completely changed its old face of weak offense and strong defense, routing the visiting team four to one on its home field.'

In sum, the metonymic and metaphoric extensions discussed in this section seem to have derived from the following biological facts about the body part of face:

(5) a. Face is the most distinctive part of a person. (part for whole)
b. Face is on the interactive side, the front, of a person. (interactive side; front)
c. Face is an external body part of a person. (surface vs. essence)

In fact (5a) and (5b) presuppose (5c). When in combination with the metaphor of personification, these facts can explain all the examples in this section. Thus, we refer to people by their most distinctive part (5a for 1). After personification, the front of a shop, which is the most distinctive side of the structure, is the "face" (5a and 5b for 2). The "face" is the most distinctive external part of a person or thing (with personification) and, therefore, its change will lead to the change of appearance or look (i.e., identity) of the person or thing (5a and 5c for 3 and 4), but not the essence (3c).

3. Face as indicator of emotion and character

The face is the most distinctive part of a person because it has on it features such as eyes, brows, nose, mouth that importantly characterize a person. With those features, the face displays one's emotion and suggests one's character, as the Chinese idiom goes:

(6) *mian-ru-qi-xin* (face-like-one's-heart) 'One's face reveals one's heart'

For instance, we smile when happy and we cry when sad. The reactions to emotions all show on our face. The link between facial expressions and emotions is an important research topic in psychology (e.g., Ekman and Rosenberg 1997;

Russell and Fernández-Dols 1997). More recently the interest has also extended into linguistics (e.g., Wierzbicka 1993, 1999, 2000). The relationship between the face and character of a person is far less studied in real life, but intuitively perceived in artistic works. For instance, a movie director will select actors and actresses with particular faces that "match" particular characters. Writers' depictions of characters to some extent depend on how they portray their faces. An extreme example is Beijing operas where actors and actresses have to paint stereotypical makeup on their face determined by the characters they play.

In Chinese there is a large number of compounds and idioms that describe people's emotions or states of mind in terms of what happens on their face. Expressions of this kind are metonymic in nature: *facial displays stand for emotions or states of mind* (see also Yu 1995, 1998a, 2000b). That is, whatever is said about the face actually points to the mental state of the person. The idioms in (7) contain *lian* 'face' and *mian* 'face'.[2]

(7) a. *lian-dui-xiao-rong* (face-pile up-smiling-expression) 'one's face wreathed with smiles; be all smiles with happiness'
b. *lian-hong-er-chi* (face-red ears-red) 'become red in the face; flush with anger'
c. *lian-ru-huang-la* (face-like-yellow-wax) 'one's face turned waxen with fright; become waxen yellow in the face with fright'
d. *lian-bu-gai-se* (face-not-change-color) 'keep one's countenance; not show the slightest fear'
e. *lian-se-yin-chen* (face-color-overcast-heavy) 'look sullen; look unhappy'
f. *lian-zhang-fei-hong* (face-swell-red-red) 'flush with embarrassment'
g. *mian-dai-chou-se* (face-bring-sad-color) 'wearing a sad/anxious expression; with a troubled countenance'
h. *mian-lu-bu-an* (face-show-not-peace) 'show an anxious/disturbed expression'
i. *mian-you-yun-se* (face-has-irritated-color) 'look irritated/disgruntled/angry'

Note that (7a–f) do not include any emotion words, but their usage is conventionalized with certain emotions. For instance, both (7b) and (7f) refer to redness in the face, but the former is associated with anger and the latter with embarrassment. On the other hand, examples (7g–i) contain emotion words, thus specifying the emotions as expressed on the face. In (8) are compounds with *lian* 'face' indicating people's emotions or states of mind:

(8) a. *lian-re* (face-hot) 'feel ashamed'
b. *lian-hong* (face-red) 'blush with shame or embarrassment'
c. *hong-lian* (redden-face) 'blush (for being shy); blush with anger; get angry'
d. *beng-lian* (stretch-face) 'pull a long face; look serious or displeased'
e. *ban-lian* (harden-face) 'straighten one's face; put on a stern expression'
f. *leng-lian* (cold-face) 'cold face; severe expression'
g. *hao-lian* (good-face) 'a smiling face'
h. *sha-lian* (stupid-face) 'find or feel oneself stupid or silly; disgraceful; lose face'
i. *shang-lian* (up to-face) 'blush for drinking wine; grow dizzy with success or praise'

People's face will "feel hot" (8a), burning with shame. Their face will also "turn red" (8b), blushing with shame or embarrassment. However, *hong-lian* (redden-face) in (8c) means "blush for being shy or with anger". Unhappy or displeased people have the muscles on their face tight, resulting in a "stretched face" (8d). In (8e) *ban* is originally a noun meaning "board (e.g., of metal)". In this case it is a verb meaning "harden (the face like a board)". One's face appears to be a "cold face" (8f) when "stretched" and "hardened". A "good face" (8g) is usually a reflection of a good mood. If people find themselves stupid, say, for having done something stupid, they are likely to have a "stupid face" (8h). Originally meaning "blush for drinking wine", (8i) has come to mean, by extension, "being too complacent with success or praise". Being over complacent is similar to being intoxicated. In (8′) below are sentential examples of (8b) and (8d). It is worth mentioning that in (8′a) the person is not really "holding others' thigh asking for favor". It is a metaphor describing the "cringing" attitude in bodily terms.

(8′) a. *Ta bao-zhe renjiade datui yao zhaogu, yinggai gandao*
he hold-PART others' thigh ask-for favor should feel
lian-hong.
face-red
'Holding others' thigh asking for favor, he should feel ashamed'.
b. *Ta beng-zhe-lian bu shuo hua.*
he stretch-PART-face not say words
'He kept a straight face and remained speechless'.

I would like to mention here that there is a close tie between emotion and character. If people tend to have a certain emotion, then it is part of their character.

But the connection between face and character is not so obvious. It seems that this fact is also reflected in the Chinese language. There are fewer examples of this kind.

(9) a. *lian-ji* (face-impatient) 'irritable; irascible'
b. *mian-shan* (face-kind) 'look kind in the face; affable; amiable'
c. *tie-mian wu-si* (iron-face no-self) 'disinterested'

If a person tends to be irritable or irascible, it is all shown on his or her face: the "face looks impatient" (9a). Thus it reveals something about the person's character. In (9b) those who "look kind in the face" are believed to be "affable and amiable" in character. As in (9c), disinterested people (especially, officials, judges, referees, etc.) have an "iron face" and are "selfless". They seek no personal interest. To do so they need to have an "iron face", which is hard and does not show any emotions. More importantly, as the next section will show, the face is the focus of interpersonal interaction and relationship. With an "iron face" one can be firm facing bad people and rejecting their lures or threats. Thus, the metaphoric "face" is associated with the strong character of disinterestedness. Related to (9b) Chinese compounds involving face seem to concentrate on a single aspect of character — the degree of sensibility to shyness or shame, as shown by (10):

(10) a. *pi-lian* (leather-face) '(*dial.*) naughty; shameless'
b. *lao-lian* (old-face) 'thick-skinned; brazen-faced'
c. *hou-lian*(pi) (thick-face[skin]) 'thick-skinned; brazen; cheeky; shameless'
d. *lian(pi)-hou* (face[skin]-thick) 'thick-skinned; shameless'
e. *lian-bao* (face-thin) 'thin-skinned; shy; sensitive'
f. *lian-nen* (face-tender) 'bashful; shy'
g. *mian-nen* (face-tender) 'shy; bashful; sensitive; timid'
h. *mian-ruan* (face-soft) 'thin-skinned; shy; sensitive'
i. *lian-ruan* (face-soft) 'soft-hearted; good-natured; disinclined to hurt others' feelings; having too much consideration for others' feelings or sensibilities'
j. *lian-ying* (face-hard) 'not easily persuaded to give in; not easily swayed by emotions; not sparing anyone's sensibilities'

Apparently, the degree of sensibility to shyness or shame varies with "quality" of face: the tougher the face is, the less likely it will be affected by shyness or shame. Leather is a kind of material that has extraordinary resistance to damage.

So, a person with a "leather face" (10a) does not have to worry about it being damaged by shame: he is "shameless". The "older" the face is, the harder it grows and the more it is resistant to damage (10b). Examples in (10c) and (10d) have similar meanings based on the metaphorical conceptualization that thicker faces are less prone to damage. The opposite is also true, as illustrated by (10e). Examples (10f) and (10g) show that people whose "faces are tender" are shy and bashful. While (10h) and (10i) both literally mean that one's "face is soft", the person in (10h) is inclined to save his own face whereas the one in (10i) is likely to save other people's face. In (10j) "face hard" is an antonym to both (10h) and (10i). People with their "face hard" are not easily swayed by feelings and, for that reason, will not spare other people's sensibilities. Illustrating (10g) and (10i) are the following two sentences, where timid or soft-hearted people are said to have "tender or soft faces":

(10′) a. *Ta he shengren tanhua jianzhi xiang xiao haizi yiyang mian-nen.*
he with strangers talk really like small child same face-tender
'He shows an almost childlike timidity in talking with strangers.'

b. *Ta tai lian-ruan, zongshi buhaoyisi jujue bierende yaoqiu.*
he too face-soft always find-it-difficult reject others' demands
'He's too soft-hearted, always finding it difficult to reject others' demands.'

