

语言·文学·文化  
研究系列丛书

Metaphors of  
Sadness: Intraconceptual and  
Interconceptual Variation

“悲伤”的隐喻：概念内与概念间差异

丁 研 / 著



北京交通大学出版社  
<http://www.bjtu.com.cn>

**“悲伤”的隐喻：  
概念内与概念间差异**

**Metaphors of Sadness:  
Intraconceptual and  
Interconceptual Variation**

丁 研 著

北京交通大学出版社  
· 北京 ·

## 内 容 简 介

本书以概念隐喻理论为基础,以隐喻分布特征为工具,对基本情感概念“悲伤”进行了全方位的描述和解析——研究勾勒了“悲伤”的隐喻及概念内容,考察了“悲伤”的隐喻及概念内容的历时差异、文体差异及其与相似概念的差异,并深入剖析了这些差异与历史、社会、文化因素之间的共变关系。

版权所有,侵权必究。

### 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

“悲伤”的隐喻:概念内与概念间差异:英文/丁研著. —北京:  
北京交通大学出版社, 2016.7  
ISBN 978-7-5121-2922-1

I. ① 悲… II. ① 丁… III. ① 英语-隐喻-研究 IV. ① H315

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2016)第 158925 号

“悲伤”的隐喻:概念内与概念间差异

“BEISHANG” DE YINYU: GAINIAN NEI YU GAINIAN JIAN CHAYI

---

责任编辑:张利军 助理编辑:景小卫

出版发行:北京交通大学出版社

电话:010-51686414

地 址:北京市海淀区高粱桥斜街 44 号

邮编:100044

印 刷 者:北京艺堂印刷有限公司

经 销:全国新华书店

开 本:148 mm×210 mm 印张:9.5 字数:260 千字

版 次:2016 年 7 月第 1 版 2016 年 7 月第 1 次印刷

书 号:ISBN 978-7-5121-2922-1/H·450

印 数:1~500 册 定价:39.00 元

---

本书如有质量问题,请向北京交通大学出版社质监组反映。对您的意见和批评,我们表示欢迎和感谢。  
投诉电话:010-51686043, 51686008; 传真:010-62225406; E-mail: press@bjtu.edu.cn。

## Preface

The American poet Stephen Dunn once wrote a poem entitled “Sadness”, which begins with the following lines (Dunn, 1989):

It was everywhere, in the streets and houses,  
on farms and now in the air itself.  
It had come from history and we were history,  
so it had come from us.

Robert Burton (1577-1640), an English scholar and vicar famous for his classic *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, mentions sadness in a paragraph on how emotions come into being (Burton, 1621)<sup>122</sup>:

To our imagination commeth by the outward sense or memory, some object to be knowne (residing in the former part of the Braine) which he misconceauing or amplifying, presently communicates to the Heart, the Seat of all affections. The purer spirits forthwith flock from the braine to the Heart, by certaine secret channels, and signify what good or bad object was presented, which immediatly bends it selfe to prosecute, or avoid it; and withall draweth with it other humors to helpe it: so in pleasure concurre great store of purer spirits, in sadnes much melancholy blood, in ire, choller.

In Stephen Dunn's poem, sadness is something very unspecific that is depicted to have come from history and to reside everywhere. Robert Burton's paragraph, on the other hand, tells us that sadness is an "affection" which is seated in the heart and connected to "much melancholy blood".

The striking difference between these two descriptions of sadness could prompt one to think of a chain of interesting questions. May there be significant differences in their conceptualization of the emotion concept SADNESS? Or to ask the question in another way, may there be significant differences in the content of their respective SADNESS concepts? If yes, are the differences related to the fact that Stephen Dunn is a 20<sup>th</sup>-century poet while Robert Burton was a pre-modern scholar and vicar? If yes, do people living in different times usually conceptualize SADNESS in a dissimilar way, and do poets in general conceptualize SADNESS differently as they are "endowed with more lively sensibility, more enthusiasm and tenderness... than are supposed to be common among mankind" (Wordsworth, 1992)<sup>71</sup>? These are the kind of questions that the book seeks to answer.

The book, revised and expanded on the basis of my PhD thesis submitted to School of English, University of Hong Kong, is intended for students and scholars in fields such as linguistics, history study, cultural study and philosophy who are interested in the concept and the conceptualization of sadness. It chiefly explores "intraconceptual" variation in the content of SADNESS and "interconceptual" variation between the content of SADNESS and that of closely related concepts. As hinted above, for intraconceptual variation, it will look into possible differences in the content of SADNESS in different periods, and possible differences between the content of SADNESS in poetic discourse and that in non-poetic discourse. As for interconceptual variation, it will attempt to delineate the differences between the content of SADNESS and that of the closely related concepts,

such as DEPRESSION, GRIEF and SORROW.

