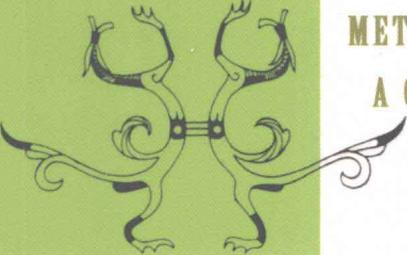
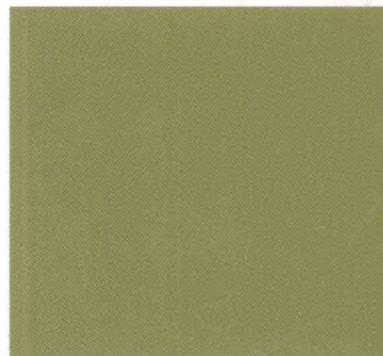


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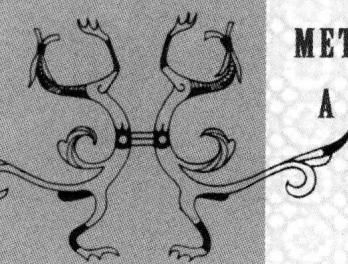
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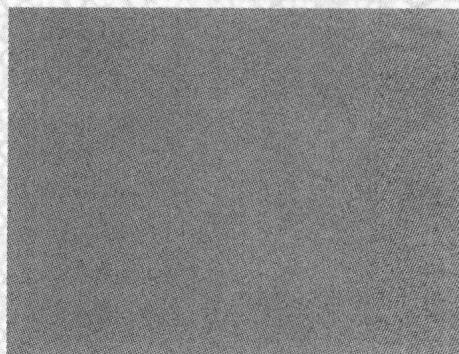
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# 序

词汇隐喻是词汇产生的一个重要途径。它不仅产生词汇，而且其构成本身就是人类心智对客观世界进行认识、理解、接受和阐释的复杂认知过程，所以词汇隐喻在很大程度上是对于人类认知的一种修辞性的表述。词汇隐喻具有人类生理和文化的基础，业已超越了语言学研究的范畴，成为人类思维和认知过程研究的一种具有重要价值的语料。对于不同语系人类语言的词汇隐喻结构的研究无疑会使研究的结果更具普遍价值和意义。英语和汉语是人类语言中最普遍使用的两种语言，对于英汉语词汇隐喻结构的比较研究将揭示这两种语言中许多词汇及其意义的来源和语义发展，揭示这两种语言的词汇隐喻结构和理据结构中所蕴涵的文化意义。

在 George Lakoff 和 Mark Johnson 发表《我们赖以生存的隐喻》(1980) 这部认知语言学的奠基之作后，英国语言学博士 A. Goatly 于 1997 年出版专著《隐喻的语言》，用语料库语言学的方法深入挖掘了英语语言的隐喻结构，在国际语言学界产生较大的影响。由于这个原因，A. Goatly 的隐喻研究获得了香港特区政府的巨额研究基金资助。Goatly 博士在丁尔苏博士的帮助下又进一步将研究的触角伸入汉语领域，建立了世界上第一个互动的英汉平行对应词汇隐喻语料库，使得基于语料库的英汉词汇隐喻研究向前大大迈进了一步。本人于 2003 年获得 Goatly 博士提供的奖学金，到香港岭南大学攻读博士学位，在 Goatly 博士和丁尔苏博士的指导下研究英汉词汇化情感隐喻的共时模式和历时演变。

本书就是本人三年来博士研究的一个直接成果。

本项研究有两个目标：第一个目标是运用英汉平行对应词汇隐喻语料库揭示英汉语词隐喻的内在模式；第二个目标是通过英汉语词隐喻结构的比较，揭示这两种语言中概念隐喻和隐喻词汇的文化理据，追溯隐喻词汇的隐喻结构中所保留的古代文化，并通过对隐喻词汇的原始形态在古代社会文化背景中获得最初隐喻意义的理据的词源学研究来比较词汇隐喻结构中的文化信息。

为了实现第一个目标，我采取了两种方法，其一是把研究的语料对象局限于情感隐喻，从 Goatly 博士的英汉平行对应词汇隐喻语料库中选取语料，又增加检索其它 20 多部大中型英汉词典，建立了一个更加全面的英汉平行对应情感隐喻词汇语料库；其二是运用 George Lakoff 和 Mark Johnson 的概念隐喻理论来分析和比较语料。结果发现，在一定程度上，英汉语词汇隐喻的内在模式远比 Lakoff 和 Johnson 的隐喻理论要复杂。根本原因在于英汉语词汇隐喻都是语言历时发展的产物，而目前以 Lakoff 和 Johnson 的隐喻理论为代表的概念隐喻理论却更多关注语言的共时层面，忽视语言的历时层面，因此我提出运用北京师范大学中文系伍铁平提出的“比较词源学”理论和王宁教授的“比较互证法”来重新阐释以语料库为基础的英汉语词汇隐喻结构，从而实现了本项研究的第二个目标，即发现了 George Lakoff 隐喻学说中存在的一些问题，提出对于词汇隐喻结构的新的解释，提出三种新的隐喻替代模式，证明了“比较词源学”理论和“比较互证法”在语言研究中有重要的应用价值。

在本项研究完成之后，我的导师 Goatly 博士和丁尔苏博士先后在香港岭南大学组织了数次讨论，邀请了出身美国哈佛大学和英国牛津大学的多名语言学教授和博士进行论证，提出了许多意见，又经过近 9 个月的修改终于获得通过。学者们对于本项研究持肯定态度，并认为这项研究还有进一步发展的潜力。

本项研究的主要目的在于发现情感隐喻与身体生理学和文化之间的相互作用。这种相互作用是词汇化的情感隐喻在英汉语中的共时和历时变化的基础。本书共分五章。第一章回溯了概念隐喻理论和它的发展，指出它在语料支持、历时分析和联系文化解释语言现象方面的局限。本章提出建立在语料库基础上的跨语言词汇隐喻的历时研究的重要性，同时提出将比较词源学的研究方法用于解读英汉语词汇隐喻语义结构中隐喻主题（theme）的历时变化。

第二章进一步从符号认知的角度来分析隐喻与语源的关系。本章揭示语源隐喻的象似性和语源隐喻从符号通俗化到理据模糊所经历的变化过程以及这个过程如何剥夺语源隐喻原有的透明理据。通过研究隐喻与词源的关系可以发现隐喻与借喻作为象似性的起源在词汇语义进化的各个方面起到了广泛而深远的作用。同时通过词汇隐喻历时变化的大量例子进一步证明了象似化与隐喻化是词汇发展的两个基本机制。因此比较词源学是研究隐喻在英汉语词汇发展中作用的有效方法。最后，本章探讨了本书的方法论问题，比如，

对隐喻展开历时研究的可能性、可行性和意义。

通过对词汇隐喻的语料库语言学研究，本书的第三章发现了一些与概念隐喻理论不太一致的现象。比如，作者发现在不同语言中都大量存在着具身化隐喻和非具身化隐喻；情感隐喻的跨语言变化常常以不同文化中原型概念在基本范畴层面上发生的文化变化为特征；隐喻主题的共性和个性与其普遍性水平密切相关等等。研究表明：虽然我们的思维和意识形态一定程度上由我们的身体和由之产生的隐喻所决定，但文化理念是造成情感隐喻的跨语言变化的重要原因。由此可以推断隐喻主题在很大程度上是一种文化和意识形态。

第四章有两个主要目的。第一，对第三章中出现的隐喻跨语言变化提供历时解读。第二，通过观察英汉语言文化中情感隐喻的历史发展，检验概念隐喻理论的一些最基本的理论假设并对英汉语情感概念化的文化因素作语源分析。作者列举了一些重要的跨语言共性，如基于人类心智的文化理念在情感概念化中扮演着重要的角色；情感的具身概念化时常受文化理念的影响；英汉语的情感概念化里存在三种不同类型的转喻等等。同时也表明在某些情况下，基于人类心智的文化理念的影响力可能超过生理因素。在这些发现的基础上，作者提出了三种类型的转喻模式理论，归纳了英汉语情感概念化不同类型转喻。作者进一步证明，由文化理念的历时发展带来的文化多元或多源是造成具体语言里隐喻模式出现不一致性的主要原因。