It is apparent that the compounds in (10) reflect our metaphorical understanding of an inclination to shyness and shame. It is not true in real life: a thin-faced person may not be more sensitive to shyness or shame than a thick-faced person and a softhearted person does not necessarily have a soft face.

It should also be pointed out that real life is not a Beijing opera where faces and characters usually match. Judging people's character by their face is not always reliable. This again is reflected in the language. For instance,

(11) a. *lian-ruan xin-ci* (face-soft heart-kind) 'be shy and kind; kind-hearted'

b. *mian-shan xin-ci* (face-kind heart-kind) 'affable and kind-hearted'

c. *mian-shan xin-e* (face-kind heart-wicked) 'a kind face but a wicked heart'

d. *mian-shan xin-zha* (face-kind heart-cheat) 'have an honest appearance but be actually full of cunning and deceit'

In the first two idioms "kind-hearted" people also have "soft and kind faces". But in the last two "kind faces" are really deceptive, covering the true character

of evil. The face is after all an external body part. It can only stand for people's outward appearance, in contrast to the heart that represents their inner state. When the face and the heart match, the former is an open window into the latter, as (11a) and (11b) suggest. When the face and the heart do not match, the former covers up the latter like a window shut up, as illustrated by (11c) and (11d) as well as (3d).

In this section, the compounds and idioms involving *lian* 'face' and *mian* 'face' are based on two functions of the face:

(12) a. Face displays emotion.
b. Face suggests character.

As the verbs suggest, the link between face and emotion is closer than that between face and character. These two functions are interrelated. If a person's face tends to display a certain emotion, the inclination to this emotion becomes part of the person's character. Conversely, people with a certain character tend to display certain emotions on their face. In Chinese there is a large number of compounds and idioms that refer to emotions by describing facial displays or gestures, and included in (7) and (8) are just some examples. Conventional expressions such as these are based on actual facial reactions to emotions. In that sense, they are originally metonymic in character. Once conventionalized, however, they are also used metaphorically regardless of emotional symptoms on the face (Yu 2000b). As I have noted, there are not many compounds and idioms that make an explicit reference to the connection between face and character. Primarily, they concentrate on people's inclination to shyness and shame, as in (10). The difference in this particular aspect of character is conceptualized metaphorically as the degree to which the face can resist the impact of shyness or shame. This depends on the toughness and thickness of the face. The tougher the material of the face is, the more resistant it is. Also, materials being equal, the thicker the face is, the stronger it is. Apparently, shyness and shame as emotions are conceptualized as forces. Hence, the metaphors are *shyness is force* and *shame is force*. Of the two, the latter is a much stronger force than the former. The two metaphors fall into the master metaphor: *emotion is force* (Kövecses 2000). Although the metaphors of emotions as forces are imaginative in nature, they have an experiential basis in our body: emotions such as shyness and shame bring about immediate physical changes and reactions on our face. That is why people tend to "hide their face" when embarrassed or ashamed.

4. Face as focus of interaction and relationship

Since the face is our most distinctive body part on our interactive side, it is naturally the focus of attention in interpersonal interaction. It then becomes the focus of relationship as it is formed between interacting people. Face in this sense is both physical and social. The social aspect of face is an important research topic in social science. Studies of "face and facework" started decades ago (e.g., Goffman 1959, 1967; Ho 1976; Hu 1944), and have generated impressive results (e.g., Brown and Levinson 1987; Cody and McLaughlin 1990; Friedman and Tucker 1990; Hwang 1987; Lee-Wong 2000; Ng 1990; Pan 2000; Ting-Toomey 1988, 1994a; Tracy 1990).[3]

The importance of face as focus of human interaction and relationship is richly reflected in the Chinese lexicon. First look at (13):

(13) a. *mou-mian* (seek-face) 'meet; meet each other; get acquainted with each other'
b. *jian-mian* (see-face) 'meet; see; contact'
c. *chu-mian* (turn out-face) 'act in one's own capacity or on behalf of an organization; appear personally; come forward'
d. *lou-mian* (show-face) 'show one's face; make or put in an appearance; appear or reappear on public occasions'
e. *hui-mian* (get together-face) 'meet; come together'
f. *peng-mian* (bump-face) 'meet'
g. *dang-mian* (to-face) 'to sb.'s face; in sb.'s presence; face to face'
h. *mian-dui-mian* (face-to-face) 'face to face'
i. *mian-shu* (face-familiar) 'look familiar'
j. *mian-sheng* (face-strange) 'look unfamiliar'

As in these examples, when we meet or see someone, we say that we "seek or see the person's face" (13a and 13b). When someone does something in person or on behalf of others, or shows up on a certain occasion, we say that he "turns out his face" (13c) or "shows his face" (13d). If we get together for meetings, we "get our faces together" (13e), or even "bump our faces" (13f). It is often desirable that interpersonal matters can be handled "face to face" (13g and 13h). People looking familiar or unfamiliar are "faces familiar or unfamiliar" to us (13i and 13j), since we remember them primarily by their faces. Sentences in (13′) illustrate (13c) and (13f). It is noteworthy that, while in (13′a) *chu-mian* (turn out-face) is metonymic in character, the same expression in (13′b) is metaphorical when applied to things like organizations:

(13′) a. *Buzhang qinzi chu-mian xiang dashimen shuoming*
minister in-person turn out-face to ambassadors explain
qingkuang.
situation
'The minister personally explained the matter to the ambassadors.'

b. *Shuang fang you minjian tuanti chu-mian*
both sides by non-governmental organizations turn out-face
shangtan maoyi.
negotiate trade
'Trade talks are to be held by non-governmental organizations of both sides.'

c. *Mingtian women hai zai zher peng-mian.*
tomorrow we again at here bump-face
'Let's meet (lit. bump our faces) here again tomorrow.'

While the face is the focus of human interaction, it is conceptualized as embodying interpersonal relationship. Intentionally or not, people convey their feelings about other people through their facial expressions. The face has thus become a sign of interpersonal relationship. A "warm" or "cold" facial expression may as well reflect a "warm" or "cold" interpersonal relationship. The compounds and idioms in (14) illustrate the metonymic or metaphoric connections between face and interpersonal relationship:

(14) a. *bian-lian* (change-face) 'suddenly turn hostile'
b. *shuai-lianzi* (fling-face) '(*dial.*) pull a long face (to show one's unhappiness)'
c. *ma-lian* (wipe-face) 'be strict with sb. all of a sudden; straighten one's face; put on a stern expression'
d. *fan-lian* (turn-face) 'fall out; suddenly turn hostile'
e. *fan-lian bu ren ren* (turn-face not recognize person) 'deny or turn against a friend; pretend not to know old friends; turn one's back on old associates'
f. *fan-lian wu-qing* (turn-face no-affection) 'turn against sb.; turn against a friend and show him/her no mercy'

In (14a) "suddenly turn hostile" is literally "change face". Sometimes just "change face" is still not enough to show one's displeasure or anger; people can also "fling their face" (14b) to draw attention to their feeling. Also, one's face changes with the act of "wiping" it (14c), like in a magic show. When breaking up with someone, you "flip your face over or turn it away" (14d), which refers

to a falling-out in bodily terms. In (14e) and (14f) are two idioms containing (14d). The examples in (14′) illustrate (14a) and (14d):

(14′) a. *Ta gen wo bian-lian le. Wo nar dezui ta le?*
he with me change-face PART I where offend him PART
'He turned (lit. changed his face) on me. What did I do to offend him?'

b. *Talia conglai meiyou fan-guo-lian.*
they-two ever haven't turn-PART-face
'The two of them have never quarreled (lit. flipped over their faces).'

Since the face is a sign, indexical or iconic, of interpersonal relationship, if you want to maintain a relationship, you need to keep the face. If, on the other hand, you do not want to maintain the relationship, you no longer need to keep up the face. You can simply "pull down the face" (15a). Or, you can just "rip it off" (15b), by "scratching" (15c) or "tearing" it (15d). However, those who still care about the relationship may find themselves "unable to pull down the face" (15e). In all these examples, face is really metaphoric, very much like a mask. It is put on, pulled down, or even torn off for the purpose of marking a particular relationship. The importance of face as a mask kept up to maintain a relationship is further illustrated by idioms in (15f) and (15g). They characterize two kinds of relationship that are maintained only on the surface. Again, the face contrasts the heart as they represent, respectively, one's outside and inside. The idiom in (15h) describes people who are "double-faced" and good at "double-dealing". Of the two faces they have, at least one is fake, that is, a mask put on to be deceptive.

(15) a. *la-xia-lian* (pull-down-face) 'pull a long face; put on a stern expression; not spare sb.'s sensibilities'

b. *po-lian* (rip-face) 'turn against (an acquaintance or associate); fall out'

c. *zhua-po-lian* (scratch-rip-face) 'scratch each other's face; quarrel openly'

d. *si-po-lian* (tear-rip-face) 'rip the face; put aside all considerations of face; not spare one's sensibilities; come to an open break in friendship with sb.'

e. *la-bu-xia-lian* (pull-unable-down-face) 'be afraid of hurting one's feelings'

f. *mian-he xin-bu-he* (face-harmonious heart-not-harmonious) 'remain friendly in appearance but estranged at heart; be friends only on the surface'

g. *mian-cong xin-wei* (face-follow heart-oppose) 'comply in appearance but oppose in heart'
h. *liang-mian san-dao* (two-face three-knife) 'two-faced; double-dealing; double cross'

It is interesting to note that the observations here of face as mask in human interaction and relationship conform to Goffman's (1959, 1974) role theory in terms of a theatrical metaphor, according to which human communication is action on a metaphorical stage playing out roles in interaction with one another.

Those who really care about interpersonal relationship are usually very sensitive about preserving other people's face as well as their own. That is, they always "take face into consideration" (16a) and "take care to preserve it" (16b). They often "talk face" (16c), and are likely "hindered by face" (16d) so as not to "contradict or hurt others' face" (16e and 16f). Because they "preserve and buy others' face" (16g and 16h), others will consider them as having a "satisfying or sufficing face" (16i). According to the Chinese concept of face, as these expressions show, face is relational and reciprocal in nature: people need to show regard to others' face as well as to their own (Ho 1976, 1994). Therefore, it is both a blessing and a burden (Chang and Holt 1994).

(16) a. *gu-mianzi* (take into consideration-face) 'save (sb.'s) face; keep up appearances; spare sb.'s feelings'
b. *guquan-mianzi* (take care to preserve-face) 'save sb.'s face; spare sb.'s sensibilities'
c. *jiang-mianzi* (talk-face) 'take face into consideration; care about sb.'s sensibilities; have consideration for one's face'
d. *ai-mianzi* (hindered by-face) 'just to spare sb.'s feelings; be afraid of hurting sb.'s feelings'
e. *bo-mianzi* (contradict-face) 'not spare sb.'s sensibilities; not show due respect for sb.'s feelings'
f. *shang-mianzi* (hurt/injure-face) 'hurt face; hurt sb.'s feelings'
g. *liu-mianzi* (preserve-face) 'save sb.'s face (so as not to embarrass him)'
h. *mai-mianzi* (buy-face) 'have regard for sb.'s face; defer to sb.'
i. *gou-mianzi* (satisfy/suffice-face) 'gain enough recognition of one's face; have favorable responses to one's request as a mark of such recognition'

(16′) a. *Ai zhe ta babade mianzi, wo buhao shuo shenme.*
hindered by his father's face I couldn't say anything
'I didn't say anything for fear of hurting his father's feelings (lit. because I was hindered by his father's face).'

b. *Bu shi wo bu mai nide mianzi, shizai zhe shi buhao ban.*
not that I not buy your face really this matter can't-be done
'I'd be happy to defer to your wishes, but there's really nothing I can do about it' (lit. It's not that I don't buy your face, but this matter really can't be done).'

As shown in the translations in (16′), face has to do with people's feelings and sensibilities. To keep a good relationship people would consider and save others' face, that is, to spare their sensibilities and not to hurt their feelings.

Just as the English word *face* can be used as a verb, so is *mian* 'face' in Chinese. For instance, an old-fashioned punishment applied by parents or teachers to their children or students is called *mian bi* 'face the wall'. Extending the verb to a house, for instance, we say that the house *mian-nan zuo-bei* (face-south sit-north), meaning that it "faces south (and against north)". Apparently, the verbal use is derived from the fact that our face is on the interactive side of our body. In (17) below the three verbal compounds all mean "to face" roughly but have different connotations or implications, as shown by their translations. The examples in (17′) illustrate their use in sentences.

(17) a. *mian-lin* (face-near) 'be faced with; be confronted with; be up against'
b. *mian-dui* (face-to) 'face; confront'
c. *mian-xiang* (face-toward) 'turn one's face to; turn in the direction of; face; be geared up to the needs of; cater to'

(17′) a. *Women mian-lin yichang yanzhong de weiji.*
we be-faced-with a serious MOD crisis
'We are faced with a serious crisis.'
b. *Ni bixu mian-dui xianshi.*
you must face-to reality
'You must face reality.'
c. *Jiaoyu yinggai mian-xiang sige xiandaihua.*
education should face-toward four modernizations
'Education should cater to (or meet) the needs of four modernizations.'

When forced to confront or willing to interact with things or people, we emphasize the fact that our face is oriented against or toward them. When we say that one "faces" crises or reality (17′a and 17′b), we are talking about the abstract in bodily terms. This is more obvious in (17′c) where a nonhuman subject like education does not really have a face.

To summarize, the conception of face as focus of interaction and relationship follows directly from our knowledge of the face as part of our body. As listed in (5), the face is the most distinctive part that is on the interactive side of our body. This biological fact about the structure of our body is the basis for the metonymic uses of *mian* 'face' in (13) and (17). In (13) people in interaction focus on each other's face. In (17) they always orient their face to the person or thing they are to interact with. Of course, as in (17′c), interaction between abstract things can be understood in metaphoric terms of human interaction.

When people interact with each other they form a particular relationship between them. The focus of human interaction, the face, then becomes the focus of human relationship by metaphorical projection. Whereas the face as focus of human interaction is basically physical, the face as focus of human relationship becomes more social. The social face serves as a semiotic sign that marks a particular relationship. Any change of the sign marks a change of the relationship, as in (14). Any damage of the sign marks a damage of the relationship, as in (15). Those who care about the relationship always try to preserve the sign that marks it, as in (16). Apparently, the social face as a semiotic sign is metaphorical in nature, but the metaphor is grounded in the structure of our body. The face can serve as a semiotic sign for interpersonal relationship because of a combination of its biological facts and functions listed in (5) and (12). In addition, the face, with facial gestures, also plays a function of conveying one's intentions. We add this function to (12) to get (18).

(18) a. Face displays emotion.
b. Face suggests character.
c. Face conveys intention.

My point is that the social aspects and functions of the face are based on its biological facts and functions. This point will be further evidenced in the next section.

5. Face as locus for dignity and prestige

Dignity and prestige are important factors in interaction and relationship between people or organizations. As weights that determine the balance or imbalance of such interaction and relationship, they are evaluated as the perceived amount of respect claimed or given, that is, how much respect people claim for themselves or obtain from other people. In one sense, people's success

in interaction and relationship with others is determined by the amount of dignity and prestige they win. They will gain "weight" with more dignity and prestige and vice versa. What is interesting is that, as the focus of human interaction and relationship, the face is also the locus for dignity and prestige by metaphorical projection. In this sense, face is social, defining one's location in the social system (Ho 1976) or corresponding to one's position in the relational hierarchy (Chang and Holt 1994).

The examples in (19) pertain to dignity or perceived amount of respect one claims for oneself, understood and expressed in metaphorical terms related to the face.

(19) a. *diu-lian* (lose-face) 'lose face; be disgraced'
b. *pao-lian* (toss-face) '(*dial.*) lose face'
c. *qiang-lian* (scrape-face) 'get bruised in the face; lose face; make a fool of oneself'
d. *sao-lian* (sweep-face) 'lose face'
e. *baoquan-mianzi* (keep intact-face) 'save face; keep up appearances'
f. *zheng-lianr* (whole-face) 'face-saving'
g. *she-lian* (sacrifice-face) '(do sth.) at the sacrifice of dignity'
h. *mei-lian* (no-face) 'feel ashamed; feel embarrassed'
i. *mei-lian-jian-ren* (no-face-see-people) 'be too ashamed or embarrassed to face anyone'
j. *you-lian* (have-face) 'have the face or cheek (to do sth.)'
k. *yao-lian/mianzi* (want-face) 'be keen on face-saving; care much about one's reputation'
l. *ai-mianzi* (love-face) 'be concerned about face-saving; be sensitive about one's reputation'
m. *bu-yao-lian* (not-want-face) 'have no sense of shame; shameless'

If people "lose their face" (19a), they also lose their dignity. To "toss face" in (19b) lays a little more emphasis on one's own responsibility for the loss of face. In (19c) people's dignity is damaged when their face is "scraped". In (19d) people's "face is swept" away and their dignity is gone with it. That is why people think it important to "keep their face intact" (19e) from any damage, so that they can have "whole faces" (19f). Sometimes, however, people have no choice but to "sacrifice their face" (19g) and dignity in order to achieve some purpose. This, of course, is regarded as a shame. If people have lost their face for some reason, they then "have no face" (19h) and can no longer "face other people" (19i). Example (19j) is often used in a rhetorical question for people who are supposed to have no composure or courage to do something. Those who are really concerned about

losing face "want or love their face" (19k and 19l). On the other hand, those who have no sense of shame or are shameless do not care about losing face, because they do "not want their face" (19m) in the first place. The sentences in (19′) exemplify (19g) and (19j) while (20) further illustrates the relation between face and dignity.

(19′) a. *Chuyu wunai, ta zhihao she-lian xiang ren jie qian.*
out-of no-choice he is-forced sacrifice-face from others borrow money
'With no option left, he was forced to borrow money from others at the sacrifice of his dignity (lit. his face).'

b. *Wo ma guo ta, zenme you-lian qu qiu ta?*
I curse PART him how-could have-face go ask-a-favor-of him
'I once insulted him. How could I have the face to ask a favor of him?'

(20) *Jiaowang ying yi zunyan wei qianti, women bu-neng na re lian qu tie renjiade leng pigu.*
contact should have dignity as precondition we cannot take warm face to touch others' cold ass
'The contacts should have dignity as a precondition and we cannot take our warm face to touch their cold ass.'

In (20) the loss of dignity, the taste of humiliation and the sense of shame are described metaphorically in bodily terms. They stem from the sharp contrast in attitude: "face" versus "ass" and "warm" versus "cold".

In the next group of examples the face is pertinent to prestige or perceived amount of respect obtained from other people. Those who have prestige command respect from other people. In (21a) and (21b) the expressions that literally mean "have face" in Chinese actually mean "have prestige", "command respect", or "enjoy due respect". Note that (21a) is exactly the same as (19j), but *lian* 'face' in (21a) means "prestige" and the same in (19j) means "effrontery" or "composure". The face is part of the head, the most important external body part. So in (21c) and (21d) prestigious, famous and respected people are said to be "people with heads and faces". As many abstract concepts are understood spatially, the spatial metaphor also extends into the use of face to refer to prestige. Thus, people whose "faces are big" (21e and 21f) have much more prestige than people whose "faces are small" (21g and 21h). In (21i) *bo-mian* (thin-face) is used modestly or humbly to request some attention or respect from other people. The examples in (21′) exemplify (21c), (21g), and (21i).

(21) a. *you-lian* (have-face) 'have prestige; command respect; have the face or cheek'
b. *you-mianzi* (have-face) 'enjoy due respect'
c. *you-tou you-lian* (have-head have-face) 'have prestige; command respect'
d. *you-tou-lian* (have-head-face) 'have prestige; command respect'
e. *lian-da* (face-big/large) 'have (much) prestige; command (much) respect'
f. *mianzi-da* (face-big/large) 'have (much) prestige; command (much) respect'
g. *lian-xiao* (face-small) 'have little or no prestige; be nobody'
h. *mianzi-xiao* (face-small) 'have little or no prestige; be nobody'
i. *bo-mian* (thin-face) 'for my sake; humble respect'

(21′) a. *Tamen dou shi you-tou-you-lian de shehui-mingliu.*
they all are have-head-have-face MOD noted-public-figures
'They are all noted public figures with much prestige.'
b. *Wo zhidao wode lian-xiao, shuohua ye bu-dingyong.*
I know my face-small words still not-useful
'I know I'm just a nobody (lit. have a small face); my words carry no weight.'
c. *Kan zai wode bo-mian shang, yuanliang ta zhe yici.*
look at my thin-face on forgive him this time
'Looking at my humble face (i.e. for my sake), forgive him this time.'

As in (21′a), celebrities are people who "have head and face", that is, people who have much prestige and command much respect. In (21′b) and (21′c) the degree of prestige is conceptualized spatially as dimensions of face. Little wonder it is argued that one's face, as social image, is measurable in terms of how much face one claims from others and how much face people give the person (Ho 1994). If, as is said, one's face "is a function of perceived social position and prestige within one's social network" (Hwang 1987:961), that "position" should be capable of quantification.

The concept of prestige always goes with honor, regard, favor and attention. All these are important elements that form a good interactive relationship. Look at (22):

(22) a. *zheng-lian* (vie for-face) 'try to win credit or honor'
b. *zheng-mianzi* (vie for-face) 'try to win credit or honor'
c. *gei-lian* (give-face) 'do sb. a favor; save sb.'s face (so as not to embarrass)'

d. *gei-mianzi* (give-face) 'do sb. a favor; save sb.'s face (so as not to embarrass)'
e. *shang-lian* (grant-face) '(used when requesting sb. to accept one's request, invitation, or presence) honor me with your presence; favor me with'
f. *shang-mianzi* (grant-face) 'accept sth. in order to do sb. honor'
g. *lou-lian* (show-face) 'look good as a result of receiving honor or praise; do sth. that brings honor or glory; become known (by doing sth.); be successful'
h. *zuo-lian* (compose-face) '(*dial.*) win honor or glory; try to make a good showing'
i. *de-lian* (obtain-face) 'find favor with sb.; gain favor from sb.; become known (by doing sth.); be successful; shine'
j. *tao-lian* (beg for-face) 'curry favor with sb.; ingratiate oneself with; fawn on; toady to; please others'

Those who try to win credit or honor for themselves are said to "vie for face" (22a and 22b). Face can be "given" (22c and 22d) or "granted" (22e and 22f) to someone as much as honor can. One's face is "shown" (22g) with greater publicity and better known as the person wins more success, honor, or fame. To win honor, glory and success means to "create or compose a face" (22h). In (22i) and (22j), specifically, face is also a metaphor for favor, but favor can be seen as a special kind of honor that adds to one's prestige. So, as people find or gain favor from others, they "obtain face" (22i) from them. This compound also means that people gain more prestige as they "shine" with success. If some people curry favor with or fawn on someone, they are actually "begging for face" from that person. The sentences in (22′) demonstrate (22c), (22e), and (22i).

(22′) a. *Dongshizhang lai dale yige zhaomian, ye suan shi gei-lian le.*
president come put-in a appearance so count as give-face PART
'As a favor, the president put in a brief appearance (lit. The president put in a brief appearance, which counted as giving face)'.

b. *Wo xiang qing ni chi wanfan, ni ken-bu-ken shang-lian?*
I want invite you eat dinner you willing-or-not grant-face
'I'd like to invite you to dinner. May I have the honor (lit. Are you willing to grant me the face)?'

c. *Zai xiongdi jige zhongjian, ta shi zui de-lian de yige.*
at brothers several among he is most obtain-face MOD one
'Among the several brothers, he is the one most in favor (Lit. he is the one who obtains most face)'.

As seen from the compounds and examples, "face carries both affective and social cognitive implications", and it is related to concepts that "involve both affective reactions and social cognitive judgments" (Ting-Toomey 1994b: 3–4).

This section has shown that face is really conceptualized as the locus for dignity and prestige. Face as locus for dignity is illustrated by (19). The loss of face results in loss of dignity. Those who care about dignity will try to save their face. Those who do not care about their face have no dignity or are shameless. The conceptualization of face as locus for dignity is built on our understanding of face as highlight of people's appearance, as indicator of their emotion, and as focus of their interaction, discussed in the previous sections. In short, the face, more than any other part of body, demonstrates one's status of dignity. Closely related to dignity is prestige, which also has face as its locus, as shown by (21). It is expressed in spatial terms as dimensions of face (cf. 10). Dignity and prestige are based on respect, both self-respect and respect from others. But prestige, more than dignity, depends on respect from other people. This again highlights the face as focus of interaction and relationship. In human relationship, one's respect (or disrespect) to another is focused on that person's face, as well as shown on one's own face. Naturally, the face becomes the locus for the respect and prestige one enjoys. Two related concepts are honor and favor. Embodied in face as much as dignity and prestige, honor and favor are treated as commodities and transferred among people in their interaction and relationship, as exemplified by (22).

6. *Face* in English: A comparative perspective

In the last four sections I demonstrated the metonymic and metaphoric extensions of the body-part terms denoting the face in Chinese. It is shown that these extensions are in fact based on some biological facts and functions of the face as part of our body. If there is indeed a bodily basis for such figurative meaning and understanding, we should find similar extensions in other languages. That is, the phenomenon should be widespread, if not universal. In this section, I turn to English for a comparative perspective.[4] I do not, however, intend to present a thorough analysis here. But "flat" as it is, I hope that it will

serve as a mirror that provides a comparative view of potential cross-linguistic similarities and differences.

A striking finding that emerged in the comparison is that English and Chinese share many of the metonymic and metaphoric conceptions of the face. In English the body-part term *face* has semantic extensions similar to those of its Chinese counterparts. First, the metonymy *the face stands for the person* is widely scattered in daily English. It is common, for instance, to refer to a new member as *a new face*, as opposed to *an old face* for an old member. The following are some sentential examples.

(23) a. I don't know how he dares show his face in this pub after how he behaved the other night!
b. He has become a familiar face in Washington, D. C.
c. He put some new faces in the Cabinet.
d. He'd always wanted to star in action movies but his face just didn't fit.
e. Crowds of faceless people pour into the city each day.

In (23a–c) the face as highlight of a person stands for the whole person. In (23d) the face stands for personality and character as well as appearance of the person. The people in (23e) are said to be "faceless" because their identity and character, and possibly their appearance also, are not clear. Both (23d) and (23e) involve metaphorical mapping.

(24) a. Now it's done, we have to put a good face on it.
b. Though he was obviously distressed, he put the best face he could on the matter.
c. On the face of it, the trip seems quite cheap, but there could be extra expenses we don't know about yet.
d. The whole village presented a face of placid contentment.
e. His report put a new face on the matter.

As in (23), the face can stand for the physical appearance of a person. This metonymy then extends via metaphor to people's behavior or manner, or to things that may be abstract in nature and have no physical appearance, as in (24). In (24a) and (24b), the face can be interpreted as either the highlight of one's outward appearance of behavior and manner, or as the apparent state of the matter. If it is the former, the face suggests one's state of mind and conveys one's intention. If it is the latter, the word *face* means an aspect, a state, or a condition of something abstract that may not be visible at all. This is certainly the case with (24c–e).

(25) a. "I hate pepperoni pizza!" he said, making a face.
b. She pulled a long face.
c. George came in with a face as long as a fiddle and said it was raining again.
d. He argued until he was blue in the face.
e. Her face was a picture when I told her the news.
f. He laughed on the other (or wrong) side of his face.
g. He always keeps a straight face.

Just as in Chinese, the link between facial expression and emotion or character is also reflected in English. Phrases such as "a stern face", "an angry face", "a happy face" and "a smiling face" indicate people's emotional states. In the sentences of (25), the reference to the face suggests the person's current emotion or his personality. Example (25c) is an extension of (25b), and both indicate a sad or unhappy emotion. In (25d) the facial color "blue" is conventionally associated with anger, and in (25e) "the picture" on the face refers to one's surprise or anger. In (25f) the face has "two sides". If people "laugh on the wrong side of their face", their emotion drops from happiness to sadness. In (25g) the face that is habitually "straight" suggests an aspect of the person's personality.

(26) a. I'd prefer to sort this problem out face to face rather than over the phone.
b. I don't know how you can look her in the face after what you've done.
c. Everyone refers to him as "Junior" but no one would dare call him that to his face.
d. He slapped me in the face.
e. One of the managers is always in my face.
f. Just get out of my face and leave me alone!
g. Each time I make a suggestion she just throws it back in my face and says I don't understand.
h. How could he be so two-faced?
i. He has a two-faced political attitude.
j. The government's attempts at reform have blown up in its face, with demonstrations taking place all over the country.

In English, the word *face* is very often used in idioms indicating human interaction, especially confrontation, as shown in (26). These examples also show that the face is the focus of interpersonal interaction and relationship. In (26a–c) it is the physical face that is referred to, whereas the attack on the face

in (26d) can be physical, verbal, or some other abstract kind of engagement. The face in (26e–h) is metonymic or metaphoric. In (26h), for instance, the compound adjective *two-faced* characterizes the person who is a "double-dealer" in human interaction and relationship. In (26i) the metaphorical mapping transfers the epithet *two-faced* from the person to his political attitude. In the last example (26j), the government is confronted with demonstrations all over the country. Here human bodily experience has extended into the domain of social interaction and confrontation. In (27) below human beings face, or are faced with, abstract things, or abstract things face each other. The uses of *face* in these examples are derived through metaphor from actual bodily interaction between human beings.

(27) a. It was only after I started working for the charity that I came face to face with poverty.
b. Despite fierce competition from rival companies, they've set their face against price cuts.
c. How could he win in the face of such united opposition?
d. Starvation seemed to stare them in the face.
e. It's pop music that's sexy, colorful and in your face.
f. These recommendations fly in the face of previous advice on safe limits for alcohol consumption.

In (28) below the word *face* is used as a verb to mean, either alone or in combination with an adverbial particle, "overcome", "carry through", "accept", or "meet", which all imply a certain kind of interaction in which one's face is oriented toward whoever or whatever one interacts with.

(28) a. He faced down the critics of his policy.
b. He knew he was in the wrong, but was determined to face it out.
c. She faced up to her responsibilities.
d. He's squandered his money and now he's got to face the music.

In a metaphorical sense, the English word *face* has the meaning of "effrontery", "composure", or "confidence", as illustrated in (29a) and (29b) below. Apparently, the metaphor here stems from the understanding that one's effrontery, composure and confidence are all shown on one's face. Also metaphorically, the word *face* is extended to refer to dignity and prestige, as in examples (29c–g). In this sense, as discussed in the previous section, face as locus of dignity and prestige is an entity that can be "lost" or "saved" and that is measurable with its dimensions.

(29) a. How could anyone have the face to ask such a question?
b. He maintained a firm face in spite of adversity.
c. He refused to admit he made a mistake because he didn't want to lose face.
d. Are the ministers involved more interested in saving face than in telling the truth?
e. Face is sometimes a major consideration in diplomatic negotiations.
f. She gained great face with the extraordinary performance.
g. He's a man of considerable face in the local community.

It seems that English and Chinese bear much similarity in the metonymic and metaphoric extensions of their body-part nouns referring to the face. In English, as shown in (23) and (24), the face is conceptualized as highlight of a person or matter to stand for the whole. The fact that the face indicates one's emotion and character reveals itself in (25). Furthermore, the face is the focus of human and non-human interaction and relationship, as shown in (26–28). Finally, the face in English also serves as locus for dignity, prestige and related concepts, as demonstrated by (29).

Having presented data from Chinese and English, I now discuss the similarities and differences between the two. For the purpose of comparison, Table 1 provides a checklist of relevant senses discussed above under English *face* and Chinese *lian* 'face' and *mian* 'face'. As the table shows, the English word *face* possesses all the listed meanings. On the Chinese side, *mian* possesses all eight and *lian* five of the eight, excluding (4) and the last two verbal senses. This table, of course, is just a rough outline rather than a complete picture. It only indicates presence versus absence in a particular cell, but not whether it is a strong or weak presence. For instance, in definition 3 "front, upper, outer, or most important surface of something", the Chinese *mian* has a much stronger presence than *lian*. But the difference is not reflected in the table, with both marked with a "+" sign. Also, the table does not consider the internal difference between, for instance, "front surface" and "upper surface" in definition 3, but lumps them together as a single category in a single definition.

Despite its nature of a rough outline, the table still demonstrates a high degree of similarity between English and Chinese at a certain level of abstraction. The nouns that refer to the face have developed their figurative senses via metonymy and metaphor along similar routes with similar stops. The question to ask is what underlying principle is responsible for such high degree of similarity across languages and cultures? The answer is our body. Disregarding all the differences in details, humans across races have similar bodies with

Table 1. Senses associated with the body part of face in English and Chinese

	English	**Chinese**	
Relevant senses associated with the body part of face	*face*	*lian*	*mian*
1. front of head from forehead to chin	+	+	+
2. a look on the face as expressing emotion, character, etc.	+	+	+
3. front, upper, outer, or most important surface of something	+	+	+
4. outward appearance or aspect; apparent state or condition	+		+
5. composure; courage; confidence; effrontery	+	+	+
6. dignity; prestige	+	+	+
7. have or turn the face or front towards or in a certain direction	+		+
8. meet confidently or defiantly; not shrink from; stand fronting	+		+

similar structures. In this study I have suggested that the metonymic and metaphoric conceptions and expressions are built on some facts and functions of the face as part of our body. These are listed in (5) and (18) and repeated here as (31).

(31) a. Face is the most distinctive part of a person.
b. Face is on the interactive side, the front, of a person.
c. Face is an external body part of a person.
d. Face displays emotion.
e. Face suggests character.
f. Face conveys intention.

Here is a case of embodiment of human meaning. The kind of body we have and how it functions influence and shape what and how we mean (see also Yu 1998b, 2000). In both languages the extensions are structured by metonymy and metaphor, which in turn are grounded in common bodily experiences. So the common bodily experiences account for the parallel meaning extensions between them. At this point, I want to emphasize that the similarity under discussion exists at a level of abstraction. When it comes down to the more concrete level of specific linguistic expressions, the differences are also obvious, in contrast to the similarities.

As already shown, the metonymic and metaphoric senses, namely (2–8) in Table 1, are manifested linguistically in both Chinese and English. Some

conventionalized expressions are even closely equivalent across the languages. Listed below are some examples. The parentheses on the left side of the Chinese examples contain their original numbers in Sections 2 through 5.

		Chinese	**English**
(1)	a.	*lao miankong* (old face)	old face
(8)	d.	*beng-lian* (stretch-face)	pull a long face
	e.	*ban-lian* (harden-face)	straighten one's face
(13)	d.	*lou-mian* (show-face)	show one's face
	g.	*dang-mian* (to-face)	to one's face
	h.	*mian-dui-mian* (face-to-face)	face to face
(15)	h.	*liang-mian* (two-face)	two-faced
(19)	a.	*diu-lian* (lose-face)	lose face
	e.	*baoquan-mianzi* (keep intact-face)	save face
	j.	*you-lian* (have-face)	have the face/cheek

While the above pairs of examples are parallel across the linguistic boundary, the overall amount of data are not so symmetric on both sides under comparison. Chinese seems to have much more conventionalized expressions, in the form of compounds and idioms, involving the body-part terms for the face. This difference seems to be proportionate to the fact that there are several Chinese body-part terms corresponding to the English word *face*, as mentioned in the introductory section of this paper. Specifically, this difference has various facets. First, some English expressions have multiple Chinese counterparts used in different contexts with different emphases. For instance, the English idiom *lose face* corresponds to several Chinese compounds: (19a) *diu-lian* (lose-face), (19b) *pao-lian* (toss-face), (19c) *qiang-lian* (scrape-face), and (19d) *sao-lian* (sweep-face). Here, the last three Chinese examples elaborate on the first one (19a) by conflating the semantic component of manner in them. Incidentally, according to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (New Edition), English *lose face* is a translation from Chinese *diu-lian* 'lose face'. The next example shows a different kind of elaboration. The English idiom *save face* basically means "save one's own dignity or self-respect". Equivalent to this meaning Chinese has (19e) *baoquan-mianzi* (keep intact-face), that is, "to save one's own face". Related to this Chinese also has compounds such as (16a) *gu-mianzi* (consider-face), (19k) *yao-mianzi* (want-face) and (19l) *ai-mianzi* (love-face) referring to people who are "keen on saving their face". Furthermore, the elaboration also takes a different direction to "saving other people's face". Therefore, in Chinese there

are compounds like (16b) *guquan-mianzi* (take care to preserve-face), (16c) *jiang-mianzi* (talk-face), (16d) *ai-mianzi* (hindered by-face), (16g) *liu-mianzi* (preserve-face), (16h) *mai-mianzi* (buy-face), (22c) *gei-lian* (give-face) and (22d) *gei-mianzi* (give-face). These examples show that it is important to save not only one's own face, but also others' face. Face-saving is more reciprocal in Chinese.

The quantitative difference between Chinese and English also arises from the fact that in some English expressions face is implied while their Chinese counterparts make an explicit reference to it. For instance, English *blush* and *flush* are semantically equivalent to (8b) *lian-hong* (face-red) or (8c) *hong-lian* (redden-face) in Chinese. Having conflated the semantic component of location, the English words mean "become red *in the face*". Also, English *thin-skinned* and *thick-skinned* roughly correspond to (10e) *lian-bao* (face-thin) and (10d) *lian-hou* (face-thick) or (10c) *hou-lian* (thick-face) in Chinese. It can be assumed that the "skin" in the English compounds refer to the "skin of the face" that is most visibly affected by emotions or feelings.

It is worth mentioning here that the other Chinese compounds in (10), which all elaborate on the "quality" of the face in one way or another, demonstrate still another facet of the difference. For many Chinese compounds and idioms with *lian* or *mian,* their English equivalents make no reference to face at all. Examples of this kind abound, such as those in (14), (15), (21), and (22). In (14) and (15) one's face can be "changed", "flung", "flipped over", "pulled down", or "ripped off" in interpersonal interaction and confrontation. In (21) and (22) faces of prestige, honor, favor and so on are conceptualized as entities that can be "vied for" or "passed around".

These are the major facets that constitute the difference between Chinese and English: Chinese is richer than English with conventional expressions involving the body part of face. Here is an apparent reason for it. The concept of face, that is, social face, is Chinese in origin (e.g., Ho 1976; Hu 1944; Morisaki and Gudykunst 1994), and "is central to Chinese construal of their social life" (Chang and Holt 1994: 97). According to Lin Yutang, a famous Chinese scholar, face is "the most delicate standard by which Chinese social intercourse is regulated" (from Ho 1976: 867). That is to say, Chinese culture attaches special importance to face, as further illustrated by the following proverbial sayings:

(32) a. *Ren huo mianzi shu huo pi.*
humans live face trees live bark
'Humans live for their face whereas trees live for their bark.'

b. *Da ren buyao da lian, jie ren buyao jie duan.*
hit people don't hit face expose people don't expose shortcomings
'Don't hit people on the face, and don't catch people on the raw.'

The first proverb says "Save your face, because it's all the purpose of your life". The second one says "Spare others' sensibilities and save their face". If Chinese culture attaches special values to face, it then should not be surprising to find these values richly lexicalized in the Chinese language. It is a linguistic manifestation of the complex and dynamic character of the culture-specific Chinese concept of face.

While in English there are not as many conventionalized expressions containing *face*, it does not mean that the concept of face is of little or no significance in English-speaking cultures. In fact, face and facework are acceptedly ubiquitous concepts across cultures, although conceptions of face and rules and criteria governing facework are shaped by cultural variability (e.g., Chang and Holt 1994; Ho 1976, 1994; Hu 1944; Hwang 1987; Morisaki and Gudykunst 1994; Ting-Toomey 1988, 1994b; Tracy 1990). At the linguistic level, in fact, many English idioms containing *face* do not have equivalents in Chinese. These include, for instance, *one's face is a picture, get out of one's face, set one's face against, fly in the face of* and *face the music,* contained in the examples in this section. To me, a nonnative speaker of English, these idioms vary in their degrees of opacity or transparency. For example, *get out of one's face* and *set one's face against* are transparent and vivid to me because, I believe, they are rooted in common bodily and psychological experiences. On the other hand, *face the music* is not so transparent to me, but its opacity lies in *the music* rather than in *face.*

At this point, I want to cite another example that may shed some light on the relationship between linguistic differences and the common bodily basis for meaning and understanding. As in the English-Chinese dictionary (Lu 1993) that I use, given below in (33a) and (33d) are two phrasal examples for the verbal idiom *face up to* under the entry *face.*

(33) a. face up to one's responsibilities
b. *jianyi-de cheng-dan ziji-de zhizhe*
c. determinedly accept-shoulder self's responsibilities
d. force sb. to face up to that problem
e. *poshi mouren zheng-shi nage wenti*
f. force sb. straight-see that problem

As can be seen, through the glosses in (33c) and (33f), the Chinese translations in (33b) and (33e) do not involve the body part of face, as their English originals do.

However, it is apparent that the Chinese translations still involve bodily projection that is metaphorical in character. In (33b) one "accepts and shoulders the responsibilities" while in (33e) the person is forced to "look squarely at the problem". Moreover, in the bodily projection of (33e) the involvement of face is implied: one has to "face" the problem in order to "look at it squarely". In sum, there is a common bodily basis for meaning and understanding something abstract, but the bodily projection varies with regard to the actual body part projected. In English it is the face in both cases, whereas in Chinese it is the shoulder in one and the eyes and, indirectly, the face in the other. So the linguistic differences here still have a common root in the bodily basis.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the following expressions and collocations that are not usually found in everyday English. These are key and frequent phrases in the English scholarly literature on face and facework:

(34) a. face expectation, face negotiation, face violation, face moderation, self-face protection, other-face violation
b. positive face, negative face
c. face claims, face wants, face strategies, face relations
d. face need, face concern, face maintenance, face behavior, face threat, face respect, hierarchical face system
e. face-honoring, face-compensating, face-giving, face-withdrawing, face-disregarding, face-enhancing, face-downgrading, face-threatening
f. protect self-face, preserve other-face, defend self-face, confront other-face, manage face, diffuse face

These phrases are used in an academic context to expound ubiquitous concepts and phenomena of face and facework. It is a good example illustrating the point that the lack of a set of linguistic labels in a language does not necessarily negate the existence of corresponding concepts in the culture (Chang and Holt 1994). Language can always make adjustment to meet the needs that arise.

In this section, I laid out data from English consisting of conventionalized expressions structured by metonymy and metaphor. It is shown that, similar to its Chinese counterparts, the English word *face* has also developed related senses motivated by metonymy and metaphor grounded in bodily roles of the face. The commonality in the phenomenon of polysemy, however, exists at a level of abstraction. When it comes down to the level of specific conventionalized expressions, English and Chinese display obvious differences as well as some similarities. Chinese is richer with such expressions, which, I suggest, constitute the linguistic manifestation of special values, attached to the Chinese conceptions of face and facework.

7. Conclusion

To put my study presented above in perspective, I propose a hypothetical "Triangle Model" for the relationship between language, culture, body and cognition, of which my semantic study of face has brought out a good example. The model is represented by the diagram in Figure 1.

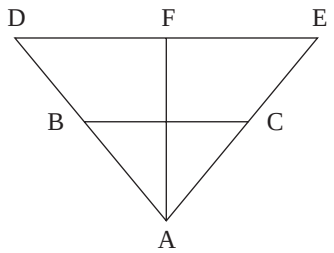

Figure 1. Triangle Model for the relationship between language, culture, body and cognition.

This triangle-shaped diagram is interpreted as follows. A stands for the bodily basis, which consists of our basic knowledge about the structure and functions of our body. Line BC represents the level of language, with the distance between B and C representing the difference between two languages. By the same token, line DE represents the level of culture (including environment), with the distance between D and E representing the difference between two cultures. The distance between D and E is a variable, depending on how different or similar the two cultures are. The cultural distance between D and E affects the corresponding linguistic distance between B and C. No matter how far apart D and E may be, they always come down, respectively through B and C and meet at A. That is, cultures and languages are all wired to the very essence of humanness — the human body, more so with languages than cultures as represented by the different distances. Thus, line AF has a double function. First, it sets the boundary between the two languages and cultures. Second, it also represents the commonality between these two languages and cultures, arising from the common structure and function of human body. What this means is that, however different two languages and cultures may be, they should always have a shared dimension that extends from point A to point F. It is impossible for them to be separated because they are all tied together by their humanness that exists in the common human body. Outlined above is the relationship between language, culture and body while cognition is the totality of the relationships

between all the points and all the lines in Figure 1.

The above model is proposed as a generalized model for the relationship between language, culture, body and cognition. It can indeed illuminate the study of the face-related expressions and concepts I have presented in this paper. The metonymic and metaphoric senses shared by English and Chinese, as listed in Table 1, have emerged from A, namely the bodily basis. They have extended their way more or less in parallel along line AF. The specific linguistic expressions I have discussed, however, are distributed along line BC. Some of those expressions are distributed symmetrically on both sides of line AF, resulting in close equivalents between the two languages. But most of them are distributed asymmetrically across line AF, influenced simultaneously by one force from the bodily pole A and by two separate forces from the cultural poles D and E. The actual location of a particular linguistic expression is determined by the ratio between the forces from the bodily pole and the cultural pole. With a greater force from the bodily pole, for instance, the expression will be drawn toward line AF. A stronger pull from the cultural pole, on the other hand, will draw it toward point B or C.

The social concepts of face and facework that I have mentioned, however, stay on the level of culture represented by line DE. When I said that they are "ubiquitous", I meant that their existence is widespread, if not universal, across cultures. However, their actual conceptions in different cultures can be very different, as far apart as represented by the distance between D and E. Again, no matter how far apart or how close together these conceptions may be, they can be traced back down, through language, to the universal bodily basis, the routes being represented by lines AD, AE, and AF. As a matter of fact, the social concepts of face and facework are very different between English and Chinese, as I have already pointed out, but in this paper I have laid special emphasis on point A and the lines connected to it from D, E, and F. I have especially focused on the smaller triangle ABC. The reason is simple: this smaller triangle is what has been largely overlooked in the field of linguistics.

The critical role of the body in human meaning and understanding was noted a long time ago, for instance, by Vico (1968 [1744]), who suggested that human beings tend to turn to their own body for the understanding of things around them. The bodily basis for meaning and understanding, however, had not received much attention until the rise of the cognitive sciences. Cognitive linguistics has made a special contribution in this regard by bringing into the foreground the linguistic evidence for the connection between human body and meaning (e.g., Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999).

Finally a word about what linguistics can do to contribute to the study of face, both physical and social. So far studies in linguistics have concentrated on a fruitful pragmatic approach, in line with politeness theory, to linguistic principles and strategies for constructing politeness speech in various languages and cultures (e.g., Brown and Levinson 1987; Lee-Wong 2000; Pan 2000). A more recent exciting development in linguistics has expanded its territory to semantic studies of the links between human facial expressions and emotions across languages and cultures (Wierzbicka 1993, 1999, 2000). Another thing linguists can do, as I have just started to do with this study, is to make a triple jump. The first step is to make systematic studies of body-part terms for the face and their involvement in metonymic and metaphoric expressions. The second is to find out if and to what extent these linguistic expressions are grounded in our bodily experiences. The third is to compare and contrast the results across linguistic and cultural boundaries in order to map out cognitive universals and cultural differences between them. Such an attempt is obviously collective and collaborative in nature. Once achieved, it should be able to help unveil the ties between our physical and social faces in particular, and between language, culture, body, and cognition in general.

Notes

* This study was supported by a faculty enrichment grant and a junior faculty summer fellowship from the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Oklahoma. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 9th International Conference on Chinese Linguistics in Singapore, June 26–28, 2000. I appreciate the encouraging feedback and useful suggestions from the audience. I am also thankful to the *Pragmatics & Cognition* reviewers for their very helpful comments and suggestions that have led to a much-improved version of this paper.

1. All the Chinese data presented in this study were collected from the following popular dictionaries: Lü and Ding (1980, 1989, 1996), Wang (1992), Wei (1995), and Wu (1993). The only exceptions are a couple of sentential examples (i.e. 4, 8'a, and 20) that were collected from actual discourse in published sources. In the lexical examples, the parentheses contain glosses. In the glosses of sentential examples, PRT = particle, and MOD = modifier marker. A character version of the Chinese examples, where homophones are distinguished as they are represented by different characters, is provided in the appendix, numbered as they are in the main text. The unnumbered expressions in square brackets are those which occur within the text.

2. While I use English words of emotions and other abstract concepts in the glosses and translations of Chinese examples and within the text, I am aware of the fact that categorizations

and lexicons of emotions and other abstract concepts can be different to varying degrees across languages and cultures. That is the primary motivation behind the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) for cross-linguistic analysis (see, e.g., Wierzbicka 1992, 1999). So, such English words as *anger, shame, dignity, prestige* and so on should not be interpreted as exact equivalents to the Chinese originals or as culture-independent analytical tools.

3. According to Ting-Toomey (1994b: 5), "face and facework are two ubiquitous concepts that are tied closely to everyday social and personal interactions". Face "entails the presentation of a civilized front to another individual within the webs of interconnected relationships in particular culture" (p. 1), and "is a claimed sense of self-respect or self-dignity in an interactive situation" (p. 3). Facework involves "the verbal and nonverbal negotiation aspects of face maintenance, face claim, and face expectation" (p. 3), and "the enactment of face strategies" (p.1) "to diffuse, manage, enhance, or downgrade self and/or other's face" (p.3). As characterized by Tracy (1990: 210), "Face is a social phenomenon … created through the communicative moves of interactants. Whereas face references the socially situated identities people claim or attribute to others, facework references the communicative strategies that are the enactment, support, or challenge of those situated identities". Admittedly, face and facework are universal concerns, but conceptions of face and rules and criteria governing face behavior are shaped by cultural variability (see, e.g., Chang and Holt 1994; Ho 1976, 1994; Morisaki and Gudykunst 1994; Ting-Toomey 1988, 1994b; Tracy 1990).

4. The English data presented in this section are collected from the following sources: *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), *Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English,* and an English-Chinese dictionary (Lu 1993).

References

Brown, P. and Levinson, S.C. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chang, H. and Holt, G.R. 1994. "A Chinese perspective on face as inter-relational concern". In S. Ting-Toomey (ed), 95–132.

Cody, M.J. and McLaughlin, M.L. 1990. "Interpersonal accounting". In H. Giles and W.P. Robinson (eds), 227–255.

Ekman, P. and Rosenberg, E.L. (eds). 1997. *What the Face Reveals.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Friedman, H.S. and Tucker, J.S. 1990. "Language and deception". In H. Giles and W.P. Robinson (eds), 257–270.

Giles, H. and Robinson, W.P. (eds). 1990. *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology.* Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons.

Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Goffman, E. 1967. *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ho, D.Y. 1976. "On the concept of face". *American Journal of Sociology* 81(4): 867–884.

Ho, D.Y. 1994. "Face dynamics: From conceptualization to measurement". In S. Ting-Toomey (ed), 269–286.
Hu, H.C. 1944. "The Chinese concepts of 'face'". *American Anthropologist* 46: 45–64.
Hwang, K. 1987. "Face and favor: The Chinese power game". *American Journal of Sociology* 92(4): 944–974.
Johnson, M. 1987. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Kövecses, Z. 2000. *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. 1999. *The Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought.* New York: Basic Books.
Lee-Wong, S.M. 2000. *Politeness and Face in Chinese Culture.* New York: Peter Lang.
Lu, G. (ed.). 1993. *Ying-Han Da Cidian* [The English-Chinese Dictionary (Unabridged)]. Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Press.
Lü, S. and Ding, S. (eds). 1980. *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* [Modern Chinese Dictionary]. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
Lü, S. and Ding, S. (eds). 1989. *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian Bubian* [Modern Chinese Dictionary Supplement]. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
Lü, S. and Ding, S. (eds). 1996. *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* [Modern Chinese Dictionary] (revised ed). Beijing: The Commercial Press.
Morisaki, S. and Gudykunst, W.B. 1994. "Face in Japan and the United States". In S. Ting-Toomey (ed.), 47–93.
Ng, S.H. 1990. "Language and control". In H. Giles and W.P. Robinson (eds), 271–285.
Pan, Y. 2000. *Politeness in Chinese Face-to-Face Interaction.* Stamford, CT: Ablex.
Russell, J.A. and Fernández-Dols, J.M. (eds). 1997. *The Psychology of Facial Expression.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Stevenage, S.V. 2000. "Giving each other a helping hand: Introduction to the special issue on facial information processing". *Pragmatics & Cognition* 8(1): 1–7.
Ting-Toomey, S. 1988. "Intercultural conflict styles: A face-negotiation theory". In Y.Y. Kim and W.B. Gudykunst (eds), *Theories in Intercultural Communication.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 213–235.
Ting-Toomey, S. (ed.). 1994a. *The Challenge of Facework: Cross-Cultural and Interpersonal Issues.* Albany: State University of New York Press.
Ting-Toomey, S. 1994b. "Face and facework: An introduction". In S. Ting-Toomey (ed.), 1–14.
Tracy, K. 1990. "The many faces of facework". In H. Giles and W.P. Robinson (eds), 209–226.
Vico, G. 1968 [1744]. *The New Science of Giambattista Vico.* Revised translation of the third edition by T.G. Bergin and M.H. Fisch. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Wang, T. (ed.). 1992. *Xin Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* [A New Dictionary of Modern Chinese Language]. Haikou, China: Hainan Press.
Wei, D. (ed.). 1995. *Han Ying Cidian* [A Chinese-English Dictionary] (revised ed.). Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Wierzbicka, A. 1992. *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations.* New York: Oxford University Press.
Wierzbicka, A. 1993. "Reading human faces: Emotion components and universal semantics". *Pragmatics & Cognition* 1(1): 1–23.
Wierzbicka, A. 1999. *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Wierzbicka, A. 2000. "The semantics of human facial expressions". *Pragmatics & Cognition* 8(1): 147–183.
Wu, G. (ed.). 1993. *Han Ying Da Cidian* [Chinese-English Dictionary], *Vols. 1 & 2.* Shanghai: Shanghai Jiao Tong University Press.
Yu, N. 1995. "Metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in English and Chinese". *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 10(2): 59–92.
Yu, N. 1998a. *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from Chinese.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Yu, N. 1998b. "The bodily dimension of meaning in Chinese: What do we do and mean with 'hands'?". Manuscript at the University of Oklahoma (to appear in Gene Casad and Gary B. Palmer (eds), *Bringing Non-IE Languages into Focus: Studies in Cognitive Linguistics.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter).
Yu, N. 2000. "Figurative uses of *finger* and *palm* in Chinese and English". *Metaphor and Symbol* 15(3): 159–175.
Yu, N. 2001. "Body and emotion: Body parts in Chinese expression of emotion". *Pragmatics & Cognition* 9: 2.

Author's address

Prof. Ning Yu
Department of Modern Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics
University of Oklahoma
780 Van Vleet Oval, Rm. 202
Norman, OK 73019
USA
ningyu@ou.edu

About the author

Ning Yu is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Modern Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics, and in the International Academic Programs, the University of Oklahoma. His current research focuses on the relationship between language, culture, body, and cognition. He is particularly interested in the role of the body in human meaning and understanding. His publications include the book *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from Chinese* (1998) and several articles.

Appendix: The character version of the Chinese examples

[脸，面，脸面，脸孔，面孔，颜面，面子] (1) a. 老面孔 b. 新面孔 (2) a. 门面 b. 门脸 (3) a. 面目一新 b. 面目全非 c. 改头换面 d. 人面兽心 e. 革面洗心 (4) 该队一改攻弱守强的老面孔，主场以四比一大胜客队。(6) 面如其心 (7) a. 脸堆笑容 b. 脸红耳赤 c. 脸如黄蜡 d. 脸不改色 e. 脸色阴沉 f. 脸涨绯红 g. 面带愁色 h. 面露不安 i. 面有愠色 (8) a. 脸热 b. 脸红 c. 红脸 d. 绷脸 e. 板脸 f. 冷脸 g. 好脸 h. 傻脸 i. 上脸 (8') a. 他抱着人家的大腿要照顾，应该感到脸红。b. 他绷着脸不说话。(9) a. 脸急 b. 面善 c. 铁面无私 (10) a. 皮脸 b. 老脸 c. 厚脸(皮) d. 脸(皮)厚 e. 脸薄 f. 脸嫩 g. 面嫩 h. 面软 i. 脸软 j. 脸硬 (10') a. 他和生人谈话简直像小孩子一样面嫩。b. 他太脸软，总是不好意思拒绝别人的要求。(11) a. 脸软心善 b. 面善心慈 c. 面善心恶 d. 面善心诈 (13) a. 谋面 b. 见面 c. 出面 d. 露面 e. 会面 f. 碰面 g. 当面 h. 面对面 i. 面熟 j. 面生 (13') a. 部长亲自出面向大使们说明情况。b. 双方由民间团体出面商谈贸易。c. 明天我们还是在这儿碰面。(14) a. 变脸 b. 甩脸 c. 抹脸 d. 翻脸 e. 翻脸不认人 f. 翻脸无情 (14') a. 他跟我变脸了。我哪儿得罪他了。b. 他俩从来没有翻过脸。(15) a. 拉下脸 b. 破脸 c. 抓破脸 d. 撕破脸 e. 拉不下脸 f. 面和心不和 g. 面从心违 h. 两面三刀 (16) a. 顾面子 b. 顾全面子 c. 讲面子 d. 碍面子 e. 驳面子 f. 伤面子 g. 留面子 h. 买面子 i. 够面子 (16') a. 碍着他爸爸的面子，我不好说什么。b. 不是我不买你的面子，实在这事不好办。[面壁，面南坐北] (17) a. 面临 b. 面对 c. 面向 (17') a. 我们面临一场严重的危机。b. 你必须面对现实。c. 教育应该面向四个现代化。(19) a. 丢脸 b. 抛脸 c. 抢脸 d. 扫脸 e. 保全面子 f. 整脸 g. 舍脸 h. 没脸 i. 没脸见人 j. 有脸 k. 要脸/面子 l. 爱面子 m. 不要脸 (19') a. 出于无奈，他只好舍脸向人借钱。b. 我骂过他，怎么有脸去求他？(20) 交往应以尊严为前提，我们不能拿热脸去贴人家的冷屁股。(21) a. 有脸 b. 有面子 c. 有头有脸 d. 有头脸 e. 脸大 f. 面子大 g. 脸小 h. 面子小 i. 薄面 (21') a. 他们都是有头有脸的社会名流。b. 我知道我的脸小，说话也不顶用。c. 看在我的薄面上，原谅他这一次。(22) a. 争脸 b. 争面子 c. 给脸 d. 给面子 e. 赏脸 f. 赏面子 g. 露脸 h. 作脸 i. 得脸 j. 讨脸 (22') a. 董事长来打了一个照面，也算是给脸了。b. 我想请你吃晚饭，你肯不肯赏脸？c. 在兄弟几个中间，他是最得脸的一个。(32) a. 人活面子树活皮。b. 打人不要打脸，揭人不要揭短。(33) b. 坚毅地承担自己的责任 e. 迫使某人正视那个问题