The study detailed in the book needs to be seen against the background of a large body of emotion concept research, which comprises a great number of psychological studies (Davitz, 1969; Fehr et al., 1984; Shaver et al., 1987), anthropological studies (Levy et al., 1983; Lutz, 1988; Shweder, 1991) and linguistic studies (Kövecses, 1990; Athanasiadou et al., 1998; Wierzbicka, 1999) that have examined different emotion concepts in diverse cultures from a variety of perspectives. The book derives its motivation from the observation that though sadness is regarded as a basic emotion by many emotion scholars (Arnold, 1960; Plutchik, 1980; Ekman et al., 1982; Oatley et al., 1987; Frijda et al., 1995), the concept of SADNESS has not received the scholarly attention that is commensurate with its importance. To date, only a small portion of the literature on emotion concepts has touched upon SADNESS (Davitz, 1969; Russell, 1980; Shweder, 1991; Kövecses, 1998; Wierzbicka, 1998, 1999; Stefanowitsch, 2006). More importantly, these studies have only looked at how sadness is *generally* conceptualized *today*, whereas the intraconceptual and interconceptual variation mentioned above has been left largely unaddressed. As will be shown in Chapter 1, these areas are worthy of investigation not only because they are central to the conceptualization of an emotion concept, but also because they can shed light on other important issues in emotion concept research, such as the role of the human body and of culture in the conceptualization of emotions. The book will therefore contribute to filling gaps in both the research on sadness and the research on emotion concepts in general.

An effective way to get to the conceptual content of SADNESS is to adopt an analytical framework that is based on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, 1999) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The basic mechanics of this analytical framework is to first identify the conceptual metaphors of a

concept, SADNESS in this case, on the basis of linguistic expressions that make explicit reference to it. Since, according to CMT, conceptual metaphors are ways of conceptualizing a particular concept, we can then get access to the conceptual content of SADNESS via scrutinizing the conceptual metaphors that have been identified. Consequently, we can arrive at the variation in the conceptualization of SADNESS through a close analysis of the variation of SADNESS metaphors.

The remainder of the book will be organized as follows. Chapter 1 will detail the background and the research questions of the present study. I will begin the chapter with a review of emotion concept research, where I will introduce major issues in emotion concept research, different approaches to emotion concepts and the conceptual metaphor approach to emotion concepts in particular. Subsequently, I will discuss previous studies that have touched upon the content of SADNESS, especially those that have tackled the conceptualization of SADNESS in the conceptual metaphor paradigm. I will discuss the qualities and drawbacks of these studies and identify the research gaps that remain to be filled. Following on from the literature review, I will formulate the specific research questions that the present study will address.

In Chapter 2, I will describe the methodology I have adopted to answer these research questions. Specially, I will focus on the step of metaphor identification: I will first summarize problems in metaphor identification which have been frequently encountered in previous research and then propose a new metaphor identification procedure to solve the problems. I will also introduce in details how a database of linguistic expressions making reference to sadness was collected and how conceptual metaphors of SADNESS identified from these expressions were analysed.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 constitute the main body of the book. Chapter 4

will examine diachronic variation in the conceptualization of SADNESS; Chapter 5 will investigate the genre differences between poetic and non-poetic conceptualization of sadness; and Chapter 6 will deal with differences in the conceptualization of SADNESS, DEPRESSION, GRIEF and SORROW. In all three of these chapters, I will analyze the conceptual metaphors that display significant intraconceptual and interconceptual variation and discuss what the variation reveals about the conceptualization of SADNESS and related concepts.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, I will offer the overall conclusions of the investigation reported on in the book and point out its significance and its implications.

During the preparation of the book, I have so many people that I owe thanks to. First and foremost, I am exceedingly grateful to my PhD supervisor, Dr. Dirk Noël, for his critical and detailed comments and insightful feedbacks, as well as for his time and patience. Words fail to express my gratitude for all the guidance, inspiration and support that he has provided for years. I am also grateful to my co-supervisor, Professor Hans-Georg Wolf, for his excellent supervision and constructive suggestions. I was fortunate to have had them as my supervisors.

I also wish to express my sincere thanks to the wonderful friends I made in School of English, University of Hong Kong, Dr. JIN Xiaotian, Dr. LI Boting, Ms. LIN Hong, Dr. SU Ping, Dr. XIA Xiaoyan, Dr. WANG Dongqing, Ms. WANG Xiaoli, Dr. XIONG Jiajuan and Dr. ZHANG Chengping; and to my dear floormates and hallmates in Morrison Hall, especially my roommates Ms. Fish YIP and Dr. GUO Yu. They have been always caring and helpful. I cannot picture my life in Hong Kong without them. My gratitude also goes to my friend Dr. ZHANG Weiwei for her professional advice on the statistical techniques.