总之，本项研究运用语料库从历时和共时两个角度对比研究了英汉词汇隐喻的内在模式，揭示了基于身体经验的概念隐喻如何受基于人类心智的文化的影响，从而展示了在不同文化的情感范畴化过程中，身体，心智和文化之间是如何互相作用的，填补了用概念隐喻理论来研究词汇化情感隐喻的一个空白。

本书开创了用符号学和认知隐喻理论来研究英汉词汇中词源结构的新途径，对概念隐喻理论的未来发展具有重要意义。

本书进一步促进了对英汉的词源和历史语义、特别是比较词源学的研究。

就语言教学而言，它有助于学生理解两种语言中词汇语义变化的历史理据，激发他们的学习兴趣，从而帮助他们有效记忆词汇，促进英汉词汇教学。

本书的研究结果也有助于编撰一部《历时英汉隐喻字典》。

当然，本书也存在着一定的局限性。

(1) 虽然笔者按照和 Metalude 相同的严格标准，建立了一个英汉词汇隐喻平行语料库，以此作为研究的基础，但是它不能保证囊括了英汉的所有相关词条，因为任何一个现存的数据库都是一个开放的系统，需要不断扩充其数据。我的这个平行语料库和 Metalude 也不例外。

(2) 本书在研究内容上也有一定的局限性。G. Lakoff 的概念隐喻理论所涉及的范围很广，但本书仅探讨概念隐喻理论中的一些最基本的假设，如词汇化隐喻、心智、身体和文化间的关系等。因此，无法对概念隐喻理论做出一个全面的评价。

(3) 第四章提及基于心智的文化模式也许超越了生理上的因素。但是在某些情况下具身化的身体因素也会凌驾于基于人类心智的文化模式。在我看来，有些隐喻建立在多种转喻基础上。在这些隐喻中，各种转喻会争夺主导作用。隐喻的主题是依赖于文化因素还是生理因素，由其占主导地位的转喻基础来决定。换言之，我的模式之中的每一种转喻都对应于一种词汇化的隐喻主题，在该主题中，有一种类型的转喻起决定性的作用。可以说，一个转喻的主导作用由隐喻的主题来决定。因此，探索同一隐喻主题中不同转喻的相互作用，研究这些转喻对于决定隐喻主题性质的主导角色的竞争，是一项有趣而且意义重大的课题。本书对这个问题有所触及，但未做详细论述。

(4) 第四章提到的另一需要进一步探索的发现是文化意识的历时变化造成的隐喻模式的不连贯和对立。该种对立被认为广泛存在于不同语言的隐喻和转喻中，与文化的普遍差异遥相呼应。这个发现对概念隐喻理论提出了挑战，因为概念隐喻理论对于隐喻主题在语言实现上的不一致现象缺乏关注。本文仅简要探讨了这个问题。然而，在我看来，这是一个值得关注的重要问题。隐喻的不连贯和矛盾性是如何深受有着不同根源并经历了历时变化的文化意识的影响，这个问题甚至需要一部专著来进行更深入的研究。我相信这项研究的结果将会引起我们对当代隐喻理论的重新思考。

本书虽说是完成了，但这项研究远远没有结束。在隐喻语义学研究上，要探索的问题还有很多，前面的道路还很长，任务还很艰巨。“路漫漫其修远兮，吾将上下而求索”。我将以二千多年前伟大的思想家屈原追求真理和理想的精神来激励自己不畏艰苦，勇于攀登，为研究概念隐喻和人类的认知做出自己的贡献。

在本书即将出版的时候，我要对曾经给我支持和帮助的老师和朋友表示衷心的感谢。我的导师 Andrew Goatly 博士和丁尔苏博士在这项研究上给我非常大的帮助。很多思想的形成离不开他们的启发。香港岭南大学的教务

