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“隐喻态度意义的维度”（批准号skq201216）

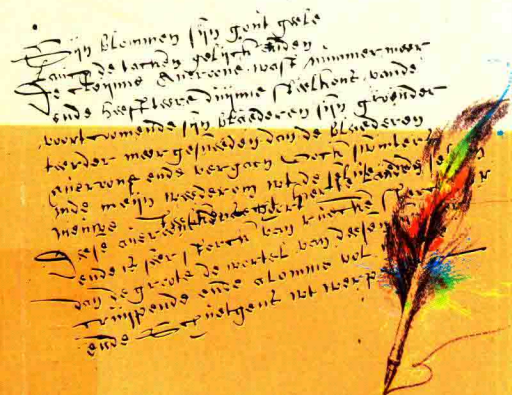
  
四川大学外国语学院  
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# 隐喻的态度意义 ——基于英语诗歌语篇的 系统研究

牟许琴

著

Attitudinal Meanings of Metaphors:  
A Systematic Study Based on English Poetry



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## 序 言



在《隐喻的语言》（*The Language of Metaphors*, Routledge, 2011 年，第二版）一书中，格特力（Andrew Goatly）识别了隐喻的概念、人际和语篇三种功能；牟许琴的《隐喻的态度意义——基于英语诗歌语篇的系统研究》探究的是隐喻的人际意义，更具体地说，是人际意义中评价范畴之下的态度功能。以英语诗歌语篇为立足点，是因为诗歌中的隐喻现象普遍，易于搜罗到英语隐喻的各种可能的情况。因此，作者的基本诉求不是文体学仍然是语言学意义上的。且从本书中挑选几个代表性例子给予概说。

i

序  
言

(1) His heart **hung all upon** a silken dress.

(2) How **beastly** the bourgeois is / especially the male of the species...

(3) the **beauty** of love was the **blood** of my heart

第一例中的 *hang upon* 通常指某物悬挂于某处，这里说他的心悬挂在某人（*a silken dress*）身上，即挂念、牵挂、想念、思念。这种体现叙述者意图的意义就是“意愿性”（*Inclination*），属于评价范畴中态度类别之下的情感义。第二例中 *beast* 指与



*man* 相对的畜生、动物，加-ly 后变成形容词，说明人类男性的兽性和残忍特点，属于判断类别之下的行为恰当性 (Propriety)。第三例用 *blood* (血液) 之于 *heart* (心脏) 的重要性说明爱情之美与价值 (*the beauty of love*)，为鉴赏类别之下的估值性。这些成分本身无所谓隐喻和非隐喻，只有在相关搭配中才表现出隐喻性。作者针对这些现象首先根据语料逐一做评价意义归类，条分缕析，然后阐述识解这些隐喻现象的思维和语言学机制，这是格特力的模式，涉及本体辞 [Topic Term; 如第一例中暗含的 *a physical or physiological thing* (物理或生理性事物)] 和喻体辞 [Vehicle Term; *his heart* (他的心)] 之外的关键要素——喻底辞 (Ground Term; 由 *hang upon* 这一成分揭示的两者之间的相似点)，后者有形容词、名词、动词等语法词类以及词、词组/短语和小句等语法单位，最后说明体现隐喻的策略途径，这就是评价范畴创始人马丁等总结的隐喻性直言 (Metaphorical Inscribing)、隐喻性暗言 (Affording) 和隐喻性标记 (Flagging) 三种体现的直接性渐次减弱、间接性渐次增强的实例化方式 (相关术语介绍见本书第三章第二节; 另见 Jim Martin, Peter White, *The Language of Evaluation*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)。可见，整个论述的出发点和归宿都在语言上，所以是语言学理论性质的。

从语言现象着手考察隐喻体现态度意义的类别与方式，属于语法隐喻的范围 (Grammatical Metaphor)。相比较而言，从词汇入手考察相关语义的隐喻现象，自下而上 (即从现象入手看背后的意义加工机制)，着眼于相关成分表达的跨域映射，属于认知语言学的概念隐喻范围，可称为词汇隐喻 (Lexical Metaphor); 而以语义表达为着眼点、自上而下的考察途径，则是系统功能语言学的体现思路，相关语言现象则是语法隐喻。从研究对象看，两者是互补的：概念隐喻集中于经验语义内容；语法隐喻解释词

汇语法表达相关意义的选择路径，如 *the fifth day saw them at the summit* (对应的是一致式: *they reached the summit on the fifth day*)；这是从语义系统 [待选成分 (options)] 经由词汇语法手段 [即措辞 (wording)] 体现相关语义实例 [即意义 (meaning)] 的一种策略性机制 (Michael Halliday, Christian Matthiessen, *Construing Experience through Meaning*, Cassell, 1999)。

概言之，语法隐喻指语言在从语义系统成分向词汇一语法的结构化选择，从而生成意义的过程中采用的一种积极主动的语用机制，或称非一致式策略，涉及语言层次、多元功能性以及语言级阶三个维度。

一方面，就语言的层次和多功能性而言，语法隐喻分概念、人际、语篇三个大类。这是前人已有的认识。

首先是概念隐喻。先看下面三句。a. *A symmetric matrix whose quadratic form  $x^T Ax$  takes on both positive and negative values is called indefinite.* (如果一个对称矩阵的二次型  $x^T Ax$  既可以取正值也可以取负值，则这个对称矩阵是非确定的。) b. *In bridging river valleys, the early engineers **built** many notable masonry viaducts of numerous arches.* (早期的工程师们逢河搭桥，建造了许多著名的带有无数拱形结构的砖石高架桥。) c. *The argument to the contrary is basically an appeal to the lack of synonymy in mental language.* (直译：反向论辩在心理性语言中基本上是向告缺的同义性求助的；转释：为了说明情况不是这样，(他)直接指出，在心理语言中没有同义词。] 三个例子分别代表理科、工科和人文社科三个学科门类。其共同点是，句子结构简单(见主句黑体动词)，但非常规用词和表达式频出(加下划线部分)，不仅涉及专业知识问题(尤其是 a、b 句)，思维方式也与汉语殊异(c 句)。这里



涉及的现象就是语法隐喻中的概念隐喻。

二是人际隐喻。a. *Would you like this teapot?* (你喜欢这只茶壶吗?) b. *You fit into me /like a hook into an eye /a fish hook /an open eye.* (你置入了我 /像一只钩子置入了眼睛 /一只钓鱼的钩子 /一只睁开的眼。) c. *I saw the man who did it, but I never told anybody* (我看见那人做了这件事,但我从未告诉过任何人) 与 *I seen the bloke what done it, but I never told nobody* (我瞅见那家伙干这事儿来着,可我从没跟人提起过)。第一例属于人际性的言语功能隐喻:用疑问句的方式表达一般情况下用祈使句表达的“给予”功能;第二例是通过纯粹的经验描述来体现人际性的评价意义,即对叙述对象的消极伦理评价,这是人际性的评价隐喻;第三例两个句子之间有语体上的差别:前者属于中性甚至中偏上的语体,后者侧重于口语甚至俚语语体。如果相关语体与使用环境错位,如正式场合使用口语语体,就属于人际性的权势隐喻。

三是语篇隐喻。a. *we should know the difference of income* (我们需要了解收入上的差别) → *what we should know is the difference of income* (我们需要了解的是收入上的差别); b. *the question is what the government should do to solve the social problem* (问题在于需要明确政府应该做什么以便解决这一社会问题); c. *the ordinary people are creating the wealth* (这些普通人在创造财富) → *it is the ordinary people who are creating the wealth* (正是这些普通人在创造财富); d. *it was not until 1980s that our society began to develop rapidly* (直到 20 世纪 80 年代我们的社会才开始飞速发展)。这些均属于语篇隐喻的范围。

另一方面,就语言级阶而言,语法隐喻可能涉及词隐喻、词组/短语隐喻、句隐喻、段落隐喻和篇隐喻。其中,词隐喻分复合词的构成与词类转换两个类别。这是迄今为止还缺乏足够认识

的一个重要议题。请看下面的实例 (IdM: Ideational Metaphor; InM: Interpersonal Metaphor; TxM: Textual Metaphor; 我有意重复引用了一些实例, 以便比较说明; 其中, 词隐喻指复合词的组合所带来的隐喻效应)。此外, 注意区别 textual metaphor 与 text metaphor: 前者是元功能性质的, 后者跟级阶有关。

词隐喻 (Word Metaphor): congratulate [IdM], jailbird [InM] 以及 head quarter [IdM];

词组隐喻 (Word Group Metaphor): her single sorrow [IdM], my vegetable love [InM], an honour of yours [TxM];

短语隐喻 (Phrase Metaphor): out of my sight [IdM], in high spirit [IdM];

句隐喻 (Clause Metaphor): would you like this teapot? (提供), can you pass me the salt? (命令) [InM] (对比前文);

段落隐喻 (Passage Metaphor): In came a fiddler ... In came Mrs Fezziwig ... In came the three Miss Fezziwigs ... In came the six young followers ... In came all the young men and women ... In came the housemaid ... In came the cook ... In came the boy ... In they all came ... in they all came ... Away they all went ... and back again the other way; down the middle and up again; round and round in various stages of affectionate grouping ... [from Christmas Carol; TxM];

篇隐喻 (Text Metaphor): 前文引的短诗 “You Fit Into Me” 就是一例, 属于人际隐喻 (指责) 的范围。又如, 托马斯·怀特爵士 (Sir Thomas Wyatt) 的《别了, 爱》(“Farewell, Love”) 一诗, 叙述对象表面上是爱人, 其实是中世纪文学风格, 也属于人际隐喻的范围, 其中最突出的是消极满意性:

*Farewell, Love, and all thy laws forever, / Thy baited hooks shall tangle*





me no more; / Senec and Plato call me from thy lore, / To perfect wealth my  
wit for to endeavor, / In blind error when I did persevere, / Thy sharp repulse,  
that prikth aye so sore, / Hath taught me to set in trifles no store / And escape  
forth since liberty is lever. / Therefore farewell, go trouble younger hearts,  
/ And in me claim no more authority; / With idle youth go use thy property,  
/ And therein spend thy many brittle darts. / For hitherto though I have lost all  
my time, / Me lusteth no longer rotten boughs to climb.

(别了, 爱以及你所有的法度, / 你的诱钩再也无法把我缠绞;  
/ 塞尼卡和柏拉图否定你那套, / 让我竭尽所能追求完美财富。/ 我却  
盲目地一错再错入歧途, / 你厉声拒绝刺得我倍受煎熬, / 你教导我别  
对琐事斤斤计较, / 挣脱束缚因为自由才会幸福。/ 别了, 去搅扰那些  
年轻的心, / 对我别再宣称你是什么权威; / 对懒散青年把你的能耐发  
挥, / 把你的支支利箭都射向他们。/ 迄今我虽失去我全部的时光,  
/ 却不再徒劳攀爬那根烂树桩。)

(<http://www.en8848.com.cn/read/poems/lovepoems/195003.html>)

这些代表性级阶上的隐喻现象的全面描写均须投入大量资源, 尤其需要从语料库出发来做深入细致的梳理。我们目前正在进行这方面的起步性工作。

从应用看, 语法隐喻对语言教育教学和汉语研究也有重要启示性。事实上, 语法隐喻的全面描写是解决中国语言教育教学老问题的一条有效途径之一, 特别是高水平外语教育教学, 需要引入语法隐喻概念及相关思路, 我们的教学大纲、课程设计和教材研制需要跳出各种“-based 方法”和追赶前沿技术的老路。毕竟一门语言错综复杂, 无论是任务型还是主题型, 也无论是内容交际教学还是形式教学, 都需要依靠系统的语言范畴做引导, 而语法隐喻的全面描写就是其中的一个关键环节。但这项基础性工作的价值只有在做深入研究, 并给予充分的实例演示之后, 才有可

能为广大读者和语言教育工作者认识和接受。诚然，仅靠语法隐喻，或者仅靠系统功能语言学，是无法解决语言教育教学中的所有问题的，还需要共享大功能范式的同行不计学派偏好，携手攻关。也只有这样，时代寄予我们的厚望才有可能实现。同时，作为外语专业的语言学工作者，我们还有责任系统研究汉语，“不能老谈隔壁邻家的事”；在这方面，已经有人做出了实质性的贡献。可见，这不仅是一个认识语言事实的问题，也是一项重要的应用性课题。

许琴的努力开辟了一条很有理论意义和实践价值的描写与解释途径。值此出版之际，除了祝贺，我们也对作者承诺的后续研究翘首以待。

**彭宣雍**

北京师范大学功能语言学研究中心

2015年5月10日



## Preface



This study carries out a three dimensional appraisal stylistic exploration of the attitudinal meanings conveyed by metaphors, including the meaning proper as well as the realization and the instantiation of the meaning, in terms of the Appraisal Theory developed by Martin and his colleagues within Systemic Functional Linguistics. The metaphors used as corpora in this research are collected from the poems in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (7th edition).

The motivation of this research is twofold. First, previous researches of metaphors for millennia long are inadequate in describing the attitudinal meanings of metaphors, in particular in a comprehensive and systematic way, which is due to the lack of a reasonable attitude framework to a large extent. Second, there are no efficient descriptions directed at the attitudinal meanings of metaphors either within or outside Systemic Functional Linguistics. It is at filling



this gap that the present study aims.