I am also appreciative of the encouragement from my colleagues in School of Language and Communication Studies, Beijing Jiaotong University (BJTU), and especially that from Professor JIANG Xueqing, without whom this book could never have been there. I would like to give thanks to BJTU as well: the book is supported by “the Fundamental Research Funds for the Central Universities” of China granted by BJTU (H12RC00020).

Last but not least, my gratitude goes to my beloved family who have been supporting me with love and devotion that knows no boundaries.

Author  
July 2016

# Contents

<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>Background and Research Questions</b>	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	The Study of Emotion Concepts	2
1.3	Emotion Concepts and Conceptual Metaphor Theory	20
1.3.1	Conceptual Metaphor Theory	20
1.3.2	The Conceptual Metaphor Approach to Emotion Concepts	24
1.3.3	Section Summary	34
1.4	Studies on SADNESS	35
1.4.1	Previous Studies on SADNESS outside the Conceptual Metaphor Paradigm	37
1.4.2	Previous Studies on SADNESS within the Conceptual Metaphor Paradigm	41
1.4.3	Section Summary	51
1.5	Research Objectives and Questions	53
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	62
2.1	Introduction	62
2.2	Difficulties of Metaphor Identification	63
2.3	Proposals for a Metaphor Identification Procedure	73
2.3.1	Cameron (1999)	74
2.3.2	Steen (1999, 2002, 2009)	77
2.3.3	Semino et al. (2004)	82
2.3.4	The Pragglejaz Group (2007)	86

2.3.5	Evaluation of the Proposals .....	89
2.4	Methodology of the Present Study .....	90
2.4.1	Data Collection .....	91
2.4.2	Metaphor Identification .....	94
2.4.3	Metaphor Quantification .....	106
2.4.4	Metaphor Analysis .....	107
2.5	Summary .....	114
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>The Diachronic Variation of Metaphors of SADNESS .....</b>	<b>116</b>
3.1	Introduction .....	116
3.2	Data .....	117
3.3	Results .....	122
3.4	Metaphors Displaying Significant Diachronic Variation .....	127
3.4.1	Metaphors Significantly Associated with the 16 <sup>th</sup> Century ...	128
3.4.2	Metaphors Significantly Associated with the 17 <sup>th</sup> Century ...	130
3.4.3	Metaphors Significantly Associated with the 18 <sup>th</sup> Century ...	132
3.4.4	Metaphors Significantly Associated with the 19 <sup>th</sup> Century ...	132
3.4.5	Metaphors Significantly Associated with the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century ...	135
3.4.6	SADNESS IS A DISEASE and SADNESS IS AN ENEMY .....	140
3.5	Different Types of Diachronic Variation .....	142
3.5.1	Diachronic Variation at Metaphor Level .....	142
3.5.2	Diachronic Variation in the Sub-mappings of Metaphors .....	143
3.5.3	Diachronic Variation in the Specific Instantiations of the Source Domain of Metaphors .....	149
3.5.4	Diachronic Variation in the Linguistic Realization of the Source Domain of Metaphors .....	151
3.5.5	Relations between the Four Types of Variation .....	152

3.6	The Development of the Conceptualization of SADNESS	153
3.6.1	Humoral Theory and the Conceptualization of SADNESS	154
3.6.2	The Semi-permeable Body and the Conceptualization of SADNESS	161
3.6.3	The Decline of Humoral Theory and the Conceptualization of SADNESS	167
3.6.4	Other Co-variation between SADNESS Metaphors and General Conception of Emotions	172
3.6.5	Section Summary	178
3.7	Summary	179
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>The Genre Variation of SADNESS Metaphors</b>	<b>183</b>
4.1	Introduction	183
4.2	Data	184
4.3	Results	186
4.4	The Differences in the Conceptualization of SADNESS in Poetic and Non-Poetic Discourse	189
4.4.1	SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL ENTITY	190
4.4.2	SADNESS IS A LOCATION/CONTAINER	193
4.4.3	SADNESS IS A COLOUR	197
4.4.4	THE INTENSITY OF SADNESS AS SIZE, VOLUME AND DEPTH	199
4.4.5	SADNESS IS A PERSON	203
4.5	The Relationship between Poetic and Non-Poetic Metaphors	205
4.5.1	Previous Views on the Relationship between Poetic and Non-poetic Metaphors	206
4.5.2	Similarities and Differences between Metaphors in Poetic and Non-poetic Discourse	208