处和图书馆给了我很多的方便和帮助。

伍铁平教授和王宁教授多年来一直关心和支持我的研究，对我的研究提出过许多宝贵的意见；张后尘教授、李福印博士、周海中教授和我的老师陈维振教授一直在学术研究上关心和帮助我，是我能够克服困难、完成本书的一个重要因素。澳大利亚的张乔博士不远千里从异国他乡给我寄送宝贵资料。在三年半的研究中，福建师范大学及其下属的外国语学院，外国语言文学研究中心和人事处给我提供了很多的支持和方便。李建平校长多年来一直关心我，帮助我解决了一系列的困难。外国语学院院长林大津教授和书记刘兴守研究员一直关心支持我的研究，为这项研究提供了许多方便。束定芳博士、张辉博士、张爱珍博士、何雪林博士、林新华教授、吴萍副教授、纪玉华博士、杜昌忠教授、黄远振博士、波兰的 Alfred F. Majewicz 博士、香港的姚德怀教授、台湾中央研究院语言学研究所的黄居仁博士和其同事，以及我的学生章敏、林星、林蕊、陈燕、王芬都曾向我提供各种帮助和支持。我的学生游冰婷小姐还为本书制作了索引。此外，我的研究还得到福建省人事厅专家处和福建师范大学科研处的支持和帮助。

作为一个离开家人、独自在香港求学数年的残疾知识分子，香港在我的心目中留下不可磨灭的美好印象。我在香港的生活和学习得到很多香港朋友和普通民众的帮助。我十分钦佩香港同胞的乐于助人的美好品格。

还要提及任明先生对本项研究给予的热情支持和为本书的编辑出版所付出的大量心血。

## Typographical Conventions

The following typographical conventions are used throughout this dissertation :

All metaphor themes are capitalized ;

Quoted texts ( more than three lines ) will be marked in separate passages marked with different sizes ;

Italics are used for forms cited , or titles of works , for example , the word or character metaphors ;

Single inverted commas are used to refer to meanings of lexical items ;

Single inverted commas are used for quoted sentences from text ;

Double inverted commas are used for meanings of lexical items or quoted phrases in a quotation ;

Arrows are used to refer to the directions of transformation change ;

Sounds and English translations for Chinese LEMS and the complements for all LEMS are placed in round brackets .

Lit = literal meaning

Met = metaphorical meaning

$\cong$  means rough equality

## List of Abbreviations

CMT [ WB ] Lakoffian Conceptual Metaphor Theory

ICM [ DW ] Idealized Cognitive Models

LEM [ DW ] Lexicalized emotion metaphor

LEMS [ DW ] Lexicalized emotion metaphors

Lit [ DW ] Literal meaning

Met [ DW ] Metaphorical meaning

NSM [ DW ] Natural Semantic Metalanguage

OED [ DW ] Oxford English Dictionary ( Hardcopy or Online )

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.0 Metaphor and Metaphor Studies

Before conducting my corpus-based synchronic comparison and diachronic interpretation of lexicalized emotion metaphors (LEMS) in English and Chinese, I would like to introduce the basic concepts involved in this study, its contents, academic background, methodological basis, theoretical frame, and the goals that I hope to reach. And quite naturally the first concept I would confront would be *metaphor*. Metaphors have been studied and argued about for more than two thousand years since the ancient Greeks in the West and the Pre-Qin periods (2696—221 BC) in China. It seems impossible (and unnecessary too) to present a complete introduction of all the penetrating insights about metaphors in the academic history in the West, not to say those in that of China, because the metaphor theories in ancient China tended more to be the small-scale descriptions of metaphors in concrete contexts and how to reach rhetoric effects by using metaphors in different styles, but without a theoretical system. So, I will begin this chapter by briefly introducing the influential classic definition by Aristotle and three kinds of contemporary definition of metaphors, i. e. dictionary definition, cognitive definition, and linguistic definition, which could roughly reflect the folk understandings and expert understandings of metaphors.

### 1.1 Definition of Metaphors

Although the word *metaphor* first appeared in the *Evagoras* by Isocrates (Stanford, 1936:3), it is generally believed that the first systematic study of metaphors was made by Aristotle who regarded metaphors as ‘transference of a name to something it does not belong to’ (Harris & Taylor, 1989: 20), i. e. one thing or object to be talked of as if it were another thing, for example, when we say *time is flowing*, it seems that we are talking about a river. In Aristotle’s *Poetics* (section 21),

## **2 METAPHOR, ETYMOLOGY, AND CULTURE; A CORPUS-BASED EXPLORATION AND METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTION**

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Aristotle gave his famous definition of metaphor.

Metaphor is the transference of a name from the object to which it has a natural application; this transference can take place from genus to species or species to genus or from species to species or by analogy. I mean by from genus to species, for example, ‘This ship of mine stands there.’ For to lie at anchor is a species of standing. An example of the transference from species to genus, ‘Odysseus has truly accomplished a myriad of noble deeds.’ For a myriad is the equivalent of ‘many’, for which the poet now substitutes this term. An example of the transference from species to species is ‘having drawn off life with a sword’ and also ‘having cut with unyielding bronze.’ For here to draw off is to cut and to cut is called to draw off, for both are subdivisions of ‘taking away’. ( Golding & Hardison, 1968 : 37)

Aristotle defined metaphor by listing its four forms that were exemplified in detail. The first three forms are simple metaphors that are related to each other by similarities, while the fourth one is the complex form of metaphor that involves the use of analogical grounding.

I mean by transference by analogy the situation that occurs whenever a second element is related to a first as a fourth is to a third. For the poet will then use the fourth in place of the second or the second in place of the fourth, and sometimes poets add the reference to which the transferred term applies. I mean, for example, that a cup is related to Dionysus as a shield is to Ares. The poet will, therefore, speak of the cup as the shield of Dionysus and the shield as the cup of Ares. The same situation occurs in regard to the relation of old age to life and evening to a day. A poet will say that evening is the old age of day, or however Empedocles expressed it, and that old age is the evening of life or the sunset of life. In some situations, there is no regular name in use to cover the analogous relation, but nevertheless the related elements will be spoken of by analogy. ( *ibid.* )

An instance provided by Aristotle for this case is the metaphor ‘sowing the god-created light’.

For example, to scatter seed is to sow, but the scattering of the sun’s rays has no name. But the act of sowing in regard to grain bears an analogous relation to the sun’s dispersing of its rays, and so we have the phrase ‘sowing the god-created fire’. ( Golding & Hardison, 1968 : 38)

This most frequently quoted definition represents Aristotle's word-focused approach to the rhetoric of lexical metaphors in the theoretical frames of the traditional poetics and rhetoric which were set up by Aristotle and which have developed till now. Although it has been controversial throughout history, and has been criticized for its inability to explain the 'natural' and 'non-conventional mechanism' for the uses and understandings of metaphors (Harris & Taylor, 1989: 31—34), and for its ignorance of metaphors operating 'at all the strategic levels of language — words, sentences, discourse, texts, styles'. (Ricoeur, 1977: 17), Aristotle's metaphor theory has great importance even for contemporary metaphor studies. For example, Aristotle's application of ancient category theory in metaphor studies might have inspired G. Lakoff, John Taylor, and other contemporary cognitive linguists, to carry on their studies on the basis of modern cognitive theories (e.g. prototype theory). Besides, the concept of analogy and the theory of metaphor based on analogy proposed by Aristotle also play an important role in our metaphorical studies.

### 1.1.1 Dictionary Definitions

Metaphor is now a very common term, collected in most large-sized or medium-sized English dictionaries. The following definitions from two well-known dictionaries represent people's conventional understanding of metaphor before the Lakoffian theory of conceptual metaphor. The first is simply the modern version of the Aristotelian definition, showing its long-lasting influence. But the second one further mentions the relationship between metaphors and human thought, showing the primary influences of the Lakoffian theory on the editors of dictionaries. And because these two dictionaries are both updated frequently on the internet, they can be taken as the evidence to prove the pluralistic understandings of metaphor in our times. Moreover, even expert definitions are plural.

*Merriam Webster Online Dictionary*: 'a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them (as in drowning in money)' ;