The general aim proposed above can be achieved via addressing the following three questions. First, what are the different types and characteristics of the attitudinal meanings conveyed by metaphors? Second, what are the specific lexicogrammatical realizations or expressions of attitudinal meanings via different metaphors? Third, how do attitudinal meanings progress from system potentials to instances of meanings via metaphors? In order to answer these questions, the present exploration examines three interwoven aspects of the attitudinal meanings of metaphors, including the types and characteristics, the realization and the instantiation.

Before delving into the three respects advanced above, the study gets prepared in two ways. It first carries out a survey of the previous studies of metaphors by taking attitudinal meanings as the point of departure to mainly justify the necessity and significance of the present attempt. It then elucidates the theoretic issues involved in the ensuing description and interpretation, including the attitudinal system of Appraisal Theory, the realization hierarchy in Systemic Functional Linguistics, the instantiation cline with a special reference to the concept of commitment suggested by Martin to deal with instantiation, the reading position and analysis perspective, the concept of prosody and some interpretative principles.

Then the study moves into the mainstay of the present inquiry. Specifically, the bulk of the exploration is organized into three parts, respectively attending to one of the three aspects of attitudinal meanings via metaphors touched upon above. It turns out that the tripartite exploration illuminates the landscape of the attitudinal



meanings of metaphors with each of the three core parts contributive in its own way.

The first major part deals with the types and characteristics of the attitudinal meanings of metaphors by the following three steps. It first looks at the subtle attitudinal meanings via metaphors against the hierarchy of categorization suggested by the modern categorization theory, then clarifies the characteristics of the attitudinal meanings expressed by metaphors and finally attends to the ubiquitous polyphony phenomena of metaphors. This part yields the following findings. First, the intricate attitudinal meanings via metaphors can be grouped into the fourteen basic types of attitudinal meanings embraced in Appraisal Theory, namely, the four kinds of affect, including dis/inclination, un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction, the five kinds of judgment, comprising normality, capacity, tenacity, veracity and propriety, and the five kinds of appreciation, consisting of quality, impact, complexity, balance and valuation. Second, the three regions of attitudinal meanings expressed by metaphors, namely, affect, judgment and appreciation, do not only share common characteristics, including the polarity, the explicitness and the graduation, but also some specific ones, covering their respective means of metaphorization, the dependency of affect and the generality of judgment. Third, metaphors are prevalent avenues for co-articulating multiple attitudes.

The second major part explores the diverse realizations of the attitudinal meanings of metaphors. It proposes that attitudinal meanings of metaphors are available by focusing on a certain effective expressions in metaphors and further sorts out those expressions. The



classification first recognizes three broad modes of realization by adopting Goatly's tripartite division of a linguistic metaphor into the T-term, the V-term and the G-term and then details the three modes against Halliday's idea of rank scale of the lexicogrammar of language. Finally, it comes out that the abundant expressions for conveying the attitudinal meanings of metaphors can be grouped into T-terms, V-terms and G-terms populating across three ranks, namely, the word, the group/phrase and the clause.

The third major part attends to the instantiation of attitudinal meanings via metaphors. It reinterprets the strategies for construing attitudinal meanings summarized by Appraisal Theory as strategies to instantiate attitudinal meanings via metaphors and explains them with the concept of commitment. Altogether, three instantiation strategies are identified, comprising metaphorical inscribing, metaphorical affording and metaphorical flagging, each of which can be expounded in terms of commitment. In detail, the three strategies respectively indicate cases wherein attitudinal meanings are instantiated via metaphorical expressions with attitudinal commitment, experiential commitment and negotiation or engagement commitment as the salient commitment.

The findings synopsized above make the present study significant mainly in the following four ways: (i) it taxonomizes the intricate attitudinal meanings via metaphors with the aid of Appraisal Theory and demonstrates that metaphors construe all the basic types of attitudinal meanings; (ii) it manifests that the attitudinal meanings expressed by metaphors do not only share common characteristics with those expressed literally but are also distinctive due to the complexity

and diversity of metaphors; (iii) it reveals that metaphors realize attitudinal meanings with different functional components across ranks; (iv) it evidences that the strategies for metaphors to instantiate attitudinal meanings are similar to those for literal language. These achievements shed light on the landscape of attitudinal meanings of metaphors on the one hand, compensating for the previous inadequacy, and demonstrate the strong descriptive and explanative adequacy of Systemic Functional Linguistics and its developments on the other hand.

The research is unfolded in seven chapters. Chapter 1 is introductory, offering a general view of the research. Chapter 2 surveys the previous studies of metaphors, centering on attitudinal meanings. Chapter 3 clarifies the theoretical tools involved for description and interpretation. Chapters 4 and 5 compose the bulk of the present exploration. Chapter 7 concludes the study.



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