4.6	Summary .....	213
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>The Interconceptual Variation of SADNESS Metaphors .....</b>	<b>216</b>
5.1	Introduction .....	216
5.2	Data .....	218
5.3	Results .....	223
5.4	Differentiation and Characterization of the Four Emotion Concepts .....	228
5.4.1	Intensity .....	229
5.4.2	Negativity .....	244
5.4.3	Combinability .....	246
5.4.4	Characterization of the Four Emotion Concepts .....	248
5.5	Summary .....	250
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>Conclusions .....</b>	<b>252</b>
	<b>References .....</b>	<b>261</b>
	<b>List of Tables .....</b>	<b>287</b>
	<b>List of Figures .....</b>	<b>290</b>

# List of Figures

Figure 1-1	Meanings of 28 English emotion words .....	7
Figure 3-1	Influence of the human body and culture on conceptual metaphors of SADNESS .....	179
Figure 5-1	Relationships between an emotion and the experiencer of the emotion .....	239
Figure 5-2	Hierarchy clustering of the intensity of the four emotion concepts.....	240
Figure 5-3	Hierarchy clustering of the negativity of the four emotion concepts.....	246
Figure 5-4	Hierarchy clustering of the combinability of the four emotion concepts.....	249

# 1 Chapter 1

---

## **Background and Research Questions**

### **1.1 Introduction**

As the beginning of this book, this chapter will detail the background, motivation, objectives, and research questions of the investigation reported in the book. The chapter is organized as follows. Section 1.2 will review the literature on emotion concepts. It will summarize major issues in emotion concept research, distinguish different approaches to emotion concepts, and introduce how each approach deals with these major issues. Section 1.3 will focus particularly on the conceptual metaphor approach to emotion concepts. It will first briefly introduce Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) which provides the theoretical basis for the conceptual metaphor approach to emotion concepts. Then it will show how the conceptual metaphor approach works in practice and why it is especially useful for investigating



emotion concepts. Section 1.4 will review studies that have touched upon the conceptualization of SADNESS, especially those that have tackled the conceptualization of SADNESS in the conceptual metaphor paradigm. It will discuss the qualities and drawbacks of these studies and identify the research gaps that remain to be filled. Section 1.5 will offer the specific research questions that this book will address.

## 1.2 The Study of Emotion Concepts

Emotions have always attracted much academic attention: from the time of Plato up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, almost all great philosophers wrote something on emotions because of the assumed central status of emotions in the human mind (Lyons, 1992). After the academic specialization that took place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, philosophers no longer wrote on emotions as a matter of course (Lyons, 1992), but scholars of many other branches of learning — psychology, biology, sociology, neuroscience, cognitive science and linguistics, to name a few — developed a passion for the study of emotions (Bednarek, 2008; Gienow-Hecht, 2010).

A topic in emotion studies that has aroused much scholarly interest is the conceptualization of emotions (see, for instance, the collections edited by Russell et al., 1995; Athanasiadou et al., 1998; Niemeier et al., 1997; Harkins et al., 2001). Research on the conceptualization of emotions focuses on emotion concepts, i.e. folk ideas about emotions, rather than hard-wired, biological and/or social effects of emotional experiences (White, 2000). To date, a great number of psychological studies (Davitz, 1969; Fehr et al., 1984; Shaver et al., 1987), anthropological studies (Levy et al., 1983; Lutz, 1988; Shweder, 1991) and linguistic studies (Kövecses, 1990; Athanasiadou et al., 1998; Wierzbicka, 1999) have examined different



emotion concepts in diverse cultures from a variety of perspectives. Emotion concepts are extensively studied not only because an examination of concepts can provide a revealing vantage point to view the scientific study of emotion, but also because human understanding of emotion is “fully as profound and mysterious as” human emotion itself, and “fully as worthy of study” (Russell et al., 2000).

A review of previous studies on emotion concepts shows that there are four issues that have been frequently investigated in the literature, namely:

- ( I ) What an emotion concept is like, i.e. the content of an emotion concept (Fehr et al., 1984; Athanasiadou, 1998; Taylor et al., 1998; Kornacki, 2001; Yu, 2002);
- ( II ) Relations between different emotion concepts in the same culture, especially differences between closely related concepts (Russell, 1980; Wierzbicka, 1999; White, 2000; Fabiszak, 2002; Stearns, 2009);
- ( III ) Differences between equivalent emotion concepts in different cultures (Frijda et al., 1995; Kövecses, 1995b, c; Yu, 1995; Moore et al., 1999; Wierzbicka, 1998, 1999);
- ( IV ) The role of the body and of culture in the conceptualization of emotion concepts (Lutz, 1988; Geeraerts et al., 1995; Kövecses et al., 1999; Wierzbicka, 1999; Johnson-Laird et al., 2000).

I will refer to them as Issue I, Issue II, Issue III and Issue IV respectively below. In addition, there is a fifth issue which has not been studied as much as the above four, but is attracting increasing attention: