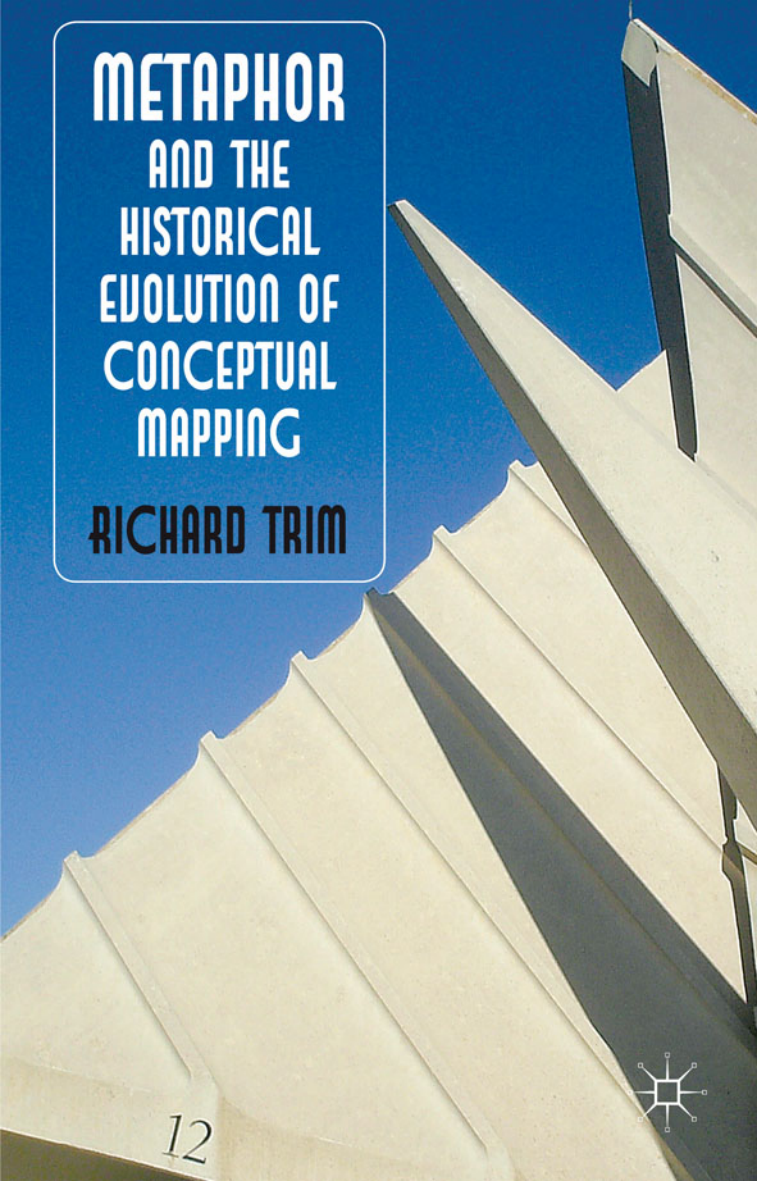
METAPHOR AND THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF CONCEPTUAL MAPPING

RICHARD TRIM



Metaphor and the Historical Evolution of Conceptual Mapping

Also by Richard Trim

METAPHOR NETWORKS: THE COMPARATIVE EVOLUTION OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

THROUGH OTHER EYES: THE TRANSLATION OF ANGLOPHONE LITERATURE IN EUROPE (*co-editor with Sophie Alatorre*)

Metaphor and the Historical Evolution of Conceptual Mapping

Richard Trim
University of Provence, France

palgrave
macmillan

First published 2011 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978–0–230–30482–6

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

Contents

List of Figures

Preface

This book represents an ongoing investigation into the historical evolution of figurative language – a field of inquiry which is still relatively unexplored. The aim is to determine how conceptual mapping evolves through time and how this process takes place at the interface with language. A fundamental tenet proposed here is that, in order to cover the main features of historical conceptualisation, a minimum number of basic parameters need to be included in the discussion. These parameters would represent constants which operate at all times throughout the history of a language.

The following discussions work towards a global model of historical evolution which would need to include at least six major parameters: thought processes in the mind that involve conceptualisation arising from the perception of the environment, the role of language structures, the potential influence of universal mechanisms on long-term paths, the major issue of culture, the complex feature of diachronic salience and, finally, the types of semantic fields selected for metaphor analysis. According to the particular requirements of any study, these major parameters could be sub-divided into other categories which may, or may not, operate at the same time. For this reason, they would not be constants, in the sense of a parameter, but would represent sub-categories of the parameter under study. Sensory perception of the environment, for example, may be analysed from the point of view of sight, hearing, taste, and so on. Culture may refer to different types of culture represented in one language or to variants across a group of languages. Salience may, in turn, reflect cultural variants that correspond to mainstream thoughts or, on the other hand, very individual ideas as used for comic or ironic effects.

A diachronic analysis of figurative language poses a number of difficult questions. The first one concerns language itself. Should the feature of linguistic form be included in a theoretical model of conceptual mapping? The logical answer is that, ideally, this would be a major asset, particularly if research of this kind is used for the teaching of language history. The difficulty lies in the fact that, as far as their formulation is concerned, the development of models in linguistic changes alone already represents a major task. This can be seen in the different

approaches used in the field of historical linguistics. The combining of variants in conceptual mapping can make the task even more complex.

A second problem concerns the role of universals in the presence of long-term paths of metaphor and other figurative categories. Theories on universals so far have mainly been concerned with synchronic, cross-cultural patterns. Taken from a diachronic point of view, universals conjure up the notion that such models have always existed since the beginning of language. However, the aspect of universality in the cross-cultural or diachronic dimensions does not necessarily have the same origin. A long-term metaphor path may be due to a physiological universal based on normal reactions to the environment or it may be due to long-term, cultural conceptualisations of objects, such as symbolism.

A third major issue involves the role of culture. This book will argue that culture, as compared to physiological universal trends, plays a major role in language evolution. In fact, although there is a strong case for the existence of physiological universals operating in long-term paths, they are usually mixed with culture. It seems that the two are difficult to separate. In the same vein, culture has a major aspect on diachronic salience. As a result of the large number of cultural variants in the evolution of one conceptual system, there are many varieties of salience that reflect the attitudes of the person, or group of people, using figurative language. One particular frequency count may only reflect one section of the language community. In addition, single historical events may cause salience in particular items to increase considerably over a short period of time. It is this issue that renders variables such as frequency counts difficult in the analysis of general long-term trends in the evolution of diachronic salience.

A fourth problem concerns the role of the semantic field that is used to analyse the factors responsible for language evolution. This is an essential point since the basic questions any linguist is faced with when choosing a corpus for a field such as metaphor are which semantic field (or cognitive domain in mapping terms) to use, and why? Furthermore, how can a semantic field be defined, which aspects should be included, and where are its limits as far as the mapping process is concerned? It would appear that certain semantic fields are more homogeneous with regard to universal/cultural aspects, and therefore vary in the cause of their evolution. However, the definition of homogeneity is extremely complex as a result of the vast semantic range that may be employed by source and target domains for the conceptual mapping process.

These are some of the major questions that will be raised throughout the following discussions on the evolution of figurative language.

The last issue, that of semantic field, will be tackled by exploring three particular fields selected for their apparent differences in the extent of homogeneity in their conceptual structures: the emotions in literary works, the nature of colour symbolism and the history of war rhetoric. The time dimension will concern long-term historical evolution since the beginning of European languages. By comparing these different semantic fields, the aim is therefore to explore how conceptual mapping evolves in relation to the parameters proposed above.

The main theoretical framework which has been adopted for this study is the field of cognitive linguistics. This appears to be a suitable and convenient framework for the analysis of data relating to diachronic conceptual mapping. However, there is also reference to other disciplines, such as historical linguistics and the philosophy of language, since these aspects also play a substantial role in theories about language evolution.

With these objectives in mind, the book is divided into four parts. Part I deals with basic conceptualisation processes that operate in the mind in the form of sensory perception and theories of physiologically-related conceptualisation, or embodiment. These processes are then discussed in relation to their interface with language. In Part II, the parameters of universals, culture, salience and semantic field are investigated in relation to diachronic conceptual systems. The themes of the emotions and colour symbolism are used to illustrate the potential processes involved. A more detailed investigation of a semantic field, selected with regard to the extensive nature of its cognitive domains and well-documented historical texts, is undertaken in Part III with regard to war rhetoric. Finally, in Part IV, theories on a global model of diachronic mapping are discussed in relation to the parameters proposed and the empirical studies investigated. These are debated, in particular, with regard to the thought/language interface, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the influence of cultural history. A large number of these theories are backed up by illustrations of the models concerned and an attempt has been made at writing the book in an easy-to-read style.

A special word of thanks is due to the (anonymous) reviewer at Palgrave Macmillan who offered some very helpful suggestions on the theories proposed. Any outstanding errors are entirely my own. I would also like to thank the editorial staff at Palgrave Macmillan for their assistance in the publication of this project and, in particular, Commissioning Editors, Priyanka Gibbons and Olivia Middleton, Senior Editorial Assistant, Melanie Blair, as well as Barbara Slater for her meticulous work on copy-editing the final draft.

I would also like to thank various colleagues and friends, too numerous to mention, for all the discussions held on this topic at different conferences and research meetings over the last few years. It is hoped that the theoretical suggestions offered in the book will help contribute to our knowledge of how figurative language evolves through time. Equally, I hope it will be of interest not only to academics but also to students who are engaged in, or who are planning to begin, research programmes in this field.

RICHARD TRIM

Acknowledgements

A special word of thanks is due to my sister-in-law, Susan Trim, for providing me with a personal photograph of the 'Way of Life' Sculpture (Jonathon Clarke, 2001) in Figure 1.2. Acknowledgements are also due to John Wiley & Sons Ltd for permission to reprint plate C from Loewenstein (1941), depicting early forms of the swastika pictogram in Figure 1.3.

This page intentionally left blank

Part I

Conceptual Mapping in Thought and Language

This page intentionally left blank

1
Conceptualisation Processes

1.1 Reasons for conceptual mapping

One of the reasons why conceptual mapping forms such an important part of our thought processes is because of the powerful effect it has and how we are able to use this effect in making an impact on the person we are communicating with. If, for example, we go back to the nineteenth century, it was fashionable among certain rich and intellectual circles of European society to take cocaine in the same way as sniffing the drug was fashionable in sections of the American business world during the late twentieth century. Unfortunately, in both cases some of those involved became addicted. A form of mapping such as symbolism has a much more powerful effect in conveying the dangers than if they were described in a straightforward, literal way. This can be seen in the following passage:

> One movement after the other and cocaine stitched together her fake clothing [...] In the second half of the last century the Queen's throne had already been erected. But the Queen, like all queens, could not be approached easily; she cost a lot and there were therefore few people who could take advantage of her favours: the rich noblemen and intellectuals [...] What harm was there if those in power or gifted intellectually were able to invite the Queen into their gilded and closed salons? [...] Perhaps a rich man was seen now and again wandering through the city like a spectre, committing small or larger crimes to procure enough money to lay at the Lady's feet?
>
> (*L'Espresso*, 26 July 1981)

The main characteristic of the text is the use of rich imagery in the personification of cocaine as a queen. We can see these men walking

into her gilded and closed salons and not simply imagine them taking cocaine. The cultural environment in which rich noblemen and intellectuals take cocaine reinforces the power of the mapping process.

The aim of this book is to determine how conceptual mapping, in conjunction with language, evolves through time. The notion of time will be considered on a historical scale, that is, going back to our early languages. The actual term *conceptual mapping* here represents the different kinds of transfers which operate between one cognitive domain and another and which result in the various types of mapping constructs found in language, such as symbolism, metaphor, metonymy and so on. It forms the very basis of human thought and many linguists claim that analogical features such as metaphor are ubiquitous, whatever the reasons behind them may be (Ortony 1993). We live in a world of symbols. A symbol is a very pragmatic tool and the vast number of symbols we can see around us form the essence of our everyday language and communication. If we switch on a computer, all kinds of symbolic icons light up on the screen. When we take the car into town, there is a multitude of signs, colours and symbols on the road to guide us. If we open the politics section of a newspaper, we may come across ornithological terms such as 'hawks' and 'doves' which are used metaphorically to categorise the different 'hard' and 'soft' approaches used in political conflicts. The list of symbols is endless.

But a symbol is not only a very useful and pragmatic tool, it is actually unavoidable in many cases. When we look around us, numerous objects remind us of other similar objects and consequently we often transfer names from one to another. A mountain or a piece of land might resemble a horn and so names such as 'Matterhorn' and 'Cape Horn' are coined. Some language analysts go as far as to claim that the way we think and act is fundamentally metaphorical in nature and that 'humanity seems doomed to analogy' (Silverman and Torode 1980: 247).

1.2 A global model of evolution

In this first chapter, we will be discussing some of the main features of conceptualisation which make up the first major parameter of a 6-parameter evolutionary model, outlined in section 1.11 below, and discussed throughout the book. These conceptualisation processes will first be considered as a part of perception in the mind and independently of language. The term parameter used here is in line with the Oxford English Dictionary definition: 'a quantity constant in the case considered but varying in different cases'. This definition would appear

to fit the types of mapping parameters in this study. A specific feature such as linguistic form can therefore be considered as an independent constant in an overall model of language evolution, that is, the language structures as opposed to, for example, sensory perception, but with the input varying according to time and cultural space. Of course, in discussing a framework as extensive as a global model of evolution, major parameters can often be divided into sub-categories, and this is an issue which will be raised at different points according to the parameters concerned.

The main framework of this study is in the field of cognitive linguistics. Basic conceptualisation processes will be investigated in the form of sensory perception on the one hand and, on the other, as a process termed in cognitive linguistics *embodiment* or *physiological conceptualisation*. The two are linked since embodiment is ultimately derived from sensory perception. However, they develop different models of conceptualisation. The first involves direct perception of the environment and tends to produce culturally-oriented mapping. The second involves mental constructs derived from bodily interaction with the environment and tends, according to some theories in cognitive linguistics, to have a more universal nature. Both conceptualisation processes may or may not be linked to language structure.

The first parameter of conceptualisation processes will be discussed with particular reference to symbolism. This is because symbolism is a very common feature in figurative language and one of the most powerful. We see this in the cocaine example above and it is a feature that will occur frequently in the semantic fields explored throughout the book. In order to gain an initial insight into the historical importance of symbolism and figurative language in general, the medium of literary history will first be discussed in relation to its different forms of conceptual mapping.

1.3 The historical importance of figurative language as seen in literary symbolism

Symbolism has often been linked to personification. The latter has been used throughout the history of language and it was a frequent stylistic technique in Antiquity. Its process is therefore a timeless one. If we go back to the Ancient Greek epics, Homer used personification – as in the female symbol of dawn when Odysseus travelled to the island where the one-eyed monster, Cyclops, lived. Dawn was, in fact, conceptualised as

a goddess, so that the following personification fits very well into the cultural environment of the time:

> When the fresh Dawn came and with her crimson streamers lit the sky, we were delighted with what we saw of the island and set out to explore it.
>
> (Homer, *The Odyssey*, chapter IX: 143)

The personification of death, as in the cocaine example, has taken on many different forms in the literature of varying historical periods. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 16–17) cite a number of variations in poetry. Death may be, for example, a warrior, a beast or an opponent in a footrace:

> Death be not proud, though some have called thee
> Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so,
> For, those, whom thou think'st, thou dost overthrow,
> Die not poor death, nor yet canst thou kill me
>
> (John Donne, 'Divine Sonnet X')

> Into the jaws of death,
> Into the mouth of hell
> Rode the six hundred
>
> (Alfred Lord Tennyson,
> 'The Charge of the Light Brigade')

> Who can run the race with Death?
>
> (Samuel Johnson, Letter to Doctor Burney,
> 2 August 1784)

Personification is thus a powerful poetic technique. In order to demonstrate its importance in culture, we will look at how it has constituted – along with other forms of mapping – an important part of literary symbolism. This art form shows how different modes of perception are often linked. The visual aspect, for example, may be linked with auditory perception, as in music. The perception of spatial orientation may be linked to the symbolism of spirituality, as in a tower leading upwards to heaven, and so on.

One of the founders of European literary Symbolism, which represented a reaction to the preceding school of Realism, was the

nineteenth-century French poet, Stéphane Mallarmé. The conscious effort to use mapping in the literary Symbolist schools reflected the search to find other explanations to man's destiny than those proposed by the school of Realism. As its name suggests, this school presented the harsh realities of life. The Symbolists, however, felt a universal form of spirituality would provide the answer to this destiny (Castex et al. 1974: 755). One of Mallarmé's best-known poems, *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (The afternoon of a faun), represents the symbolism of sublimation with the image of music. A faun was a Roman deity who had a human face and torso and a goat's horns, legs and tails, corresponding to the Greek, flute-playing god, Pan. The story-line of the poem is that the faun emerges from a dream on the slopes of Mount Etna in Sicily, attempts to prolong the amorous fantasies of his dream by playing music and then eventually satisfies his desires by falling back to sleep. The interpretation of this poem is therefore the symbolic and conceptual mapping procedure: SUBLIMATION = MUSIC. (Throughout the book capital letters will be used to designate mapping procedures, as is a standard procedure in cognitive linguistics.) This could also be represented as SUBLIMATION IS MUSIC.

In this particular case, a further link can be made between the literary depiction of sublimation based on cultural aspects in Antiquity and the art form of music in the works of Débussy, whose prelude to *L'Après-midi d'un faune*, composed between 1892 and 1894, was inspired by the poem. Débussy claimed that his prelude was a very free interpretation of Mallarmé's poem and was not designed to be a summary of the whole story. The opening flute solo in Débussy's prelude has been interpreted as representing the flute-playing of the faun in the poem (see Lockspeiser 1966: 213):

> In one long solo [. . .]
> A powerful, vain and monotonous note

The French Symbolists had a major influence on the symbolic works of later twentieth-century writers such as Yeats, although earlier writers such as Shelley and Blake also employed symbolism. Yeats, for example, uses a number of spiritual symbols repeatedly in his works. Among these are the symbol of a tower, which represents, among other things, the soul's yearning for the world of the spirit. Other symbols used by Yeats include the moon and the image of the holy city of Byzantium. The mapping procedure could be summarised as: SPIRITUALITY = TOWER. In his poem 'Blood and the Moon', it is clear that the tower, like many

other upward-reaching constructions, such as church spires and the like, symbolises the quest in Yeats's poetry for a holy place:

> Blessed be this place,
> More blessed still this tower [. . .]
> I declare this tower is my symbol; I declare
> This winding, gyring, spiring treadmill of a stair is my ancestral stair
>
> (Yeats, 'Blood and the Moon' 1933)

The spatial orientation of movement UP is thus associated with the idea that the human has to climb in some form to reach spirituality. This would contrast with negative conceptualisations of DOWN, which is associated with concepts such as hell, and so on.

Despite the established schools of Symbolism, it would equally appear that we simply cannot avoid conceptual mapping in our thoughts, as Silverman and Torode claim. We do not have to look for symbolism in Symbolist schools alone. The Realist school also demonstrates how coal mines may be associated with monsters, how particular insects and reptiles are associated with danger and how colour symbolism may be used for scenes of foreboding.

Although there was a conscious use of symbolism in the search for spirituality, the Realist school immediately prior to Mallarmé was full of mapping. Whether consciously or unconsciously, metaphor has always been a powerful tool in depicting man's existence. The same applied to Realist authors illustrating the harsh actuality of life in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. Abundant metaphors were used to describe human activities in minute detail. The French author, Émile Zola, would describe the extreme conditions of the working man in literary works such as *Germinal*. The following scene portrays conditions in the coal mines and the hard lives of the miners:

> Only one thing was clear to him: the pit swallowed up men in mouthfuls of twenty and thirty and with such easy gulps that it didn't seem to notice them going down its throat. From 4am on, the miners' descent began. They came from the shack in bare feet and with a lamp in their hand, waiting in small groups until there were enough of them to go down. Without a sound, the iron cage quietly emerged out of the nocturnal animal, latched onto the bolts and with its four levels each containing two wagons of coal. The men at the winches, who were positioned at different levels, drew out the wagons and

> replaced them with others which were empty or loaded with large pieces of wood. It was the empty wagons that the miners piled into, five by five, up to forty at a time when all compartments were in place. A dull and unclear order bellowed out through the loudspeaker as the rope was pulled four times for a signal down below, 'the meat call', to order another load of human flesh. Then, after a small jolt, the cage plunged silently, like a stone, into the depths with just the vibrating cable behind it.
>
> (Zola, *Germinal*, chapter 3: 51)

Horrific conditions are portrayed in analogical form to emphasise the effect, as in 'the pit swallowed up men' (PIT = MOUTH); 'the meat call' (MASS OF HUMAN BODIES = MEAT) and so on.

The influence of the French Realist movement spread to other European countries, among them Germany. Apart from its own Realist school, Germany developed a subsequent Naturalist movement which also dealt with the conditions of the working classes. The difference here was that symbolic language was often embodied in the effect nature had on the mind. Symbolism would be used to predict dangers or hard times ahead:

> The wind had risen and caused ripples to flow down the edge of the forest and into the distance. The telegraph poles along the railway track were humming. Flocks of chattering birds sat in rows on the wires which wove their way from one pole to another like a huge spider's web. A woodpecker flew mockingly over Thiel's head without deeming to cast him a glance. The sun, which hung under the edge of huge clouds and sank towards the sea of tree-tops, poured out purple rays of light over the forest. The arcade pillars of pine trees on the other side of the embankment lit up from within and glowed like iron. Even the railway tracks began to glow like fiery snakes [...]
>
> (Hauptmann, *Bahnwärter Thiel*, chapter 3: 18)

This passage is equally full of conceptual mapping. There is an eerie feeling to the surroundings and the forbidding symbolism of nature warns of impending doom. In Western society, cultural symbols such as spiders and snakes are typical warnings in the mapping equation: DANGER = SPIDER/SNAKE. The purple rays of light might, in the eyes of some, be associated with the colour of the cloth used at church funerals. One possible interpretation of colour symbolism here is therefore DEATH = PURPLE.

The passages above demonstrate the powerful effects of imagery but, whether at a conscious or subconscious level, the mind also switches to, or simply drifts inexorably towards, the idea of analogy.

Having looked at the example of mapping in literary Symbolism and related schools, the thorny question of defining different types of mapping can be raised. What terms can be given to the various kinds of figurative language and how can concepts such as symbolism be defined?

1.4 Debates on mapping functions

The use of terminology in mapping categories is a complex question because of the large variety of terms employed in different schools of linguistics. Furthermore, components often overlap in the types of definitions proposed. One of the problems is that different generations of linguists have divergent labels. This leads to disagreement on definitions of categories, such as metaphor and metonym, which can also lead to controversy in the same school of thought.

Here is just one, relatively recent, sample of definitions of symbol, metaphor and sign according to a semiotic approach. Since we have been dealing with the field of literature until now, this definition has been taken from the field of literary criticism:

> [A symbol is] 'a thing, image, or action that, although it is of interest in its own right, stands for or suggests something larger and more complex – often an idea or a range of interrelated ideas, attitudes, and practices. Within a given culture, some things are understood to be symbols: the flag of the United States is an obvious example'. A metaphor is 'the representation of one thing by another related or similar thing [...] Metaphor is a kind of "trope" (literally, a "turning", that is a figure of speech that alters or "turns" the meaning of a word or phrase). Other tropes include allegory, conceit, metonymy, personification, simile, symbol and synecdoche. Traditionally, metaphor and symbol have been viewed as the principal tropes...' [Signs are defined by] semiotics which involves 'the study of signs and sign systems and the way meaning is derived from them [...] Semiotics is based on several important distinctions, including the distinction between the "signifier" and "signified" (the sign and what it points toward) and the distinction between "langue" and "parole", or language (entire system) and the word (particular utterances). A principal tenet of semiotics is that signs, like words,

> are not significant in themselves, but instead have meaning only in relation to other signs and the entire system of signs, or langue'.
>
> (Beidler, 1996: 298–303)

The preceding descriptions show that it is actually quite difficult to define just three areas related to mapping. In this passage, a number of terms are used that may not be used by all linguists today, for example, 'trope', or the Saussurean terms, such as 'langue' and so on. There is undoubtedly a certain amount of disagreement on the types of definitions used and not all terms are adopted by different generations or schools of language specialists. Poststructuralists, for example, question underlying assumptions in semiotics, which was traditionally linked to the structuralist school, such as the opposition between the Saussurean concepts of signifier and signified (De Saussure [1916] 1977). Some even suggest that the term semiotics should be used to describe other features, such as feminine rather than masculine language (Kristeva 1980).

A consequence of this dilemma is that various kinds of umbrella terms are sometimes proposed in order to group together the wide range of mapping components. As Steen (2002: 21) points out, all kinds of items – among them proverbs, idioms, puns, similes and so on – have sometimes simply been labelled 'metaphor' in studies relating to figurative language.

If we take up approaches to symbolism itself, there have been suggestions in recent cognitive linguistic works as to a possible definition. Kövecses's approach (2005: 136) is that the interpretation of any symbol requires the comprehension of the underlying conceptual metaphors that it evokes. This would appear to be logical since symbols are usually culturally-based interpretations. He takes the example of the Statue of Liberty in New York, which he maintains is based on three conceptual metaphors: UNINHIBITED MOVEMENT, MOVEMENT FROM DARK TO LIGHT and SEEING. The first symbolises liberty by the statue moving forward from the broken shackles at her feet. The second symbolises knowledge with a torch showing the way forward away from ignorance to knowledge. The third, also linked to the torch symbol, embodies the ability to see, and therefore the acquisition of knowledge. The symbolic aspect of liberty is therefore based on a set of underlying conceptual metaphors linked to America's history.

A knowledge of the cultural background is therefore necessary in order to arrive at a correct interpretation of the meaning that the creator of the symbol intended to convey. If the background is not known, a symbol may be open to a number of different interpretations that might also

change in time. Kövecses suggests that in more recent times the Statue of Liberty has become the symbol of a wealthy country (America) that readily helps and accepts people in need. The statue thus represents a woman beckoning to immigrants who are arriving in New York (2006: 172–3).

Furthermore, symbols used by writers are often based on conceptual metaphors relating to their personal history. In order to interpret their symbols, a knowledge of their personal background is therefore needed. Kövecses discusses the narrator in Ken Kesey's novel *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, Bromden, who interprets the world around him in terms of machines and electronic devices. This is because Bromden joined the army as an electrician's assistant during the Second World War. While he was familiar with mechanical objects, he was also afraid of them because of their associations with war and the wartime events that caused his subsequent mental disturbances (2006: 243).

In short, it would appear that symbolism is based primarily on cultural features, which form part of the parameters constituting mapping models discussed below. However, what are the actual conceptual roots of all these mapping processes? The Matterhorn and Cape Horn examples we mentioned are obviously due to visual comparison. It seems that a large part of our conceptual mapping is, in fact, via the main forms of sensory perception. With this in mind, we shall now look at conceptualisation in sensory perception, as proposed at the beginning of this chapter. Again, the five senses of perception may be limited entirely to thought processes without reference to language.

1.5 Visual conceptualisation

An obvious field of visual conceptualisation is that of art and painting. Like the Symbolist literary tradition, the Symbolist school of art thrived during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In fact, the movement also spread from France in the wake of the literary tradition. Directly opposed to the realism of the Impressionists and the harsh detail of genre paintings depicting the Industrial Age, symbolist paintings conveyed a feeling of mystery via the use of metaphor and symbol. Sometimes the images are grotesque and use monsters or severed heads from the myths of Antiquity. Among these would be *The Baleful Head* by Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98) in which Perseus shows the head of the decapitated female monster, Medusa, to Andromeda whom he freed from captivity. Perseus holds the head above a mirror in order to look at it since a direct look turns the perceiver to stone.

The personification of death illustrated at the beginning of the chapter was also a common theme in art. As the personification of cocaine above is that of a queen, one form of personification of death used throughout European history is that of the 'Grim Reaper'. Since the Middle Ages, the symbol has been represented by a skeleton – sometimes cloaked and hooded – with a scythe in hand, and the reaping of corn signified the end of life. It has been used, for example, in a painting called *Wilderness* by the Pole, Artur Grottger (1837–67). This depicts an aura of death in the Lithuanian forests after fighting between Polish and Lithuanian insurrectionists and the Imperial Russian Army in the nineteenth century. The skeleton figure with a scythe floats around the dark forests symbolising the soldiers who died there, in the place where they had been driven to hide.

An equally powerful source of mapping is via the sense of hearing.

1.6 Auditory conceptualisation

We have already mentioned the connection between Mallarmé's work and that of Débussy. Hearing is a major form of perception in metaphor, one natural form of mapping in listening to music being onomatopoeia. The notes of music literally 'sound' like the images the composer is trying to convey. An examination of one of Vivaldi's best-known concertos, 'The Four Seasons', suggests that he wished to convey a parallel between the sounds he composed and the images of the four sonnets of spring, summer, autumn and winter which accompany the music. The overall symbol of this concerto is therefore, as suggested in the title, a representation of the four seasons (FOUR SEASONS = MUSIC CONCERTO). Within each season, a large variety of musical metaphors are used. Some music critics claim that this concerto aimed to portray eighteenth-century Italian country life through the incorporation of a number of different seasonal sounds. These include the metaphors of the calls of birds as part of the symbol of spring, the sound of storms and invading insects in summer, hunting scenes in the autumn with the strings imitating hunting horns and, in winter, the cracking of ice while revellers skate (Myers 1999). The number of auditory metaphors can therefore be vast: BIRDS = SOUND A; STORMS = SOUND B; INSECTS = SOUND C, and so on.

This kind of interpretation can, however, be subject to a more personalised conceptualisation of events. Indeed, Vivaldi purportedly wrote the sonnets that corresponded to his own interpretation of the seasons in his concerto. For his 'autumn' concerto (opus 8, no. 3 in F major), he

describes the first two of four scenes in a description of dance and song contrasting with a subsequent period of rest:

> Scene 1:
> The countryman celebrates with dance and song
> The great pleasure of a bountiful harvest,
> And, fired by Bacchus' liquor,
> Slumber brings an end to their festivities
>
> Scene 2:
> Now the mild air gives pleasure
> And makes everyone renounce both dance and song
> And the season increasingly invites
> The joy of sweet slumber
>
> (Trans. O'Neill 2000)

The faster rhythm of the music in the first part of the concerto thus corresponds to dancing and the slower rhythm in the second part to slumber. However, the same types of sound may evoke different or additional scenes according to natural associations with autumn. One association would be the falling of leaves. Even without the auditory component, the visual role of the signs, or musical notes, used in the overall symbolic model, can be used to demonstrate the choice of this interpretation. The second part of the autumn concerto emphasises the tranquil rising and falling of sounds produced by the harpsichord. An association of such sounds with falling leaves would thus be a logical interpretation. The falling patterns in the lower line of the score of Vivaldi's concerto, a typical pattern in Baroque music in general, can easily be visualised even without a knowledge of music (Figure 1.1). This auditory model of symbolisation may be summarised in the

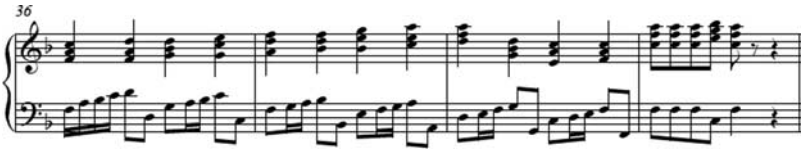


Figure 1.1 Metaphoric interpretation in auditory perception: falling leaves in Vivaldi's autumn concerto

following way: the signs (musical notes) represent sounds in the score which, in turn, represent the conceptual metaphor, FALLING LEAVES = FALLING SCALES, which subsequently forms part of the overall symbol of autumn.

Symbolism in music does, in fact, appear to be very personal. What is symbolic for the composer may not necessarily be interpreted as such by the audience. In the classical period, Schumann took pleasure in composing music with very personal meanings. Again, onomatopoeia, as one of the origins of symbolic creation, has had a long history in musical symbolism. It often corresponds to the natural environment, human activities or historical events. Brooks, fountains, raindrops, the thunder of storms, bells or cannon fire have all played their part. Instruments have often imitated song, as in the slow movement of Brahms's Second Piano Concerto in which the vocal sound of the solo cello corresponds to the melody line of an actual song (Lippman 1953: 554–8).

Many aspects of music may be symbolic. Apart from onomatopoeia or rhythm and tempo, there are other features which may be more open to interpretation. It has been suggested that pitch can introduce different metaphorical meanings. High pitch, for example, would appear to symbolise a much stronger interpretation of heroism. In Beethoven's *Sinfonia Eroica*, music critics claim that high pitch at the end of the symphony embodies a more powerful heroism than a weaker version of the same melody line at the end of the first movement. At this point, musical notes are situated in the middle of the scale (Krantz 1987: 352).

1.7 Olfactory conceptualisation

Other aspects of mapping in the mind involve the sensory perception of smell, or what we could term olfactory conceptualisation, as in the technique of symbolism used in the present-day marketing of perfumes. Symbols of inspiration, obsession, knowing, hypnosis, fantasy, freedom, desire or passion are all used in the trade names of perfumes. If we take the case of hypnosis, symbolised by an eau de cologne spray for men (Hypnose homme) by the French firm, Lancôme, at first sight, it appears to offer a very flexible form of interpretation. However, a glance at a range of perfume descriptions makes it clear that the majority are associated with the aim of attracting partners. It can therefore be deduced that the type of perfume provided by this particular cologne aims to

create a hypnotic effect in seduction which, furthermore, is visualised by the twisted form of the bottle containing the perfume. The combined images of hypnosis via smell and sight 'twist' the mind into thinking and acting in a specific way (SEDUCTION = TWIST). This aspect is confirmed by written descriptions in advertisements such as 'the juice is a seductive amber', and so on.

The combination of two types of metaphors, such as visual and verbal metaphors, is common practice in advertising. It has been suggested by specialists in visual metaphor that there are a number of different combinations of image and text involving pictorial metaphors in advertising. There may be metaphors with one pictorial term present in the advertisement or two, and so on. In addition, the advertisement may incorporate both image and text in verbo-pictorial metaphors (Forceville 1996: 108–60). The above example of a cologne would therefore be a verbo-pictorial metaphor.

1.8 Taste conceptualisation

This strategy is a common feature in the marketing of wine and here we can see how creative even the perception of taste can be in analogies. Symbolisation in the marketing of wines, based principally on taste but often incorporating smell, also resorts to personification. As a major wine-producer, France offers some good examples of personification in marketing wine, although a glance at the wine trade would probably reveal that the technique is used in all wine-producing countries. A random sample of labels on French wines in the Corbières wine-growing region of southern France reveals typical descriptions such as 'this great wine will charm you with its delicacy, fineness and complexity', 'this wine has a strong personality', 'with its nose of stewed black fruit and its velvety mouth' and so on. The symbol of wine is thus a human being who 'charms' or has a 'strong personality'. Parts of the human anatomy such as a nose and mouth represent the flavours of wine perceived by aroma and taste. It thereby embodies different personification metaphors (SMOOTH TASTE = VELVETY MOUTH), (STRONG FLAVOUR = STRONG PERSONALITY) and so on. Whether every wine-taster would automatically evoke the symbols of velvety mouths, strong personalities and the like is debatable but it makes an excellent marketing strategy.

The examples of marketing images via the five senses are endless. The same techniques could be applied to touch. A glance at advertisements

for articles such as blankets perceives that they speak of sensations such as a 'toasty-warm feel' in a mapping pattern: TOAST = WARM BLANKET. All these perception processes constitute a major part of mapping in the mind. They may be totally independent of language, unless a description for a marketing slogan is written on a product. These processes of conceptual mapping form a fundamental part of the first parameter of the historical model we shall be developing. Sensory perception is closely linked to cultural aspects of the environment and can represent a very personal interpretation of a particular concept. Within the first parameter of thought processes, however, there is also a substantial component of conceptualisation based on embodied features. We shall see that the extent of this process in universality is a controversial one but it undoubtedly plays an important role in conceptualisation. We have already seen the idea of spatial orientation in literature being equated with spirituality. The following discussion will explore this aspect.

1.9 Embodiment in basic conceptualisation processes

Embodiment, as the second major form of conceptualisation in the mind, occurs when mapping is based on physiological features. Such mapping processes are thus often referred to as embodied or experientialist cognitive processes. Related theories, generally known under the umbrella term of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, have been discussed in great detail in Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1992). Since the theories have been widely discussed in the relevant literature, the topic will only be briefly introduced here with particular reference to the theme of symbolism employed in this chapter. Although they may embody certain universal constructs, the following discussion suggests that they are often mixed into cultural conceptualisation.

To this end, we shall look at one particular theory in conjunction with the rich symbolism in the history of the cross. This symbol is not one which has been analysed specifically by Lakoff and others but it has been chosen here since it will play an important role later on in our analysis of language and historical mapping.

Lakoff (1987: 271) suggests, first of all, that there are basic-level concepts in the way we perceive our environment, in line with basic-level categories in prototype analysis (Rosch 1975), that govern universal mechanisms. These include primary actions such as running, walking, eating, drinking, as well as basic-level properties such as dark, light, tall, short, hot, cold and so on.

Lakoff (1987: 283) also devised a concept called 'The Spatialization of Form Hypothesis' which is an attempt at explaining our bodily experience via orientational metaphors. As a result of our experience of conceptualising objects, space, gravity, and so on, we view the world according to various orientational image schemas. We see the world in terms of CONTAINERS for categories in general: PART-WHOLE or UP-DOWN schemas for hierarchical structures; relational concepts in terms of LINK schemas; radial structures as CENTRE-PERIPHERY schemas; foreground-background orientation in terms of FRONT-BACK schemas; linear orientation as LINEAR ORDER and SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schemas, and so on.

On the basis of these patterns, underlying metaphorical structures appear. The UP-DOWN orientation can lead to UP = GOOD, hence the spirituality image described above, or in common expressions such as 'I feel on top of the world'. The SOURCE-PATH-GOAL orientation can lead to metaphorisation such as the LIFE IS A JOURNEY image, as in 'our marriage has been a long, bumpy road'. These underlying metaphorical structures, combined with images conceived by the type of sensory perception described above, set up a mapping process in the mind. With regard to the symbol of the cross in Christianity, these different mechanisms form an image as depicted in Figure 1.2.

The general perception of the cross is visual, based on the image of the crucifix. The actual cross in the sculpture depicted in Figure 1.2, 'The Way of Life', is slightly different from the normal Christian cross sign in that the vertical bars have been shortened to the same length as the cross-bars. There are three underlying conceptual metaphors arising from the type of basic conceptualisation processes we have been describing: (a) the visual perception of the cross representing Christianity as a whole; (b) the wavy line representing the path towards Christianity, similar to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY feature in the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema and (c) the path going from dark to light representing the conceptual metaphors LIGHT = FAITH and DARK = SPIRITUAL IGNORANCE. These are common conceptual metaphors in Christianity (see Charteris-Black 2004: 185–90 for further aspects of this particular form of conceptualisation).

In addition to the considerable impact that cultural variation may have on mapping, it is also clear that other factors, such as individual interpretation, are also subject to considerable flexibility. A view of pictograms over time will be explored to demonstrate historical cultural variation as well as individual interpretation in literary works.

Figure 1.2 'Way of Life' sculpture (Jonathon Clarke, 2001), Ely Cathedral, Cambridgeshire, England

1.10 Cultural and individual flexibility

The 'Way of Life' sculpture exploits an interesting array of creative aspects in the cross to depict some basic notions of Christianity. The cross image also shows how conceptualisations of similar symbols can be extremely flexible; further, it represents a dynamic process of mapping throughout history. The same types of symbols or pictograms can represent very different concepts. However, the use of a cross as a religious symbol has long historical roots. As Healey (1977: 289) points out:

> It usually surprises people where Christianity is practised to learn that the cross as a religious sign antedates Christ by several thousands of years and that it was hundreds of years into the Christian era before it became associated with Christians and Christianity.

Indeed, the Persians and Ancient Egyptians had cross signs in religious practice which were often equally associated with fertility. The Christian cross is associated with the crucifixion of Jesus Christ but the practice of crucifixion was current in the time of the Persians, Seleucids, Carthaginians and Romans from about the sixth century BC onwards. Although this form of execution did not always use a pole in the form of a cross, it became the standard practice, allowing the arms to be nailed to a cross-piece. Various forms of the cross pictogram underwent different modifications throughout history.

One example with religious connotations was the Maltese Cross. This was originally a Greek cross with arms narrowing towards its centre and with two points at each extremity. It became the emblem of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, a religious order founded in 1048 to guard and entertain pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. This cross has lent itself to metonymic extension in literary works in English, with reference to the reaping arms of a harvesting machine in the nineteenth century:

> But of all ruddy things that morning the brightest were two broad arms of painted wood, which rose from the margin of a yellow cornfield hard by Marlott village. They, with two others below, formed the revolving *Maltese cross of the reaping-machine*, which had been brought to the field on the previous evening to be ready for operations this day.
>
> (Hardy 1984 [1891]: 136; emphasis added)

Much later, a similar form of the cross was used for a very different purpose. The 'Iron Cross' became a German war decoration for bravery in the Second World War, in much the same way as other crosses were adopted for similar decorations by different nations.

The perception of a cross pictogram has thus led to varying cultural interpretations through history. The last example of German insignia leads us on to another diverse example of cultural evolution in symbolism: the sign of the swastika.

For most people today, the sight of a swastika is associated with the period of National Socialism in Germany during the 1930s and 1940s.

In some circles, it continues to instil a feeling of apprehension and fear. However, the symbol has also been widely used as a good luck charm, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Good luck charms in the form of coins often had a swastika in the centre, surrounded by other good luck symbols, the horseshoe and the clover. They were extensively used in North America; indeed a town in Canada is still named 'Swastika' (Ontario), despite a certain amount of pressure to change the name during the Second World War.

This example demonstrates not only the considerable flexibility of conceptualisation associated with the same sign but also the historical diversity of its underlying conceptual metaphors. With regard to its origins, there were a number of intensive archaeological and anthropological studies on the subject during the Second World War. One such study, undertaken by Loewenstein (1941: 49–55), explicitly details the different types of illustrations found on pottery at archaeological sites at Susa (present-day Iran) and Samarra (present-day Iraq) in Mesopotamia.

The illustrations are dated to around 4000 BC and largely symbolise fertility. In Figure 1.3, on broken pieces of pottery we can see a number of swastika pictograms illustrating fertility. Illustrations 1 and 2 depict women (as a sign of fertility) with long hair (to illustrate rotation) turning in an anti-clockwise direction with their feet towards the centre and heads toward the circumference of a circle. Another pictogram (illustration 5) depicts a circle of fish (fish also being a sign of fertility at that time), likewise swimming in an anti-clockwise direction. The rotation is associated with the movement of the sun as a symbol of the source of life. The bodies of the women represent a cross and their flowing hair the hooks on the swastika. According to definitions of a symbol suggested above, the underlying metaphors in this early representation of the swastika are therefore: FERTILITY = WOMEN and ROTATION OF THE SUN = FLOWING HAIR.

The swastika symbol has had a long and diverse history in many parts of the world but this would represent at least one of the origins of its nature and form. Although conceptualisation of the sign was one of fertility in its early stages, it became generally associated with the notion of good luck, as well as other positive features, such as a long life and future prosperity (as in Buddhist philosophy), and this is therefore reflected in its semantic evolution extending to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After this period, it became associated with German National Socialism. However, concurrent conceptualisation may occur, such as the continuation of the connection between the swastika sign and good luck in Oriental cultures, or other depictions of the Christian

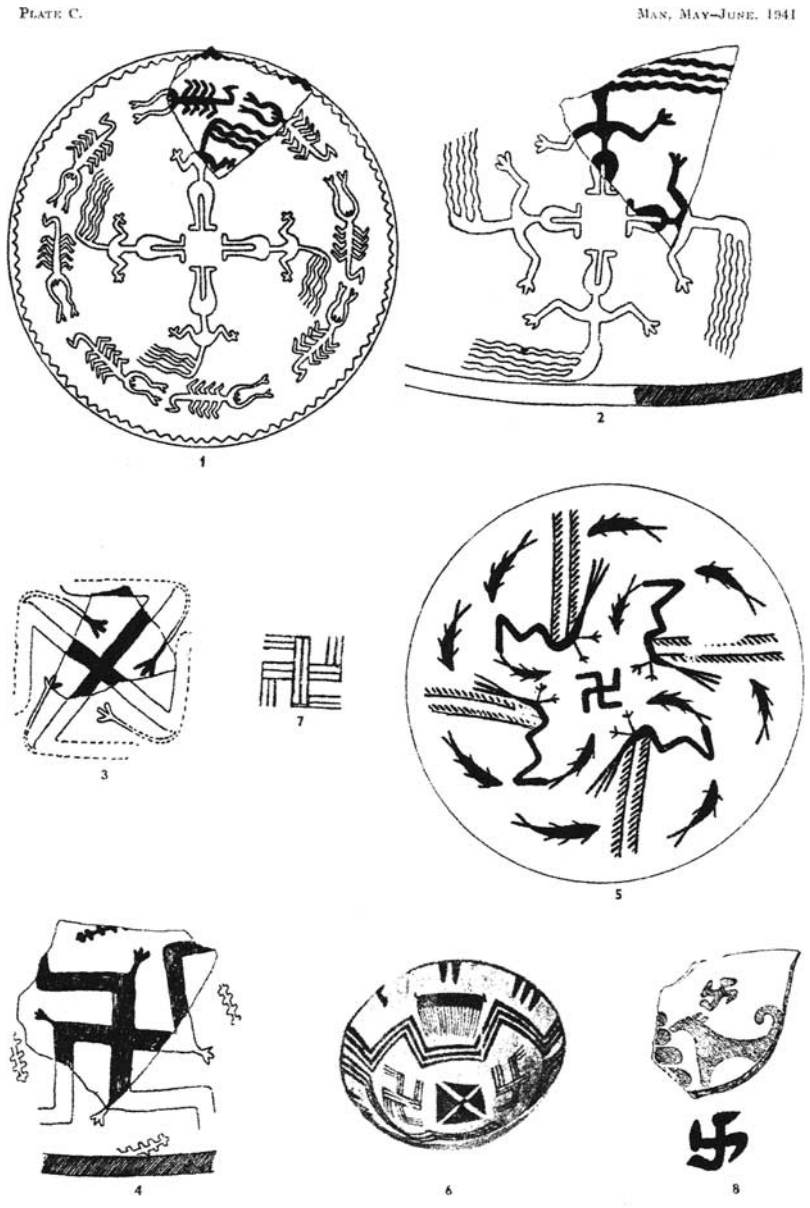


Figure 1.3 Early pictograms of the swastika (after Lowenstein 1941)

cross in Western society such as the WHITE POWER = CROSS conceptual metaphor used by the Ku Klux Klan. In addition, neo-Nazi movements in Europe and North America continue to use the symbol of the swastika with its National Socialist connotations.

An analysis of just one pictogram, the cross, demonstrates the enormous range of conceptual mapping. This can be seen on both a broad cultural level throughout history, as well as in personal interpretations, as in Thomas Hardy's metonymic extension and the creative adaptation of Christian symbols in the 'Way of Life' sculpture.

At this point, we can summarise by suggesting that mapping begins in the mind and, from a cognitive point of view, appears to depend at least on two basic categories of conceptualisation: sensory perception and embodiment in the form of image schemata. There could be other components in the conceptualisation process. One other type of construct which we shall introduce briefly in Part IV includes the idea of 'Absolutes' as mental ideas. This topic will be dealt with after discussion of relevant empirical data involving war rhetoric. Since the topic of Absolutes also involves philosophy to a large extent, it will not be analysed in great depth within the scope of the present book. However, it is linked to the theme of religion in mapping and requires a considerable amount of further research.

Within the framework of the 6-parameter model proposed above, we can claim that, as a first parameter, both sensory perception and embodiment may operate independently of language. This can be seen in the conceptualisation of the five senses and their possible combination with embodied features. Images can be very flexible in conceptualisation and may produce considerable cultural and individual variation. We shall now situate the first parameter in a global model.

1.11 Basic parameters in mapping models

The six parameters proposed for a global evolutionary model of conceptual mapping are illustrated in Figure 1.4 below: these are (1) thought processes that involve sensory perception and, as proposed by Lakoff (1987), embodiment derived from our bodily experience; (2) the interface with linguistic form, which may also have an influence on modifying conceptual structures in the mind; (3) the hypothetical roles of universal trends or underlying mechanisms which promote these processes; (4) the dominant role, in our view, of culture in the history of language; (5) the different forms of diachronic salience present at varying times in history; and, finally, (6) the type of semantic field in which

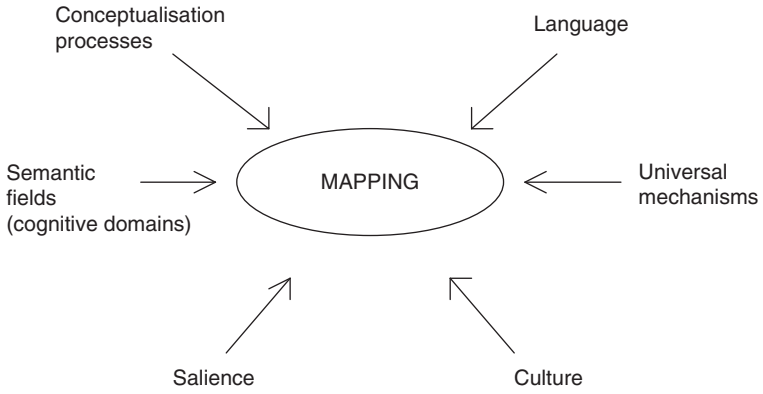


Figure 1.4 Major parameters in a global evolutionary model of conceptual mapping

the mapping is created, which may play a role in such factors as long and short-term mapping paths. All major parameters appear to exert varying degrees of influence on the formation of the mapping in question and its subsequent diachronic progression.

We now come to a major question in the conceptualisation process, which leads on to issues involving the evolution of language. How does mapping interact with linguistic form? The second parameter of language in the six outlined above will be the topic of the next chapter.

2
The Thought/Language Interface

2.1 The triggering of words

An interesting question arises out of the type of conceptualisation processes we have been discussing so far. Do we also think of words when a mapping process forms in the mind? For example, we might look up into the sky on a hot, humid day and see billowing white clouds above us. Suddenly, another thought could come to mind. In our imagination, they might really look like huge icebergs floating in the Arctic Ocean. The common links between clouds and icebergs are huge size and whiteness in a mapping procedure: CLOUDS = ICEBERGS. This transfer arises from shared attributes of concepts stored in the mind as a result of the conceptualisation of our environment (if we have been to the Arctic), or worldly knowledge (through pictures we have seen of the Arctic). Hypothetically, the reverse transfer should also be possible: if we look at icebergs we might think of clouds. But does the word 'cloud' or 'iceberg' spring to mind?

In this chapter, we will be studying three different aspects of the interaction between basic conceptual processes and linguistic form in order to evaluate how thought develops language: (a) the extent to which conceptual processes and linguistic form influence each other; (b) the ways in which linguistic forms develop in the mind in conjunction with conceptual mapping; and (c) hypotheses on how the thought/language interface evolves diachronically.

This thought/language interface thus represents a second parameter in the evolution of conceptual mapping. In our preceding discussions, it became clear that various forms of conceptualisation processes, as in the case of symbolism, can lead to mapping in the mind without necessarily involving language. Whether language does come into play can depend

on a number of situational features. When we listen to Vivaldi's autumn concerto, we might think of yellow and brown leaves falling without the word 'autumn' playing any part in the mental process. However, the picture of falling leaves might trigger words stored in the mental lexicon so that suddenly the word 'autumn' does come to mind. In a different situation, the presence of words in or around the image may trigger the appropriate lexical item. These may be similar or associated words. The word 'hypnosis' on a bottle of perfume already puts one word in the mind and it may trigger others.

As far as mapping in the brain is concerned, Kövecses (2005) discusses recent neuroscientific studies which claim that two groups of neurons are activated simultaneously when concepts are transferred in the mapping process. He cites Gallese and Lakoff (2003, published in 2005) whose studies state that when one group of neurons is activated (the source), another group 'fires' as well. The assumption is that each of the two groups active in the mapping process refers to a specific domain of concepts. For example, neurons corresponding to intensity and heat are activated when we think about abstract concepts that are related with certain activities and states (Kövecses 2005: 23). A metaphoric expression such as 'he was boiling with anger' would fire two groups of neurons in the brain, relating respectively to HEAT and ANGER. In applying theories of cognitive linguistics, the ANGER = HEAT equation in the metaphoric expression is thus known as a *conceptual metaphor*, as exemplified by the types of metaphoric structures discussed under symbolism in Chapter 1. It is a non-linguistic mapping which serves to create linguistic forms. However, the expression 'he was boiling with anger' is indeed a part of language and is thus known as a *linguistic metaphor*.

This leads us on to theories about how the language/thought interface is likely to work. If we accept the theory of neurons, a process of *non-linguistic conceptual mapping* takes place in the sphere of thought, as in the case of conceptual metaphors. Group A neurons (HEAT) transfer to group B neurons (ANGER). Different linguistic items may then be accessed from the sphere of language or, in terms of the mind, from the mental lexicon (Figure 2.1). Linguistic item 1 could be an expression such as 'he was boiling with anger' based on the conceptual HEAT metaphor. Linguistic item 2 (L.I.2) might be 'he was simmering with rage', and so on. This process would be a case of *linguistic conceptual mapping*.

This example is one of physiological conceptualisation in which the rising temperature in the body is associated with anger (Lakoff 1987).

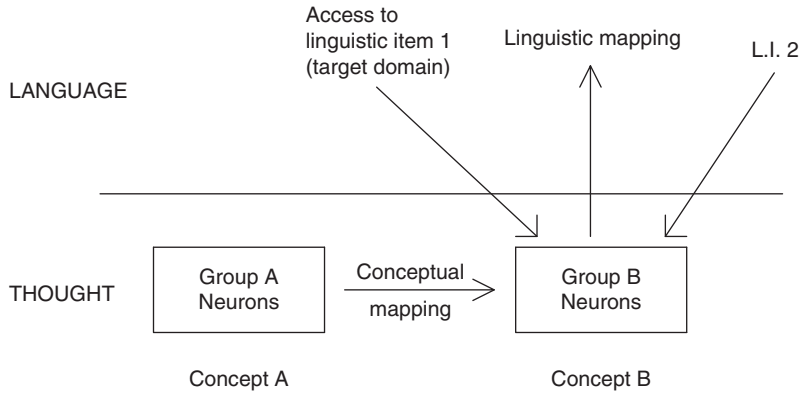


Figure 2.1 The language/thought interface: conceptual and linguistic mapping

In the case of visual perception regarding clouds, the image of white masses may automatically map onto masses of ice and hence the iceberg analogy. Conceptual mapping would be WHITE = ICE and the subsequent linguistic mapping would be ICE = the word ICEBERG. However, a number of different scenarios may take place in the brain according to the timing of access and particular cognitive demarcations in the spheres of thought and language.

When looking at clouds and forming the conceptual mapping, we may never think of words throughout the duration of visual perception. The words 'clouds' or 'icebergs' may not come to mind and the mapping thus remains in the sphere of thought. A second scenario is that words are accessed after conceptual mapping. We see images of clouds and icebergs and several seconds later, while still looking at the sky, the actual words enter the mind. As in Figure 2.1, linguistic items are accessed after conceptual mapping. A third scenario is that we think of the concept 'iceberg' and its lexical items simultaneously. The process of mapping takes place in both spheres of the language/thought interface at the same time (see Figure 2.2).

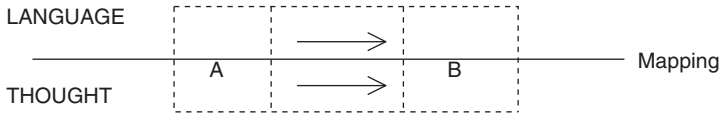


Figure 2.2 Simultaneous conceptual and linguistic mapping

2.2 Choices of words and prototypes

The actual choice of words may be varied and not clear-cut. There are large numbers of synonyms with slightly varying shades of meaning. Two people looking at the same object are not necessarily going to think of the same word. How do concepts slot into words and vice versa?

The familiar word 'iceberg' probably fits fairly well into the concept. Any hesitation regarding the actual word could involve size; if it melts to a much smaller size, the label could be switched to the word 'ice floe'. However, synonymy is a complex issue at the thought/language interface. Clear-cut matches between words and concepts do not always exist, either literally or figuratively, and are a debatable point (Aitchison 1989: 41).

One theory that has gone a long way to explaining the problems in defining semantic categories is prototype theory. This basically puts forward the idea that there are some concepts that are very central to a category and others that are more peripheral (Rosch 1975: 192–233). Our choice of words will therefore depend on how we conceptualise a particular semantic category. Centralisation in categories is often dependent on culture: in one culture the typical bird might be a robin with an ostrich in a more peripheral position, in an environment in which ostriches are more typical of the local fauna, robins might be at the periphery. Although the underlying principles of this theory are logical, a number of questions remain. One is indeed the relation to typical concepts within a local environment. Typical concepts may not actually be found in everyday situations of the perceiver's environment. If a child is asked to think of a typical animal, it might not be a domestic animal of the local environment which first comes to mind, such as a cat, but rather a lion or tiger. These are typical animals that might be seen at a zoo or in a children's picture book. The result is that prototypes are often concerned with the ordering of priority in encyclopaedic knowledge rather than with the perception of objects in the local natural environment.

In addition, it is not always clear whether one particular word can be used to describe a specific concept or not. Words such as 'bowls', 'vases' and 'cups' may be used to describe the same receptacles (Labov 1973), and very often a person might say something like: 'it's a sort of bowl'. The conclusion is that the access of specific words to concepts perceived in the brain can be relatively flexible and cause hesitation.

Mapping in language illustrates the degree of appropriateness in certain expressions, especially in the mapping of domains. There is a range

in perception when a metaphor, for example, is particularly good. This involves the degree of similarity or dissimilarity between the source and target domains (Tourangeau and Sternberg 1982: 203–44). The domains cannot be too similar, otherwise they would not make sense, as in 'marmalade is jam'. Likewise, if they are too dissimilar, a great deal of interpretation is needed to try and work out the sense of the metaphor: 'her cheeks were typewriters' or 'his feet were stars'. An in-between stage thereby produces the best effect. 'Life is a subway train' in which a logical parallel can be made between the journey of a life and a train, would make a more fitting metaphor than those in the other expressions (Aitchison 1989: 146).

The selection of words in connection with the perception of a particular concept can vary according to how appropriate the corresponding lexical item may be. This may occur in the perception of literal meaning but is especially the case with figurative mapping procedures.

At this point, the arguments raised so far suggest that thought has a considerable influence on the types of words we select. This is indeed likely to be the case but, at the same time, could the reverse be true? Is our selection of a particular word going to influence how we think?

Theoretically, there seems to be more than one situation possible. Imagine there was a popular ice-cream with the trade name 'Iceberg'. When the word 'iceberg' comes to mind while looking at clouds, it may subsequently lead on to the trade name and thoughts of ice cream. At a deeper linguistic level, another plausible scenario is that linguistic structures, as in the case of syntactic, phonological or semantic features of similar lexemes, could actually influence the way we think.

2.3 The impact of language on thought

Since very early times, the existence of language has appeared to have an effect on the way we think or how we communicate our ideas. The existence of writing has apparently had an effect on art forms in ancient Middle Eastern pottery. In other words, language has shaped art forms:

> Geometric designs of repeated animal and human figures are typical of prehistoric painted potteries in the Middle East of the seventh millenium BC, whereas narrative scenes occur on potteries after the introduction of writing.
>
> (Schmandt-Besserat 2007: 15)

The fact that humans were able to write down their ideas extended their depiction of human activities in visual art. In more modern times, the whole question has involved the aspect of linguistic relativity. This has been the subject of much discussion since various hypotheses were put forward by the linguist Benjamin Whorf in the 1950s. Such theories claimed that language did indeed have a considerable impact on the way we think. Whorf, who examined North American Indian languages such as Hopi, discovered that these languages have a completely different way of expressing time and space as compared to European languages:

> After long and careful study and analysis, the Hopi language is seen to contain no words, grammatical forms, constructions or expressions that refer directly to what we call 'time', or to past, present, or future, or to enduring or lasting, or to motion as kinematic rather than dynamic (i.e. as a continuous translation in space and time rather than as an exhibition of dynamic effort in a certain process), or that even refer to space in such a way as to exclude that element of extension or existence that we call 'time', and so by implication leave a residue that could be referred to as 'time'. Hence, the Hopi language contains no reference to 'time', either explicit or implicit.
>
> (Whorf 1956: 57–8)

Although Whorf suggests that Hopi is capable of expressing all forms of phenomena observable in the environment, the conclusion is that the structure of the language must be involved in the different forms of conceptualisation that exist:

> This study shows that the forms of a person's thoughts are controlled by inexorable laws of patterns of which he is unconscious. These patterns are the unperceived intricate systematizations of his own language – shown readily enough by a candid comparison and contrast with other languages, especially those of a different linguistic family.
>
> (Whorf 1956: 252)

It should be pointed out that Whorf's theories on time in Hopi have been the subject of criticism and dismissed by many subsequent scholars. However, it has also been suggested that two interpretations of his hypotheses are possible: a strong and a weak version. The former would claim that language *determines* the way we think and the latter that it *influences* our thoughts. Some linguists feel that the strong version

would make it impossible to learn foreign languages but that a weak version may be feasible with additional research into the subject (Kövecses 2006: 34ff., 322ff.)

Other scholars also suggest a difference between the two versions. Boroditsky (2001: 1–22) estimates that one's native language can play an important role in shaping habitual thought in, for example, the way people think about time. This would, however, exclude the idea that language *determines* thought processes according to the strong Whorfian hypothesis. In experiments involving English and Mandarin Chinese, it was found that the two languages reflect different spatial orientation regarding the ways their speakers conceptualise time: English embodies time along a horizontal axis and Mandarin along a vertical one. One experiment showed that a chronological order in time, such as the order of months in the year, was conceptualised much more quickly in the case of Chinese speakers if they had just seen a vertical display of objects rather than a horizontal one, and that the opposite was true for English speakers. A number of other similar types of experiments confirmed this finding.

Similarly, Gennari et al. (2002: 49–79) discovered that language-specific regularities could mediate a speaker's performance in tasks involving recognition memory and similarity judgements. In tests of motion events performed on English and Spanish speakers, comparisons were made between the two languages regarding their linguistic descriptions concerning the two non-linguistic tasks of recognition and similarity. Participants encoded the motion events while describing them verbally or not. Although language did not play a role in some of the tasks using recognition, there did appear to be a linguistic effect in the similarity tasks performed after verbal encoding. This effect seemed to follow language-specific patterns.

2.4 Syntactic influence of language

Specific aspects of linguistic structure may also influence conceptualisation. Other similar studies of comparison, as discussed by Kövecses (2006), do actually put forward the idea that the syntax of the language we use could influence our thinking (Lucy 1992; 1996). These studies, carried out on American Indian languages such as Yucatec Maya (Mexico), point to the fact that speakers of the language are sensitive to certain grammatical features that do not have the same importance to speakers of English. One such feature concerns the plural markers of nouns. In English, count nouns have a plural ending in comparison

to mass nouns which are not marked. Maya has a plural marking that is optional and, if it is marked, it only occurs in animate count nouns. Cognitive experiments involving complex pictures revealed that the two speaker groups were sensitive to the number of objects in accordance with their respective syntactic patterns. English speakers were sensitive to numbers for animate concepts but not for substances. On the other hand, Mayan speakers were sensitive to number only for animate entities.

Similar cognitive tests have also been applied to European languages. One such experiment involved German and Spanish with the aim of trying to find out if the gender of nouns in these languages would actually influence the way speakers symbolised the concepts in question (Boroditsky et al. 2003). The result was that speakers conjured up 'masculine' adjectives for nouns with masculine gender and vice versa for female gender. If we take a noun such as 'key' in German, which has masculine gender (*der Schlüssel*), speakers thought of related attributes such as 'heavy', 'jagged' or 'serrated'. Spanish speakers, on the other hand, chose different sets of symbols such as 'golden', 'intricate' and 'little' for the feminine gender of Spanish *la clave*. The reverse occurred for opposite genders between the languages. The feminine gender of German *die Brücke* (bridge) evoked adjectives such as elegance, fragility and peace whereas masculine *el puente* for the same concept in Spanish embodied notions of danger, strength and length.

These studies would claim that grammatical structures can, to some extent, influence the way we think and the kind of analogies we may make. However, a diachronic viewpoint shows that genders can fluctuate considerably through time. For example, it might be argued that it was probably the symbolisation of objects in the past that determined grammatical gender in the first place, that is to say that thought originally influenced language even if the reverse is true at a later historical stage. This is a very complex and speculative area since the gender of nouns is often extremely mixed. If we take basic concepts such as the sun and moon, they also have contrasting genders in German – *die Sonne* (feminine) – and Spanish – *el sol* (masculine). However, if the etymology of 'sun' in German is taken into consideration, we see that it was masculine in Old High German *sunno* and Middle High German *sunne* (Drodowski et al. 1963). This might suggest that external cultural factors influence the diachronic development of gender in lexis.

According to Chevalier and Gheerbrant (1982: 891–5), the gender of the sun was feminine in all early forms of Indo-European. Its mythological personification in Old Irish *Lug* (literally 'luminous'), which

symbolised everything that was beautiful and magnificent, is an example of an ancient feminine form. Why did medieval German adopt a masculine gender from a presumably feminine Indo-European or proto-Germanic form before becoming feminine again? Was there a change to a masculine form of symbolising the sun in the culture at that time?

These are difficult questions to answer without further research into the symbolism portrayed in historical texts at specific points in time. It seems likely, however, that changing cultures had a huge impact on language, rather than the other way around. Such cultural diversity can be seen in a comparative approach involving different civilisations. Other language groups show distinct contrasts, such as the sun-moon dual form symbolising masculinity and femininity, respectively, in pre-Columbian cultures of Latin America. The Aztecs, for example, sacrificed men to the sun and women to the moon (Soustelle 1955). It is likely, therefore, that such customs would influence the structure of the language used rather than the structure influencing customs.

Some cognitive grammarians tend to feel, in fact, that the influence of language on thought is very limited (Langacker 1991: 12ff.) It could be argued that certain grammatical and lexical structures can modify the viewer's relationship to a concept, as in the following example:

The clock is on the table
The clock is lying on the table
The clock is resting on the table
The table is supporting the clock

(Langacker 1987: 110–11)

Different aspects of the same scene are emphasised according to the viewpoint of the perceiver, whether it is the alignment along the horizontal axis of the table (lying), the static relationship of the locative relationship (resting) or the resistance of the table to the gravitational force exerted on the clock (supporting).

Although grammatical structures emphasise these different points of view, it could nevertheless be imagined that the perceiver's thoughts modified the emphasis concerned and that the corresponding language structures were accessed after perception. Whichever way it is viewed, the general trend of opinion among cognitive linguists is that thought must have a considerably larger influence on conceptual mapping than syntax. According to this view, it would appear more logical to assume that all our means of sensory perception tend to be expressed in language according to the syntactic structures available to us.

2.5 The influence of phonology and polysemy

There are, however, other areas of linguistic structure which must influence mapping as far as choice and the innovative aspects of linguistic items are concerned. The case of phonology is clearly an example in the writing of poetry. To continue with the 'iceberg' example, we can see that the adjectives applied to the iceberg image in the following poem have been chosen for their similar pronunciation:

> … In a borealic iceberg came Victoria; she
> knew Prince Albert's tall memorial took the colours of
> the floreal
> and the borealic iceberg
>
> (Edith Sitwell: *Hornpipe*, in Roberts 1965: 208)

Semantically, the two adjectives make sense in that the iceberg comes from the polar regions (borealic) and might have ice forms in the shapes of flowers (floreal). However, a major reason for the choice of the two items, which was probably floreal after borealic, is the effect of phonetic structures. The item 'memorial' may also have an effect on 'floreal' but whatever was in the poet's mind, the metaphor 'floreal' must have been chosen to fit in phonetically with either or both of the other two words in the sentence.

Another case of semantic influence is polysemy, as when mapping involves puns and polysemous structures of the same lexeme. The lexico-semantic structure of words helps create new mapping processes. Very often, puns involve literal, rather than figurative meaning, whereby two literal senses of the same word or its morphological variants (or a similar-sounding word) produce a comic or ironic effect (OED):

> The peasants are revolting (revolution versus disgust)
> She told the child to try not to be so trying (attempt versus irritating)
> Seven days without water make one weak (weak versus week)

Punning can also involve figurative senses and may require significant knowledge of the polysemy involved in order for the pun to work well. This is especially the case for the interpretation of puns in older texts. Good illustrations can be found in the works of Shakespeare who often made extensive use of puns, as in the following example of the analogy 'fine' with concepts such as 'dirt'. Hamlet uses a quadruple application of the word 'fine' in the following setting:

> Is this the fine of his fines, and the recovery of his recoveries, to have his fine pate full of fine dirt?
>
> (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*: V.i.106–8)

Hamlet sees a skull in the earth of a graveyard and speculates on whether or not it belonged to a lawyer. With this information, the 'fine pate full of fine dirt' becomes clear to a modern English reader. However, further knowledge is required concerning 'fine of his fines' in which the word can mean both 'outcome' and 'legal action'. The full meaning would then be interpreted as: 'is the outcome of his legal action to have his skull full of dirt?' The multiple punning of 'fine' has thus led to ironic mapping in, for example, the 'fine dirt' concept.

The examples discussed above are indeed evidence for the fact that the different structures in a language can have a certain amount of influence, albeit limited, on conceptual mapping. Many linguists today, however, and particularly in the cognitive field, would suggest that the main source of mapping is in the mind. We could sum up by suggesting, as illustrated in Figure 2.3, that thought has more influence on language rather than the other way around.

Once mapping becomes a part of language, however, different linguistic transformations start taking place. The following discussion will look at how mapping evolves in linguistic structures from a cross-language point of view.

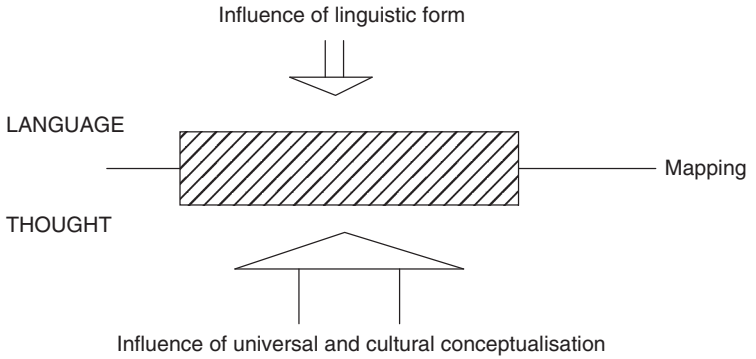


Figure 2.3 Weighting of language and thought on mapping processes according to a cognitive view

2.6 Linguistic transformations at the thought/language interface

Most concepts, if not all, have some kind of word or linguistic referent associated with them. In addition, the linguistic referent is composed of different features that convey elements of meaning: the phoneme, the morpheme, syntactic features, the choice of a lexeme and its combinations and so on. These form fixed parts of language structure at a given point in time but tend to change as time goes by.

We will take up again the case of the swastika symbol discussed in the last chapter and look at its linguistic referents in the light of different languages. The word 'swastika' has not always been in use in English. In fact, until 1871, the Greek term *gammadion* was used. This derives from the Greek letter *gamma*, 'Γ', denoting 'G'. It can be seen that the appearance of this letter is analogous to the hooked lines on the swastika cross.

The interface of this term has therefore gone through some interesting changes. Not only has the sign changed its form of conceptual representation in the Saussurean 'signifier/signified' relationship, that is, GOOD LUCK > NATIONAL SOCIALISM, it has also undergone a double form of mutation due to the changing lexemes *gammadion* > *swastika*. Other metaphorical labels were also applied later, particularly during the Second World War. Bishop Fulton J. Sheen referred to it as a 'double cross' in his British radio programme *Catholic Hour* (6 April 1941) and the term has been used a number of times since. He implied that siding with fascism was a form of 'double-crossing' Christianity, with a play on words relating to the cross pictograms used in both domains.

The present English term comes from the Sanskrit *svastika* as a direct loan although it is unclear when it came into the language and it might have been introduced several times. The Greek term *gammadion* is now, however, obsolescent. There has been no substantial linguistic change in the structure of this item since it was first loaned, apart from a small phonological shift in the second phoneme. Etymologically, it has therefore remained linguistically cognate with the original Sanskrit.

Semantically, the different linguistic components of the lexeme originally meaning good luck, as illustrated in the coin example in the last chapter, is attested by philological investigations into other European languages. The Sanskrit morpheme *sv-* is cognate with Greek εμ, denoting 'good' and the *asti* morpheme is cognate with the Romance copula 'to be', (as in Spanish *estar*), from Indo-European **hes-*. This would lead

to the interpretation of the 'state of being good'. The *ka* suffix in this case represents a diminutive.

The item in English has remained as a noun with no morpho-syntactic changes. Any verbal phrases, for example, require paraphrases incorporating additional verbs such as 'were daubed', 'drawn' and so on, as in:

(a) Swastikas were daubed on the driveway of a Conservative synagogue in suburban Philadelphia
(b) Two swastikas drawn in motor oil were discovered last Friday on the pavement at Beth Am Israel in Penn Valley, Pa.

(JTA 2008)

Theoretically, a neologism could be developed as in 'they *swastika'd* the synagogue' but, in practice, this does not appear to have happened. One of the reasons may be that the loan does not lend itself easily to further morphological extension in English.

In French, however, the linguistic referent, *croix gammée* (literally: 'gamma'd cross'), is a calque from the Greek. Etymologically, the English and French referents have different linguistic origins; the former is cognate with Sanskrit and the latter is partially (the morpheme *gamma*) cognate with the Greek original. There is a syntactic change involving a noun and adjective but no morpho-syntactic development as in verbalisation, for example. Like English, it requires verbal phrases as in:

Half a dozen swastikas were drawn on several columns of the Saint Denis basilica in the night from Friday to Saturday
(*Une demi-douzaine de croix gammées ont été dessinées dans la nuit de vendredi à samedi sur plusieurs colonnes de la basilique de Saint Denis*)

(TF1 online; no longer accessible)

German represents another case of linguistic mutation. An internal word formation (*Hakenkreuz*: 'hooked cross'), is a fully integrated syntactic structure in the German language. The German word for hooks has been substituted for the Greek letter. This has lent itself to further morphological development, either literally or together with metaphorisation: *hakenkreuzigen* ('to swastika' someone or something).

This can be seen in the following caption to a cartoon by Götz Wiedenroth in the German press (15 April 2007; obtainable by mailing info@weidenroth-karikatur.de) referring to a speech made by the

Minister-President of the state of Badenwürttemburg, Günter Oettinger of the conservative CDU, on the occasion of the funeral of a former President of Badenwürttemburg, Hans Filbinger. Although Filbinger had been accused of participating as a judge and passing death sentences during the Nazi regime, Oettinger claimed that his predecessor had been an opponent of the regime. This provoked a reaction from the opposition party, the SPD (social democrats), and the result was the following caption to the cartoon:

> The SPD wants to 'swastika' Oettinger – but they have had no reply from Günter
> (*SPD will Oettinger hakenkreuzigen – nur von ihrem Günter hört man nichts*)

The metaphorisation process here suggests that the verbal extension in the German equivalent of 'swastika' is to associate Oetinger with the Nazi regime by linking him with the attempt to free Filbinger from guilt: TO ASSOCIATE WITH NATIONAL SOCIALISM = TO SWASTIKA.

The result is that when a word is attached to a concept, it may be represented in different linguistic forms. Equally, the conceptual component at the interface may undergo different variations. This may occur with or without changes in linguistic structure. To illustrate this particular point, we will look at two types of conceptual extension: (a) a process we shall refer to as extension in the mapping of one specific lexical item and (b) extension involving large-scale changes in sentence or phrase structures. We shall discuss the latter in relation to scenarios and phraseological extension.

2.7 Conceptual extension in single lexical items

The process of conceptual extension is similar to that of conceptual networking in diachronic metaphor (Trim 2007). The process will be discussed in more detail below (section 4.8. in Chapter 4) in relation to evolutionary processes on the time scale. Synchronically, the basic principle is that concepts are linked together in networks that may occur in patterns associated with a central concept or along the lines of scenarios that involve large amounts of textual information. In the latter case, particularly extensive metaphor networks may be involved.

One network based on a central concept involves the words 'computer virus'. It can be imagined that the whole field of related medical terminology has also been used in computer viruses, such as disease,

infection, cure, incubation and so on, resulting in multiple polysemy. The item has been studied within different frameworks. One such study concerns English in relation to a cross-language approach in European languages (Humbley 2003: 199–212, referring to J. Damelincourt, *Les virus: une nouvelle forme de vie*, http://www.futura-sciences.com/decouvrir/d/dossier28-3.php). Damelincourt proposes eleven similarities between biological and computer viruses. Among these are, for example: a micro-organism containing its own genetic heritage (biological) versus a programme containing a self-replicating routine (IT); a virus that only attacks certain cells (biological) versus a virus that only attacks certain programmes (IT); a virus that reproduces by replicating its genetic code in other cells versus one that replicates its code in other programs, and so on. The result is that the IT field contains the same extensive network of metaphoric viruses as literal viruses in the medical field.

2.8 Conceptual extension in lengthy linguistic structures

Conceptual extensions that go beyond single lexical items can involve linguistic structures in lengthy scenarios which involve the writing of extensive texts. It can also involve more fixed linguistic structures as in phraseology. The first type is discussed in detail in Lakoff (1987). We saw at the beginning of Chapter 1 that personification in the cocaine metaphor could develop into an elaborate setting and storyline. Storylines may also develop into lengthy allegories that represent the central theme of a book. Cognitive linguists have suggested different forms of scenarios. One that has often been discussed is love. According to Kövecses (1988: 56–83), an ideal model of love in Western society embodies metaphors based on romantic love:

> Step 1: True love comes along – LOVE = UNITY (She has found Mr Right)
> Step 2: Intensity of love – LOVE = MELT (She just melted when he looked at her)
> Step 3: Lack of control – LOVE = HYPNOSIS (He had her hypnotised)
> Step 4: Happiness – LOVE = UP (She had been high on love for weeks)

Here, the underlying conceptual metaphors produce the type of linguistic examples found in parentheses and could thus develop a

storyline about romantic love. This also involves conceptual networking but with related extensions in metaphors and a variety of linguistic expressions: Mr Right; to melt; to hypnotise; to be high on love. The result is that whether our topic is love, war, or any other subject, a vast number of linguistic expressions result from the same scenario. If conceptual metaphors remain the same on the diachronic scale, these linguistic metaphors are often recreated throughout history.

Phraseology is somewhat more complex. Extrapolation, as the result of obscure origins or cultural features, is a case in point. Dictionary attestations offer examples which are more or less modern or archaic as the case may be: (a) 'a rolling stone gathers no moss'; (b) 'make hay while the sun shines'; (c) 'a lot of water has flowed under the bridge' and so on. A speaker of a language may or may not know the meaning of a particular idiom and each expression has its own history. If the expression is not known, it may be more or less easy to extrapolate according to the extent to which specific cultural aspects of the expression are known. Some interpretations are more obvious than others and this may very well have an effect on whether such mappings can be conceptually extended. We will take a brief look at the histories of the expressions outlined above.

These particular proverbs are generally well known to native speakers. However, (a) might be objectively more difficult to interpret than (b) or (c), if the item is not known to certain foreign learners. Indeed, the actual root meaning of (a) is open to more interpretation, a fact that can be seen in its history. It originated in Antiquity (one of the common Latin forms being *saxum volutum non obducitur musco*) and, according to most dictionaries, its original sense refers to the fact that people who keep moving do not generally manage to acquire wealth or material possessions. This can also be attested in certain European languages, such as Modern French which has exactly the same expression (*pierre qui roule n'amasse pas mousse*). In Modern English, the sense has tended to change towards the fact that a person who keeps moving avoids responsibilities and cares. In the eyes of some, this is therefore a positive proverb since a person who moves around does not have worries. In cognitivist terms, the underlying conceptual metaphors embodied in the proverb would be: NOMADIC LIFESTYLE = ROLLING STONE and WORRIES = MOSS.

The expression (b) is related to a period when larger sections of the population were engaged in agriculture and hay-making was an annual task, but the meaning is still relevant: be productive while the opportunity is there. Similar historical proverbs include: 'strike while the iron is hot', referring to the commonplace industry of forging iron and having much the same sense. We may therefore extrapolate conceptual

metaphors from the proverbial structure of the first example in the form of PRODUCTIVITY = HAY and OPPORTUNITY = SUNSHINE.

The meaning of (c) would relate to the fact that many events have taken place in the recent past, represented by the conceptual metaphors: MANY EVENTS = MUCH WATER and PASSING OF TIME = BRIDGE.

If the general meanings of these expressions are known, do their underlying conceptual metaphors vary in their potential conceptual extension? The question is a difficult one to answer but it could be argued as noted above that (a) may be more difficult to extend than (b) or (c). The conceptual metaphors relating to hay, sunshine, water and bridge are clearer in their interpretation. The expressions could be transformed into 'make money while the sun shines' or 'a lot of blood has flowed under the bridge'. The first is therefore a change from productivity to money and the second from simply events to terrible events.

In each case, however, they involve changes to linguistic structures, which are easier to define in terms of cohesive phraseological groups in a language, rather than phonemic, morphemic or lexical components of single linguistic forms. In addition, these extensions to traditional dictionary attestations may be much more extensive in discourse.

Some interesting findings in this field have come out of research undertaken by Naciscione (2003). The term she uses for this category of mapping is 'phraseological unit' (PU), a term she observes has often been referred to as 'dead' or 'cliché' in traditional approaches. However, as she points out, some dictionaries do now incorporate the extended uses of PUs in their examples from natural language. Such is the case of 'to slip on a banana skin' with the root meaning of 'making mistakes':

> There is nothing compared with the criticism the president gets from those major insiders who watch in horrified fascination as he lurches from one banana peel to another.
>
> *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms* (1995)

Whole sections of the PU may be substituted in innovative ways. Such extensions in conceptualisation, cited by Naciscione (2003), appear in literary works such as *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (Fowles 1969). The root meaning of the idiom, 'an apple a day keeps the doctor away' (good for your health), has been instantiated with the meaning: an act of sex is good for your health:

> We are not so frustrated as Victorians? Perhaps. But if you can only enjoy one apple a day, there's a great deal to be said against living

> in an orchard of the wretched things; you might even find apples sweeter if you are allowed only one a week.
>
> (Fowles 1969: 213)

Fowles is apparently implying here that the Victorians possibly experienced a keener, because less frequent, sexual pleasure than at the present day. The reference to an apple is, of course, also a conscious or unconscious association with the metaphoric meaning of the concept relating to human sexuality, as in the biblical reference of 'the first sin' committed by Adam and Eve. This is a good illustration of how discourse may extend the same analogy from a basic phraseological unit to an open-ended series of associations.

The conclusion of this section is that, in a process of related ideas, thought and language components can change radically in relation to each other. Conceptualisation relating to specific linguistic structures may be extended in many different ways while linguistic forms relating to a specific concept can change on different levels such as in morpho-syntax, lexicology and so on.

2.9 The diachronic interface and historical linguistics

So far, we have been looking at ways in which the linguistic and conceptual components might influence each other at their interface and how they might subsequently change in relation to each other. At this stage, we need to see if diachronic models can combine both components. In other words, do we wish to include linguistic structure in the formulation of diachronic theories on conceptual mapping?

The answer to this question is probably that it is desirable if a global picture of language evolution and its conceptual mappings is an objective. The problem is that the formulation of diachronic trends in conceptualisation is already a complex area; the inclusion of linguistic changes can make theories significantly more complex. However, since language is an obvious parameter in the models under discussion, a preliminary attempt will be made here to include language structures to see how figurative senses change according to their linguistic form. The aim of this attempt is to discuss the problems involved rather than to present a definitive model.

We have seen several examples of the ways in which both conceptual structures and the linguistic form of their corresponding words change through time. Although each component may be analysed separately, it is, nevertheless, a daunting task to attempt to combine them

in a united model of language evolution. Two questions arise here: first, how can diachronic patterns of both components be formulated? And, second, in line with the debate above on mutual influence at the thought/language interface, could language also influence conceptual structures diachronically?

To answer the latter question fully equally needs a great deal of further research. As in the studies above on the gender of nouns and so on, there might be a certain input from language on the evolution of semantic structures. This effect can, however, be observed in the semantic change of literal meaning. An onomatopoeic example illustrates how this operates.

It seems that the phoneme 's' in certain examples of word-initial position in the history of English has a meaning related to a concept that could be defined very broadly as the 'movement of air in the nose'. The basic lexeme of 'nose', OE. *nosu*, attached the phoneme in initial position for a variety of different meanings, for example, 'snivel' and 'sniff' from OE. *snyffan*. Variants of phonetic change, with the same original meaning of 'movement of air in the nose', developed other variants in semantic extension: 'snout' (the nose of an animal) from OE. *snyten* (to clear the nose). While, according to the ODEE (Hoad 1993), the 's' phoneme may have been the result of the imitation of sound, that is, it may be onomatopoeic, it may also involve phonemic change involving onomatopoeia, for example, Modern English 'sneeze' came from OE. *fnesen*, incorporating a shift in fricatives.

However, figurative language would require further study on this type of issue. We can conclude at this point that a model formulating diachronic changes in both a conceptual and linguistic metaphor could theoretically combine three separate dimensions: the first entails the diachronic path of conceptual mapping alone; the second would combine linguistic form detailing how language structures may transform figurative structures; the third would combine 'simply' diachronic changes in the linguistic form of a figurative item such as a conceptual metaphor.

The first may be the easiest: an outline of this approach can be seen in the study of love metaphors in Trim (2007). The second requires more findings. Traugott and Dasher's theories (2002) on grammaticalisation and unidirectional change outlined in this section below ideally need to be expanded. Morphological evolution, as in verbal suffixes such as *-ify* in English or *-igen* in German (as in the swastika metaphorisation illustrated above), equally requires more data. The example of 'nose' above also raises the question whether linguistic structure

involves semantic change in literal meaning rather than metaphorisation. The third approach requires an in-depth knowledge of historical linguistics. Unless a revolutionary approach to historical linguistics can be devised, any formulation of language change depends, to a certain extent, on foregoing theories in historical linguistics generally. The following discussion will thus highlight the difficulties of formulating a diachronic model combining the conceptual and linguistic components. In this particular case, the first and third approaches will be adopted.

As suggested, a certain knowledge of historical linguistics is required to combine both components. Schools of thought on this discipline have, indeed, traditionally focused on the linguistic referent alone, or the Saussurean 'signifier'. They have involved relatively little mention of the semantic content of language. In addition, most of the semantic content has dealt with literal rather than figurative meaning. The focus of linguistic change has been principally on the language components of phonology, syntax and morpho-syntactic aspects of lexicology.

Theoretical approaches in linguistic change have ranged from the neogrammarian model (Osthoff and Brugmann 1878; Delbrück 1919) through the structuralist model developed in Europe by de Saussure and the Prague School as well as the Bloomfieldians in America (see Bloomfield 1933) to the transformational-generative model in the 1960s and 1970s (King 1967; Chomsky and Halle 1968). The latter period also saw the development of theories in systemic functional linguistics (Halliday 1973) that represented a competing viewpoint to Chomsky's work. The focus of these theories fell on naturally occurring language rather than on the formal properties of generativist universals. Work on historical linguistics within this particular framework was carried out by Samuels (1972).

In the 1970s and 1980s approaches to diachronic studies were examined in relation to the fast-developing field of sociolinguistics, and the role of language contact was subsequently applied to these theories of language change (see Bynon 1977, for an overview of these approaches, including pidginisation and creolisation).

There were some attempts at formulating principals of change (mainly in the form of literal meaning) as a part of diachronic studies within the structuralist school (Ullman 1957; 1962). In synchronic and diachronic studies of the generativist school, some studies were devoted to semantics but they tended to provoke considerable controversy among generativists themselves.

Within this framework, Katz and Postal (1964) proposed that all semantic interpretation, in generativist terms, applies to the deep structure of the model before the application of transformations and that, as a result, all transformations are meaning-preserving. Jackendoff (1972) contested this view by claiming that syntactic structures contain an autonomous semantic component and that a generative grammar had five major components: the lexicon, the base component, the transformational component, the phonological component and the semantic component.

Systemic functional linguistics also witnessed an interest in the historical approach and Samuels (1972) carried out extensive research on the history of the English language including in-depth studies of British English dialects. Within a global system of language, Samuels claims that there are three major components which assist in change: phonology, grammar and lexis. These interact with each other, as well as with a spoken chain which, in turn, is influenced by extralinguistic and extrasystemic factors (1972: 141). His definition of spoken chain refers to the total utterances of a given group or community over a limited period and the system as the total of accepted and intelligible forms in the same group and period. From a diachronic point of view, the spoken chain contains the whole range of potential alterations and innovations that occur within the internal dimension of the language structure. The extralinguistic or extrasystemic components are therefore innovative sources that are external to the system.

The variety of approaches highlights the extent to which the definition of processes relating to categories can vary. Samuels' definition of the grammar component does not fundamentally involve discussion on change in linguistic form but, rather, shifts such as *iterative* > *durative* and so on. He also includes morpho-syntax in the category of lexis to which he adds features such as affixation. Syntactic change or changes in lexemes would therefore be allotted to the same category of lexis.

From a practical point of view, these traditional approaches offered the following findings. A typical objective of the neogrammarian school was to base phonological evolution on the continuity of cognate structures deriving from a common origin. The idea was therefore to see how a particular linguistic form varied throughout its history. The focus was on common etymologies within the framework of a family-tree paradigm that, within Indo-European languages, could be traced to a common PIE (Proto-Indo-European) base. Structuralist theories, which

in many ways had a parallel with systemics, founded language change on features relating to a system as a whole. In this respect, phonological changes such as the great vowel shift between Middle and Modern English were observed within the context of the complete set of long vowels that shifted in a chain reaction between the period of Chaucer and the eighteenth century. Generative change focused on the presence or absence of certain attributes in the description of a specific structure such as +nasal, –tense and so on in phonology. This model was devised within the framework of deep and surface structure of generativist theory.

It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that diachronic studies, within a cognitive linguistic framework, started making advanced investigations into conceptual mapping and linguistic components such as lexis and morpho-syntax. Sweetser (1990) developed theories on the regularity of change such as certain types of sensory perception having regular mappings in the history of Indo-European languages: physical sight maps onto knowledge or understanding ('I see' > 'I understand') while hearing maps onto obedience ('I hear' > 'I heed'). Traugott (1985) and Traugott and Dasher (2002), in their theories of grammaticalisation, formed theories of unidirectional change: DEONTIC conceptual structures become EPISTEMIC (for example, 'They *must* be married': obligation > verification).

We would claim here that all approaches have valid points to make in language change. Much depends on the particular aspect of investigation and how the information is presented. Some approaches tend to present information in a rather opaque way, even though scientifically accurate. At the same time, it is often difficult for any of them to present a global view of all features. This is particularly the case of meaning change. A number of aspects from different disciplines will be included here in relation to models developed within a cognitive framework. The following discussion will attempt to give an overview of possible diachronic combinations relating to both conceptual and linguistic components. The former will be referred to as CM (conceptual mapping) and the latter as LF (linguistic form). Due to the complexity of combinations which would be possible in such formulae and the validity of its presentation, only a brief outline of the basic principles will be given.

Since the cross pictogram will be used in the discussion of war rhetoric in Part III, and a certain amount of linguistic information on this item has already been analysed, it will again be taken as an example of possible combinations. A brief overview of the swastika symbol discussed above reveals a number of CM/LF combinations.

Diachronically, the CM component has had at least two consecutive variants in English, good luck and German national socialism. In addition, it has had at least two linguistic referents, 'gammadion' and 'swastika'. The diachronic interface of swastika symbolism could then be represented as CM1 + LF1 > CM2 + LF2, in which consecutive figures can represent consecutive variants of the conceptual mapping. This formula would represent a basic diachronic CM/LF path. If there is diachronic overlapping of the component combinations, other formulae would be needed to give a precise path in its evolution. For example, if the national socialism mapping overlapped onto the first linguistic referent, the path would be: CM1 + LF1 > CM2 + LF1 > CM2 + LF2.

In addition, each component has variants within its own structure with regard to diachronic paths. The CM path may be monosemous, polysemous, involve obsolescence or, in contrast, involve multiple innovation through networking. The LF path may involve changes in phonology, orthography, lexis, morpho-syntax and complex phrasal structures, as well as showing cognate or non-cognate evolutionary patterns in its etymology. Furthermore, the two components vary across languages. We have seen in the three languages discussed above that the present-day lexical referent in the swastika sign has undergone the following linguistic changes:

English: phonological change (slight), cognate etymology with the original Sanskrit
French: lexical (calque) with morpho-syntactic changes, partial cognate etymology from a Greek source
German: lexical, morpho-syntactic extensions, non-cognate etymological forms

Delving into the neogrammarian model, a number of features appear from this list, one of which is the distinction between cognate and non-cognate evolution. This is an important distinction if we wish to differentiate continuity and discontinuity in the LF component. If two items are cognate, they come from the same linguistic origin, even if they have passed through several languages via borrowing and have undergone a considerable amount of morpho-syntactic change. Very frequently, meaning can change in different ways in cognate items, leading to the 'false friends' category. The word 'terrible' in English does not always have the same meaning as its French counterpart. Making the distinction is not always an easy task and is dependent on the available etymological information. Homonomy and polysemy

may also arise from non-cognate forms. However, a number of relevant points to this effect may be drawn up in the theoretical models outlined below. We shall first look at this aspect of evolutionary continuity.

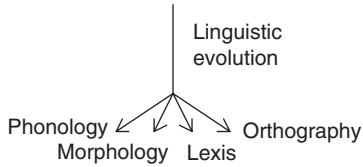
2.10 Diachronic continuity in conceptual and linguistic components

In Figure 2.4 we have four possible scenarios of linguistic and conceptual continuity/discontinuity in language evolution. In (a), linguistic structures continue with the same etymological origins. They can, however, change phonologically, morphologically and so on within their cognate origins. Linguistic components thus vary through time, either changing individually or simultaneously. For example, the vowel phoneme /i:/ in Middle English *dri* changed phonologically and orthographically to /ai/(y), as in Modern English 'dry'.

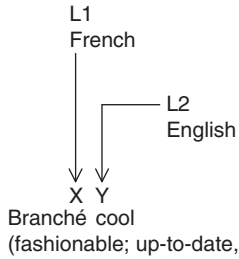
In (b) a synonymous situation arises in non-cognate linguistic additions to a cognate lexical stock. In modern French, slang terms for 'fashionable' include the French term *branché* (the metaphoric image of branches being equated with the idea of being connected to a fashion), as in the metonymic structure *brancher* (to plug in). This lexeme is cognate with Latinate origins: Latin *branca* (a member such as leg or foot associated with a main body due to conceptual mapping between the forms of a tree and human body). At the same time, the concept of fashionable has acquired a non-cognate linguistic structure from English 'cool', of Germanic origin (> Old English *colian*). The metaphor 'cool' in French is therefore linguistically non-cognate in the etymology of the French lexicon.

With regard to conceptual continuity, the conceptual metaphor DRYNESS = DEFICIENCY in (c) has networked subsequent metaphors linked to the base concept, as in 'a dry subject' (deficient of interest) or 'dry humour' (deficient of emotion) (see Trim 2007 for more detail on this network). Consequently, this represents a form of historical conceptual continuity with a polysemous structure deriving from the same conceptual origins.

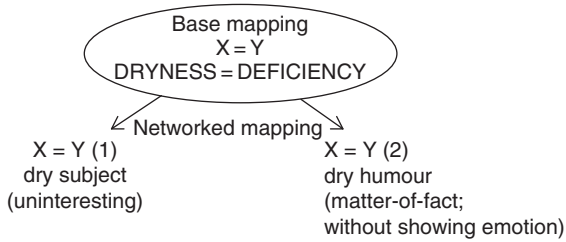
However, conceptual discontinuity can occur in the form of calques (d). One example is English 'green' (ecological), calqued from German. This calque was added to other standard attributes such as 'envy', introducing a radical conceptual innovation to the standard metaphoric stock of the colour in the history of English.



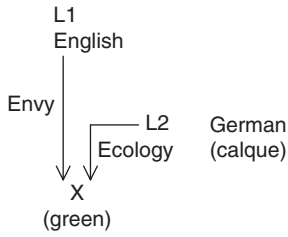
(a) Linguistic continuity (cognate structures)



(b) Linguistic discontinuity (synonymy in non-cognate structures)



(c) Conceptual continuity (polysemy from same conceptual origins)



(d) Conceptual discontinuity (polysemy from different conceptual origins)

Figure 2.4 Linguistic and conceptual continuity patterns

2.11 Combinations of features in diachronic conceptual mapping and linguistic form

The picture becomes more complex if we wish to combine all the major variants of conceptual and linguistic features at the interface. We shall propose here a primary categorisation feature in the form of semasiology and onomasiology, in accordance with structuralist terms developed by Weinreich (1958). Evolution in the CM and LF components basically reflects semasiological and onomasiological paths in a diachronic model. The former represents polysemous structures, the latter synonymy. In other words, evolution in semasiology can introduce different senses linked to one linguistic referent in the analysis of conceptual mapping; onomasiology concentrates on different linguistic referents related to one conceptual mapping. The two can then be combined into a formula which represents a joint CM/LF diachronic path.

A hypothetical model of basic principles is outlined in Figure 2.5. It proposes an overview of the main diachronic scenarios in the form of concentric time zones with the initial CM/LF interface in the first time zone (A) in the centre. The duration of time zones would fit the type of data being analysed in the model. Each time zone could refer to a period such as a generation, that is, relatively short-term or, on the other hand, longer periods of time in the history of a language. As in the studies discussed here, time zones tend to be long-term, such as Old, Middle

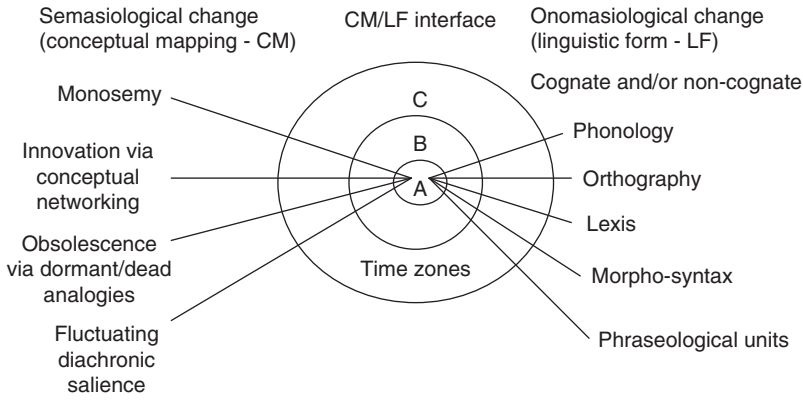


Figure 2.5 Major features of conceptual mapping and linguistic form at the diachronic interface

and Modern English. The left-hand side of the diagram involves semasiological, the right-hand side onomasiological, shifts, each comprising different diachronic routes.

We have seen so far that basic diachronic mapping may involve changes reflected in the simple paradigm CM1 > CM2. Conceptual paths can also have a number of different structures via conceptual networking, such as monosemy on the one hand, or polysemy on the other; obsolescence may occur through dormancy or 'death' in mapping; and, finally, the issue of salience overrides all these factors.

At this point, if it were considered to be a viable exercise in explaining language evolution it would be feasible to construct theoretical models of the CM/LF interface along the time dimension. The problem here is that because of the large number of possible features that could change in both components, any formulation is likely to be complex and even rather opaque. One approach, for example, would be to create formulae similar to generativist lines that would incorporate all these features. However, the conceptual mapping component alone would involve lengthy formulae.

To give two examples, mapping in the monosemy path of the conceptual component incorporates one CM at any given point in time, even if the actual core concept is modified between time zones. This could be represented by the formula:

$$\text{(a) CM1} + \text{LF1} > \text{CM2 (MONO)} + \text{LF1}$$

in which the linguistic form, for argument's sake, remains the same. This is relatively simple but the next path of polysemy is much more complex. A polysemous structure involves multiple cases of innovation via a conceptual networking process. The original mapping is thereby extended into different clusters. A hypothetical combination may be:

$$\text{(b) CM1} + \text{CM1a} + \text{CM1b} + \text{LF1} > \text{CM1a} + \text{b} + \text{c} + \text{d} + \text{e (NET)}\ldots + \text{LF1}.$$

The small letters in the CMs represent items conceptually linked to the base mapping, as in the case of the computer virus. Many other combinations could be formulated according to the different conceptual paths involved. Together with the linguistic component, it would produce increasingly complex formulae to depict changing relations between the LF and CM components. The historical CM/LF interface could therefore be plotted theoretically but would be difficult to depict in a transparent way.

In conclusion, we have looked in this chapter at how thought and language meet in conceptual mapping. Some basic theoretical models have been proposed as to how the interface appears to evolve through time. However, a considerable amount of extra research would be needed to construct a viable CM/LF model. Our next step is to look at the third major parameter, that is, to see how universal trends may prolong the duration of mapping processes. In order to do so, we need to take a closer look at the nature of the conceptual systems within which language is situated.

Part II
Diachronic Conceptual Systems

This page intentionally left blank

3
Diachronic Universality

3.1 Anglo-Saxon images

If we go back in time to the Anglo-Saxon period, what kinds of mappings were used in the forms of language spoken so long ago? Some of the types of conceptual metaphors used were actually very similar to those of today. One semantic field that demonstrates this is the area of emotions and it can be seen that there are a number of remarkable parallels between older and more recent forms of English.

Studies have shown that the positive feeling of joy has been equated with upwards motion since the Old English period. Today, we can say 'my heart lifts with joy' and, in Old English, the different lexemes of joy were associated with *astigan* (to ascend) in the same way, in expressions such as: *blisse astigan, gefea astigan, wynsumnesse astigan*, all lexemes meaning 'joy ascends'. This would be based on the orientational conceptual metaphor: UP = GOOD FEELING. Likewise, there are a number of Old English expressions using the same lexemes for joy together with *gefyllan* (to fill), and meaning 'fill with joy': *mid blisse gefyllan, mid gefea gefyllan, mid wynsumnesse gefyllan* and so on. This would be based on the conceptual metaphor: BODY = CONTAINER FOR JOY (Fabiszak 1999: 133–46). Given the fact that these metaphors are well entrenched in Old English and have lasted until today, there is a strong case for positing diachronic universals in the history of English.

We shall now explore our third parameter in investigating diachronic patterns: the aspect of potential underlying universals along the time scale. These are either responsible for long-term paths in the life of specific mapping constructs or they keep appearing along regular lines in many different models. A number of cognitive linguists have proposed theories on features which may very well represent universal features. We have already suggested in Chapter 1 that certain image schemata

may indeed represent certain types of universal trends. These could involve features such as Lakoff's (1987) orientational metaphorical constructs or basic-level activities, events and so on. In other words, physiology plays a large role. The theme of universality in recent studies has largely been applied to a synchronic, cross-cultural framework, but to what extent are there parallels between synchronic and diachronic universal trends? The two dimensions are inextricably linked but the following discussions on diachronic conceptual systems suggest that, although there are some clear parallels, they do not always match up. Some models may appear to be universal on a synchronic level but not necessarily along the diachronic dimension.

3.2 Theories on universals

In this section, we will look at basic principles of embodiment as proposed in theories of universals. In Part IV below, we will make some revised observations of embodiment in the light of the historical mappings investigated in this study. This section will give a relatively brief introduction (supplementary details on proposals in universals can be found in Trim 2007: chapter 2). Moreover, ongoing research appears to reveal that cultural factors may have a larger impact on diachronic trends, particularly in conceptual analogies in the language itself and where more diverse cultures are compared.

A starting point is the expectation that, as human beings normally have similar experiences in the field of emotions, parallel mappings might form across different languages, at least at the conceptual metaphor level. For this reason, it is important to keep in mind the distinction between basic conceptual mapping in thought and its different variants that appear at the level of language. This corresponds roughly to the difference between the terms *conceptual metaphor* and *linguistic metaphor* in cognitive linguistics. Languages may have the same conceptual images but not the same linguistic expressions. On the basis of the CONTAINER image schema, one conceptual metaphor which Kövecses (2005: 39ff.) claims to have very strong universal characteristics across languages is THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER mapping structure. In English, related linguistic metaphors would be: 'you make my blood boil', 'simmer down!', 'let him stew' or 'he blew his top'. Studies of this conceptual metaphor in other non-related languages found that the same notion of pressure exists in Chinese (Yu 1995; 1998), Japanese (Matsuki 1995), Hungarian (Bokor 1997), Wolof (Munro 1991), Zulu (Taylor and Mbense 1998) and Polish (Micholajcuk 1998). Each language thus has the potential to produce different lexical

expressions along the lines of 'let him stew' in English, which may or may not have literal equivalents. However, they are all based on a common conceptual metaphor.

The ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER conceptual metaphor also matches up diachronically in English. In the Anglo-Saxon epic, *Beowulf*, the dragon in the story, known literally as a 'barrow-snake' in Old English, is 'swollen with rage' when it is disturbed while guarding its underground treasure:

> *waes ða gebolgen beorges hyrde*
> (by then the barrow-snake was swollen with rage)
> (*Beowulf*, l. 2304; trans. Chickering 1977)

The notion of bodily experience in the CONTAINER image, in which the body contains the emotions such as joy and anger, therefore seems to have lasted since the Old English period and could represent a diachronic universal. However, the implications of this term will be debated below. Furthermore, data from the histories of other languages would also be needed to correlate this evidence. It is definitely a trend in English but we shall also see in the next chapter that, even in English, there are a number of diachronic conceptual variations which can arise with physiological models.

In the 1990s, other constructs were included in universality (Lakoff 1990; 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1999), covering the synchronic dimension across languages. These are also well documented in Kövecses (2005). They include, apart from the emotions, models such as the 'Event Structure Metaphor', 'Inner Life', which deals with the self, and constructs involving time.

The first model (Lakoff 1990; 1993) involves different aspects of events such as state (they are *in* love), cause (the hit *sent* the crowd into a fury), action (we've taken the first *step*) or purpose (he finally *reached* his goals). Kövecses (2005: 43) suggests that this represents an interesting finding in universals since the model is less likely to be grounded in physiological causes, as appears to be the case of the emotions. The second model, outlined in Lakoff and Johnson (1999), is a SELF metaphor system dealing with a framework in which the self is the aspect of the person corresponding to the person's emotions, actions, and so on. The subject is understood metaphorically as a person: she *lost* herself in dancing; he *let* himself *go*; he was *in the grip of fear* (SELF-CONTROL IS OBJECT POSSESSION metaphors).

Kövecses (2005: 43ff.) demonstrates that such models may be observed in very different types of languages. An example here will be

given in relation to the third category of a suggested time universal. The concept of time is related to a position in front of or behind the speaker. The mapping procedures involve the following patterns:

The location of the observer	->	the present
The space in front of the observer	->	the future
The space behind the observer	->	the past

Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 140) termed this structure the TIME ORIENTATION metaphor and it is projected into linguistic metaphors such as: 'that's all behind us now', we're looking ahead to the future', and so on. Chinese has the same mapping procedures, according to studies by Yu (1998: 92–5):

quian-chen (previous/behind-dust/trace) 'past'
yan-xia (eye-below) 'at the moment; at present; now'
jiao-xia (foot-under) 'at present; now'
qian-tu (front/ahead-road) 'future; prospect'
qian-jing (front/ahead-scene/view) 'future; prospect; vista'

These mappings also translate linguistically into Hungarian expressions (Kövecses, 2005: 48) and the fact that these very different kinds of languages have the same system may indicate that there is indeed a form of synchronic universality in time orientation.

From a diachronic point of view, however, a great deal more data would be needed to test whether these more recent theories represent universals. In many ways, they are similar to the earlier physiological theories in that events, for example, fit into the CONTAINER metaphors outlined by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 29ff): *how did Jerry get out of washing the windows?* Furthermore, there are certain conceptual metaphors that appear to match up with the last three categories outlined above but which perhaps also overlap. Let us consider the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor mentioned in connection with Christianity in the 'Way of Life' sculpture in Chapter 1. It has a long history: Dante makes use of the metaphor and it can also be traced back to Antiquity:

> In the middle of life's road I found myself in a dark wood
> (*Divine Comedy*, *Purgatorio*, I, 1–2)

> Spirits are assigned to less burdensome bodies on the journey of life
> (Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, 3, 19)

Life is seen as a concept, not only as a dimension in time but also in spatial orientation: the FRONT-BACK dimension of the 'Spatialization of Form Hypothesis' would therefore be incorporated in the 'Event Structure Metaphor': *we shall be going into a difficult period ahead of us*. This could presumably overlap with the model of the metaphorical subject in the SELF metaphor system: *she slowly lost herself in the multitude of problems ahead of her*.

Whatever term may be given to the structure in question, bodily experience appears to mould conceptualisation into a linear form – like a journey representing a succession of events in life. This can materialise in many forms of human experience, such as love relationships, as we have already observed: 'our relationship has come to a crossroads' and so on (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980, for these types of metaphoric structures). However, although the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY may be a diachronic universal in English or other European languages, it does not appear to exist in all languages. The equivalent in the Hmong language is LIFE IS A STRING (Kövecses 2005: 83), which represents one example in which diachronic and cross-cultural potential universals do not necessarily correspond. The image of a direction in life represented by a journey's route or the line of a piece of string can be visually interpreted in the same way, but the two images do not represent the same conceptual metaphor and would logically create varying linguistic forms.

The present discussion would therefore suggest that a common denominator in universals is the fact that such mapping structures are based on bodily experience, whatever the category may be. One of the conclusions that may be drawn, however, as Kövecses (2005: 64) points out, is that many of the trends in conceptual metaphors tend to be *potentially* universal at a fairly high level of abstraction. Besides the synchronic, cross-cultural aspect, this would appear to be the case of the emotions along the diachronic dimension. A physiological conceptual metaphor today may be traced back to the earlier forms of a language's history, but this is not necessarily so. This would support the idea that, in both the cases of synchronic and diachronic universals, the notion of potential means that it cannot actually be proved to be universal since the evidence is incomplete. The term 'diachronic universal' could perhaps be modified to 'long-term diachronic trends' as it is impossible to check whether such models have always existed.

A major difference between the notions of potential universality along the synchronic and diachronic dimensions is that wide distribution in the first case may very well involve physiology but long-term paths in

the second can also be equated with culture. Indeed, long-term paths should not be confused with physiology since symbolism, as we shall see in Parts III and IV, may remain unchanged from the beginning of a culture's history. The notion of potential universality from the synchronic and diachronic angles is an issue which needs to be addressed in further studies on time and cultural space.

We could theoretically summarise patterns of synchronic and diachronic 'potential' universals in the following way. Figure 3.1 represents four different scenarios of potential universals across different languages/cultures. From a base conceptual metaphor (CM), a given culture, X, Y and so on, may or may not have the mapping from the historical beginnings of its languages. At this point, a remark should be made about the direction of arrows representing time in the different illustrations. They point in different directions according to the types of models involved. The family-tree diagrams of the neogrammarian model used a top-to-bottom direction. When graphs are used, this is not possible since variables tend to start off at the bottom left-hand corner and move either to the right or upwards. In Figure 3.1, the notion behind the illustration is one of basic concepts acting as 'building blocks' upon which conceptual paths are built, hence the bottom-to-top direction. This model is explained in more detail in Chapter 4 relating to diachronic conceptual networking.

Diagram (a) in Figure 3.1 represents a true universal both synchronically and diachronically. This may be the case of the ANGER IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor which has widespread

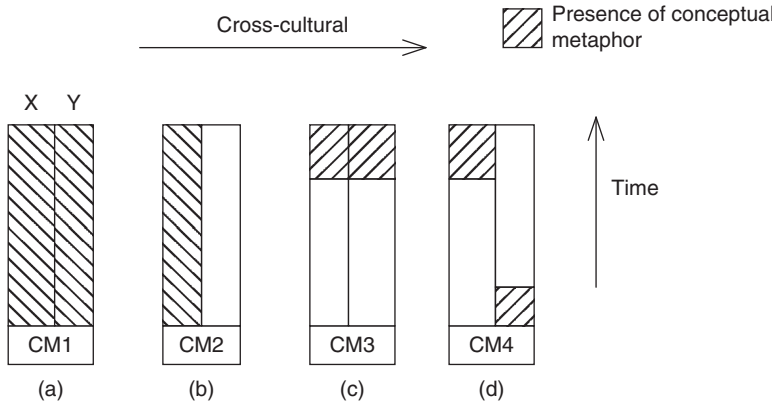


Figure 3.1 Potential universals in conceptual metaphor

cross-cultural distribution and, as in the case of English, may go back a long way in the histories of very different languages.

Figure 3.1(b) designates a scenario in which one culture has a conceptual metaphor as a diachronic universal but it does not reveal widespread cross-cultural distribution. This may be the case of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY model which is apparent in the Indo-European history. If, however, languages such as Hmong have the equivalent of LIFE IS A STRING, it could not be included in the category of synchronic universals.

More diachronic data is needed for other possible scenarios. Figure 3.1(c) represents present-day synchronic and cross-cultural distribution but without the empirical evidence the existence of such universals may not make the case for diachronic universals in this category. If, for example, the SELF metaphor system is found across a variety of very different languages, as Kövecses (2006: 59) claims is the case (it is found in languages as different as Hungarian and Japanese), it could potentially be a present-day synchronic universal.

The diagram in Figure 3.1(d) represents an interesting case since there may be cross-cultural distribution of a given conceptual metaphor but at different historical periods. For example, it may exist at the present day in culture X but have existed only a long time ago in culture Y. One example is that in which the belly is considered to be the centre of the emotions and thought processes, compared to the heart in present-day English. This is the case of modern Japanese *hara* (Lakoff 1987) and Ancient Greek *splanchna* (Padel 1992). Leaving aside, for the sake of convenience, specific cultural connotations of this body part in each historical period of the relative culture, it can be seen that diachronic periods do not match up. However, since this particular conceptual metaphor, FOCUS OF FEELING/THOUGHT = BELLY, appears to exist or have existed in two widely differing cultures at different times and in different places, it must resemble a potential universal, even if we cannot claim at the present time that it is either a synchronic or diachronic universal. This notion of potential will be taken up again in Chapter 4 with reference to latency and activity in metaphor paths and cross-cultural variation in the focus of conceptualisation relating to body parts.

3.3 Universal love metaphors

We will give a brief outline here of an example that appears to illustrate universal diachronic trends in the evolution of conceptual metaphor:

the language of love. Two main features of the example of love metaphors will be highlighted in order to discuss the theories of universals introduced above: spatial orientation and basic human activities. Included in the category of activities will be human physiological states (for details and a global overview of this model, see Trim, 2007: 169ff.) The example appears to be the case for English and other European languages, but it may not fit all cultures. The field of the emotions, with its relatively high level of physiological content in conceptualisation, does indeed reveal a number of significant trends in diachronic universality.

In the history of English, metaphor images seem to have come from two main sources: via the Germanic and Latinate routes which have formed the structure of the language itself. In the case of love images, an analysis of medieval manuscripts reveals that many have probably come via a Latinate route as a result of the influence of medieval Romance and Classical literature. Although the latter comprises a significant amount of imagery in Latin, original sources often go back further still, to Ancient Greek mythology.

Cognitive linguistic studies regarding love metaphors in Modern English have been well documented (see, for example, Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 1988; 2000). These studies have put together a useful picture of how modern American English conceptualises love through its metaphors. Three conceptual metaphors will first be discussed here with relation to the history of English: UNITY (orientational), FOOD (human activities) and MADNESS (human states). It will be suggested here that, from a diachronic point of view, the first construct appears to comprise two orientational dimensions: the PART/WHOLE and LINK schemas from Lakoff's (1987) list.

Kövecses (1988) gives examples of Modern English expressions relating to the four models in the following way:

UNITY:	the perfect match
FOOD:	she's the cream in my coffee
BLINDNESS:	he was blinded by love
MADNESS:	she drives me out of my mind

An analysis of medieval English literature shows that these four models existed at that time. In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the UNITY model is reflected in the image of being a single unit but with the notion of being *bound, knit* or (translated literally) *allied* to the partner. These

can be found in *The Merchant's Tale*. (In the examples below, exact equivalents in the languages are shown in bold.)

Whan that the preest to yow my body ***bond***
(When the priest **bound** my body to you)
(Hieatt and Hieatt 1976, 310: l.948)

They been so ***knit****, ther may noon harm bityde*
(They are so firmly **knit** together that no harm may arise)
(Ibid. 248: l. 147)

And wher me best were to ***allyen***
(And where it would be best for me to **ally myself** = find a partner)
(Ibid. 248: l. 170)

The second metaphor, that of FOOD, is used in a humorous way by Chaucer to describe how the main character in *The Merchant's Tale*, January, told his friends that he was seeking a young wife, even though he was advanced in years. The potential partner was analogised as young or old meat. In this case, a thirty-year old woman was considered to be too old:

And bet than ***old boef*** *is the* ***tender veel***
I wol no woman thritty year of age
It is but ***bene-straw*** *and* ***greet forage***
(But **tender veal** is better than **old beef**.
I don't want any woman thirty years of age
that's nothing but **straw** and **coarse fodder**)

(Ibid. 249–50: ll. 176–8)

The third metaphor, that of MADNESS, to denote lack of control in love, is found in Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale*. The scenario is that of the traditional love triangle in which two brothers, Palamon and Arcite, are seeking the love of the same woman, Emily:

But Palamon that love destreyneth so,
That out ***of his wit*** *he gooth for wo*
(But love inflicted Palamon so much
That he was completely **out of his mind**)

(Ibid. 69: l. 598)

It can therefore be seen that, in the history of the English language, these analogical structures have been retained over many centuries. They no doubt go back even further than the Middle Ages and, in the language of love, probably represent true diachronic universals in Indo-European. Indeed, Kövecses (1988: 18) suggests that the UNITY metaphor probably goes back at least to Plato.

In order to explore such possibilities, we will look at another model which covers some interesting variations: LOVE = FIRE. Apart from Modern English, it is a model which can be seen frequently in medieval English literature and can be traced as far back as Antiquity. In many ways, this particular mapping process could also be considered a symbol. We shall see below that the image has symbolised other concepts in the past. As a symbol of love, fire has an underlying conceptual metaphor of HEAT = PASSION. In the same way as anger, the emotion of love raises body temperature, producing an image of heat in the conceptualisation of the two emotions.

Fire may have images such as 'flame' as in 'she is his latest flame' (Kövecses 1988). In Chaucerian English, the symbol can be seen in *The Franklin's Tale*:

> *Ye knowen wel, lord, that right as hir desyr*
> *Is to be quiked and lighted of your* ***fyr***
> (You know well, lord, that just as her desire
> Is to be quickened and lighted by your **fire**)
>
> (Ibid. 310: ll. 321–2)

Tracing literary metaphors back in time may be assisted by exploring the influences of literary schools upon other writers. Chaucer was greatly influenced by contemporary French and Italian literary works such as the French allegory, *Roman de la Rose*, different parts of which were composed by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, and works by the Italian poets, Boccaccio and Petrarch. The styles of the latter two writers, which differed respectively in their farcical and courtly love approaches, are reflected in *The Canterbury Tales*. The Italian writers were, in turn, influenced by classical works. The result is that Middle English analogies can be traced back to Antiquity via a Latinate route.

The LOVE = FIRE model is seen in the following examples:

> *Et tout adés en regardant*
> *Recouverras le* ***feu*** *ardant*

(And while you look at her
You will rekindle the burning **fires**)

(De Lorris/De Meun,
Roman de la Rose: ll. 2343–4)

Come colui che tutto ardeva in amoroso ***fuoco***
(And being all aflame with passion)

(Boccaccio, *Decameron*:
Third Day, Novel II)

Si che 'l ***foco*** *di Giove in parte spense*
Ma fui ben ***fiamma*** *ch'un bel guardo accense*
(So that Jove's **fire** was quenched a little
But I have been the **flame** that a lovely look kindled)

(Petrarch, *Il Canzioniere*: sonnet 23)

Ignes ipse suos nutrit
(Feeds the **fire** that burns him)

(Ovid, *Metamorphosis*: Book VI, ll. 493)

The evidence here suggests that the LOVE = FIRE model would appear to be a diachronic universal, at least in European languages. The image of fire as a separate entity does, however, also have different symbolic interpretations. It has long been associated with the flames of hell, for example and, in Ovid's work, was associated with the flames of torches borne at funerals: *de funere raptas* (Kaufhold 1997: 67). The hell example is a long-term cultural metaphor but the use of such a metaphor in funeral settings would tend to be time-specific.

On this note, we turn to the vast area of diachronic variation, which we will start looking at in the next chapter. Although the determining of universals is a complex problem, taking account of variation in conceptual mapping is perhaps even more so as a result of the large number of features involved. This is not only because culture has a vast impact on systems but also because of the varied social and personal forms within a conceptual system itself. For this reason, it is felt that more space is needed to discuss the fourth major parameter of culture in the historical evolution of figurative language.

4
Diachronic Conceptual Variation

4.1 Problems with universal assumptions

With regard to temperature, our normal assumption in Western society is that high temperature is associated with passion or deep friendship and low temperature with less intense relationships. The following case seems to be a situation in which this type of conceptualisation is entirely different. After spending his final school year in Senegal, a boy returning to his native France was said to have been astonished on leaving the country when a classmate said to him, as an expression of his friendship (Douay 2009):

> When you are far from me, my heart is like calor gas
> When you are near me, my heart is like a refrigerator

This suggests that in Senegal proximity to a friend lowers temperature. What exactly is involved here and why are there such contrasting images in other cultures when heat images would normally be regarded as a sign of strong feelings, whether in friendship or otherwise? After all, we have just seen that the underlying heat metaphor in the LOVE = FIRE model appears to go back a very long way in European languages. Intensity of feeling should increase with bodily temperature and there appears to be a general physiological effect related to the emotions. This does seem to be a case in which embodiment, as conceived in the Western world, does not match universal trends.

The more deeply we explore universal possibilities, whether synchronic or diachronic, the more we realise how careful we need to be concerning the assumptions we make about them. It is easy to enter the

realm of speculation and it is almost as if data are needed from every single culture in order to make valid claims.

4.2 Diachronic variation in conceptual metaphor

In this chapter we will explore our fourth parameter in the evolution of conceptual mapping: culture and its diachronic variations. In our discussion of diachronic systems, we will be focusing on two major sub-categories: variation between systems and variation within systems. Diachronically, the associations of passion, love, friendship and anger with heat reveal some interesting aspects. At first sight, we might think that the PASSION = FIRE model is a universal diachronic trend, or at least a 'long-term' trend, since it goes back such a long way in European languages. If we wished to assess such a claim, there are a number of avenues of research that would have to be investigated. The first would be to determine whether it occurs at all stages. Two main questions arise in this respect: (a) while this may be the case in a Latinate route of Indo-European languages, is it the case of all routes, for example, in Germanic, Slavic and so on? And (b) what is the situation outside the Indo-European field? The latter brings us back to the Senegal example above. Without exploring the entire history of love/friendship images in Senegal, it is clear that a form of conceptualisation exists that contrasts with the Indo-European, even if a PASSION = FIRE conceptual metaphor is equally present in the culture. If it does not exist, this type of conceptual metaphor is clearly not universal. There may be a number of explanations for the Senegalese model, one of which could be the assumption that coolness in a tropical climate is a more pleasurable sensation than is heat, and hence analogous with the pleasure of love or friendship.

One example from the heat image – which suggests that it is likely that not all universal-looking metaphor models have always existed in different Indo-European routes – is the case of anger. In all events, the hypothesis of universality in certain models such as HEAT = ANGER appears to require modification in one form or other. We have seen in the last chapter that a large number of linguistic metaphors in Modern English are based on the HEAT = ANGER image: 'he is boiling with anger', 'she is simmering with rage' and so on (Lakoff 1987). This is clearly a physiological model, in line with some of the universal proposals outlined above, but recent theories on the emotions cast a certain degree of doubt on the physiological, or embodied, role that they might play in universal hypotheses. More detailed analyses of anger in the history of English also reveal some discrepancies in the mapping above.

Studies by Gevaert (2001; 2002) suggest, in fact, that English has not always used a heat metaphor for anger. Old English tended to use a SWELL = ANGER conceptual metaphor as in the sentence: *waes ðа gebolgen beorges hyrde* (by then the barrow snake (dragon) was swollen with rage; Beowulf, l. 2304, see Chickering 1977). Gevaert's research suggests that the change to the heat metaphor was primarily due to translations into Old English from Latin by King Alfred and others during the period AD 850–950. The heat metaphor was therefore probably borrowed from a Latinate route. One conclusion that could be drawn is that the Germanic route in the history of English originally used the image of swelling and the Latinate route the image of heat for the same concept of anger. More recent studies by Geeraerts and Gevaert (2008) further suggest that the historical semantics of anger is actually more complex than that and we shall discuss some of these theories in relation to diachronic metaphors and their related cross-cultural patterns.

4.3 Images of anger in Old English

In an analysis of data based on the Thesaurus of Old English and the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Geeraerts and Gevaert (2008) put forward the hypothesis that anger in Old English can be grouped into ten etymological themes: anger as a strong emotion (*anda*), a wrong emotion (*irre*), fierceness in a literal or hyperonymical sense (*gram, wraδ*), insanity (*ellenwod*), 'unmild' (*unmiltse*), affliction (*torn, sare*), sadness (*unblide, gealgmode*), swelling (*belgan*), synaesthesia (*sweorcan, biter, hefig*), fierceness in a figurative sense (*reδe*) and, finally, heat (*hatheort, hygewaelm*).

Not all of these themes can be taken in a figurative sense, the first five appear to be literal or hyperonymical, the second five are metonymical or metaphoric. Thus, anger as fierceness has two interpretations according to the lexeme in the data and therefore represents two separate etymological themes. For this reason, among others, Geeraerts and Gevaert propose an onomasiological (synonymous) approach to diachronic data analysis. There are many synonyms in Old English in reference to anger which require individual classification. A few explanations are also required with regard to some of the labels given to anger.

From an etymological point of view, a 'wrong' emotion, represented by Old English *irre* (from an Indo-European root *er(a)s-*), signifies an 'aberration of the mind', or an emotion which has caused the mind 'to go astray'. The word can be seen in Modern English 'ire' or 'irate' with the sense of anger and the notion of 'madness' in an expression such as

'he was mad at him about what had happened'. The sense of madness is found in other cognate words in Germanic such as modern German *irrsinnig* (mad).

The notion of 'unmildness' stems from the Old English lexeme *unmiltse* with the idea that a person is not in a calm or 'mild' state of mind. Geeraerts and Gevaert suggest that its use in Old English texts has euphemistic overtones. Where anger is felt as something 'dark' or 'bitter', the synonym is classified as a synaesthetic experience (in psychological terms, the production of a mental sense-impression relating to one sense by the stimulation of another sense). Thus, the lexemes *sweorcan, biter* and *hefig* are etymologically related to the original senses of 'dark' (compare the Modern English 'swarthy'), 'bitter' (which can be traced back to an original sense of 'bite') and 'heavy', respectively.

In order to define literal and figurative meanings, a task that is not easy without knowing the exact interpretations in the Anglo-Saxon mind, it was decided that if a reading of anger was the dominant sense of the word, it was considered to be literal. Figurative expressions were to considered to be either non-prototypical senses or compounds like *hatheort* ('hot heart').

This latter expression is therefore an example of heat in an Old English metaphor relating to anger (similar to Modern English 'hot-headed'), but Geeraerts and Gevaert point out that this compound appears in a letter from Saint Boniface to abbess Eadburga. It involves a passage translating a verse from a Latin psalm, in which it translates Latin *furor*. The metaphor has therefore followed a Latinate route, rather than Germanic, and supports the theory that the heat image was introduced into English via translation, rather than existing since the beginning of Old English.

The empirical evidence above suggests, in addition, that tracing metaphor images is not simply a case of alternatives but that a number of different models may exist. This leads us on to a more general discussion on diachronic and synchronic variation.

4.4 Variation between diachronic systems

In the last chapter, we suggested that, in line with arguments put forward by Kövecses (2005; 2006), one possible diachronic and synchronic universal could be THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER (see Figure 3.1). This would, for example, include both the swelling and heat images that can be found in Old English. However, Geeraerts and Gevaert suggest that, on the basis of their 2008 data, heat, for example, has a peripheral position within the entire range of

expressions for anger. Furthermore, they question the argument about whether the PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor has a physiological basis since it would be expected that physiological association would show up in the actual contexts of use in conceptual metaphors (2008: 341). A compound such as *hatheort*, according to their view, has very little physiological interpretation. This view is based on the deduction from an analysis of a series of 'heart' and 'mood' compounds that, although the heart may be seen in Old English as a focal point in the mind, it cannot be concluded that the mind is generally perceived as being embodied, that is, as having a physiological basis. Indeed, Gevaert (2007: 232–49) concludes in a contextual analysis of Old English expressions that the conceptual metaphors ANGER = HEAT or ANGER = FIRE have very little physiological grounding.

Geeraerts and Gevaerts (2008) raise a further point in the universal debate regarding qualitative and quantitative reinterpretations. The qualitative approach would be exemplified by the claim that if a language conceptualises anger in an embodied way, the embodiment model takes the form of the PRESSURIZED CONTAINER. It does not have to have the model but if it does opt for an embodied understanding of anger, it would choose such a CONTAINER model. However, there are examples that contradict this argument, such as Old English *sare* (AFFLICTION) in the Old English data. Although there is a physiological element in the form of pain being associated with anger (from Indo-European *sai*, 'pain', as in modern American English 'to get sore with someone'), it is not linked to the notion of a PRESSURIZED CONTAINER.

The quantitative approach implies that the universalist embodiment model is seen as a statistical universal, that is, there would be an overriding tendency for languages around the world to activate this potential model. The problem here is determining the distribution or required strength of a model to qualify it as a universal trend. Combined with this problem is the aspect of synchronic salience across languages. The overall definitions of universal trends therefore constitute a complex area.

4.5 Differing historical viewpoints

Another problem arising here is that although a conceptual metaphor and its origins may appear to be the same between different historical periods of a language, the speakers may actually use the process of conceptualisation in different ways. This is what has been referred to as *historical mindsets* (Trim 2007: 152). In contrast to the focus of thought and feeling being the belly in Ancient Greek (Padel 1992), Geeraerts and

Gevaert (2008) claim that the heart is seen to be the embodied seat of the mind and soul in Old English. Indeed, it has been suggested that pectorality was the centre of verbal activity at that time and the extension of this feature was from the physical to the psychological domain (Jager 1990: 845–59). Pectorality was also common to images of the chest swelling with emotion. However, the type of conceptualisation found in pectoral images in Old English, if indeed it was embodied, must have been different from Ancient Greek because of the ways in which they viewed forces in the environment.

Ancient Greeks apparently viewed social or physical problems from the outside, so that physical disease was considered to be an external problem rather than an internal one. This had a great deal to do with the belief in daemonic forces in the form of an evil eye or angry god controlling people from the outside and causing pain on the inside. The centre of thought and vulnerability to outside forces was the innards, or belly (Padel 1992). This was a different type of conceptualisation, or a different mindset, to Old English *heort*. Furthermore, these different mindsets were firmly structured by cultural factors. One such factor was humoral theory, which had a significant impact on figurative expressions of the emotions and physical illness:

> He was full of melancholy; his innards swelled to a dark black
> (Homer, *The Iliad*: l. 104).

The interesting point about this Homeric example is that the PRESSURIZED CONTAINER image seemed to exist in Ancient Greek. However, it is related to melancholy and employs the colour black. This coincides with claims that metaphorisation of the emotions is not only culturally based in many cases, it is often underestimated in comparison to physiological models (Geeraerts and Grondelaers 1995). In this case, the use of colour is linked to humoral theory founded by Hippocrates in Ancient Greece.

4.6 Cross-cultural variation in universal candidates

In our discussion on potential universals and variation so far, we have been debating different applications of body parts within the framework of embodied conceptualisation processes. If we pursue the notion that the latter does indeed play a part in some form of universal trends, despite the type of evidence we have seen in Old English, the physiological and spatial orientational features discussed in the last chapter do appear to materialise in different cultures. However, they

also appear in very different forms. The two features therefore seem to be responsible for a great deal of cross-cultural variation. We shall look at this aspect by combining the two in what Kövecses (2005: 79) terms 'large-scale alternative conceptualizations'. In this way, we will be able to see how different languages/cultures conceptualise spatial orientation.

To take up the belly example again, Kövecses cites Heine (1995: 127) who has undertaken a considerable amount of research in cross-language conceptualisation relating to a large number of languages in Africa and Oceania. The body part 'belly/stomach', in the metaphorisation of the spatial orientation IN, is the major representation in African languages but has no specific location in Oceania. The location 'belly' may be used, but so, equally, might other body parts such as 'tooth', 'heart', 'liver' and 'bowels'. Spatial orientation for UNDER uses the buttocks/anus body part in African languages but the foot/leg area in Oceania.

Variation in spatial orientation also occurs in the conceptualisation of grammatical concepts according to Koller (2003), as cited by Kövecses (2005). Koller proposes three categories based on data from a large number of different languages: (a) the 'body-only' schema which features the type of structure we have just described, (b) the 'body and environment' schema relating to environmental landmarks surrounding the observer, such as 'cloud' for UP and 'earth' for DOWN, and (c) the 'extended body' schema relating to the immediate human habitat such as 'home', 'house', 'roof' and so on. Outside the house would logically be OUT, the roof would be UP, the wall would be AT and so on.

It can therefore be seen that proposals on embodied conceptualisation processes can lead to an enormous amount of cross-cultural variation. It is not a particular spatial orientation that is necessarily a universal. Although the orientation UP = POSITIVE orientation may be fairly generalised, a mechanism which probably constitutes a universal is the capacity to use body parts or their environment to form a specific kind of corresponding spatial orientation according to the culture involved. Spatial orientation may be a universal of metaphorisation but not FRONT = X, BACK = Y and so on. In other words, the specific orientational mapping process is not the universal.

4.7 'Within-culture' features

Another fundamental aspect of cultural variation concerns the different forms of metaphorisation and analogical structures employed within one language/culture. This is what Kövecses terms 'within-culture

variation' (2005: 88ff.) It is an important issue when formulating diachronic models and we shall consider this aspect in the discussion of diachronic conceptual systems below.

One of the main problems here is that if we wish to trace metaphor networks and paths through history it becomes clear that there is a great deal of potential in associated links being set up diachronically within the same network. These links must exist in a particular conceptual system in order for them to work. At the same time, there must be a point at which they would no longer be conceptualised. Where are the limits to these systems and how could they be visualised?

In many ways, the attempt to draw up theoretical models of diachronic conceptual systems is similar to formulating speculative models concerning other spatial or time-oriented phenomena outside of linguistics. A case in point is the spatial phenomenon of outer space itself. There have been many theories over the years on spatial representations such as the single expanding universe after the Big Bang, a cyclic process of an expanding and contracting universe, groups of universes similar to galactic formations, flat universes and so on. Where are the limits to a conceptual system?

We would first have to base the conceptual system on one feature to quantify it. In this case, a particular conceptual metaphor could be a representative of the conceptual system. If a given metaphor model represents a potential diachronic universal, according to some of the features we have been proposing so far, it would presumably mean that, even if a metaphor used in Antiquity dies out at some time, it could be regenerated at a later stage. If it also represents a potential cross-cultural universal, it would mean that there are no limits to the creation of networked linguistic items at a given point in time. This is therefore an example in which there are no limits and linked conceptualisation is virtually infinite. If we wished to create a visual model, it would therefore have to be represented as a borderless unit, as in the theoretical diagram that we saw in Figure 3.1(a). On the other hand, a large number of diachronic systems have conceptual limits whose location is hard to define, as in Figure 3.1(b).

4.8 Diachronic networks and conceptual systems

How exactly do conceptual systems, in which historical metaphor paths are created, evolve diachronically? A number of theories could probably be put forward, but one hypothesis that has been developed on changes in figurative language through time is that of conceptual networking

(see Trim 2007: 109ff., for full details on this theory). The basic argument behind this model is that conceptual metaphors serve as building blocks to create diachronic paths in linguistic metaphors. Conceptual metaphors can also change through time and have a corresponding impact on linguistic metaphor paths. In reality, there are far more paths in linguistic metaphors since a large number of figurative expressions may arise from the same conceptual metaphor. Subsequently, these linguistic expressions can be in constant change and evolve into a multitude of conceptually related networks.

Research carried out so far on these networks suggests that the paths go through active and latent periods in which the linguistic items might be in usage or might have become obsolescent. If the same conceptual system persists, that is, the relevant culture continues to provide a potential environment for the same kind of conceptual metaphor, obsolescent items have the potential for regeneration. When we talk about a 'system', a finite entity usually comes to mind. What analytical tools do we have to illustrate its structure?

A convenient way of explaining structural form in a conceptual system is indeed to visualise it, a procedure which we have been adopting so far. Visualising some of the theories is a difficult task but one way of attempting to formulate it within the framework of cognitive linguistics would be by taking into account some of the main tenets of prototype theory (Rosch 1975). Let us imagine the appropriateness of a conceptual mapping process diagrammatically, in the form of a circle. The most appropriate mappings are more central and those that are less likely or more difficult to interpret are near the edge. The space within the circle would then represent the normal conditions of a conceptual system for a given mapping to be created, with decreasing appropriateness from the centre to periphery.

If the circle is extended into the form of a cylinder, the cylindrical form would represent the diachronic dimension (Figure 4.1). The upper surface of the cylinder represents the present-day, synchronic situation. The lower the stage in which a language is situated inside the cylinder, the further back it is represented in time. This is analogous to the core samples taken from polar ice caps to study climate change through the observation of snapshots of climatic situations in the past. The bottom layers of the cylindrical ice samples may represent the climatic situations of thousands of years ago. The cylindrical image of a conceptual system is very similar – with one obvious difference – ice samples would not have the CENTRE-PERIPHERY parameter of appropriateness throughout their cylindrical form.

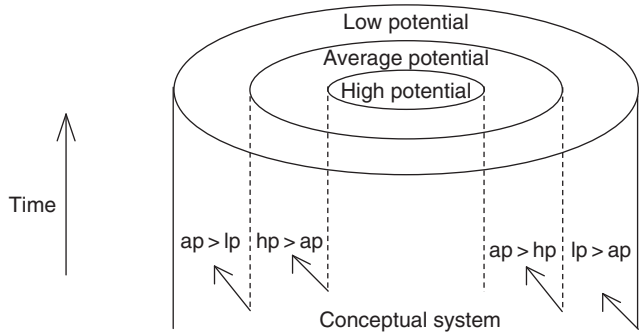


Figure 4.1 Fluctuating potential in diachronic mapping paths

On this basis, it may be assumed that the edge of the cylinder has a low analogical potential for a given concept which tends more or less to decrease to zero outside the cylinder. In other words, conceptual and linguistic mapping outside the cylinder would be outside the conceptual system in question and therefore incomprehensible. The mapping LIFE = TRAIN in the linguistic metaphor 'life is a subway train', based on the very common LIFE IS A JOURNEY model in European languages, is likely to be near the centre, and a mapping such as CHEEKS = TYPEWRITERS, (example taken from Aitchison 1989: 146), would be potentially low or even outside the cylinder. Of course, the LIFE = TRAIN model would culturally only go back to a certain point in time and the typewriter analogy would be virtually obsolete at the time of writing. It is more likely to be situated below the upper surface of the cylinder. A more modern but equally unlikely equivalent, such as CHEEKS = COMPUTERS, could be located at the level of the upper surface of the cylinder but potentially outside the circle.

At the same time, the areas of differing potential may theoretically shift across the radius of the cylinder according to the time dimension. For example, a mapping equation below the upper surface of the cylinder, and situated centrally in the area of high potential (hp), may lose in salience with the passing of time and be located in areas of average potential (hp > ap). This is indicated on the left-hand side of the cylinder. Equally, average potential may decrease to low potential (ap > lp). The reverse may happen in the direction of the upper surface, as indicated on the right-hand side of the cylinder, whereby average potential may increase to high potential or low to average (ap > hp or lp > ap). This is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 4.1.

4.9 Conceptual sections of the language community

It is important to bear in mind that extremely unlikely mappings can be created by speakers of a given language community, as in poetic licence (discussed below), and that in a specific context cheeks may even be interpreted as typewriters (Aitchison 1989). With this in mind, the outer limits of the cylinder have to be very flexible. The theoretical model of a diachronic mapping network comprising conceptual and linguistic mappings could thus involve the idea of prototypical features based on average (native) speakers found in a language community. This is important since there are, in terms we shall introduce here, different 'conceptual sections' that exist in each language. This leads us on to Kövecses's 'within-culture' concept of variational conceptualisation for which he uses the term 'dimension'. Some of the major dimensions of variation he cites within one language are: (a) social (social class variants); (b) ethnic, for example, the variant of Black American English; (c) regional: American versus British English; (d) style, for example, journalism; (e) subcultural – religious, artistic, scientific, literary and so on; (f) developmental, for example, age differences; (g) individual, for example, particular politicians' speeches; and (h) the diachronic dimension (2005: 89ff.).

Our focus on diachronic conceptual systems will employ some of these variants to illustrate the types of structures that exist in the evolution of a particular language. It is clear that among the common variants in any language community are regional, social class or individual creations. In a language such as English, variation not only includes a multitude of regional dimensions but the vast number of mappings which arise across the globe as a result of its international status.

As far as the diachronic dimension is concerned, it could be argued here that, in contrast to the other dimensions, it involves all (other) conceptual sections of a language at the same time. Since language change never stops, even if it may be retarded by certain standardisation procedures such as dictionary-making, all sections are continually influenced by the time scale. These may be either through internal change or via language/cultural contact. There can, however, be a form of overlapping between one or more dimensions (see below). Figure 4.2 represents different 'within-culture' variants such as those relating to regions, social class, individuals, sociolects and so on, according to categories A, B, C, D, E and so on.

In reality, these could be mixed, as we have stated above: B may involve A, and C may involve both A and B, and so on. In addition,

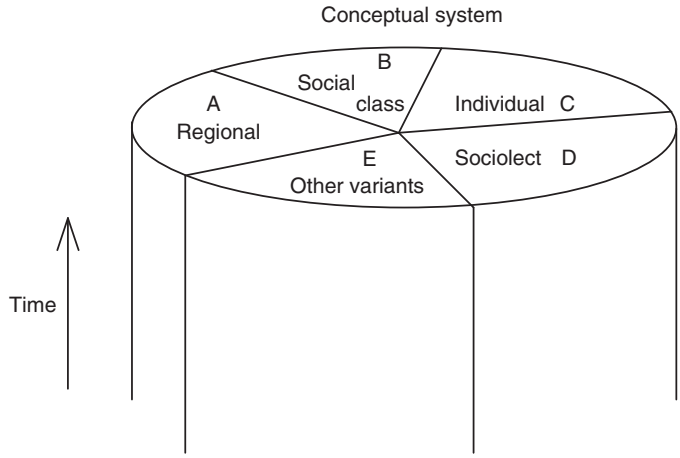


Figure 4.2 Diachronic variations in the conceptual system of mappings in one language

each category may have prototypical effects in which the creative features of one item sound like a particular regional variety while being especially typical of the style of an individual writer. If so, there would be fewer prototypical features near the edges of the categories. In each case, there is thus a certain degree of flexibility, particularly in more individual styles such as those of writers, poets and so on in individual category C. For our purposes, the individual dimension could include a large number of different areas listed by Kövecses, covering the general features of creative writing and including literary authors, script writers for politicians, journalists and so on. To take an example of overlapping dimensions from the literary field, consider the different possible origins of a figurative expression used by Thomas Hardy in *Far from the Madding Crowd*. The character of Gabriel Oak recounts his admiration for the beauty of a girl he knows, Bathsheba, by using the term 'dandy cattle':

> Be as 'twill, she's a fine handsome body as far's looks be concerned. But that's only the skin of the woman, and these *dandy cattle* be as proud as Lucifer in their insides.
>
> (Hardy 1974 [1874]: 79; emphasis added)

Far from being pejorative, the term 'cattle' in reference to women is here a sign of admiration. Without exploring all the possible origins of

the word, it could be a regional variant used in Hardy's native west of England in the nineteenth century. It might also be used in the farming community in this predominantly rural area. Consequently, it could be a social class variant as often portrayed in the regional and social varieties Hardy uses in his books. In addition, it might be a term which is no longer used today and is therefore obsolete. Equally, it might never have existed and is simply a personal coinage on the part of Hardy. Tracing the origins of certain metaphoric expressions may therefore involve investigating different 'within-culture' dimensions.

There may be overlapping categories in diachronic conceptual systems but dimensions such as social and regional variants do, by definition, have specific limitations according to social class and geographical area. Ascertaining the limits of a conceptual system is, however, more complicated regarding a dimension such as that of the individual. This is particularly the case in the literary field. In areas, such as politics and journalism, the intention is often simply to put a clear and comprehensible message across to the public, but this is not always the case in poetry, for example, in which the poet often expresses his or her deepest, personal thoughts. We shall therefore focus on the literary dimension in this discussion of conceptual range.

4.10 Individual mappings and poetic licence

Poetic licence allows for an enormous scale of possible variants and thus extends the limits of the normal conceptual system in conceptual mapping. Despite the seemingly divergent, or even chaotic, order of thoughts that may be written down in literary works, a deeper analysis can reveal systematic patterns in the mental lexicon of the author, that is, the way in which words and concepts are ordered in his or her mind. Usually, additional knowledge is needed about the author to understand some of the thoughts, but even in quite obscure writing styles there appears to be a logical form of conceptual association in discourse.

Mappings are based on associations which become clearer on deeper analysis. Before looking at poetic licence in figurative language, we will look at how this takes place in the mental ordering of literal meaning. To be sure, complex mappings may be made in literal language without using a figurative component. Take the example of James Joyce and his work *Ulysses* (1922). Even if his works are known, one of the first thoughts that comes to mind during a cursory glance at any page of the work is that it does, indeed, involve an enormous range of poetic licence in analogical thought. The progression of concepts in the following

passage, in which the narrator is trying to find somewhere to eat in town, is a good example. There is a considerable amount of cultural and linguistic reference and associations used for comic effects. The opening scene, in which the narrator eventually walks into Burton's restaurant, is a very pessimistic one and leads to a parody of situations about eating. One of the final scenes involves a mixture of linguistic and cultural concepts to enhance the parody about the restaurant attempting to serve high-class cuisine (Joyce 1960 [1922]: 168–75):

> His heart astir he pushed in the door of the Burton restaurant. Stink gripped his trembling breath: pungent meatjuice, slop of greens. See the animals feed [...]
>
> Do the grand. Hock in green glasses. Swell blowout. Lady this. Powdered bosom pearls. The *elite*. *Crème de la crème*. They want special dishes to pretend they're. Hermit with a platter of pulse keep down the stings of the flesh. Know me come eat with me. Royal sturgeon. High sheriff, Coffey, the butcher, right to venisons of the forest from his ex. Send him back half the cow. Spread I saw down in the Master of the Rolls' kitchen area. Whitehatted *chef* like a rabbi. Combustible duck. Curly cabbage *à la duchesse de Parme*. Just as well to write it on the bill of fare so you can know what you've eaten too many cooks spoil the broth. I know them. Lobsters boiled alive. Do ptake some ptarmigan. Wouldn't mind being a waiter in a swell hotel. Tips, evening dress, halfnaked ladies. May I tempt you to a little more filleted lemon sole, miss Dubedat? Yes, do bedad. And she did bedad. Huguenot name I expect that. A miss Dubedat lived in Killiney I remember. *Du, de la*, French. Still, it's the same fish, perhaps old Micky Hanlon of Moore street ripped the guts out of making money, hand over fist, finger in fishes' gills, can't write his name on a cheque...

To anyone unacquainted with Joyce, this represents a long stream of mixed and, perhaps, chaotic ideas. It is as if he writes down thoughts as they come to mind. However, even if this were the case, it also illustrates a degree of systematic mental ordering in which numerous linguistic and conceptual links occur in discourse. Linguistically, there are cases of phonetic analogy in the form of plays on words. Similar sounding words, or words with similar orthographies, are linked. The 'ptake/ptarmigan' link involves shortening the verb 'partake'. The 'comestible/combustible duck' link not only involves a phonetic similarity, it plays on a comic semantic effect. The link

'Dubedat/bedad/*du, de la*' is a phonetic play on French/English words. Conceptually, there are cultural links: 'white hat/rabbi', French culture being linked to high-class cuisine via such French expressions as '*crème de la crème*', as well as the presence of the French customer, Miss Dubedat, in the fictitious restaurant. This name is likewise linked to a person that the narrator knew in real life. Other cultural names and symbols in the English language reference high society: royal sturgeon, evening dress, powdered bosom pearls, Master of the Rolls and so on.

This kind of poetic licence in the creation of new words or semantic links is vast but remains within the boundaries of a conceptual system relating to the English language. If this were not the case, it would probably be incomprehensible to even the most open of minds. With each example, one concept triggers another one or symbolises another within the linguistic and cultural framework of the language.

Let us now turn to figurative language. In many ways, this area of language is even more flexible and can lead to greater problems of interpretation. In Chapter 2, Edith Sitwell's poem *Hornpipe* (Roberts 1965: 208) was cited as a case in which phonetic structure probably influenced the choice of metaphor creation, a phenomenon that naturally occurs in rhyming texts. If we continue to read the poem, which evokes many far off, exotic places within a general framework of a sea voyage, the interpretation of metaphors becomes difficult:

> And the borealic iceberg; floating on they see
> New-arisen Madam Venus for whose sake from far
> Came the fat and zebra'd emperor from Zanzibar
> Where like golden bouquets lay far Asia, Africa, Cathay,
> All laid before that shady lady by the fibroid Shah.
> Captain Fracasse stout as any water-butt came, stood
> With Sir Bacchus both a-drinking the black tarr'd grapes'
> blood
> Plucked among the tartan leafage
> By the furry wind whose grief age
> Could not wither – like a squirrel with a gold star-nut…

Phonetic repetition continues with words such as 'grief age' rhyming with 'leafage', in the same way as 'floreal' and 'borealic'. A more difficult case arises with the metaphors 'fibroid Shah' or 'furry wind', as well as the metonym 'gold star nut'. What exactly is meant by these examples? The poet has no doubt created a type of figurative language whose

interpretation remains relatively flexible to the reader in accordance with the exotic context of the poem. It is up to the reader to construe the exact meanings of 'fibroid' or 'furry'. The first could mean 'strong' and the second 'soft'. However, a degree of personal interpretation is required, unless extra contextual information is at hand.

The result is that the limits of conceptualisation of a cultural system using the concept Shah not only depend on a large margin of flexibility but also on having available all the cultural background knowledge necessary for a correct interpretation of the metaphor in question. Many creative metaphors involving poetic licence do, however, follow more systematic interpretational procedures if the context is known. Such is the case of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'Sonnets from the Portuguese' (1845–46). The sonnets are about her love for her future husband, the poet Robert Browning, and reflect her desire to forget the unsatisfactory life she has led so far and instead to look forward to a new life with him (sonnet 42):

> 'My future will not copy fair my past' –
> I wrote that once; and thinking at my side
> My ministering life-angel justified
> The word by his appealing look upcast
> To the white throne of God, I turned at last,
> And there, instead, saw thee, not unallied
> To angels in thy soul! Then I, long tried
> By natural ills, received the comfort fast,
> While budding, at thy sight, my pilgrim's staff
> Gave out green leaves with morning dews impearled.
> I seek no copy now of life's first half:
> Leave here the pages with long musing curled,
> And write me new my future's epigraph,
> New angel mine, unhoped for in the world!
>
> (Fowler 1980: 44)

This poem contains a stream of metaphors, many of which are linked to the underlying idea of the LIFE = BOOK conceptual metaphor: 'I seek no copy now of life's first half: / leave here the pages with long musing curled, / And write me new my future's epigraph'. We shall see in Part III how this conceptual metaphor has also become a fundamental part of modern political discourse. Many modern linguistic metaphors have come out of this conceptual metaphor, such as, 'it is time to turn

the page', 'this is a chapter of my life which has come to an end' and so on. Interesting forms of this kind are to be found in the poem: 'my pilgrim's staff / Gave out green leaves with morning dews impearled'. It could be imagined that 'green leaves' represent fresh pages in the book of her life and the 'morning dews' metaphor is a reference to a new day in which the notion 'impearled' evokes a new life full of hope.

It appears from these two poems that poetic licence in the types of figurative language used follows different patterns. In the first poem, many of the creations are open to interpretation according to the exotic settings, while the second poem has a more structured ordering in line with the poet's life and her interpretation of the passing of time. In both cases, however, figurative language has a very personal touch whose figurative models are often outside standard language norms.

This brings us to the conclusion that the limits of a conceptual system, as demonstrated by poetic licence, are extremely difficult to define. If a given metaphor exists in a poem, it is normally assumed that conceptualisation of the item is possible in the language concerned. A 'fibroid Shah' must be within the confines of the system for it to be created but other lexical combinations with Shah might fall outside a reasonable scale of interpretation, as in the CHEEKS = TYPEWRITERS model discussed above.

Another aspect, which was mentioned above in relation to regional varieties of a language, is the distinction between language and culture. Some languages possess very different cultures, as in international languages and, at the same time, some 'within-culture' dimensions cross languages. When we speak of dimensions such as regional or social variants, they normally refer to a specific language and its local culture. It might be the case that poetic licence within one language may not only be understood in another language, it can often be created in another. Many creative innovations are probably less culture-dependent than regional varieties. Another example of a 'within-culture' dimension which crosses languages is the case of sociolects. They remain in the same culture but can easily be transferred between languages, although often with different results.

4.11 Sociolects

Sociolects are a variant which could be included in the extension of categories such as D in Figure 4.2. They refer to the language spoken by a part of a society whose speakers share similar ways of life, values, customs or ideals. An example we will use here to demonstrate

the phenomenon is that of the drugs scene (see Trim 1997: 244–72 for further data on this semantic field). English includes numerous metaphorical terms that are used for the effects of taking drugs: 'strung out', 'hung up', 'spaced' and so on, which are not commonly used in normal discourse by mainstream speakers of the language community. Within European languages, the drugs cult as a social phenomenon came from the United States from the 1960s onwards via different cultural media and the business world. A large number of shared sociolectal items were therefore from the English-speaking world. With regard to the production and transportation of drugs, a large number of items came from South America and the Spanish-speaking world. Some linguistic items were borrowed directly, for example, 'drop-outs' as an English loan in Italian, and some were calqued, as in 'mule' (drugs courier) from Spanish *mula*. In the discussion below, we shall see that some conceptual metaphors were borrowed, or already shared, which in turn produced language-specific variants.

If we continue with our image of cylinders as conceptual systems for a given mapping, two languages may share the same system to greater or lesser degrees (Figure 4.3). At this point, an emphasis should be made again on the sharing of *actual* linguistic items used in the two languages and the *potential* for sharing items, given the types of conceptual metaphors situated in the respective languages. The difference between the two can be illustrated in the following way. The former consists of items which are already used in both languages and which, when translated for example, could be used either way without a problem of interpretation. The latter involves items which are used in one language but not another but would be comprehensible or sound logical in the language whose lexicon does not already contain it. This would mean

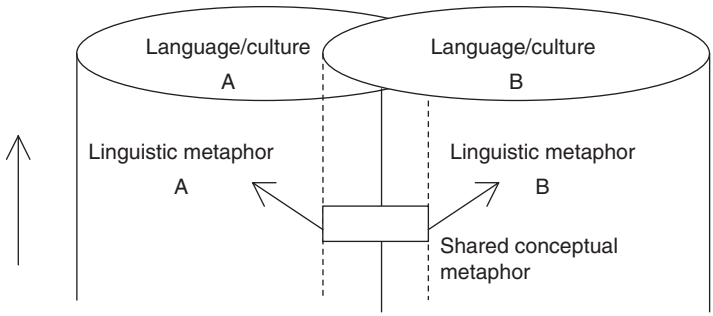


Figure 4.3 Shared conceptual systems between languages

that the conceptual metaphor is probably existent and the potential is there for the linguistic item to be created.

An example is upwards movement representing a good feeling, a typical image found in the drugs sociolect. There are numerous metaphoric expressions in English such as 'coke picks you up' or 'sniffing cocaine produces a quick, short boost'. The underlying conceptual metaphor is GOOD FEELING FROM DRUGS = UP, based on a potential universal trend POSITIVE = UP. Language-specific variants may develop from this analogy. As mentioned at the beginning of the book in relation to the symbol of the cocaine queen, sniffing cocaine was also fashionable in the business world during the late twentieth century and it was a custom among some people to do so between meetings as a 'pick-me-up'. This has led to an expression in German, 'in-between-rocket' (*Zwischendurchrakete*), which does not appear to exist in English. Even if it does not exist, however, translation of this item would probably be understood, given the relevant contextual information and the underlying mapping GOOD = UP.

The notion of comprehension across languages is an important one and we shall put forward the hypothesis here that it may depend to a large extent on the role of cross-language networks existing in a conceptual system. This may also have an influence on cross-language interpretation (Trim: in press (a)). Among the metaphors shared by European languages within the drugs sociolect, there is, for example, the association of dirt with drugs: 'the cocaine trade is dirty and dangerous', 'a torrent of dirty dollars'. This notion can be seen in the French press: 'since Mrs Bhutto did not want to be implicated in such dirty politics (*politique sale*), she had refused an offer made by a drug baron' (*Le Monde*, 19 April 1990). Not only are there a number of universal-type trends in analogies of dirt being associated with illegal or generally negative concepts, a great deal of borrowing takes place in drugs terminology as a result of its international nature.

However, a closer look at other European languages reveals some interesting language-specific metaphors. One example is the notion of horse-riding to signify the effects of taking drugs in Italian (*a cavallo*). Although the term 'horse' is used for heroin in English, there appear to be a number of associated expressions in Italian which convey the meaning of a strong effect: 'horse medicine' (*medicina da cavallo*) means 'strong medicine', 'horse dose' (*dose da cavallo*) means 'strong dose', 'horse fever' (*febbre da cavallo*) means 'strong fever', and so on. It is likely that, given the number of expressions that are already networked to the horse image, the same mapping procedure took place in drugs

terminology. In addition, the more similar expressions exist, the more likely that further items are created in a 'snowball' effect and that speakers of the same language community are apt to understand the new creations. Thus, a speaker of a language such as English, who does not have access to the same network infrastructure in his or her existing conceptual system, may find it difficult to interpret an expression such as 'he is horseriding', even with contextual information.

There are thus a number of different scenarios in the cross-linguistic dimension which can be highlighted by the capacity to translate items or not. We could provide a final visual model of the cross-linguistic dimension along the diachronic scale which bears out the important difference between shared conceptual and linguistic items. Three basic conceptual systems come out of this feature (Figure 4.4). In contrast to Figure 4.3, languages may or may not share a certain number of linguistic items if they share the same conceptual metaphor or have the potential to adapt it to their cultural system. Figure 4.4(a) represents two diachronic conceptual systems A and B which have had the same conceptual metaphor over a long period of time and share a certain number of linguistic metaphors (zone C). Figure 4.4(b) represents two conceptual systems A and B which have never shared the same conceptual metaphor and therefore do not have the same linguistic items at any stage. Figure 4.4(c) is a case in which two conceptual systems A and B start sharing the same conceptual metaphor at a given point in time and finally start sharing similar linguistic items in zone C. In all cases of sharing, the parallel situation may be the result of both internal creation and external factors such as borrowing. If the two systems share the same cultural environment, the potential exists for either language to create the same conceptual metaphor.

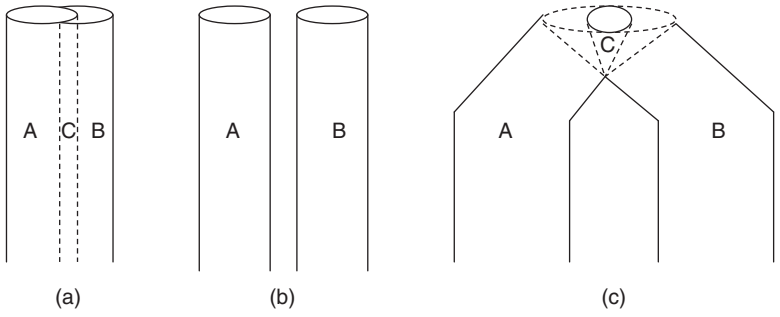


Figure 4.4 Sharing of linguistic items in diachronic conceptual systems

4.12 Cultural history

A final aspect which should not be forgotten is the role of cultural history in the variation of items produced by each language resulting from the same underlying conceptual metaphor. An examination of American and European cultural history reveals the different options available in metaphor creation. The POSITIVE = UP trend adopted the expression 'to be on cloud nine', also used by the drugs sociolect, to indicate a good or happy feeling from drugs. The origin is not clear, but it appears that it was used in the 1950s Johnny Dollar radio show in the USA, in which the hero, when he was knocked unconscious, went to 'cloud 9'. It can also be traced back to the 1930s when 'Level Nine' was used in US weather reports to denote the highest level of clouds. Later, from the 1960s onwards, it was used in popular music (for example, the title of a George Harrison album in 1987), and later as the title of a film (USA, 2006) by Harry Basil (see the worldwide words website).

The expression is also used in a German film title *Wolke Neun* (Germany, 2008) by Andreas Dresen, which is the story of two elderly people falling in love and finding true happiness. The expression had probably been calqued into German beforehand and therefore was easily adapted to the film. In France, where the film won a prize at the 2008 Cannes Film Festival, it was translated into French as *Septième Ciel* (Seventh Heaven), because the 'cloud nine' metaphor is lacking in the language (Trim: in press (b)).

The symbolic use of numbers here comes from the same cultural origins but has developed linguistic variants. The numbers seven and nine have a large number of religious connotations: seven was a symbol of eternal life for the Ancient Egyptians and was employed in numerous traditions in Ancient Greece (the seven doors of Thebes, the seven strings of the lyre and so on). Nine was symbolic in Ancient Greece. In the same way, angels in Christianity were ordered into nine choirs, or three triads, and nine signified the total number of three existing worlds consisting, in turn, of three parts: heaven, earth and hell (Chevalier and Gheerbrant 1982).

It is not clear whether, or in what way, the traditional use of numbers have a link with Level Nine in US meteorological reports. However, the interesting point here is that numbers have been used to symbolise concepts in different ways and there has therefore been a cultural evolution and divergence in their use. Only cultural overlapping of numbers would harmonise cross-language use.

The concept of 'cloud nine' is therefore culture-based and illustrates the role of cultural history in conceptual sections of a language such as sociolects. It may be claimed that a 'within-domains' dimension can cross language barriers within the same conceptual system but their uniformity or variation may range from being identical to a heterogeneous structure that can cause enormous difficulties in interpretation.

If we summarise at this point, our discussions on variation so far have been based on the two main dimensions of phenomena existing between and within conceptual systems relating to specific conceptual metaphors. We will look next at one final issue on variation regarding conceptual systems. How is their duration affected by these issues?

4.13 Duration of conceptual systems

One assumption which could be made is that the more a specific metaphor model is sustained by underlying universal mechanisms, the more likely it is to last for a long time. This is taking into account the potential nature of its existence during a given historical period. It could become obsolete but remain latent in the conceptual system until reactivated at a later stage. However, images based primarily on cultural factors may also last a very long time in a given culture. This is particularly the case with symbolism and this aspect will be taken up again in Part IV.

If we wish to categorise duration within a long-term framework, conceptual metaphors could be divided into three main paths (Figure 4.5). The very long paths are those we could term 'quasi-infinite paths' with the implication that, despite their potential for long duration, it is never entirely certain whether a path will continue for ever. As discussed above, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor may very well fit this category in English, as in other European languages. It could – in theory – go on for ever.

To use aviation terminology, a second category could be called 'long-haul paths', and would apply to the domain variants of underlying long-term mechanisms proposed above. The ANGER = HEAT metaphor might thus fit into this category. The model has lasted for more than a thousand years in the history of English, but has probably not always existed, according to the evidence in Old English texts.

In contrast, a third category could refer to 'short-haul paths', which, within the framework of language history, could involve either very short-lived expressions or those that may last two or three generations

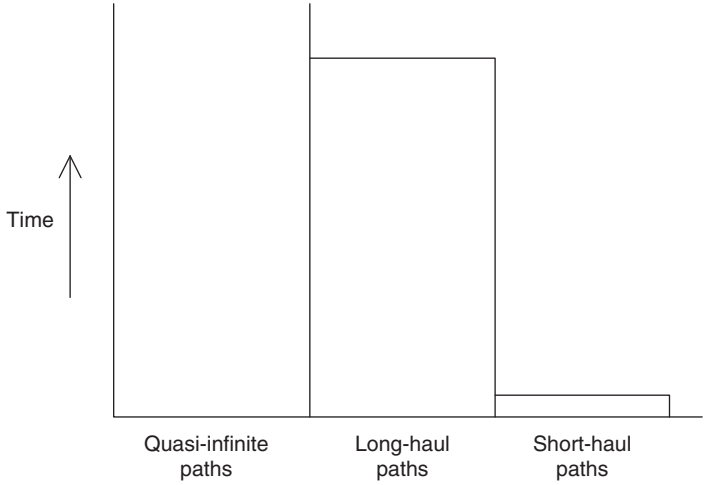


Figure 4.5 Categories of duration in diachronic paths

but not a lot longer. They tend to have a strong cultural bias. The former abound in the press and media, phrases such as 'the millennium bug' in reference to the prediction of a crash in computing systems in 2000. They are therefore often fashionable at a particular time or associated with relatively short-lived cultural events.

Some cognitive linguists, among them Lakoff and Turner, claim that the majority of metaphor mappings may be reconceptualised in former or new creations if linguistic metaphors become obsolete. This is the case of the types of diachronic features which are manifest in latent and active stages of a networking system. However, many such paths may be terminated by cultural change. In addition, there are cases when a metaphor can no longer be regenerated either linguistically or conceptually (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 128–31). The death of a metaphor is another debatable point (see, for example, Traugott 1985, for a further discussion on this aspect). However, an example would be the lexeme for the musical instrument 'oboe' in English which was borrowed from French *hautbois* (literally: high wood). The metaphorisation of this item involves a high sound being obtained from wood (Le Petit Robert Dictionary). Both the linguistic form in French and its metaphorisation of 'high' and 'wood' have been lost in English so that its metonymic use could not be reconceptualised on the same basis from the English structure.

The 'life and death' of a mapping could follow a very simple path. It might quickly become active in the language community at its initiation and then slowly die off towards obsolescence. In reality, the end of metaphorical forms appears to be much more complex. Studies so far have suggested that the level of salience may never die out completely and that linguistic metaphors can enter a zone of 'strange-sounding expressions' (Trim 2007: 139). No one is sure whether such metaphors actually exist or whether they represent newly created ones. Recent research shows that there can be a number of different variational features, in line with the theories we have just been discussing, which can cause diachronic salience in mapping structures. This will be the topic of the next chapter.

5
Diachronic Salience in Love Analogies

5.1 Love: past and present

In New York City in 1996, the Associate Editor of New Media at *Sports Illustrated*, Mark McClusky, went to hear a televised talk by Ellen Fein and Sherrie Schneider, authors of *The Rules: Time-Tested Secrets for Capturing the Heart of Mr Right* (1995), at which well-dressed women packed themselves in like 'Chanel-soaked sardines' (McClusky 1996). Analysed in some detail, the 35 rules share a certain number of parallels with medieval courtly love. The scenario resembles that of the passive princess who waits for the adventurous knight to seek her out. Above all, she has to be permanently 'beautiful' when visible:

> The crowd, the largest ever for a book signing at this branch, is filled with women who looked like television news anchors – *just so* in appearance and demeanor. Of course, this is part of the Rules. 'Don't leave the house without wearing makeup', Fein and Schneider write. 'Put lipstick on even when you go jogging!' But after a moment of sizing up the crowd, one begins to sense a desperation about these women. They look accomplished; I imagine that many are successful professionals. But they aren't married, and they obviously view that as a failure. Thankfully for them, Fein and Schneider's book guarantees success. 'What we are promising you', they write, 'is happily ever after'.
>
> (McClusky 1996)

In the following discussion, we shall be looking at the extent to which cultural attitudes can linger on through the centuries, even if it is believed that certain notions like courtly love died out long ago.

At the same time, further research suggests that ideals such as equality between men and women in marriage are not necessarily modern concepts but also existed a long way back in the past. With the aid of such variables, we shall be exploring our fifth parameter: diachronic salience in mapping structures. In this case, we are concerned with conceptual love metaphors in the history of English. This debate represents a further stage of research into this topic based on models formulated in Trim (2007).

5.2 Cultural sub-parameters of love

In Chapter 3, we suggested that there are a certain number of diachronic universal trends in love metaphors. By the same token, it is clear that conceptualisation of love is very varied, both cross-culturally (Kövecses 1988) and diachronically. The problem that arises in diachronic analysis is that the origins of conceptualisation behind metaphor models may display a considerable degree of variation based on multiple cultural 'sub-parameters'. Each of these sub-parameters may be responsible for fluctuating levels of diachronic salience in conceptual metaphor with contrasting linguistic structures. This represents another complex feature in the attempt to set up a comprehensive model of metaphor evolution.

With this in mind, we will concentrate on the semantic field of love and marriage as an extension to the more uniform, long-term models suggested in Chapter 3. The focus will be on the comparison between cultural attitudes existing in the Middle Ages and those of today. Contextual information on data going so far back in time is dependent, to a large extent, on literary works. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* represents a helpful tool for this purpose as it offers a useful insight into attitudes of the medieval period. A more detailed analysis of his work gives a picture of the types of cultural sources responsible for figurative language and their impact at that time.

Let us first take up the notion of women having to be visibly beautiful at all times, a suggestion put forward by Fein and Schneider in their contemporary female courting strategy. In literary works concerning romantic attitudes to love analogies are often drawn between the female and nature. This idea is illustrated in Chaucer's chivalrous *Knight's Tale* (first mentioned in Chapter 3 in relation to the LOVE = MADNESS metaphor).

The tale is a classic story of courtly love with an Ancient Greek background. King Creon of Thebes has two sons, Palamon and Arcite, who

are imprisoned by Theseus, Duke of Athens, after a conflict with Creon. They are kept in a tower of Theseus's castle which overlooks the palace garden. One May morning, the beautiful Emily ventures out into the garden in sight of the two brothers. They immediately fall in love with her and become rivals:

This passeth yeer by yeer, and day by day,
Til it fils ones, in a morwe of May,
That Emelye, that fairer was to sene
Than is the lilie upon his stalke grene,
And fresher than the May with floures newe –
For with the rose colour stroof hir hewe,
I noot which was the fairer of hem two-
Er it were day, as was hir wone to do…

(Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale*, ll. 175–82)

(This went on day after day and year after year until it once happened, of a May morning, that Emily – who was lovelier to look at than the lily is upon the green stalk, and fresher than May with its spring flowers (for her complexion vied with the color of roses; I do not know which of the two was fairer) – this Emily was up and already dressed before daybreak, as it was her wont to be…)

(Hieatt and Hieatt 1976: 50–1)

Romantic analogies between Emily and nature abound in this passage: EMILY = LILIES, SPRING FLOWERS, ROSES and so on. The modern practice of lipstick matches with 'complexion vying with the color of roses'. The colour red has always been associated with beauty in English literature, probably because of the link to the beauty of the rose, and for centuries red has been applied to cheeks and lips to enhance the aspect of beauty. Cultural attitudes have thus remained the same and produce similar mappings. A second point is the hunting instinct in courting which can lead to the commonplace emotions of jealousy or aggression. Rivalry over the idealised romantic image can lead to these feelings. Not only do the two brothers hunt Emily down, later on when they are freed, they fight each other in order to win her love. This proves their manliness and aggressiveness in the process of chivalrous courtship. Personification of jealousy takes the form of biting during their physical combat in the mapping JEALOUSY = BITING: *the jelous*

strokes on hir helmes byte (the jealous strokes bite into their helmets – l. 1776; Hieatt and Hieatt 1976: 122–3).

It is the notion of *manly* aggression in love that is continued into the late twentieth century by Fein and Schneider:

> The basic premise of this bizarre combination of Pavlovian psychology and Danielle Steel romance is this: Men are driven by a biological necessity to chase women, to respond to the challenge of the hunt. 'In a relationship', Fein and Schneider write, 'the man must take charge. We are not making this up – biologically, he's the aggressor.'
>
> (McClusky 1996)

To a certain degree, this attitude may be found in Modern English, in conceptual metaphors related to hunting and fishing, although they may not necessarily be associated with romantic ideals:

> Who's that skirt-chaser?
> Look at that wolf, following that chick
> She was a good catch
> He reeled her in
>
> (Kövecses 1988: 73)

There are therefore definitely links with the past as far as the duration of conceptual metaphors is concerned. The LOVE = HUNTING model has probably always existed but produces different types of linguistic metaphors according to human activities of the historical period. The suggestion here is that aspects of medieval courtly love, which embodies many of these ideals, have not completely died out, particularly this seems the case if best-selling books try to convince their readers to follow such ideals. We shall argue below, however, that these ideals actually embody substantial variation.

Some long-term links in conceptual metaphor may have less variation in their linguistic counterparts. We suggested in Chapter 3 that the conceptual metaphor LOVE = FOOD is a long-term form of conceptualisation. We also mentioned other models, such as the physiological model of LOVE = FIRE ('he is burning with passion'), that can be traced back to works in Antiquity: *ignes ipse suos nutrit*, 'nurtures his fire, i.e. passion' (Ovid, *Metamorphosis*; trans. Kaufhold 1997: 67). These models are likely to have less variation in diachronic salience than cultural attitudes concerning the ways in which men and women should behave in love and marriage.

There are, however, series of contrasts in both the medieval and modern versions of the courtly love ideal. The first problem with the very 'black-and-white' statements made by Fein and Schneider is that many women – and not only in the modern period – seek equality, themselves like to go hunting and do not necessarily relish the thought of being the subject of or excuse for aggression.

5.3 Medieval sexual economics

Data on metaphors reveal that women often act in the same way as men, regardless of the historical period. Other modern hunting metaphors in American English, as listed by Kövecses, reflect women chasing men:

> He fell in her trap
> She snared him
> She hooked a rich husband
> He fell for her hook, line and sinker
>
> (Kövecses 1988: 73)

This is also common in the literature of the Middle Ages and is indeed portrayed, in many situations, in the form of metaphor or proverbs. Despite the courtly love ideal, it appears that some women preferred to adopt a more aggressive approach to love and marriage. Such is the case of the Wife of Bath in *The Canterbury Tales*. The prologue to the Wife's tale, which is an unusually long one for *The Canterbury Tales*, deals with the Wife Alisoun's treatise on marriage. She herself marries five times and goes into a considerable amount of detail on these five marriages. She tries to justify the fact by saying that, according to biblical knowledge, Abraham and Jacob each had more than one wife. However, she is proud of the fact that she had all of them under her control, in contrast to Fein and Schneider's recommendation of female submission. The Wife felt that the fourth had robbed her of her youth and beauty and the fifth tried to control her but without success. The prologue is therefore largely concerned with 'power struggles' between man and wife. In her hunt for men, which is similar to the modern expressions cited above ('she snared him' or 'he fell into her trap'), she offers the proverbial expression: *with empty hand men may none haukes lure* (you cannot lure a hawk with an empty hand – l. 414). Despite the recognition that men are hawks, women play a part in setting a trap.

The sentence is full of symbolism: 'an empty hand' represents the possibility of offering sexual satisfaction to the spouse. This raises the

question of sexual economics in the Middle Ages, which will form part of the debate about medieval cultural attitudes in the following discussion. It is also linked to ideas of equality and power politics that are reminiscent of modern feminism. In addition, and in contrast to Fein and Schneider's view, *The Wife of Bath's Tale* discusses a further male/female attitude: the reserved nature of men and its attractiveness to women. This comes out in her descriptions of her fifth, and last, husband:

> *I trowe I loved him beste for that he*
> *Was of his love daungerous to me.*
> *We women han, if that I shal nat lye,*
> *In this matere a queynte fantasye*
> *Wayte what thing we may nat lightly have,*
> *Thereafter wol we crye al day and crave.*
> *Forbede us thing, and that desyren we;*
> *Prees on us faste, and thane wol we flee.*
> *With daunger oute we al our chaffare;*
> *Greet prees at market maketh dere ware,*
> *And to greet cheep is holde at litel prys;*
> *This knoweth every woman that is wys.*
>
> (*The Wife of Bath's Tale*, ll. 513–24)

> (I think I loved him best because he was so cool in his love to me. We women have, to tell the truth, an odd fancy in this matter; whatever we cannot easily get we will cry after and crave all day. Forbid us a thing, and we desire it; press it upon us, and then we will flee. Faced with coyness we bring out all our wares; a great crowd at the market makes wares expensive, and what is too cheap is held to be worth little; every wise woman knows this).
>
> (Hieatt and Hieatt 1976: 205)

In other words, it was not the aggressiveness of her various husbands which was attractive to her but rather their reserved nature.

Many of the Wife of Bath's attitudes are expressed through economic metaphors. This can be seen in her analogy with market wares in the passage above. However, they represent a different form of conceptualisation to economic metaphors of love that are used today. Kövecses, for example, lists economic metaphors in Modern English

under the conceptual metaphor of LOVE = VALUABLE COMMODITY (in an economic exchange):

> She's invested a lot in that relationship
> She rewarded his love by taking care of him
> I didn't get much in return
>
> (Kövecses 1988: 58)

Economic metaphors in the Middle Ages, including those that include power relationships, appear to relate to three major cultural attitudes: (a) courtly love, (b) the influence of the Church and (c) secular attitudes. We will look at each of these in turn to see if and in what ways the use of metaphor was different at that time.

5.4 Mappings in courtly love

Chaucer uses a number of metaphors relating to the power politics of love and marriage. These would appear to fall within the domain of courtly love but with a higher level of salience than at the present day. Two models that we will investigate here are the metaphoric mappings MALE LOVER = SERVANT and HUSBAND = LORD:

> *Heer may men seen an humble wys accord*:
> *Thus hath she take hir servant and hir lord,*
> *Servant in love and lord in marriage*;
> *Thanne was he bothe in lordship and servage*
>
> (*The Franklin's Tale*, ll. 67–70).

(Here one may see a humble, wise agreement: she has thus accepted her servant and her lord, servant in love and lord in marriage; he was, then, both in lordship and in servitude).

(Hieatt and Hieatt 1976: 299)

These mappings would appear strange today. We do not usually think of 'servants in love' or 'lords in marriage'. According to this view, the female was in power during courting and the male was in charge during marriage. If we restricted our approach to a basic medieval/contemporary comparison, we could come up with a very simple formulation of how 'time-specific' metaphor evolves. Courtly love was common in the Middle Ages and slowly died out through the following centuries. The assumption is that this type of servitude metaphor no longer

exists. Indeed, a metaphor path of the servitude analogy could be highly salient in the late Middle Ages and slowly decrease to obsolescence.

Fein and Schneider's thesis, however, would suggest that some of these courtly love attitudes, even if servitude is an exaggeration, have not died out entirely. The male has to hunt the female, the female can manipulate the situation to a certain extent during courting, and afterwards the male is in charge. Courtly love ideals can also be seen in Valentine cards in which the modern equivalent of 'knights in shining armour' are portrayed, and in the lyrics of Country and Western songs wherein love entails the medieval necessity of pain and servitude (Burns 2001). For example:

> Sometimes it's hard to be a woman, givin' all your love to just one man
> You'll have bad times, and he'll have good times, doin' things that you don't understand
>
> (Patsy Cline, *Stand By Your Man*)

5.5 The influence of the Church in medieval marriage customs

While the notion of servitude is typical of courtly love, 'a lord in marriage' has a strong religious component. Recent studies have suggested that the latter stems from the Church's teaching that God created a relationship between Adam and Eve in which Eve was a helpmate for man (Robertson 2003). Since Eve was created from the rib of Adam, the female spouse must be subordinate to her lord in the same way as the limbs of a body are subordinate to the head. However, a number of complex social cleavages within the institution of marriage lay behind the symbolism found in sovereignty, as portrayed by Chaucer in *The Franklin's Tale*. Different factors came into play, such as social class, the public/private domain and the relative status of male and female. It was common at the time for knights who had lost their fortunes to marry women of a higher social status. Such a knight did not normally wish the outside world to know he was 'inferior' to his wife, yet at the same time, it was his desire to climb the social ladder that motivated the marriage in the first place. The result was that courtly love and Christian doctrine represented opposing positions – and laid different values – on sovereignty (Robertson 2003).

Many studies claim that the Church in the Middle Ages wished the man to be sovereign in marriage (Howard 1960), but how does this

correspond to modern religious practice in Western society? In many ways, this notion is far less common but has it died out? There are movements today, for example, the creationist movement, which incorporate aspects of the relationship between Adam and Eve in their beliefs and reject Darwinian evolution. The creationist movement has a considerable number of followers in America. The important point here is that the existence of beliefs at any point in time allows for the creation of similar metaphor models. For this reason sovereignty metaphors in marriage still have the potential to exist and their salience might not decrease to zero. However, there are other cultural factors which may be responsible for the continuation of salience in metaphor paths. These include new secular attitudes to love and marriage which arose in the Middle Ages.

5.6 Secular attitudes in the Middle Ages

Chaucer attempts to portray the whole range of medieval society in his characters. The Wife in *The Wife of Bath's Tale* is particularly interesting in this respect. We have seen that, far from expressing the ideals of courtly love, she gives an account of her own experience in love based on her numerous marriages. It should be borne in mind here that Chaucer was greatly influenced by other literary works in this respect. The comic effects achieved are similar to farcical situations in medieval works such as the *Decameron* by Boccaccio.

Secular attitudes, as opposed to courtly or religious influence, involved social changes taking place at the time. One metaphor mapping, which appears specific to the medieval period, is the SEXUAL LOVE = DEBT model. Consider the following example:

> *If he ne may nat liven chast his lyf,*
> *Take him a wyf with greet devocioun*
> *By cause of leveful procreacioun*
> *Of children, to th'onour of God above,*
> *And nat only for paramour or love:*
> *And for they sholde lecherye eschue,*
> *And yelde hir dette whan that it is due*
>
> (*The Wife of Bath's Tale*, ll. 202–8)

(If a man cannot live his life chastely, let himself take a wife with great devoutness for the sake of lawful procreation of children to the

honour of God above, and not simply for sexual pleasure or love; and let him do this because, also, they should eschew lechery and pay their debt to each other when it is due).

(Hieatt and Hieatt 1976: 191)

Is a relationship in a marriage about paying debts as in the metaphor of the last line, 'pay their debt to each other when it is due'? In this particular case, the metaphor refers to the duty of sexual love in marriage, the comic usage being very different from the serious attitude portrayed in the lord and servitude metaphor. Metaphors such as 'love debts' can be explained more clearly against the background of social and economic changes occurring in southern England during the fifteenth century.

The late Middle Ages was a time of huge commercial change in which London merchants and bankers were gaining in power and prestige at the expense of the aristocracy. It has been suggested that the Wife of Bath is 'a female representative of the upwardly mobile mercantile class', created by Chaucer to communicate some of his views on the matter (Dor 2003). Chaucer is apparently portraying a very different vision of marriage in medieval life through the words of the Wife of Bath. Economic terms such as selling, payment, debtor, merchandise and so on, recur constantly in the Wife's story and her metaphorical projection of the economic world on to her sexuality is seen by some feminist critics as 'a defensive strategy against the social oppression of women in a society whose sex and marriage mores were thoroughly inhumane' (Delaney 1983).

Some of the other economic metaphors, which often entail female power over the partner (all from *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, with page numbers for the translations in Hieatt and Hieatt 1976), include the following:

PHYSICAL LOVE = PAYMENT
Now wherewith sholde he make his payement
If he ne used his sely instrument?
(Now how shall he make his payment unless he uses his simple instrument?)

(ll. 131–2; 188–9)

PURCHASE
I was aboute to wedde a wyf; alas!
What sholde I bye it on my flesh so dere?

(I was about to wed a wife; alas! Why should I purchase it so dearly with my flesh?)

(ll. 166–7; 188–9)

PROFIT
What sholde I taken hede hem for to plese
But it were for my profit and myn ese?
(Why should I take pains to please them,
Unless it should be for my own profit and pleasure?)

(ll. 213–14; 192–3)

WARES
For as a spaynel she wol on him lepe
Til that she finde som man hir to chepe
(For she will leap on him like a spaniel until she finds some man who will buy her wares)

(ll. 267–8; 194–5)

GOODS
Thou shalt not bothe, thogh that thou were wood
Be maister of my body and of my good
(You shall not be master of both my body and my goods)

(ll. 314–15; 196–7)

RANSOM
If that I felte his arm over my syde
Til he had maad his raunson unto me
(If I but felt his arm over my side
Until he had paid his ransom to me)

(ll. 410–11; 200–1)

This completely different side to the issue can be included in the parameter of secular attitudes in medieval literature. Some early scholars on Chaucer, such as Kittredge (1912), were interested in this aspect and defined a 'Marriage Group' in *The Canterbury Tales*. As a dramatically integrated unit covering the accounts of marriage given by the Wife of Bath, the Clerk and the Merchant, he suggested that the secular approach to marital harmony reflected Chaucer's own opinion on how marriage should be conducted. This led some scholars to believe that he was 'ahead of his time' (Howard 1960).

Although the idea of debt in this context appears strange today, a move towards equality in all spheres between men and women has been a primary force throughout the twentieth century, beginning with such movements as the suffragettes. Marital harmony, as opposed to arranged marriage, has been an ideal in modern Western society. We could therefore say that the salience of equality and economic metaphors in love probably corresponds to an increase since the Middle Ages. This is matched with the idea of a 'balance of payments' relationship similar to Kövecses's LOVE = VALUABLE COMMODITY conceptual metaphor outlined above. Financial metaphors are particularly predominant in the business-oriented culture of America today: *he didn't buy that* (to disagree), *it was a sell-out* (betrayal) and so on. In contrast to Hungarian, which views life as a concept of war or compromise, Kövecses also points out that life in American English is often conceptualised as a precious possession (2006: 169). This is probably the outcome of different histories: Hungary has struggled for survival for more than a thousand years against the powerful German-speaking and Slavic nations. Historical developments therefore influence conceptual systems. London became a very important trading centre during the late Middle Ages and this played a part in Chaucer's use of metaphor.

The three cultural attitudes discussed so far each influence the ways in which Chaucer represents his ideas through the medium of metaphor. But the final aim of his metaphors is still not quite clear. In literary works, the same metaphor can always be used for a number of different purposes.

5.7 Medieval ironic and comic analogy

Aside from the possibilities discussed above, are Chaucer's medieval economic metaphors simply created for ironic and comic effect? What did Chaucer really think about these different issues? This remains a difficult question to answer. There are claims that the Wife of Bath's views on sexuality are confusing, and that her debating points on the social system she is in tend repeatedly to be erroneous. Chaucer's use of comic effects highlights her misunderstanding and misapplication of social custom. The fact that she accepts the Church's teaching of virginity being superior to marriage indicates that she is 'imprisoned within certain conceptual structures against which she needs to justify herself and which, in the very act of self-justification, assert their primacy' (Lawton 2003: 163).

Furthermore, does it mean that Chaucer is trying to assert his own opinion in *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, in the sense that he is criticising her views and that his is, in reality, what we might describe as a more feminist view? Both irony and comic effect can be used not only to make the audience/reader laugh but also to create a parody of society. Lawton feels that Chaucer's own attitude is so concealed that it is difficult to define. It seems more likely that he wished to present the differing views of society at the time in a neutral way. Although the issue of sexual economics is not a new one – it also featured in the character of *La Vieille* (the Old Woman) in the medieval French allegory, *Roman de la Rose*, which inspired much of the Wife's position – Lawton claims that Chaucer was moving into new territory by deliberately presenting contradictory ways of interpreting the world. Whatever Chaucer's opinions might have been, the clash of views represented by the creation of his characters was clearly an aspect he took great interest in, particularly with regard to marital harmony. He tended to leave the reader the choice of judgement on any aspects he wished to present, and the prologues were often used as a literary device for this purpose, as in the Miller's Prologue: '*and therefore, whoso list it nat y-here, turne over the leef and chese another tale*', 'and therefore, whosoever does not wish to hear it, turn over the page and choose another tale' (Davenport 2004: 34).

5.8 Multiple sub-categories of salience

Whatever Chaucer thought, and the way in which he presented opinions to avoid conflicts with the Church or other institutions, the sources of diachronic salience in metaphor can take on a multiple form. Within the main parameter of salience, there appear to be other sub-categories. In many cases, metaphor does not simply progress from a stage of active use to one of obsolescence. It may become less salient but not die out. Metaphors related to courtly love, as in the case of servitude, may provide an example here. At the same time, some conceptual metaphors might always have existed or have existed for a very long time, as in the case of economic metaphors. Such metaphors may actually become more salient along the diachronic scale. In addition, the use of such metaphors may vary from a very serious application through parody to purely comic effect. Depending on their use, medieval metaphors may fit into the pattern of courtly love or issues on power struggles between men and women in marriage.

The persistence of a metaphor might thus be the result of a number of different cultural phenomena. Culture in the emotions is an important

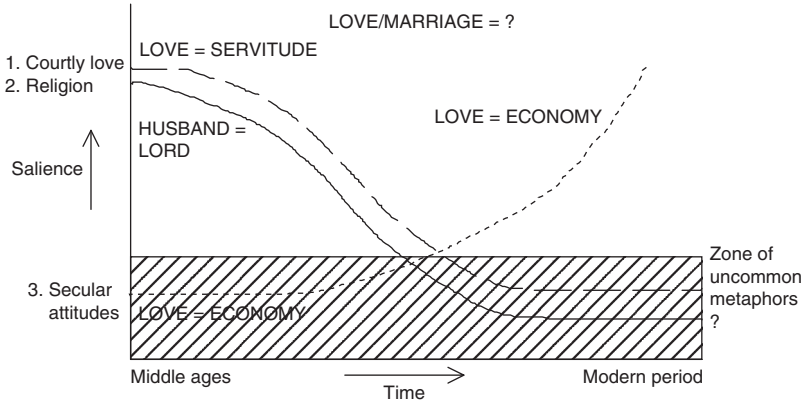


Figure 5.1 Fluctuating cultural attitudes in the diachronic salience of conceptual love metaphors

factor. Figure 5.1 represents a hypothetical model of diachronic variation in cultural attitudes to love. We have suggested that the first category of courtly love metaphors has decreased since the Middle Ages but has not died out. Servitude in love is a far less common concept today. The second category of religion has probably decreased but, with the available data so far, it is difficult to gauge levels of salience in Western society between the medieval and modern periods. It is perhaps unlikely that many Christian believers today feel that the man is the master (HUSBAND = LORD) in a modern marriage relationship. The third category of secular attitudes (LOVE = ECONOMY) has probably increased because of the particularly high ratio of religious influence in the Middle Ages and the strong cultural role of business in modern American English.

These varying cultural attitudes have an influence on the salience of comedy and irony in metaphor usage. Again, Figure 5.2 represents a hypothetical model but we are reasonably able to suggest the following theories. We have seen sexual love in Chaucer's writings represented by different economic metaphors such as debt, payment and so on. At a serious level, these would not have been common metaphors at the time, and would certainly not be so today. Consequently, they remain at a low level of salience (1a). On the other hand, the salience of their comic effects is high. They undoubtedly had a comic effect on readers at the time and they are equally comic for readers today. For this reason, the level of salience is unlikely to have changed through time (1b).

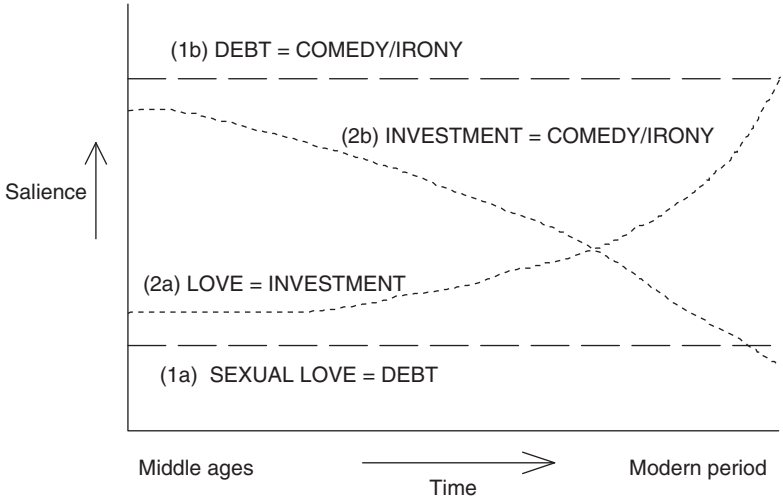


Figure 5.2 Salience of comedy/irony in linguistic ECONOMY metaphors of love according to time-specific cultural attitudes

At the same time, irony would very likely have been used in a different way in Chaucer's time, if he was indeed criticising society and the role of men and women in marriage. However, we are easily able to understand the ironic effect in the medieval context and particularly within the modern framework of feminist movements which claim there is ongoing inequality between the sexes.

In contrast to the debt type of economic metaphor, diachronic salience in other concepts of business, such as investment (2a), would probably have risen sharply in Modern English due to (i) the business culture of America outlined above and (ii) the modern concept of marriage. Among the various models of love and marriage in American English, cognitive linguists suggest that relationships are often perceived as requiring work and calculation. The conceptual metaphor, LOVE AS A STRUCTURED OBJECT, lists a number of linguistic metaphors which are undoubtedly very different to attitudes in medieval times:

> We function as a unit
> This is a working relationship
> They are busy patching up their relationship
> They created a lasting relationship
>
> (Kövecses 1988: 81)

The idea of figurative investment from the financial source domain therefore fits very well into Modern English and would represent a sharply increasing use of this conceptual metaphor during the latter part of the language's history. The interesting point, however, about the use of comedy or irony with this type of metaphor is that the frequency of its use in modern language would render a low level of salience to its comic effect. In contrast, since this attitude was not common in medieval marriages, it could have acted as a highly salient comic effect at that time (2b). Consequently, we could postulate a decreasing trend in comic salience for an ECONOMY metaphor whose salience in usage has probably increased.

It can therefore be seen that a number of complex patterns of cultural attitudes can influence the various usage and effects of metaphor through time. In addition, the continuation of usage at a given level of salience may be the result of any one of a number of multiple cultural sub-categories. Metaphors linked to differences between men and women may historically have been to either courtly love traditions or religious influence. Salience of usage in the active stage of a metaphor path is likely to depend on the strongest cultural parameter at a given point in time. If one cultural sub-category disappears, it may not affect usage in a multiple-category model. Furthermore, related comic or ironic effects may depend on the strength of relevant cultural attitudes at the time.

5.9 Salience and prototypical weighting

One final aspect which has not been discussed so far is the frequency of items in a given corpus, which can act as a mirror of salience. The analysis above has been restricted to how 'common' or 'strange-sounding' an item may be in a language community at one point in time. In the field of diachronic prototype semantics, Geeraerts refers to salience as the prototypical weighting of an item in a given category. Semantic change may take place as a result of either semasiological or onomasiological structures. Geeraerts (1997: 23–4) suggests that the former, for example, can take place through interlocking and overlapping readings of attributes and that there are differences in structural weight as in the frequent loss of peripheral meanings.

We saw in the last chapter that Geeraerts and Gevaert (2008) adopted an onomasiological approach to data analysis in the anger metaphor. Recent research in this area has tried out both approaches. Molina (2008) suggests that a prototypical analysis of meaning change would

provide dictionary users with greater insight into the histories of words. In semasiology, for example, certain meanings are likely to have a higher frequency than others in the same category. This feature, known as the *semasiological load*, would indicate how definitions of words can evolve through time.

With regard to the study of love metaphors above, a considerable amount of statistical analysis would be required to investigate semasiological load (SL). Furthermore, a comparison of different corpora would probably be needed to give an accurate picture. The situation is made more complex by the different sub-parameters of diachronic variation if more time-specific structures are explored. The 'within-culture' variation of metaphor use in literary works is a case in point. On the one hand, they may be the result of the cultural context of the time, such as in the case of the medieval 'servant in love' in courtly love, or they may be a result of individual innovation, or poetic licence, as in the 'statute' metaphor considered below. The 'statute' metaphor implies, in Chaucerian English, the duty to fulfil physical love in marriage in reference to the Wife of Bath's various husbands:

> *Unnethe mighte they the* ***statut*** *holde in which that they were bounden unto me*.
> (They were scarcely able to keep the **statute** by which they were bound to me.)
> (*The Wife of Bath's Tale*, l. 198; Hieatt and Hieatt 1976: 190)

We will give a simple example of analysis regarding these items as an illustration of how the approach may work.

The Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse (University of Michigan: www.hti.umich.edu/c/cme) lists the 'servant' metaphor as having 24 occurrences in *The Canterbury Tales*, eight of which are linked metaphorically to love. This would mean that the item has an SL of 33 per cent. However, the 'statute' item has only three occurrences, all of which are linked to the 'duty of physical love' in marriage outlined above. On this basis, its SL would be 100 per cent. We can suggest the following conclusions regarding semasiological load: first, the percentage could indicate it is purely a comic effect used by Chaucer in the medieval context. Second, it may therefore be poetic licence. Third, prototypical weighting in the text is high, even though overall frequency is low, and the term is therefore highly salient due to its SL (within its comic context). Fourth, this type of analysis would require comparisons with prototypical weightings in the modern period to draw up accurate trends in the diachronic salience of the items in question.

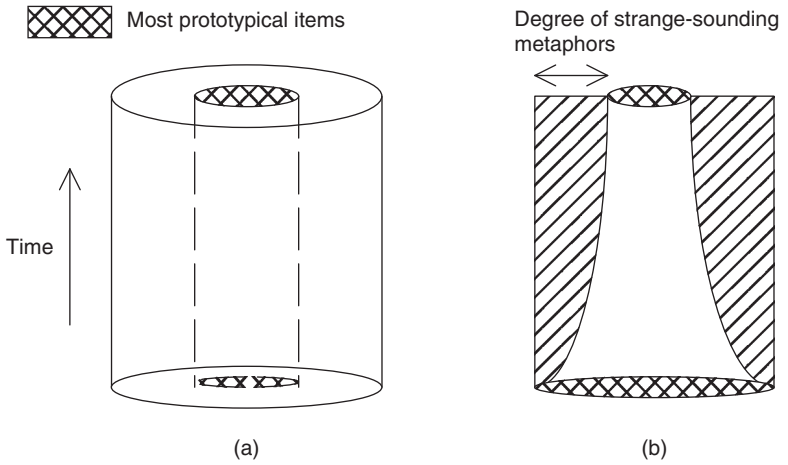


Figure 5.3 Diachronic salience in conceptual systems

In order to summarise this preliminary analysis of diachronic salience, Figure 5.3 proposes diagrammatic illustrations of conceptual networks. The diagram in Figure 5.3(a) represents a theoretical conceptual system in which there is no fluctuation in diachronic salience of conceptual metaphors. The inner core of the cylinder represents the most prototypical items of a category, the outer cylinder would be the area in which items are less salient and would appear to 'sound strange' in a given cultural context. Unless there are true diachronic universals which maintain an even balance in their prototypicality, the more usual type of system is likely to be in Figure 5.3(b). This would represent a conceptual metaphor system in which the degree of salience has decreased through time. In other words, the shaded area of 'strange-sounding' metaphors in the outer cylinder becomes less the further back in time the history of the metaphor is traced. At a certain point in time, it was highly salient, or at least much more so than today. This would be the case of certain courtly love metaphors discussed above. The core cylinder would denote that the metaphor is still used but that many of its related items would sound much stranger than before.

We will be arguing in Part IV, however, that, although semasiological load is one valid explanation of diachronic salience, there are probably other cultural and historical events that can temporarily increase frequency, but that may not necessarily be connected with the prototypical weightings of category members.

In our discussion of diachronic conceptual systems so far, we can summarise that there are different theories on what constitutes long and

short-term paths in mapping structures, including the diachronic variable of salience in long-term models. If we accept, for convenience's sake and despite the controversy in this area of research, that both physiological and cultural factors play a part in duration, we can logically assume that the ratio between physiology, or conceptual embodiment, on the one hand, and culture on the other, must vary according to the type of human experience in question. In other words, do semantic fields, or specific cognitive domains, play a role in how mapping varies through time?

Our analyses so far have dealt, to a large extent, with the emotions. This field is a useful starting point since not only has it undergone a considerable amount of research in recent years, it also constitutes an area with a solid foundation in cognitive theories of figurative language. Furthermore, the emotions logically epitomise the potential of metaphor creation based on physiological conceptualisation. Are the emotions ultimately physiological or, at least, one of the most physiological semantic fields that exist? Doubts have crept in during discussions on the salience of love metaphors. There seem to be a large number of cultural factors involved in the way we behave in love if we look at different historical periods.

One of the problems of testing 'diachronic universals' or, at least, long-term paths, according to the cognitive domain, is trying to define a semantic field. This is similar to the problem of determining the boundaries of a conceptual system. The emotions should normally be a fairly clear-cut semantic field, although there are a large number of different types of emotion. If we think about the question, one semantic field which ought to be relatively homogeneous, as far as its conceptual components are concerned, is colour. Although a great deal of colour is symbolic, it could be assumed that there are colours such as black and white, corresponding to the physiological conceptualisation of dark and light, that have regular diachronic trends in conceptual mappings. Could certain diachronic patterns be more regular than the emotions? For this reason, a seemingly 'homogeneous' semantic field in the form of colour will now be investigated to test this possibility. The relation between colour universals/culture and semantic field will therefore be the subject of the next chapter.

6
Semantic Fields and Colour

6.1 Long-term cultural paths according to semantic field

When we examine a semantic field, or cognitive domain, could there be more regular diachronic patterns in some fields than in others? We might choose to examine, for example, metaphors relating to finance, commerce, technology, law, gastronomy, love, war, religion, or to any other field. Do statements on diachronic patterns depend on the field we wish to investigate? If this is the case, we need to take particular care in the choice of corpus or, better still, to make a comparison of different fields.

In the following discussion, we will therefore be looking at our sixth, and final, parameter in a generalised model: the extent to which the nature of the semantic field itself may influence the degree of universal/cultural factors along the diachronic scale. The main point that will be emphasised in this comparison of semantic fields is that long-term, diachronic paths are not necessarily equated with embodiment. The criterion is therefore a different one compared to the synchronic, cross-cultural scale. Such long-term paths may be related to long-term cultural mindsets which prolong a mapping over many centuries. This does not mean that they can be classified as diachronic universals, and certainly not cross-cultural universals, since they tend to be restricted to one particular language. However, they do represent long-term paths on the diachronic scale.

This aspect is not so evident in discussions on the emotions, apart from the fact that traditions may prolong certain attitudes towards love and marriage as we have seen in Chaucer's works. However, it was also noted that these attitudes, such as the remnants of courtly love, fluctuate enormously in their salience regarding metaphoric structures.

Some mappings in other semantic fields may remain very stable without fluctuating salience, at least in one particular figurative attribute of a concept. This may be entirely due to culture.

One example that illustrates this feature is the semantic field of colour. We shall see in Parts III and IV that there are other fields of a similar nature, such as animal symbolism. Of course, colour is subject to enormous symbolic variation, particularly across cultures, but certain colour attributes remain diachronically stable. In this study we shall be looking at colour analogies in the history of English with reference to Shakespeare's works. The time-span of four centuries is an adequate one to illustrate this feature of long-term paths and Shakespeare made abundant use of colour metaphorisation.

Before looking at this feature in more detail, a number of issues will be raised as to other possible differences between semantic fields which would require other detailed studies regarding their quantification.

6.2 Uniformity in semantic fields

The first question that arises is whether some fields are more uniform than others in their conceptual categories and easier to delimit in their extent. Could this have an effect on the regularity of universal versus cultural patterns? At first sight, colour may be relatively easy to delimit as far as the number of categories it is likely to contain. The field logically refers to any object that has a certain colour derived from the normal colour range the eye can perceive. Any major categorisation would thus be limited to the different colours of the spectrum. Clearly this could therefore be more uniform than the large range of emotions. In the case of the semantic field of war, which is discussed in Part III below, a yet vaster number of concepts may be involved according to what is being described about the nature of armed conflicts. Potentially the semantic field of war might contain a considerable variety of physiological or cultural concepts.

It is particularly the latter example that raises the issue of delimitation. Which concepts would belong within the semantic field and which ones would be located outside it? The notion of semantic field and meaning patterns were first investigated by Trier (1931) who suggested that fields played a role in semantic change. Although his theories dealt with individual concepts rather than semantic fields that cover entire cognitive domains, the notion of delimitation is a relevant one to both individual concept and domain. It again raises the issue of prototype theory or

other previous theories dealing with the same problem, as in 'hedges' or 'fuzzy edges' (Lakoff 1972). The border of the cognitive domains of the emotions or colour may be easy to define but where precisely would the boundary lie in the case of war?

Dictionary definitions offer a form of delimitation but this may remain imprecise as far as war is concerned. Emotion is defined as 'a strong mental or instinctive feeling such as love or fear', colour as 'the sensation produced on the eye by rays of light when resolved as by a prism, selective reflection, etc. into different wavelengths' (OED). We may construe the first as mental or physical sensations in reaction to specific states or situations and the second as the colour spectrum perceived by the human eye. However, the definition of war as 'armed hostilities between esp. nations' (OED) can include any number of human situations, objectives, artefacts and so on that cross semantic field borders.

If we accept the idea that embodiment is linked to universals, the mixture of concepts in a semantic field may therefore yield differing proportions of embodiment and culture. The fact that emotions are frequently based on bodily sensations, and that colour 'represents a basic neuro-physiological feature of conceptualisation' (Lakoff 1987: 271), would suggest that these fields have a higher proportion of embodiment than in the case of war. Does this mean that the emotions or colour have more long-term paths than war? In reality, this is a difficult aspect to quantify and the following discussions will show that cultural traditions can equally play a major role.

6.3 Source and target domains of semantic fields

A second issue that might have an influence on uniformity in diachronic patterns is whether the semantic field under study involves the source or target domains in a mapping. Our discussion on the emotions involved the field being analysed as a target domain, that is, in relation to the different kinds of concepts that are mapped on to the emotions. An analysis could also adopt the reverse approach whereby the field in question is investigated in terms of a source domain. In this case, the objective is to find out what kinds of target concepts a source domain will aim for in a mapping. This may or may not influence the universal/cultural quantification but some fields might be easier to analyse according to the direction of mapping. The field as source domain may offer a more straightforward form of analysis, as in the case of colour, and this will

be the strategy in the study below on diachronic patterns of colour analogies. Its aim is therefore to find out how colour is mapped in a given language/culture.

6.4 Directionality of mapping

Another aspect that arises in directionality of mapping is that some domains can become intertwined between source and target fields. However, directionality may vary according to the semantic field. The source domain of WAR may be a relevant field for the target domain of ECONOMY. Charteris-Black (2005: 91) cites the former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's use of the conceptual metaphor, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS = ENEMIES, which generates linguistic metaphors such as victory, battle, conquest, fighting and so on (all bold emphases in the following extracts are added):

> Inflation threatens democracy itself. We've always put **victory** at the top of our agenda. For it's a **battle** which never ends.
>
> (October 1980)

> That is why it is not a question of choosing between the **conquest** of inflation and the **conquest** of unemployment. Indeed as one of our speakers reminded us yesterday, we are **fighting** unemployment by **fighting** inflation.
>
> (October 1981)

WAR may also be a source domain in LOVE (Kövecses 1988: 72):

> He is known for his many rapid **conquests**
> She **fought** for him, but his mistress **won out**
> He made an **ally** of her mother
> He **enlisted the aid** of her friends
> She is **besieged** by suitors

However, although ECONOMY and WAR are reversible, the same does not appear to be the case with LOVE and WAR. War may be a part of love scenarios but it is probably not logical to find data in the other direction. Needless to say, emotions other than love may be readily mapped on to the target field of WAR.

With regard to universality, an examination of the target domain is thus needed to evaluate what kinds of images are being attracted from

a source domain, and vice versa. Any target field that embodies tasks with challenges and that requires substantial effort may attract WAR images. A target field with a high proportion of physiological features, such as the emotions, may attract a high proportion of physiology-related images which constitute appropriate and relevant mappings. Other fields may attract a high degree of cultural influence.

6.5 Scales of universal/cultural trends according to semantic field

Along the lines of the preceding discussions and in accordance with the embodiment theory, it might be possible to put forward the hypothesis that the higher the degree of embodiment in either direction, the greater will be the attraction of universal trends in the overall mapping. We are unable to state at this particular point which fields may follow a scale but Figure 6.1 would represent a hypothetical trend across semantic fields. The order from left to right of target semantic fields A, B, C and D in the figure reflects theoretical decrease in their physiological influence but increase in their cultural effects according to their degree of embodiment.

Semantic field A may thus hypothetically be allotted to a field such as the emotions. At the other end of the scale, semantic field D could involve a culturally-loaded lexicon such as culinary terminology. Many of the terms given to dishes, for example, are metaphoric or metonymic in structure. At the same time, semantic fields can include extensive

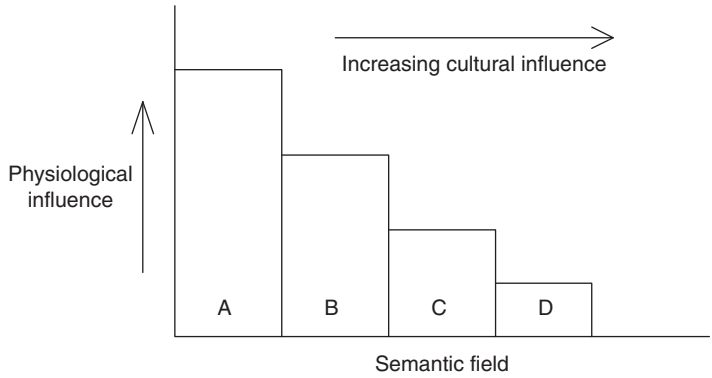


Figure 6.1 Physiological versus cultural influence according to target semantic field

variation in human ideals and activities, as in the case of war. The presence of many non-physiological features might be accounted for by increased cultural variation, such as social history, political events and so on, which may place this target semantic field to the right of the emotions.

Of course, mappings do not just involve A > B or B > A, as in ECONOMICS and WAR. More precisely, many fields may be involved. Figure 6.2 shows that one target semantic field Xa may be subject to mappings from more universally-based semantic fields in source domain Y, while the opposite occurs in target semantic field Xb. The source semantic fields are represented with circles marked U and C, according to whether they are universally (U) or culturally (C) based.

Semantic fields in the source domains may likewise have a mixture of embodied and cultural features. Some features may also project onto specific categories of target semantic fields in the form of POSITIVE versus NEGATIVE. Thus, in Figure 6.3, source items X and Y may project consistently onto positive and negative concepts respectively, indicating that both these items could have a universal trend in their semantic field. This particular aspect will be illustrated with colour terminology below.

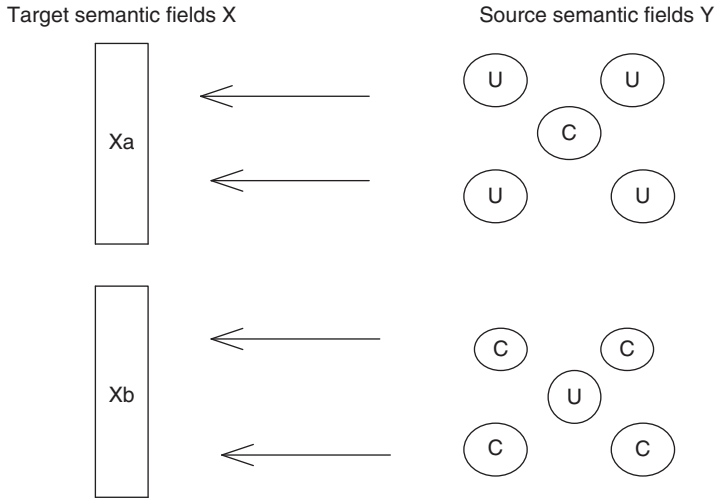


Figure 6.2 Universal and cultural relations between source and target semantic fields

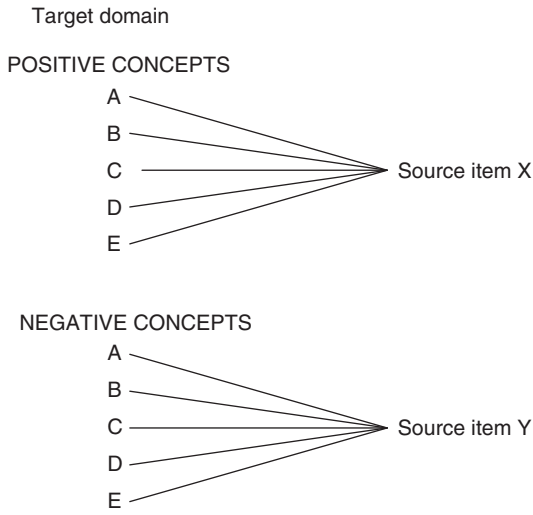


Figure 6.3 Universal features in a source semantic field

On the other hand, if source items within the same semantic field map in a haphazard way in their projection, the hypothesis is that they are likely to be more culturally based. From a diachronic point of view, universal trends in the source semantic field are also likely to be projected onto similar target concepts at different historical periods and vice versa for cultural trends. In Figure 6.4, source item X maps onto the same concepts A and B at different historical periods (HP1 and HP2). This would indicate a universal trend diachronically. On the other hand, source item Y maps onto different concepts A and B (HP1) and C and D (HP2), indicating a more cultural trend.

Although these represent basic trends, there are exceptions. The preceding discussions suggest that the semantic field could play a number of different roles in how uniform or irregular the creation of images through time may be. The exceptions are often found in the extent to which culture plays a dominant force in long-term conceptualisation. This aspect will now be taken up with regard to colour in Shakespeare's works in relation to the present day.

6.6 The semantic field of colour

The semantic field of colour has been subject to a considerable amount of study in the area of conceptualisation. One of the problems has been

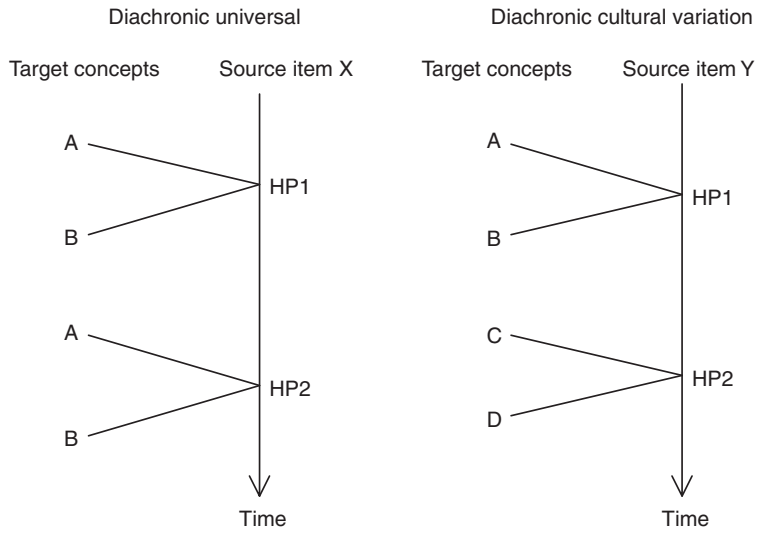


Figure 6.4 Universal and cultural trends in diachronic mapping from the same source semantic field

establishing what exactly is meant by specific colours – blue, grey and so on – even in a more literal sense. This problem can be seen in colour conceptualisation observed in cross-language lexical items. Taylor (1989: 3) mentions the case of the oft-cited Welsh *glas*, which translates into English as blue, green or even grey. Other examples include the differences between blues in Russian: *goluboy* denoting 'light, pale blue' and *sinij* a 'dark, bright blue' which are not conceptualised as different shades of the same colour. Other cross-language examples involve English 'brown' which has variants in French *brun* and *marron*.

In the following discussion, we will therefore first focus on this distinction between the semantic categorisation of colour and its corresponding metaphorisation. Berlin and Kay (1969), who carried out extensive research into colour categorisation based on a large number of widely differing languages, proposed a universally-based sequence of basic colour terms in a list of eleven focal colours:

Black, white
Red
Yellow, blue, green
Brown
Purple, pink, orange, grey

Which of these would tend to involve long-term conceptualisation? As mentioned above, Lakoff (1987) suggests that all colour perception is neurologically based, although Kövecses (2006: 33) points out that recent views still regard neurology as a hypothesis. Lakoff also claims that there are two basic colour groups, primary (black, white, red, yellow, green, blue) and non-primary (purple, orange, pink, brown, grey), and that these depend on response cells in our nervous system. The different types of response cells which capture primary colours can turn them into non-primary categories. The primary colours of black and white are physiologically different in that they depend on darkness and light-sensitive cells, although they also contribute to forming non-primary colours: for example, brown is a combination of black and yellow.

6.7 Diachronic variation in colour

How does this match up to the corresponding metaphorisation of colour along the time dimension? By using this particular semantic field, the following discussion will be based on the fact that long-term conceptualisation (not necessarily in the sense of absolute universals) might be the result of culture and not necessarily of embodiment. In addition, embodiment is very often a part of, or well integrated into, cultural variation. As an illustration, the two primary colours of black and white at the top of Berlin and Kay's (1969) list can arguably be linked to the physiological issue of sensitivity to light and darkness. In the same way as postulating a potential POSITIVE = UP and NEGATIVE = DOWN universal trend, can we also posit a POSITIVE = WHITE (that is, light) and NEGATIVE = BLACK (that is, darkness) conceptual metaphor in colour metaphorisation? The fact that we are unable to see in darkness can make us imagine all kinds of negative thoughts whereas light enables us to clearly assess our environment. This would match up with the conceptual metaphors in the 'Way of Life' sculpture outlined in Chapter 1. Moreover, basic principles of conceptualisation in Western society do follow these lines.

However, there are a number of problems with this assumption if we look beyond European languages. First, comparing languages and cultures around the world on a synchronic basis it becomes clear that the black/white correspondences do not always match up. Take English and Chinese. The traditional colour used at funerals in Chinese is white, and not black, as in English (Li 2005).

Second, and from a diachronic point of view, Pastoreau (1996: 52) suggests that the association of black with funerals or bereavement in

general was probably not a widespread custom in Western society before the seventeenth century. Mourning colours were more varied, men customarily wearing dark shades of blue, grey, violet and brown, as well as black. The use of colour being restricted primarily to the upper social classes during the early periods of wearing specific types of clothing for funerals, there is evidence for the fact that knights at the beginning of the fourteenth century tended to wear dark blue or a grey-blue colour at such events.

There thus appears to be diachronic variation in colour associations even in a primary colour such as black. One of the major criteria that emerges, not only from Pastoreau's work on symbolism but also from the historical aspect of colour customs in many different cultures, is that colour metaphorisation or symbolisation is markedly ambivalent. The association of POSITIVE/NEGATIVE with WHITE/BLACK can fluctuate to a considerable degree. Although black may have been associated with evil for a long time, Pastoreau cites the colour as being fashionable in princely or aristocratic clothing from the end of the fourteenth century onwards. The same could be said in relation to the clothes fashions of today. In addition, changes in association may not imply opposing values but simply very different interpretations. The conclusion is that not only does this occur across cultures but also through different time periods.

6.8 Basic principles in diachronic colour patterns: Shakespeare's metaphors

There are, nevertheless, a number of basic principles involved in trends, as suggested above, and in line with Figures 6.3. and 6.4. Throughout the history of English, black has tended to remain negative and white positive. However, long-term trends are often related to cultural themes, such as Ancient Greek philosophy, religion, the nobility/upper ruling classes and so on, which have been maintained through the history of Western culture. To demonstrate this point, the following colour data at a diachronic level has been obtained from Shakespeare's works by using search tools in the database, www.opensourceshakespeare.org. These items have been taken from a broad selection of his works: *All's Well That Ends Well* (AWTEW); *Anthony & Cleopatra* (A&C); *Hamlet* (H); *Rape of Lucrece* (RL); *As You Like It* (AYLI); *Cymbeline* (C); *Henry IV* (HIV); *Henry V* (HV); *Henry VI* (HVI); *Henry VIII* (HVIII); *King John* (KJ); *Lover's Complaint* (LC); *Love's Labour's Lost* (LLL); *Pericles* (P); *Romeo & Juliet* (R&C); *Sonnet 99* (S99); *Twelfth Night* (TN); *Venus and Adonis* (V&A); and *The Winter's Tale* (WT).

With regard to the present day, the negative aspect of black is attested in Modern English (OED): (a) angry ('a black look'); (b) implying disgrace or condemnation ('in his black books'); (c) wicked ('black-hearted'); (d) gloomy or sullen ('a black mood'); foreseeing trouble ('things looked black'); macabre ('black humour'). These NEGATIVE = BLACK trends are also present in Shakespeare's writings, with slight variations. Some of the major colour associations of black deal with the devil and hell, evil, death and illness:

DEVIL/HELL = BLACK

So long? Nay, then, let **the devil wear black** (H [III, 2], l. 2009)

Then trip him, that his heels may kick at heaven, and that his soul may be damn'd and **black as hell**, whereto it goes (H [III, 3], ll. 2476–9)

Do you not remember, a' saw a flea stick upon Bardolph's nose, and a' said it was a **black soul burning in hell-fire**? (HVI [II, 3], ll. 870–2)

EVIL = BLACK

The **black prince**, sir; alias, the prince of darkness; **alias the devil** (AWTEW [IV, 5], ll. 2498–9)

The rugged Pyrrhus, he whose sable arms, **black as his purpose**, did the night resemble when he lay couched in the ominous horse, hath now **this dread and black complexion** smear'd with heraldry more dismal (H [II, 2], ll. 1528–32)

No doubt he's noble; he had a **black mouth** that said other of him (HVIII [I, 3], l. 641)

DEATH/MOURNING = BLACK

O wretched state! O bosom **black as death**! O limed soul, that, struggling to be free, art more engag'd! (H [III, 3], ll. 2350–2)

We **mourn in black**: why not mourn in blood? (HVI [I, 1], l. 21)

Those eyes that are now dimm'd with **death's black veil** (HVI [V, 2], l. 2738)

> But see his face is **black and full of blood**, his eyeballs further out than when he lived (HVI [III, 2], ll. 1853–5)

> Her **blue blood changed to black** in every vein, wanting the spring that those shrunk pipes had fed, show'd life imprison'd in a body dead (RL [II]. ll. 1505–7)

A slight variation may be seen in the analogy 'black breath'

> ILLNESS = BLACK

> But even this night, whose **black, contagious breath** already smokes about the burning crest (KJ [V, 4], ll. 2521–2)

As suggested above, the mapping may be linked to the embodied perception of light and dark. However, it is often incorporated into the cultural influence of religion and could be linked to Ancient Greek philosophy. In Chapter 1, we saw that the mapping of darkness, as in the link with the 'Way of Life' sculpture and also the notions of evil and hell, has often been based historically on Christianity in which the conceptual metaphor DARK = SPIRITUAL IGNORANCE is prevalent (Charteris-Black 2004: 185–90):

> Then Jesus said unto them, yet a little while is the **light** with you. Walk while ye have the **light**, lest **darkness** come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth.
>
> (John 12: 35–6)

At the same time, it might also pre-date the Christian era. Evil, fear, madness, illness and so on could be linked to humoral theory. Black bile in Ancient Greek thought represented a state of madness, or *melancholao*. Black was interpreted as evil and sometimes as dangerous – the sea could become 'black' (Padel 1992: 68ff.) Instances of this colour in Ancient Greek texts therefore suggest a strong cultural input as in Geeraerts and Grondelaers's (1995) theories on the conceptualisation of anger.

The POSITIVE = WHITE mapping has a similar correspondence between Early Modern and Modern English. The OED lists modern associations such as: innocence ('white lie'), peace or truce (white flag), purity (white wedding) and so on. Metaphors of white in Shakespeare's texts share these positive qualities of innocence, peace, purity, chastity and truth.

PURITY = WHITE

By the **white hand** of my lady, he's a gallant prince (HV [III, 7], l. 1728)

They may seize on the **white wonder** of dear Juliet's hand (R&J [II, 4], ll. 1906)

CHASTITY = WHITE

There my **white stole** of chastity I daff'd (LC, l. 299)

VIRTUE = WHITE

This heraldry in Lucrece' face was seen, argued by beauty's red and **virtuous white** (RL, ll. 115–16)

INNOCENCE = WHITE

What if this cursed hand were thicker than itself with brother's blood, is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens **to wash it white as snow?** (H [III, 3], ll. 2325–8)

PEACE = WHITE

For, by the semblance of their **white flags** display'd, they bring us peace (P [I, 4], ll. 488–9)

Again, white has often been associated with light in the Christian religion, as in the FAITH = LIGHT metaphor in the extract from St John's Gospel above. This usage might therefore also be on account of long-lasting religious or social systems.

On the other side of the coin, basic trends in conceptual variation between historical periods, as illustrated by Figure 6.4, can be seen in the colour green. In general, the colour has tended to be negative but there are some distinct differences compared with Shakespeare's time.

SICKNESS = GREEN

Since Pompey's feast, as Menas says, is troubled with the **green sickness** (A&C [III, 2], ll. 1597–8)

This is similar to Modern English, 'he turned a sickly green'. In both cases, illness may be linked to the visual perception of facial colour when a person is sick, or to the impression that is given by the complexion of a sick person. The SICK = GREEN metaphor appears to have been extended to LOVESICK or MAD = GREEN:

> Besides, the knave is handsome, young, and hath all those requisites in him that **folly and green minds** look after (O [II, 1], 1044–7)

This has led to a general conception that associates the colour green with love:

> LOVE = GREEN

> **Green is indeed the colour of lovers**; but to have a love of that colour, methinks Samson had small reason for it. He surely affected her for her wit.
>
> It was so, sir; for she had a green wit (LLL [I, 2], ll. 387–90)

In line with the example below of GREEN = IMMATURITY, the colour could possibly be interpreted as 'immature' in the expression 'green mind'. In this case, there would be a historical change in its collocation as 'green' would not normally be associated with 'mind' today, even if the sense of immaturity has continued. If the interpretation of lovesick is taken into account, it would represent a semantic change in the colour's metaphorisation.

Associated with LOVE = GREEN is JEALOUSY or ENVY = GREEN, as in Modern English 'to be green with envy':

> ENVY = GREEN

> But not her maid, **since she is envious; her vestal livery is but sick and green** and none but fools do wear it (R&J [II, 2], ll. 851–3)

One major conceptual metaphor in Modern English that is negative is IMMATURITY = GREEN, as in 'he is a bit green behind the ears' (in 2008 Barack Obama suggested that Republican John McCain saw him in this light; see http://languagelog.ldc.upenn.edu/nll/?p=727, accessed 3 May 2011). Shakespeare gives the impression that he also intended green to represent immaturity:

My salad days, when I was **green in judgement** (A&C [I, 5], ll. 607–8)

Affection? Pooh! You speak like a **green girl**, unsifted in such perilous circumstance. Do you believe his tenders, as you call them? (H [I, 3], l. 588)

According to context, green was not necessarily symbolic of immaturity, it could also signify something which was simply young, new or fresh:

NEW = GREEN

How **green you are and fresh in this old world**! (KJ [III, 4], l. 1533)

The collocations of newness were extended beyond the emotions, for example, to memory or physical injury:

Though yet of Hamlet our dear brother's death the **memory be green** (H [I, 2], l. 202)

Bite I pray you; it is good for your **green wound** and your ploody coxcomb (HV [V], l. 2929)

As far as the emotions are concerned, contextual information is often required to interpret the different attributes of green according to its application of immaturity, jealousy, newness and so on:

Thou are not firm enough, since **griefs are green** (HIV [IV, 5], l. 3099)

The OED lists the principal figurative associations as immaturity, illness, envy and ecology (the latter being discussed in Chapter 2). It can therefore be seen that there are a number of links between Renaissance and Modern English but that not all usages correspond or, at most, some would sound archaic today.

With a focus on the linguistic metaphors outlined above, we could therefore summarise some basic principles of long-term and shorter-term paths based on Figure 6.4, using the colours of black, white and green, in Figure 6.5. Whether long or short term, both trends may very well be based on cultural factors.

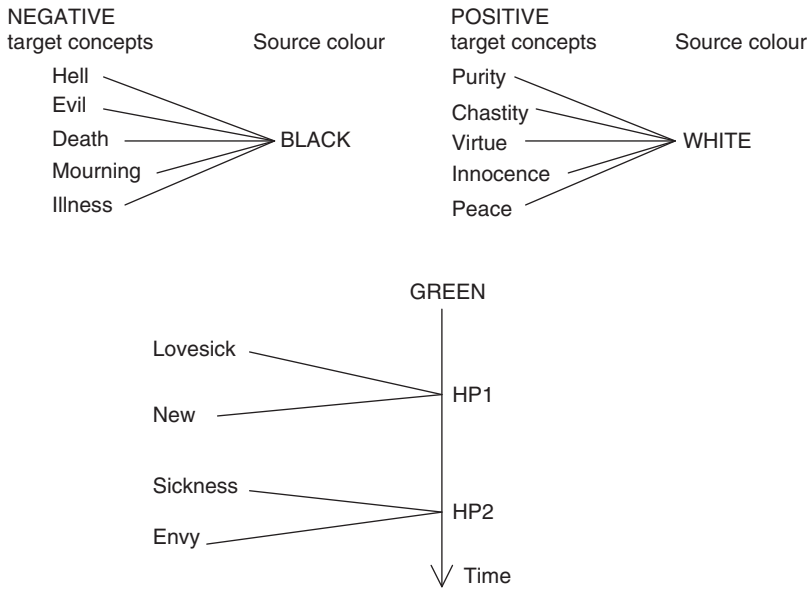


Figure 6.5 Long and short-term trends in colour projection during the history of English

6.9 Long-term diachronic paths as a cultural phenomenon

We will now look at other colour metaphorisation whose long-term duration is undoubtedly the result of culture rather than embodiment. The colour blue was used in Shakespeare's time with reference to the nobility, the aristocracy or the monarchy:

NOBILITY = BLUE

> If thou so yield him, there is gold, and **here my bluest veins to kiss; a hand that kings have lipp'd**, and trembled kissing (A&C [II,5], ll. 1084–6]

In this passage, the link to the monarchy is a clear one and this association of blue is still common in Modern English when referring to 'blue blood'. Kiernan (1993: 219) is somewhat critical of Shakespeare's usage of blue: 'blue blood is indelibly blue, a folk-tale motif used here – not here alone – to Shakespeare as a story-teller, but blending with the

retrograde idea of an upper class as a superior caste. Feudalism encouraged this.' Thus according to Kiernan, the NOBILITY = BLUE conceptual metaphor dates back to feudalism and the Middle Ages. It would therefore constitute a long-term, cultural path in the English language. In the following passage, noble blue changes to deathly black, in line with the models of black outlined above:

> Her **blue blood changed to black** in every vein, wanting the spring that those shrunk pipes had fed, show'd life imprison'd in a dead body (RL, l. 1505–7)

The concept of 'blue veins' is a common one in Shakespearian expressions and they are often transferred to other domains such as in 'blue violets':

> These **blue-vein'd violets** whereon we lean never can blab, nor know not what we mean (V&A, ll. 45–6)

An examination of the colour metaphors of blue from the viewpoint of Modern English shows that a number of other sense clusters are common today. Two listed by the OED are (a) faithful, staunch, unwavering and (b) depressed or having a dismal prospect. According to the Online Etymological Dictionary, the notion of constancy in the imagery of blue in English appears to have existed since the time of Chaucer. This may therefore represent the base metaphor path in (a). Blue as an adjective, meaning 'low-spirited', can be traced back to approximately 1385 and would represent a long history in group (b).

Since colour symbolism often represents a multiple structure, it should be emphasised that certain attributes may become long term as a result of cultural influence. However, other attributes may be added or lost. A case in point would be a third group relating to indecency or obscenity, as in today's expressions 'blue movie' or 'blue joke'. This appears to be more recent. The Online Etymological Dictionary suggests that the origin of this sense comes from the French *Bibliothèque Bleue*, a series of books of 'very questionable character', according to an authority on slang, John Camden Hotten. The source is not dated but the Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopedia (1824) cites the concept as referring to indecent connotations in any form of writing and song. The origin of this cluster may therefore be dated prior to the nineteenth century but there are no attestations of the sense dating back to the Renaissance or beyond.

Another colour demonstrating long-term cultural trends is yellow. The history of yellow has had a multitude of developments in its different mappings which reveal some interesting similarities across cultures. In many ancient and modern civilisations, the colour is a reflection of ambivalence and has been attributed to both positive and negative qualities. Chevalier and Gheerbrant (1982: 535–7) give an insight into the symbolic background of this colour. From a positive point of view, yellow represents eternity since it is the colour of the sun and thus extra-terrestrial, representing divinity, as well as the colour of gold, the eternal precious metal. In ancient China emperors and kings were dressed in yellow, as representatives of divinity, in the same way as the Pope dresses in white and yellow. Likewise, the colour of gold had a prestigious value in Latin American Indian civilisations such as in the Aztec empire.

From a negative point of view, yellow changes its values when it no longer represents extraterrestrial divinity. Earthbound, it generally becomes associated with negative human qualities. In traditional Chinese theatre, actors dress in yellow to represent cruelty, cynicism and so on, whereas they dress in red to represent positive qualities such as honesty and fidelity. The ambivalence of the colour on stage remains, however, since the nobility continues to be dressed in yellow. This ambivalence can also be seen in Ancient Greece. One example is the symbol of golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides. On the one hand, they represent love and harmony and, on the other, conflict, as in the beginning of the Trojan war. In Greek mythology, golden apples were a symbol of pride, but also of jealousy and envy.

One long-term YELLOW = NEGATIVE cultural path in Western society involves a range of human behaviours such as adultery, treachery and cowardice. Again, it is suggested here that such connotations had cultural links with religion. The connection of yellow with adultery or treachery was common in the Middle Ages. The symbol of treachery was depicted by Judas being dressed in yellow in paintings. Furthermore, people who did not pay their debts had the doors of their houses painted yellow (Pastoreau 1996). The tradition led to Jews being ordered to wear yellow insignia in the thirteenth century (Fourth Lateran Council, held in 1215) and in early twentieth-century Germany Jews were ordered by the Nazis to wear yellow stars. In the nineteenth century, unionists called workers who broke strike pickets 'yellow'.

The list of pejorative qualities in the history of yellow is a long one. It is therefore not surprising to find some of these models in Early Modern English. The notion of treachery is a strong one in Shakespeare's works:

TREACHERY = YELLOW

> O, vengeance, vengeance! Me of my lawful pleasure she restrain'd and pray'd me oft forbearance; did it with a pudency so rosy the sweet view on't might well have warm'd old Saturn; that I thought he as chaste as unsunn'd snow. O, all the devils! **This yellow Iachimo**, in an hour, – wast not? – Or less (C [II, 5], ll. 1379–86)

Some of these negative aspects had historical variants. According to the OED, an obsolete, figurative sense of yellow in English is with reference to a person who is affected by jealousy and can be found in phrases such as 'to wear yellow hose': *iealous men are eyther Knaues or Coxcombes, bee you neither: you weare yellow hose without cause* (1607). The concept of yellow hose, or more precisely stockings, also appears in *Twelfth Night*, but in this case, yellow has the pejorative quality of rudeness. One of the comic subplots is that several characters in the play try to convince Malvolio, the pompous head steward of a certain Lady Olivia, that she is secretly in love with him. They write a letter in Olivia's hand, asking Malvolio to wear cross-gartered, yellow stockings in order to be rude to the servants. The result is that Olivia believes he has lost his mind:

> He will come to her in **yellow stockings**, and 'tis a colour she abhors, and cross-gartered, a fashion she detests (TN [II, 5], ll. 1224–6)

The symbolic RUDENESS = YELLOW is thus yet another pejorative sense, in the same way as the rather negative conceptual metaphor JEALOUSY = YELLOW:

> The ordering of the mind too, 'mongst all the colours. **No yellow in't, lest she suspect, as he does, her children not her husband's** (WT [II, 3], ll. 1059–61)

It is clear that some of these negative aspects have continued into Modern English, particularly in the sense of cowardice.

This overview of some of the major diachronic trends in colour metaphorisation suggests that, within one particular language or culture, many long-term trends are not necessarily due to embodiment. Culture plays a major role. The parameter of semantic fields, or cognitive domains, is probably an important one since their comparison can highlight features such as the role of universals or cultural input in evolution. Although there is probably a high level of embodiment in a field such

as the emotions, other semantic fields, such as colour, display a high proportion of cultural input which is responsible for long-term paths.

We will now be proposing that the evolution of conceptual mapping is not simply based on either universal trends or cultural input. In most cases, even if there are cross-cultural and diachronic universals, they form an intricate part of culture and are modified accordingly in the representation of linguistic structures. For example, embodiment in the form of spatial orientation can probably be found in all semantic fields but it is usually incorporated into the cultural sphere. In short, embodiment and culture often materialise as one combined feature. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in Part III in which we will look at the more diverse semantic field of war.

Part III

Conceptual Mapping in War Rhetoric

This page intentionally left blank

7
Long-Term Trends

7.1 Motivation for war

This chapter will investigate long-term trends in war mappings by adopting a comparison of corpora from three historical periods in Western society: the Roman Empire, the Crusades and post-1945 military conflicts. These will therefore correspond to a diachronic framework of three major eras: Antiquity, the late Middle Ages and the modern period spanning the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The corpora are based on literary and political texts. There are few written records of political discourse in Antiquity. Odd fragments exist in Latin during the Roman Empire. The writings of Caesar have a relatively literal style and he always wrote in the third person in order to distance himself personally from his war campaigns. However, discourse in war does exist in contemporary literary works, a major example being Homer's *The Iliad*. This work, compared to Caesar's writings, contains abundant figurative structures within a pre-Christian view of the world and has therefore been chosen for the study of very early forms.

The historical events of the Crusades reflect the second period, which was widely dominated by religious belief. Examples will be taken from Maier's (2000) comprehensive work on Crusade sermons. The third period will examine discourse after 1945, a period which has been investigated in numerous studies by cognitive linguists, and therefore offers a solid base for a diachronic comparison. Some of the findings of the modern period will therefore be taken from existing studies in conjunction with more recent online examples.

One of the problems in analysing figurative language in war rhetoric can be trying to find the real motives behind the mappings. The reason is that figurative language can hide objectives. There seem to be

long-term trends in mappings of war rhetoric and also universal objectives in going to war. However, the same mappings do not always match up with the same objectives or the same politics. Among the most commonly stated objectives in the history of war is self-protection, but a number of other motives quickly emerge, such as pre-emptive war associated with self-protection, economic interests, power, control and so on. There are publications that state that war is simply a part of human nature (Rosen 2007). These motivations could form part of strategies such as denigrating the enemy, as discussed below.

Some war historians' assessment of the Roman Empire suggest that there did appear to be a strategy among certain Roman senators to attempt to conceal the real motives underlying war-making. In the call to arms, the Romans would, for example, use the argument of justice in senate speeches, although many senators had economic benefit or profit in mind, as well as the temptation of power and control over other nations. As Rich (2004: 61) points out:

> Many senators' votes in favour of war were undoubtedly coloured by their expectation of profit for themselves or their friends [...] Why did senators so frequently judge that justice and the public interest required Rome to embark on yet another war? [...] The Romans' possession of a magnificent fighting machine, their habituation to war and their extraordinary record of success in it, the benefits that the success brought them and the continuing demand for more of the same that it generated – it is these factors, above all, which made the Romans so ready to discern and take up occasions for war.

Persuasion to go to war was often made easier by the fact that the Senate felt it was strong in the face of any enemy. A feeling of strength reinforced the rhetoric. Mattern (2004: 193) emphasises the aspect of the 'fighting machine' as perceived by other peoples and nations:

> For the Romans, their hegemony and their very security depended on universal recognition of their empire's *maiestas*, or 'greaterness'. Their policy depended on perceived and acknowledged military superiority.

Past studies on the Roman Empire have nevertheless expressed conflicting views on Rome's real motives. Until relatively recently, some scholars felt that Rome's motives were fundamentally self-defensive, as in the invasion of Carthage during the Third Punic War (149–146 BC). In a discussion of symbolisation at that time, we shall see in the next

chapter that the attack on Carthage was portrayed by Roman leaders as a pre-emptive war. The argument was that invasions such as those witnessed by Hannibal's military intervention in Europe during the Second Punic War should be prevented. The suggestion that the Romans engaged in a pre-emptive strategy originated at the end of the nineteenth century (Mommsen 1880). More recent writers (Harris, 2004) suggest that the desire for economic advantage was also a priority for Rome. Harris writes about the macabre example of a Roman general and ex-consul, Manius Aquillius, who was captured by King Mithridates in 88 BC and put to death for his 'greed' via the symbolic action of having molten gold poured down his throat (Harris 2004: 17). Other scholars support the idea that Rome often made war for economic gain: 'war meant booty' (Gruen 2004: 31), and army commanders in the field often took decisions that favoured their own profit and glory (Rich 2004: 57).

The idea that 'war meant booty' is also put forward by Elouard (2007: 116) with regard to the Crusades. The numerous troops, many of whom travelled great distances, had, above all, the opportunity to make money in some kind of way, as well as being granted extra land. Certain army commanders and tribal chiefs, in particular those who were already situated in conquered lands, would definitely gain power. However, Elouard distinguishes between hard-line mercenaries and those who genuinely fought for their religion in the Crusades.

The real motives underlying post-1945 US military interventions have likewise been a subject of hot debate. In many cases, political commentators feel that 'economic interests' are generally at stake. Former US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger (1973–77), in his 2001 book on US diplomacy for the twenty-first century, challenges Americans 'to understand that our foreign policy must be built upon America's permanent pursuit of economic self-interest which will ultimately and almost automatically produce global political reconciliation and democracy' (Hook 2002). Other political commentators, among them Chomsky (2003), refute the idea that post-1945 military intervention can be explained in terms of self-defence and claim that it is aimed, rather, at controlling the planet's energy resources.

Whatever the opinion, certain threads of common objectives start to materialise in the vast array of both historical and linguistic studies on war rhetoric. Two commonly stated objectives shared by Roman and US foreign policy in war, which would probably not be refuted by leaders of either historical period, are the sense of justice in going to war, on the one hand and, on the other, the need to maintain military dominance in the face of adversaries. This appears to be the case in the light of

historical studies on the Roman Empire and recent cognitive linguistic analyses of American presidential speeches.

The notion of justice is often seen in conceptual metaphors. As far as the modern period is concerned, the two are intricately linked to what Charteris-Black (2005: 177) terms THE USA IS THE MORAL LEADER conceptual metaphor. It can be traced back to the effect of the break-up of the Soviet Union when the bipolar power structure of the planet changed. This idea comes to the fore in George Bush Senior's 1991 State of the Union Speech (bold emphases added throughout):

> Yes, the United States bears a major share of **leadership** in this effort. Among the nations of the world, only the United States of America has had both the **moral standing**, and the means to back it up. We are the only nation on this earth that could assemble the forces of peace.
>
> (George Bush, 29 January 1991)

The notion of moral leadership has carried through to the Obama Administration:

> And that's why we're putting forward a positive vision of **American leadership** around the world – one where we lead by example [. . .]
>
> (Barack Obama, 6 October 2009)

This idea has not only become an objective, it is conceived as 'normal', as in an address by Foreign Secretary, Hillary Clinton:

> The question is not whether our nation can or should lead, but **how it will lead in the 21st century**.
>
> (Hillary Clinton, 15 July 2009)

There do seem to be similar analogies used throughout history in describing war objectives. However, as pointed out above and as we argue below, analogies do not always match up either in objectives or in procedures about going to war.

7.2 Different politics and identical mappings

A historical analysis of conceptual metaphor reveals a remarkable fact. Very different types of politicians and rhetoricians, who have

contrasting objectives at varying points in history, actually use similar conceptual ways of thinking in terms of analogies in order to convey a specific message. This is not to say that politician X *has the same politics as* politician Y – each historical period has a different social and political context – but it does suggest that there may be certain long-term or universal mechanisms operating in conceptual metaphor, whatever the message may be.

We will therefore look at how long-term conceptual metaphors appear to endure within varying historical and political contexts through the time dimension. This particular subject is likely to be a controversial one, as are discussions of war motives or any debate on politics, religion and society. The aim of this chapter, however, is not to give an opinion on politics or religion but to use these semantic fields to explore universal trends in language history.

One controversial issue, for example, is the distinction between a metaphoric and a literal mindset. Some metaphoric usages are part of conventional language and are not necessarily meant to be taken literally. The expression, 'he'll murder me, if he finds out', does not usually mean that murder is to be construed literally but that the person concerned will be extremely angry. It is a truly metaphoric sense. Some expressions in war rhetoric may be intended like this, such as in expressions used to describe the enemy.

Mapping structures may be more literal for some than for others. The Ancient Greeks probably considered their gods in a literal sense rather than in a metaphorical sense which is how Homeric literature is read today (Padel 1992). An example would be the personification discussed in Chapter 1: 'when the fresh Dawn came and with her crimson streamers lit the sky'. For those engaged in the medieval Crusades, the type of symbolism in the taking of the cross (which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter) may have involved more literal than metaphoric conceptualisation. In other words, religious belief can invoke a trend towards literal rather than figurative conceptualisation in the minds of creators of mappings.

These arguments aside, there appear to be a number of long-term metaphoric mappings which operate throughout the history of war rhetoric. Some of these, if considered separately, constitute embodiment: spatial orientation, journey metaphors, light, darkness or disease. Others are mixed with visual perception such as dirt or cleanliness (purification). Most, if not all, tend to be integrated into cultural phenomena such as religion. A crucial point here is that universals and

culture are intricately bound together and therefore difficult to analyse as separate features.

One major finding is that the types of mappings cited above appear through all different historical periods, regardless of the political position of the individuals studied. Opponents in war also use the same metaphors to describe each other. This would strongly support the assumption that there are trends of a more universal nature, which operate both cross-culturally and diachronically. We shall first look at the major embodiment models.

7.3 Spatial orientation in war

Vertical spatial orientation, in the form of Lakoff's 'Spatialization of Form Hypothesis' discussed in Chapter 3, appears to be common in discourse of the Crusades period. It represents a basic form of conceptualisation in relation to space around us. The following passage describes how upward motion corresponds to an increase in virtue and merit, which could be summarised as VIRTUE = UP. In this chapter, the Latin original will be given in order to compare exact conceptual and linguistic equivalents. This procedure will not always be used but the following passage gives a preliminary insight into early linguistic forms:

> *Notificatur etiam ex virtutum exercitio, cum dicitur* ***ascendentem ab ortu solis****. Iste enim angelus est virtutum profectus, ut proficiamus* ***in merito ascendentes*** *de virtute in virtutem*
>
> He is also described by the practice of virtues since it says: ***Rising from the sunrise***. This angel is accomplished in virtues, so that, **rising in merit**, we may advance from virtue to virtue.
>
> (*Gilbert of Tournai*, cited in Maier 2000: 178–9)

An increase in merit here is thus reflected symbolically by the upward movement of the sun to its zenith during the morning hours. The reference is to those who wish to take up the cross and achieve salvation. The same orientational pattern of virtue is seen in the following passage by US President Barack Obama. In this case, the symbol is not the sun but a road, as in the journey metaphor. Taking the 'high road' is virtuous, in this case rejecting certain war practices such as torture:

> As the counter-insurgency manual reminds us, we cannot win a war unless we maintain **the high ground** and keep the people on our

> side. But because the Administration decided to take **the low road**, our troops have more enemies. Because the Administration cast aside international norms that reflect American values, we are less able to promote our values. When I am President, America will reject torture without exception. America is the country that stood against that kind of behavior, and we will do so again.
>
> (Barack Obama, 1 August 2007)

Although the second example is associated with more general concepts such as 'ground' and 'road' (although perhaps in the more modern sense of 'road'), the first example of embodiment is closely associated with the cultural factor of religion.

7.4 The journey metaphor in war

The religious messages of the Crusades also contained numerous journey metaphors in image schemas which fit into Lakoff's (1987) SOURCE-PATH-GOAL construct. An interesting example can be seen in a sermon developing the notion of 'crossroads':

> *Signum directivum ponitur in* ***biviis*** *sicut cruces, ut* ***viam rectam*** *ostendant, et si erratum est* ***ad crucem rectam viam*** *resumant.*
>
> A sign of direction is put at a **crossroads**, like crosses, **to show the right way**, and if one has taken a wrong turn, one can resume **the right way at the cross**.
>
> (Gilbert of Tournai, cited in Maier 2000: 180–1)

The 'right way' (*via recta*) is the way towards heaven and paradise that can be followed by joining the Crusades. The 'right/wrong' ways are symbolised by the cross of crucifixion with its arms pointing in opposite directions. A potential Crusader therefore comes to a 'crossroads' in his decision-making. The blending of the two English lexemes 'cross' and 'crossroads' has more linguistic effect in the translation. The Latin has two unrelated lexemes in the original: *crux* for 'cross' and *bivia* (two ways) for 'crossroads'. However, the symbolic relationship is the same.

The journey metaphor in the Crusades is also used in the sense of the pathway (also using the lexeme *via*) to heaven. Again, the pathway means taking the cross, otherwise the pathway is to hell:

> *Ecce gravia nocumenta, conari destruere totam ecclesiam, facere* ***nova vias ad infernum****, divertere hominess a* ***via celi recta****.*

> Thus, trying to destroy the whole church, to make **new ways to hell**, to divert people from **the right path to heaven** [causes] great harm.
>
> (Humbert of Romans, cited in Maier 2000: 224–5)

The journey metaphor is abundant in current American English in relation to progress being made in a war. In one speech concerning foreign policy, Barack Obama uses the same conceptual metaphor of directionality in the journey symbol in order to emphasise the point he is making:

> Afghanistan is not lost, but for several years **it has moved backwards**.
>
> **Moving forward**, we are committed to a partnership with Pakistan. **Trust is a two-way street**.
>
> (Barack Obama, 1 December 2009)

Journey metaphors appear to be important in political speeches since, as Charteris-Black (2005: 199) suggests, directionality in rhetoric is important for a society to know what a political leader's objectives are and their goals for a given point of time in the future:

> Journey metaphors in political communication typically refer to the predetermined objectives of policy. They imply having a clear idea in the mind of where one would like to be at some point in the future. Therefore journeys imply some type of planned progress and assume a conscious agent who will follow a fixed path towards an imagined goal. Journeys are therefore inherently purposeful. It is this directionality that is important for political leaders who are conscious of the need to appear to have planned intentions. A leader who implied that policies would drift, would take the society nowhere or back to a place where it had already been, and would be rhetorically unsuccessful.

It is therefore likely, whatever the different circumstances, that the same form of conceptual metaphor has had an impact at different historical periods. In the case of the Crusade sermons, the paths are presented as a form of choice. Again, the embodiment of this image schema is bound up with the cultural aspect of religion. The destination of the

right pathway is heaven; if the wrong path is taken, the destination is hell. With this image, the audience of a sermon has a clear idea of what the stakes are and what their fate might be according to the choice taken.

7.5 Light and darkness in war

With regard to the first binary concept, there appears to be a general universal trend in all historical periods of POSITIVE = LIGHT and NEGATIVE = DARK. This has, however, been adapted culturally in different ways. With regard to religion, we saw in Chapter 1 that FAITH = LIGHT and SPIRITUAL IGNORANCE = DARK are common mappings in Christianity. Diachronically, the POSITIVE/NEGATIVE trends can be seen in warfare at different historical periods. The notion of bright light in Homeric literature was used to highlight the power of the gods in encouraging soldiers to fight. To the attacking army Minerva was likened to a 'brilliant meteor' with a 'fiery train of light' as a sign of encouragement and confirmation of military power:

GODDESS = LIGHT (POSITIVE): (Antiquity)

> She shot through the sky as some **brilliant meteor** which the son of scheming Saturn has sent as a sign to mariners or to some great army, and **a fiery train of light** follows in its wake.
>
> (Homer, *The Iliad*: Book IV)

On the other side of the coin, darkness was equated with the enemy; in *The Iliad*, these were the Trojans:

ENEMY = DARKNESS (NEGATIVE): (Antiquity)

> Now gird my armour about your shoulders, and lead the Myrmidons to battle, for **the dark cloud of the Trojans** has burst furiously over our fleet.
>
> (Homer, *The Iliad*: Book XVI)

In the Crusade sermons, the POSITIVE/NEGATIVE aspects of light and darkness took on the mapping of SALVATION and SIN. The conceptual metaphor SALVATION = LIGHT generated a symbol of Christ in the form of a lamp. The following passage also refers to the rich despising

the lamp. The reason for this is that Crusade preachers attempted to persuade potential recruits to give up worldly possessions:

SALVATION = LIGHT: (Middle Ages)

***Lampadibus** autem divites non utuntur sed contempnunt, et Christus a divitibus et secularibus hominibus contempnitur*
The rich do not use **lamps** but despise them, and Christ is despised by rich and worldly people
(James of Vitry, cited in Maier 2000: 84–5)

The 'darkness of sin' can be seen in the following passage:

SIN = DARKNESS: (Middle Ages)

*Cecus autem dicitur predicator quamdiu in **tenebris peccatorum** commoratur licet oculos habeat, idest rationem et intellectum*
A preacher is called blind if he stays in the **darkness of sins** even though he has eyes, that is reason and intellect
(James of Vitry, cited in Maier 2000: 102–3)

The positive notion of light has been extended into the modern day with the notion of the present as a time of human liberty analogised as a 'shining age'. This reflects the biblical source in John 8:12, where Jesus says 'I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life.'

LIBERTY = LIGHT: (twenty-first century)

We will defeat our enemies. We will protect our people. And we will lead the 21st century into a **shining age of human liberty**.
(George W. Bush, 11 September 2006)

The negative attitude of darkness has also continued into the present time in many ways, one of them being the association of darkness with the notion of tyranny:

TYRANNY = DARKNESS: (twenty-first century)

And we must make it clear to every man, woman and child around the world who lives under **the dark cloud of tyranny** that America

> will speak out on behalf of their human rights, and tend to **the light of freedom and justice** and opportunity and respect for the dignity of all peoples.
>
> (Barack Obama, 1 December 2009)

Two interesting points about this attestation are, first, that the linguistic metaphor, 'dark cloud', used for a negative feature in Obama's speech, is also used in a description of the enemy of the Achaeans, the Trojans, in *The Iliad*. Not only has the conceptual metaphor of darkness relating to the enemy continued to exist since Antiquity but the linguistic metaphor (obviously, not linguistic form) has also continued to exist. The second point is that Obama contrasts lightness and darkness in the same sentence with the reference of light to freedom and justice.

Examples such as these support the hypothesis that there could be universal diachronic trends operating in metaphors within the context of war. The positive/negative attributes have been adapted to social/cultural aspects of the period but the same trends have continued for centuries. The long-term evolution of this binary concept may be summarised as in Figure 7.1.

These features, which would come under the category of Lakoff's (1987) basic human properties, thus represent potential universals of conceptual mapping (in Western society) among which several other binary concepts may be suggested as being of the same type. In many ways the embodied binary construct of DISEASE/HEALTH

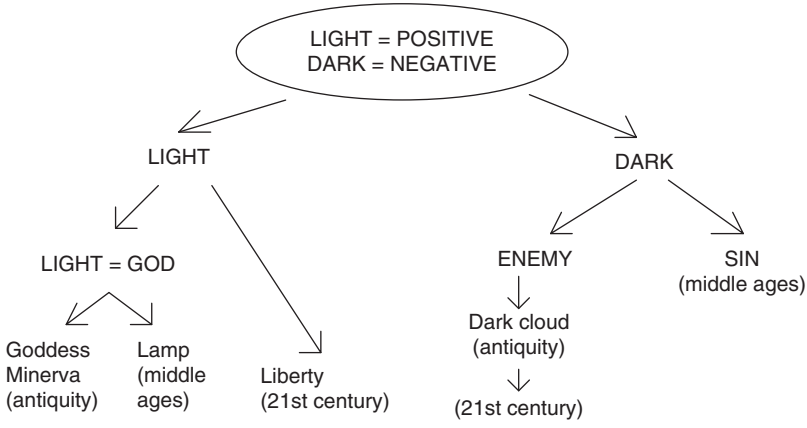


Figure 7.1 Long-term evolution of LIGHT/DARKNESS in the context of warfare

is intermingled with that of PURIFICATION/DIRT. These concepts are partly the result of visual perception of dirt or cleanliness and partly the result of physiological effects of cleanliness on the body and freedom from disease.

7.6 Embodiment and visual perception: purification and disease

Purification in religious texts is regularly used in the sense of cleansing the body of sin, hence SIN = DIRT, and this was conceptualised either with water or with the blood of Christ in Crusade sermons. By taking up the cross and entering the Crusades, a soldier would be washing away his sins:

SIN = DIRT (Middle Ages)

Est quasi ***fons*** *patens domui David* ***in ablutionem omnium peccatorum***
This is like the **fountain** open to the house of David **washing away all sins**
(James of Vitry, cited in Maier 2000: 112–13)

Disease, being equated with dirt, was also related to sin at the time of the Crusades. A common disease at the time was leprosy and lepers were often associated with sin, in the same way as cancer is a common metaphor today for the enemy. At the same time, cancer is also a conventional metaphor today for any phenomenon considered to be negative:

DISEASE = ENEMY

We're in Afghanistan to prevent a **cancer** from once again spreading through that country. But this same **cancer** has also taken root in the border region of Pakistan. That's why we need a strategy that works on both sides of the border.
(Barack Obama, 1 December 2009)

The reference here is to the presence of Al Qaeda along the Afghanistan/Pakistan border. The rationale behind the medieval symbol was that leprosy often infected others. This presumably reduced the number of potential recruits or soldiers already enlisted during the Crusades and who were on the arduous journey to the Holy Land. The

notion of disease is clearly illustrated in the following extract from a sermon by Humbert of Romans (1200–77):

DISEASE = SIN (Middle Ages)

> *Pretera multa sunt alia **peccata**, que remanent in solo subiecto. Istud vero transit in alios, quia est **infectivum**. Propter quod significatur multotiens in scriptura per **lepram**.*
>
> In addition, many other **sins** only concern one individual. This one, however, passes to other people since it is **infectious**. Because of this it is often referred to in the scriptures as **leprosy**.
>
> (Humbert of Romans, cited in Maier 2000: 222–3)

There is an interesting parallel between disease and infection in Humbert of Romans's sermon relating to one of the Church's enemies in the recruitment process during the medieval period: secular power. The preacher likened the imperative of the Church to use armed persecution against those who had links to secular power, such as heretics, to the way in which an infected part of the body had to be separated from a healthy part:

> *Quando alia remedia minora non proficiunt, utitur ecclesia contra eos persecutione militari, sicut sapiens medicus ferro utitur ad prescindendum **membrum putridum corruptivum aliorum**, quando remedia leviora non prosunt. Melius est enim membrum ferro vel igne destrui, **quam sana membra corrumpi**.*
>
> When other remedies do not work, the church uses against them armed persecution, just as a wise physician uses a blade to cut off a **putrid limb which infects other parts**, when lighter remedies do not work. It is better to let a limb be destroyed with a blade or with fire than to **let the healthy parts be infected**.
>
> (Humbert of Romans, cited in Maier 2000: 224–5)

This mapping has continued until the present day. Disease and infection are used in war-reporting contexts and could be incorporated into a general ENEMY = DISEASE conceptual metaphor. Infection is quite often associated with the Taliban regarding online reporting of the Afghanistan War that commenced in 2001:

DISEASE = ENEMY: (twentieth to twenty-first centuries)

> The bomber detonated his cache of explosives Saturday as police tried to stop and search his vehicle at a checkpoint in the city, which sits

> on the edge of the **Taliban-infested** tribal belt and has been beset by suicide attacks.
>
> (15 November 2009; http://viewtonepal.blogspot.com/2009/11/death-toll-rises-to-15-in-pak.html, accessed 3 May 2011)

The idea of purification takes on a synchronic, cross-cultural or cross-religious form as demonstrated in Al Qaeda discourse in the Afghan conflict:

> DIRT = ENEMY: (twentieth to twenty-first centuries)
>
> How are we today while our **enemy** is at the corner of our house abusing our honor, disposes our properties and making our sacred land **filthy** [...] How many among the unknown, pious and **purified** youth that stand all day and night defending the Shariah of Allah...
>
> (Abu Yahya Al-Libi, former detainee at the US Baghram facility in Afghanistan, 24 May 2008: translation from the Arabic: SITE Intelligence Group)

This leads us on to purely cultural mappings such as religion. Many of the embodiment structures above can be found in religion but, at the same time, religion is also used purely as a source domain.

7.7 Long-term cultural models: religion

We will first examine a basic conceptual metaphor whose primary significance is about the decision to go to war. It is difficult to give one label to this form of conceptualisation as different conceptual variants are usually involved. It could be termed, for example, DECISION TO GO TO WAR = GOD according to the exact historical context. However, this is not exactly the same kind of mapping as, for example, the conceptual metaphor LOVE = FIRE outlined in Chapter 5. There is definitely an analogy being made between war and the role of God but it could simply be defined as a personification structure rather than a direct mapping between two single conceptual units. The role of this form of personification is translated by any process of incitation, justification or any other reason to take up arms. The mapping above could be changed to DECISION TO GO TO WAR = PERSONIFICATION OF GOD.

In the following descriptions, the label GOD refers to all possible religions ranging from notions such as the twenty-first century idea of a Christian God to the multiple gods of Antiquity. Gods in Ancient Greece who gave military orders in *The Iliad* included Zeus and his daughter Minerva. Commands were also often handed down via messengers. By the same token, examples in discourse also show that the rhetorician does not always communicate the desire to be 'warlike' in the name of God but that the ultimate aim of going to war is a path to peace. This idea will be seen in examples given below.

With reference to origins in Western society, the term 'God' and its related concepts have frequently been employed as a practical symbol for war aims. If we go back as far as Alexander the Great, he used the term 'God' in relation to the economic benefits of warmongering. He said to his armies that God had made material acquisitions which everyone had the right to obtain by conquering other nations:

> Our ships will sail round from the Persian Gulf to Libya as far as the Pillars of Hercules, whence all Libya to the eastward will soon be ours, and all Asia too, and to this empire there will be no boundaries but what **God himself has made for the whole world**.
>
> (Cited in Halsall 2000)

Brunt (2004: 165) claims that a fundamental notion in war during the Roman period was the belief that war was, in fact, the will of the gods. He cites a passage from Cicero's speeches which can be traced to a praetor's letter of 193 BC at the time of Augustine: 'it was by our scrupulous attention to religion and by our wise grasp of a single truth, that all things are ruled and directed by the will of the gods, that we have overcome all peoples and nations'. This was apparently in a speech given by Cicero in 66 BC in relation to the Third Mithridatic War (*De Imperio Pompei*). Brunt points out that the Roman conception of fortune was that of Cicero's expression *divinitus adiuncta fortuna*, literally: fortune divinely adjoined, which signified that the gods were the guardians of the city and empire.

The pre-Christian way of thinking in Rome equates with the personification of different gods in classical literature as instigators of war or excuses for it. We have already mentioned Minerva, the aegis-wielding daughter of the Greek god, Zeus. He was known as Jove in Roman times, and this name is often used in translations from literature sources, such as those cited here. Likewise, Minerva was the Roman name for the Greek goddess Athena. Zeus, or Jove, often represented

God's call to arms in Homeric literature. The Achaeans, the heroes in the epic, are battling the Trojans, their enemy:

CALL TO ARMS = PERSONIFICATION OF GOD: (Antiquity)

> Hear me at once, for I come as a messenger from Jove, who, though he be not near, yet takes thought for you and pities you. **He bids you get the Achaeans instantly under arms**, for you shall take Troy.
>
> (Homer, *The Iliad*, Book II)

Athena, or Minerva, was likewise a personification of God's command to take up arms. In the following passage she has been ordered to persuade Ulysses not to retreat from battle with Troy and to continue the fight:

> **Minerva was not slack to do her bidding. Down she darted from the topmost summits of Olympus, and in a moment she was at the ships of the Achaeans**. There she found Ulysses, peer of Jove in counsel, standing alone. He had not as yet laid a hand upon his ship, for he was grieved and sorry; so she went up close to him and said, 'Ulysses, noble son of Laertes, are you going to fling yourselves into your ships and be off home to your own land in this way? Will you leave Priam and the Trojans the glory of still keeping Helen, for whose sake so many of the Achaeans have died at Troy…?'
>
> (Homer, *The Iliad*, Book II)

Moving forward to the Middle Ages, the Crusades involved many different types of sermons corresponding to varying objectives in the war effort. They were not only intended to recruit soldiers but also to raise money. In addition, sermons were preached to soldiers on their journey to the land of battle as well as to congregations at home in support of crusaders in the field. Apart from the Holy Land, the thirteenth century saw battles against Muslims in Germany, Italy, Spain, the Languedoc in France, the Balkans, Greece and North Africa (Maier 2000: 3).

The image of God in the Crusades was symbolised generally by the sign of the cross, some of whose numerous cultural and time-specific variants we will discuss in the next chapter, particularly in relation to the Christian's duty to wage war. However, many other strategies were used to persuade soldiers to join the Crusades. One such strategy was to use heroes from the Old Testament, a technique found in sermons written by the preacher James of Vitry (1160?–1240). This preacher was

originally a scholar at the University of Paris which he left shortly before 1210. As Maier (2000: 8) points out, he preached against the Albigensian heretics in France and Lotharingia, became a propagandist for the Fifth Crusade and accompanied the crusade to Damietta. Maier cites James of Vitry's employment of the 'old heroes' strategy:

> In one instance, James of Vitry gave a whole list of zealous fighters, namely Mattathias, the Maccabees, Phineas, Ehud, Shamgar and Samson, whose energy and dedication, he thought, might inspire the crusaders. The two favourite Old Testament contexts serving as a foil for the crusades were the stories of the conquest of the Promised Land by the Israelites after the exodus from Egypt and the heroic fight of the Maccabbees against the enemies of Israel. Both stories were perfect biblical examples of a war fought by God's people, led by the Lord against the enemies of his religion. They had been used widely in crusade propaganda since the First Crusade and sometimes preachers managed to construct astonishing parallels between the crusades and parts of these biblical stories.
>
> (Maier 2000: 55–6)

Maier's translation of this part of the sermon can be seen in the following extract, with the conceptual analogy, ZEAL FOR THE HOUSE OF THE LORD = WAR:

> ***Ubi igitur est quem comedit zelus domus Domini**, ubi gemitus et anxietates Mathatie, ubi Machebeorum fortitudo, ubi zelus et pugio Phinees, ubi gladius Aioth elimatus, ubi vomer Sangar, et maxilla asini in manu Samsonis* [. . .]
>
> **Where is he who is eaten up with the zeal for the house of the Lord**, where are the sighs and anxieties of Mattathias, where the courage of the Maccabees, where the zeal and dagger of Phineas, where is Ehud's sharpened sword, where Shamgar's ploughshare and the jawbone of a donkey in Samson's hand [. . .]
>
> (James of Vitry, cited in Maier:)

Biblical stories are similar to the WRITING A STORY or FAIRY TALE scenarios used in modern discourse (these are analysed below in Chapter 10). They are also reflected in the underlying conceptual metaphor, CALL TO ARMS = PERSONIFICATION OF GOD, in which the Lord's command to go into battle is also transmitted via a third party.

The following passage from another sermon by James of Vitry refers to the invasion of Jerusalem (Maier 2000: 92–3):

> ***Dicente Domino per Ezech.: Transite per mediam civitatem et percutite et non parcat oculus vester neque misereatur****; omnem autem super quem videritis thau ne occidatis!*
>
> **As the Lord says through Ezekiel: go all through the city and kill and your eye shall spare and pity [no one]**; but do not kill anyone on whom you see the thau!

The 'thau' is the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet. It has the form of T, as in the Roman alphabet. According to the Old Testament, it was a sign marked on the forehead of those who would be saved in coming tribulations or, in this case, forthcoming invasions.

> And the Lord said to him: Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem: and mark Thau upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and mourn for all the abominations that are committed in the midst thereof.
>
> (*Old Testament*, Ezekiel 9:4)

Tracing the religious analogy in warfare to more recent times, the theme developed a more pronounced 'God is on our side' format in political discourse at the time of the Vietnam War (1955–75). During the US bombing campaign of North Vietnam, Lyndon B. Johnson (US President, 1964–69) also used biblical language and biblical references. The following is a symbolic warning to the enemy, the Viet Cong, which embodies a LAY DOWN ARMS = GOD'S COMMAND analogy:

> We must say in Southeast Asia – as we did in Europe – in the words of the Bible: '**Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further**'
>
> (Lyndon B. Johnson, 7 April 1965)

The same speech incorporates the symbolic mapping that the bombing of North Vietnam is the result of a judgement made in conjunction with praying to the Lord (AIR ATTACKS = PRAYERFUL JUDGEMENT). This is a case in which the decision to go to war, endorsed by the Lord, is also formulated as a way of achieving peace:

> We know that air attacks alone will not accomplish all these purposes. But it is our best and **prayerful judgement** that they are a necessary part of the surest road to peace.

During the course of more recent US invasions (Iraq, 1991, 2003; Afghanistan, 2001), and following geopolitical events such as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (1991) and the attacks on the World Trade Center, New York (2001), the DECISION TO GO TO WAR = PERSONIFICATION OF GOD mapping has been linked to the notion of 'freedom', as in LIBERTY SHIELD (Iraq, 2003: see below for further details on the history of the SHIELD concept), in the same way as the link was made to the notion of 'peace' in the Vietnam war example above.

Conventional expressions at the end of presidential speeches, such as, 'May God bless America', reinforce the 'God on Our Side' theme in war speeches. This can be seen in the following extract on the eve of the second Iraq invasion (2003):

> My fellow citizens, events in Iraq have now reached the final days of decision [...] Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraqi regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal weapons devised [...] We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater [...] That is the future we choose. Free nations have a duty to defend our people by uniting against the violent. And tonight, as we have done before, America and our allies accept that responsibility. **Good night, and may God continue to bless America**.
>
> (George W. Bush, 17 March 2003)

In conjunction with the notion of liberty, these conventional closing expressions, were extended further by George W. Bush in a DECISION TO GO TO WAR = PERSONIFICATION OF GOD mapping:

> Winning this war will require the determined effort of a unified country [...] **And we go forward with trust in that spirit, confidence in our purpose, and faith in a loving God who made us to be free**.
>
> (George W. Bush, 11 September 2006)

The fact that source domains of religion in warfare analogy also take on a synchronic, cross-religious dimension is further evidence for the fact that it could represent a universal trend. Abu Yahya al-Libi, a leading

figure within Al Qaeda, George W. Bush's leading adversary, uses an underlying CALL TO ARMS = PERSONIFICATION OF ALLAH (God) in a predominantly religion-based rhetoric:

> Until our enemies have destroyed everything **we have not stopped waiting for help to come from Allah**, the Exalted and indeed, help comes by Allah's will [. . .] Do not forget us in your righteous prayers.
> (Abu Yahya al-Libi, 10 November 2008; trans. from Arabic: SITE Intelligence Group)

These examples, taken from three very different historical periods, demonstrate a long-term trend in which God is used as a source domain in war rhetoric mappings. These mappings are extracted in either a conventionalised or more conscious form by a political leader or by the press reporting on war events. The conceptualisation processes may continue in one particular religion or be transferred/continued between two different ones. In addition, forums following online press releases also reveal how the same models are transferred to other members of the language community. This represents another vast corpus which would have to be analysed in a separate study.

Other long-term cultural trends in mappings involve human artefacts. Such is the case of SHIELD = PROTECTION as used by George W. Bush. This particular item will also be used to describe the historical evolution of linguistic structure at the CM/LF interface in Part IV.

7.8 Long-term cultural models: human artefacts

This concept will be exemplified by a human artefact that has existed in many different civilisations, but that as a result of the universality of human behaviour involving warfare has come to represent long-term conceptualisation. In European languages, it has been associated with a long-standing conceptual metaphor: PROTECTION = SHIELD. This basic notion has evolved linguistically in the form of different synonyms related to different etymological routes to produce present-day variants linked to the underlying conceptual mapping.

In past battles, the shield was essential in hand-to-hand combat. It is this human artefact that has led to a general conceptual idea of a shield as a form of protection, not only throughout the history of war but also extended to other semantic fields involving diachronic variation. This analysis will involve the same historical periods as in the previous sections on war rhetoric.

On a long-term scale, the conceptual mapping PROTECTION = SHIELD has always existed in written manuscripts. If we go back in time to Ancient Greece, the idea of a shield in battle, the term being *aegis* (αίγίς) in Greek, was used by Homer in *The Iliad*:

> The chiefs about the son of Atreus chose their men and marshalled them, while Minerva went among them holding her priceless **aegis** that knows neither age nor death. From there it waved a hundred tassels of gold, deftly woven, and each one of them worth a hundred oxen. With this she darted furiously everywhere among the hosts of the Achaeans, urging them forward, and putting courage into the heart of each, so that he might fight and do battle without ceasing.
>
> (Homer, *The Iliad*, Book II)

Moving forward in time to the Middle Ages, the same notion of the shield was used in the Crusade sermons:

> Raise the **shield** against Ai, Joshua 8. Ai, a city hostile to the Lord, a nuisance to God's people, burned down by fire, represents a faithless people armed against the Lord, standing ready against God's troops, destined for disgrace, against whom the Lord orders the **shield** to be raised. Thus it says: *Raise the shield* etc., where using a metaphor he addresses Joshua, the prince or standard bearer of the army, with these words, which taken in the spiritual sense contain the encouragement of the leader, the exaltation of the cross and the threat to the enemy.
>
> (Bertrand de la Tour, *Sermon III*, cited in Maier 2000: 243–5)

Moving forward again in time to the beginning of the twenty-first century, the American administration under George W. Bush coined the term 'Liberty Shield' during the second Iraqi war (2003):

> President Updates America on Operations **Liberty Shield** and Iraqi Freedom – Remarks by the President at the Port of Philadelphia
>
> (George W. Bush, 31 March 2003)

Thus, the mapping process PROTECTION = SHIELD has existed since the earliest written records. As well as its more abstract conception as a protective form of equipment, this is undoubtedly also the result of visual perception of the artefact itself protecting a warrior against arrows, swords and other weapons in early forms of warfare.

Another long-term cultural trend involves descriptions of the enemy. A common form here is animal symbolism, which indicates that in the history of a given civilisation, the same types of animals may retain the same attributes over many centuries. Certain animals are thus invoked in conceptual patterns that suggest a stabilised mindset spanning many centuries. We shall take up here the notion of the RAT metaphor which is sometimes also associated with other images, such as parasites or disease.

7.9 Long-term cultural models: animal symbolism

There is a *normalisation trend* when referring to the enemy which often forms a part of conventionalised language, as in the cancer metaphor above. Normalisation assumes that a particular metaphor or symbol in reference to another concept has become normal within a particular linguistic community in the light of average attitudes. In cognitive terms, it would be near the centre of a prototypical category.

Cancer is used for negative concepts in many different semantic fields such as 'the cancer of the drugs scene'. A good illustration of normalisation trends is the use of animal symbolism. These are termed 'depersonifications' by Charteris-Black (2005: 181ff.) The enemy is conceptualised in terms of animals or vermin and thereby construed as non-human. As they are dangerous, they need to be hunted like animals and their destruction is necessary. George W. Bush used the images of animals and parasites when speaking of Al Qaeda:

ENEMY = ANIMALS/PARASITES

> It's an enemy that likes **to hide and burrow** in and their network is extensive [...] But we're going **to smoke them out**
>
> (George W. Bush, 17 September 2001)

> America encourages and expects governments everywhere to help remove **the terrorist parasites** that threaten their own countries and peace of the world (Applause)
>
> (George W. Bush, 11 March 2002)

The enemy might thus be conceptualised as burrowing animals, rats, parasites, symbolic monsters, dragons and so on. In addition to the two examples above, Charteris-Black (2005: 162) gives the following

example from a speech by the former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, when speaking about the Al Qaida conflict:

> ENEMY = DRAGON
>
> The **dragon's teeth** are planted in the fertile soil of wrongs unrighted, of disputes left to fester for years or even decades, of failed states, of poverty and deprivation
>
> (Tony Blair, 12 November 2001)

This example is related to the long-term conception in Western society of the mythical dragon as a creature of evil. This also goes back to the Greek legend of the dragon's teeth which were sown by Jason and Cadmus to come to life as ferocious warriors. The idea of 'hiding and burrowing' above no doubt refers to rats. The ENEMY = RAT mapping has been used throughout history as a negative symbol and is widely used today. Within the context of the Chechen conflict in present-day Russia, President Vladimir Putin referred to 'pulling terrorists out of **sewers**' (*vykovyrjam' terroristov so dna* ***kanalizacii***, Vladimir Putin, 3 March 2010), after a bombing on the Moscow underground. This is a clear equation of rebels to 'rats', assuming a wide knowledge of the fact that rats inhabit city sewers.

Symbolism using animal metaphors can also be seen in the language of press releases which are diffused widely around the world. The image of 'animal hide-outs' in the Afghan mountains became a normalised conceptualisation. In a claim made at the French Senate that Al Qaeda had ceased to exist as a movement from 2002–04 onwards, the former head of the French intelligence services, Alain Chouet, referred to the Tora Bora 'rat holes', meaning the caves where Al Qaeda operatives were presumed to be in hiding after the attacks on the World Trade Center in September 2001 (Alain Chouet, 29 January 2010).

7.10 Verticality and the 'Great Chain of Being'

Debates on the use of depersonification metaphors of the enemy suggest that certain explanations may be found in a long-standing philosophical tradition on how the human being conceptualises species: the 'Great Chain of Being' (Charteris-Black 2005; Musolff 2008). This would at least explain a conceptual model within the context of Western society and it integrates the embodied schema of spatial orientation. The theory is outlined in Lovejoy (1936) and a cognitive approach to this tradition

and its consequences for metaphor are described by Lakoff and Turner (1989:166ff.)

Lakoff and Turner (1989) maintain that the theory is associated with a cultural model in the history of Western society that concerns the status of beings in general and places them on a vertical scale with 'higher' beings and properties stationed above 'lower' beings and their respective properties. This model is considered essential in understanding the worldviews of classical authors such as Plato, Aristotle, Dante, Chaucer, Shakespeare and so on. The hierarchy is often reflected in traditional proverbs, using images of animals such as cows or frogs, which allows us to comprehend complex human faculties in terms of other beings. The process has been used countless times in fairy tales and Hollywood animated films.

It can be traced back to other aspects of vertical orientation symbolism in Western philosophy, such as Plato's Ladder. This likewise has a link to Hinduism. Plato's Ladder concerns knowledge (as in the Tree of Knowledge): the higher up the ladder one goes, the more truth becomes available. At the bottom rung is unjustified belief in the form of dogma. The next rung up symbolises justified belief. As this may be true or false, it cannot be knowledge. At the next rung, there is an unjustified true belief, that is, the truth becomes apparent but no reason exists for it. At the uppermost rung, there is justified true belief: true knowledge has been achieved since the believer knows what they believe to be true and they also have the justification for it.

Certain aspects of this conceptualisation may be seen outside Western society. It is highly likely that vertical orientation in the quest for truth derived from the fact that knowledge about the world came primarily from astronomy. This was the case of early civilisations, including not only the Ancient Greeks but also the Mayas. It was likewise a fundamental source of information in medieval times, including the flourishing period of science in the Arab world which subsequently had a huge impact on European scientific thought. As we saw in Chapter 1, upward orientation towards God and truth is a fundamental notion in European literature, as in the religious symbolism of poetry, for example, the tower symbol in Yeats's poetry ('Blood and the Moon').

Conceptual mapping of the Great Chain of Being metaphor, according to Lakoff and Turner (1989) is structured into the following vertical hierarchy:

- humans: higher order attributes and behaviour (e.g. thought and character)
- animals: instinctual attributes and behaviour

- plants: biological attributes and behaviour
- complex objects: structural attributes and functional behaviour
- natural physical things: natural physical attributes and natural physical behaviour

Lakoff and Turner (1989: 171ff) suggest that each form of being has all of the attribute types lower on the hierarchy, for example, animals do not have mental and character attributes but, in addition to their own instinctual attributes, they have all the other attributes of entities lower down the chain. Furthermore, higher-order attributes lead to higher-order behaviour, instinctual attributes lead to instinctual behaviour, and so on. The theory also has two essential ingredients according to Lakoff and Turner: the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor and the communicative Maxim of Quantity.

The first – the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC – allows us to comprehend general human traits in terms of well-understood, non-human attributes. It thereby gives the analogy a commonsense touch. The second, the Maxim of Quantity, implies being as informative as is required and not more so. Because the Great Chain is an implicational hierarchy, we have to pick out the highest-ranking properties available in each situation, since 'higher forms' have all the properties of 'lower' forms. We thereby avoid superfluous information which could be misleading in a straightforward analogy.

7.11 The enemy as a natural object of denigration

The hypothesis that there are universal trends in normalisation leads to the assumption that there may also be a natural process of denigrating the enemy. In the vast majority of cases, the enemy is looked down upon with the aid of negative metaphorical concepts. These concepts tend to be long term and can be embodied or purely cultural. The embodied DISEASE model of normalisation suggests that the journalist who wrote of 'the Taliban-infested tribal belt', based on an ENEMY = DISEASE conceptual metaphor, could have been reasonably confident that the expression would neither offend the target audience nor be perceived as a racist expression in regard to the enemy. No doubt, denigration of the enemy was 'normal language', that is, it represented a conventional expression. In addition, it is highly unlikely that the journalist was aware of the same conceptual metaphor being used at other historical periods, as in the case of Humbert of Romans's expression, *membrum putridum corruptivum aliorum* (a putrid limb which affects other

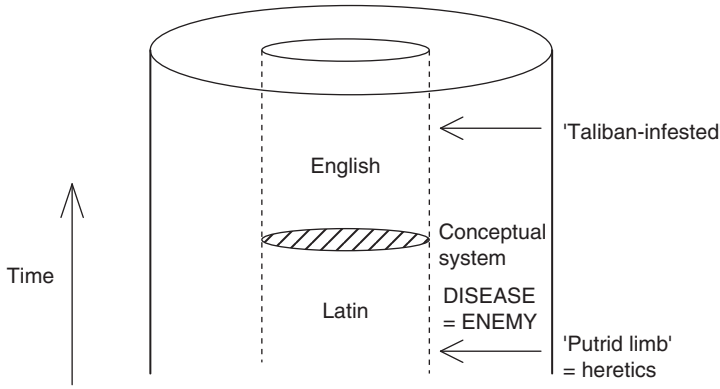


Figure 7.2 Diachronic mappings within the ENEMY = DISEASE conceptual system

parts), with regard to medieval heretics. It would therefore represent a natural trend in conceptualisation at any point in time.

The consequence of these facts concerning the evolution of war mappings is that, as in the case of active and latent paths in diachronic networking, the continuation of such long-term normalisation structures can give rise to related linguistic metaphors at any time, whatever the language in the system may be. This is illustrated in Figure 7.2. Taking the two languages of Latin and English as the core of the conceptual system containing the long-term ENEMY = DISEASE mapping, the linguistic metaphor of 'a putrid limb' referring to heretics is conceptually the same as 'an infection' referring to the Taliban.

7.12 The RAT metaphor and entrenched symbolism

Some of these long-term normalisation structures are cultural, as in the case of animal symbolism. Long-term symbolism of animals – including the rat – has frequently been used not only to denigrate the enemy but also to describe the negative side of the human condition. The use of the RAT = NEGATIVE metaphor is manifold. It has also been used as a literary technique to describe the acceptance of extreme war conditions. The French writer, Albert Camus, used the symbol as an allegory to depict and try to understand the absurdities of the human condition within the context of the spread of Nazi ideology.

As a Resistance fighter during the Second World War, Camus reflected on his personal war experiences in books such as *La Peste* (*The Plague*).

In this book, the spread of Nazi ideology is equated with the spread of the plague, the consequences of the disease and its final acceptance. According to notes he wrote when planning the book in 1941, he felt there was a strong historical link between the evil of the plague and the scapegoating of Jews in Europe. In 1342, Jews were executed following the eruption of the Black Death in Europe, and in 1481, when the plague was widespread in southern Spain, the Inquisition accused Jews of responsibility for the epidemic (Lottman 1978: 273).

In the story-line of *La Peste*, the plague strikes a post-war Algerian town and, as the days go by, dead rats are found in the houses and streets. The sight of the first dead rat provokes shock amongst some, particularly the concierge of the house in which it was found:

> The presence of this dead rat only seemed strange to him, whereas for the concierge it was scandalous. He had a clear opinion on the matter: there were no rats in the house.
>
> (Camus 1948: 38)

As more and more dead rats are found, their discovery become normalised. Then the first person dies from the plague, the concierge himself – a terrible event, particularly for those who knew him. Another normalisation process sets in as the numbers of the dead rise until the frightening news comes that the town is to be closed. The conclusion is that the human mind may become accustomed to horrific circumstances.

Thus, the image of the rat is entrenched in Western society as a negative symbol. It would therefore represent a long-term path of conceptual mapping, related to culture rather than physiological factors. To sum up, the conclusion we may draw from the above data on war rhetoric is that there are indeed many long-term paths which appear almost universal in the diachronic sense, that is, they have probably always existed in human thought. However, it is clear from this analysis that, first, both embodiment and cultural images may be long-term and, second, that the two are usually intricately linked in natural language at any historical period.

What kind of images that were commonplace in the past would not be used today? In the next chapter, these long-term trends in human conceptualisation will be contrasted with shorter periods of cultural influence in war settings.

8
Time-Specific Mappings in War: The Crusades

8.1 Variational symbolism in pre-emptive war

In this chapter, we will give a brief overview of the types of mappings which are specific to a particular historical period rather than constituting long-term trends. The main focus will be on the medieval period and specifically on the Crusades. Across time, there is much about situations of war that is unchanging: pre-emptive motives for wars appear to have existed for a long time and military intervention has always been supported by symbolism in rhetoric. The idea of using symbols to make the case for war would therefore appear to be a diachronically universal or long-term strategy. The difference, however, is that varying types of symbols are used according to the general cultural or technological background.

In the year 152 BC, an 81-year-old Roman leader who was addressing the Senate, started straightening out the folds in his toga. In the process, he deliberately dropped a few Libyan figs. The public he was addressing began admiring their huge size and beauty. When he noticed their reaction, he explained that the country which had produced them was only three days' sailing from Rome.

The speaker was the famous politician, Cato, whose oft-repeated battle-cry, '*delenda est Carthago*' (Carthage must be destroyed) at the end of his speeches, led to the Third Punic War. On this particular day, Cato had just been on a mission to Carthage and had noticed that the town was flourishing again and allegedly stockpiling weapons after its defeat during the Second Punic War. Despite the defeat, Hannibal had been able to inflict enormous losses on the Roman army. Cato felt that the new situation was cause for great concern and the geopolitical context reinforced the cause for a pre-emptive war. The display of figs was thus

a symbol for its justification with regard to the Carthaginians and the war actually took place two years later. We could say that the symbolic display of the figs involved the mapping of the conceptual analogy: PROXIMITY OF THE ENEMY = FIGS. This kind of symbol would obviously make much less sense today since travelling is no longer counted in days' sailing.

In the following discussion, we will concentrate on time-specific mappings in relation to the Crusades. How was it possible to persuade thousands of people to set out on the arduous road to the Holy Land? Some Crusade specialists such as Elouard (2007: 157) feel that modern Western society is incapable of understanding the medieval mindset. This is demonstrated, he claims, by movies such as Ridley Scott's *The Kingdom of Heaven* (USA, 2005). Intended for an international public, Elouard's feeling is that the film fails to make at all comprehensible the motivation of warriors in the Crusades – whichever side they were on. The following analysis suggests that two major forces were at work in motivating men to fight in the Crusades: the geopolitical structure of Europe immediately prior to the onset of war, and in particular the role of the Church, and the subtle rhetorical analogies used in Crusade sermons to promote the war effort.

8.2 The role of the Church prior to the Crusades

The Church in Europe became all-powerful in the events leading up to the preaching of the First Crusade in 1095. In fact, it became the main political authority. A brief overview of the historical context in the preceding centuries helps to clarify this development. The following outline is necessarily only a very brief sketch of the main historical facts.

As far as the Church was concerned, the remnants of the Roman Empire after its collapse in the fifth century AD created a division in Europe between the west and the east. Although the Latin-speaking part of the Empire in the west collapsed, the Catholic Church in Rome not only managed to survive, it slowly grew in strength. In the east, the Byzantine Empire flourished and the Greek Orthodox Church developed. During the following centuries, Western Europe plunged into confusion and the early forms of feudalism began to materialise. A more extensive form of social organisation began to develop with Charlemagne at the end of the eighth century. However, his attempt to revive the former Roman Empire, or at least the western half, as the Holy Roman Empire, was thwarted by the antagonisms between

the Byzantine Empire in the east and Latin Christendom in the west. Furthermore, his own empire was under constant attack on all sides, by the Norsemen from the north and west, the Magyars in the east and the Saracens in the south.

Meanwhile, the Church in Rome was strengthening its political base by claiming that the Pope of Rome should be the Emperor. Although the Church had no armies, the Pope had already established a vast propaganda organisation by the ninth century. This he was able to do through his priests, who had considerable influence on the populations of Latin Christendom. This led to a power struggle between the Pope and Charlemagne, but on the latter's death, the Church had greater control over the remaining line of Charlemagne's descendancy. The Carolingian line came to an end at the end of the tenth century, and the Church of Rome broke completely with the Greek Orthodox Church in 1054 as a result of a doctrinal dispute concerning the Holy Trinity.

A few years later, in 1071, the Church of Rome was enabled greatly to increase its power. During the events of the centuries we have been describing, a major empire was also in the ascendance to the south and east of the Mediterranean basin. By the eighth century the Moslem Empire already stretched from Spain to Persia. At the eastern end of the Empire, the Baghdad Caliphate latterly included Turkish tribes who had been converted to Islam. In the eleventh century, some of these tribes took up arms against the Byzantine Empire. During these attacks, successive Byzantine emperors called on popes Gregory VII and Urban II for help.

The relatively recent rupture between the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches meant that the papacy was keen to gain the opportunity to assert their supremacy over the Greek dissidents. In addition, Urban II saw the opportunity not only to unite all of Christendom in order to recruit soldiers, but also to draw in the newly-Christianised populations among the warlike Norsemen and Germanic tribes, who were considered to be excellent pools of recruitment. The objective was to recover the Holy Sepulchre taken by the Turks in an attack on Jerusalem. Thus began an elaborate propaganda machine in 1095 for the ensuing First Crusade.

8.3 Crusade sermons and their rhetorical mappings

The preceding discussion sets the political context for war and outlines in brief how the Church developed its political power. How then was

the propaganda machine organised and what structural forms did the war rhetoric take?

As mentioned above, the Church had already established a strong religious framework in Latin Christendom during the centuries preceding the late Middle Ages. During this time, it had to reinforce the idea of 'Holy War' and explain to populations certain apparent anomalies. For example, the Bible taught 'thou shalt not kill' as one of the Ten Commandments from the Old Testament. How could this fit in with the idea of killing the enemy and fighting in the name of God?

With regard to this particular aspect of preaching Holy War, the distinctions went back to the work of Saint Augustine (354–430) who was largely responsible for its doctrines (Flori 2001: 29ff.) Again, justice was an important element of the rhetoric. The idea was for Holy War to transcend to a Just War. In this way, a Christian could become a soldier to reinforce justice, defend the mother country or fight to recover conquered territory. The Lord's commandment on homicide would therefore not apply to the army, to those in the judicial system or to executioners who were in the service of the authority in power.

At the very beginning of the propaganda process and during the time of the First Crusade, Pope Urban II himself was an effective preacher and it was he who started the movement. With each successive Crusade, situations changed and new strategies were needed. According to Maier (2000: 7ff.), although the instigators of the preaching movement in the thirteenth century were secular clerics, the two large mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans were responsible for its overall success. Their writings originated in university circles and pastoral reform movements which had become well established by 1200. The rapid growth of these orders throughout Europe enabled them to build up an infrastructure which provided effective channels of broadcasting and dissemination. The infrastructure became the equivalent of today's mass media. In fact, individually commissioned preachers were increasingly irrelevant in a world which extended the promotion of war against invaders in the Holy Land to war against heretics and other enemies of the papacy. In addition to responsibilities in preaching, the efforts of the religious orders helped the papacy organise funding for the war effort.

Maier (2000: 3ff.) outlines some of the major strategies used in sermons. Preachers were trained to communicate to heterogeneous target audiences. Tailor-made sermons were prepared to suit different types of social groups. In order to reach out to the population, vernacular phrases, such as those from a local Old French dialect, were mixed into

the Latin. In the following passages, the original linguistic form will be restricted to core terms in mappings:

> Today many run and rush when they are offered a little money and they do not run to the kingdom of heaven which is offered to them. And, as we say in the vernacular, many run when someone calls: '**Gaaigne maile, gaaigne denier**!' [Have a halfpenny, have a penny!]. We shout: '**Hauot a paradis**!' [Hurry up to paradise!]
>
> (Gilbert of Tournai, cited in Maier 2000: 209)

The strategy of trying to communicate intimately with the audience also led to the employment of terms of endearment:

> Now you see, **my dearest people** (*ecce vedetis, karissimi*), how great the evil of the heretics is, you see how much damage they cause in the world [and] you see how the church piously strives to call them back, employing many pious means.
>
> (Humbert of Romans, cited in Maier 2000: 227)

The last example is a case of how 'sermons for specific purposes' were written, for example, against the Cathar populations in Languedoc in southern France, who were considered to be heretics and massacred around the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries.

Humour was also used to facilitate understanding, in, for example, the comparison between a person and a monkey. James of Vitry likened a person who found a crusade too strenuous to a monkey which throws away a nut due to the bitterness of its shell and thus never gets to its sweet core.

This example leads us to perhaps the most important point of sermons in facilitating understanding: the different structures of analogy in the rhetoric used. A reading of the texts makes it clear that their authors depended heavily on comparisons in order to convey their message to a rich variety of auditors. In the last chapter, we saw some of the universal forms of analogy in Crusade sermons. Maier (2000: 41ff.) uses the Latin terms *exempla*, *narrationes*, *metaphorae* and *similitudines* for the types of comparative structures used to persuade the audience to take up arms, that is to say, examples, story-telling and allegories, metaphor and comparisons in general. These often had their roots in biblical parables, although this was not always the case, and a considerable amount of creativity went into writing the texts.

In line with the animal analogy above, allegories included, for example, comparisons between deer and the crusader, or a tiger and the crusader. Just as deer leave their own habitat to find a mate during the mating season, so crusaders, in their love for God, cross the sea to go to foreign lands. And as the tiger could be imagined to throw itself onto the hunter's spear to protect its cub, so Christ sacrificed himself on the cross for humankind.

Images from daily or family life – food, drink, clothing, domestic handiwork, and so on – were also woven into the sermons. Many of the images were linked to traditional symbols, and symbolisation in the texts of the sermons can give us a good insight into how different objects were conceptualised at the time. Metaphor appears to be particularly productive in the sermons that Maier has collected, and it is his view that metaphor was especially useful in facilitating understanding among audiences not accustomed to academic thought.

The following discussion will look at specific images used in the range of the mapping structures found in the sermons and define to what extent they were culturally oriented and thus broadly specific to their time. It will look at various types of mappings that were applied to persuade populations to go to war.

8.4 Cultural conceptual metaphors in Crusade sermons

An overview of more culturally specific analogies present in Maier's (2000) Crusade sermons shows that they tend to follow a number of major groupings. We will look at several examples here from his translations in connection with the following themes: the cross itself; family and friends; the notions of finance, negotiation and competition (reminiscent of conceptual strategies in modern times but involving different objectives); and, finally, the symbolism of animals. We will then use the latter group, as a more homogeneous lexical entity, to discuss the diachronic dimension of the linguistic/conceptual metaphor relationship.

The cross

The major symbol in the Crusades is that of the cross: with crusaders 'taking the cross' and bearing the image of the crucifix. Mappings also involved the wood of the cross, which stood for life, resurrection and justice. As a result, there was the mapping WOOD = SWEET. The sermons often spoke of the sweetness or bitterness of different concepts in life. One of the opposing metaphors to the sweetness of wood was the

wild vine, which was characterised as bitter. Thus, the preacher Eudes of Châteauroux (cited in Maier 2000: 161) explains the link between the wood of the cross and sweetness:

1. Ecclesiasticus 38: Was not the water **sweetened by the wood**? In these words you are succinctly shown why you should take the cross: by the taking of the cross all the bitterness of the heart is **sweetened by the wood of the cross**.
2. One reads in 4 Kings 4 that the sons of the prophets threw some **wild vine** into a pot in order to prepare some soup for themselves. But later, when they wanted to try this concoction, they tasted the **excessive bitterness** and said: There is death in the pot.

The 'wild vine' was a standard phrase in the Bible, as in Jeremiah 2:21: 'I had planted you like a choice vine of sound and reliable stock. How then did you turn against me into a corrupt, wild vine?' This conventional metaphor therefore appears to have been continued in the sermons and used in contrast with the wood of the cross.

Family and friends

Analogies involving family and friends include, in particular, the role of the wife. The family situation could also encompass the whole range of material possessions that a potential crusader might own, even to the extent of taking his social status or family heritage into consideration. The reason for this is that it was above all factors related to his family life that might prevent him from taking the cross.

With regard to the role of wives, women generally had a very secondary role in the Middle Ages and were often considered in an unfavourable light. The fate of witches in trials, for example, is well known: if the presumed witch was thrown into a river and she floated, she was guilty. If she sank, she was innocent. Either way, she was a loser.

As far as Crusade preachers were concerned, women were a major obstacle to men joining the Crusades (OBSTACLE TO CRUSADES = WOMEN), as can be seen in the following story told by James of Vitry (cited in Maier 2000: 123):

> Once when I preached in some town, one man did not want to come to the sermon with the others since his wife objected [...] **afraid of his spouse, who had locked the door so that he would not leave**,

> he was watching from the window and jumped out into the crowd and was the first to come to the cross.

The pejorative judgement of women is found in metaphors such as RUINED PLACE = WHORE with reference to Jerusalem (James of Vitry; cited in Maier 2000: 95):

> The faithful city has been made a **whore** (*meretrix*); once the city of perfect beauty, the joy of the whole world; justice used to dwell in her [. . .]

All aspects of family life had to be given up in order to join the Crusades and the need to denigrate their importance led to mappings and comparisons such as SOCIAL STATUS/MATERIAL POSSESSIONS = DUNG:

> But what did he renounce? [. . .] 'What once were my assets I now count as my losses through Christ, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things and count them as **dung** (*detrimentum feci*)'. Thus he left behind his nobility, his wealth and honours which used to follow him from his origins [. . .]
>
> (Eudes of Châteauroux, cited in Maier 2000: 135)

Finance, negotiation and competition

The above example is a very different form of conceptualisation to today's world of consumerism. James of Vitry does introduce the notion of bargaining and gain into the Crusades, but this is not with the idea of actually earning money, but with gaining favours from the Lord such as a remission of penance or the prize of the heavenly kingdom:

> REMISSION OF PENANCE = SERMON ATTENDANCE
>
> [The second good] is that **those who come to the sermon are granted a remission of their penance** of twenty or forty days, which does them much good especially in purgatory after death, when they would have wished to have given a great treasure for just one single hour of remission, if it were possible.
>
> (Cited in Maier 2000: 119)
>
> GOOD BARGAIN = TAKING THE CROSS

> [The third good] is that many are encouraged to do the same when they see others rushing to the **good bargain** (*negotio*); in fact, we have seen many, who having decided in their heart not to be signed but coming to see who would take the cross, were the first to hurry to the cross.
>
> (Ibid.: 123)

PRIZE = HEAVENLY KINGDOM

> It is a custom among noble and powerful men to invest their vassals with precious fiefs by a glove or some other object of little worth, just as the Lord invests his vassals with the **heavenly kingdom** by the cross [made] of ordinary thread or cloth. He invites you in the manner of those who play at hazard or dice, having shown you the **enormous prize**. In this **holy game** (*sancto ludo*)you either hold or throw away: if you hold you **win**, if you throw away you **lose**.
>
> (Ibid.: 187)

GOODS/SUBSIDIES = INDULGENCE

> [The fourth good] that derives from this **holy business** (*sancto negotio*): Many who cannot go send [others] for themselves and grant those who go so much of their **goods** (bonis) that they [themselves] obtain the **indulgence** (*indulgentia*). But if those who are signed with the cross are prevented by death, they send that which they would have had to take with them as a **subsidy** (*subsidium*) to the Holy Land.
>
> (Ibid.: 119)

The remarkable point about these mappings is the degree to which some of them are calculated, as if on a point system. Attendance at a sermon is calculated as equal to twenty or forty days of remission for penance. The argument is reinforced by the promise that it is a particularly good deal after death, and the scale of the bargain is compared to a great treasure being worth only one hour of remission. The argument is driven home with metaphors relating to good bargains and enormous prizes.

The last passage concerns a reference to 'indulgence', the medieval concept of remission of sins. The basic bargain, according to papal order, is that those warriors who fight and/or die in the Crusades are pardoned by God for their sins. However, the 'conditions of the contract' are fairly

complex. For example, what happens if they fight and do not die, or if they take the cross and do not kill, and so on (Flori 2001: 51–2)? It would seem that this must have caused a certain amount of confusion. For this reason, one of the preachers' main tasks was to try and simplify the contents of sermons with analogies. According to the last passage above, it would also appear that any money or goods sent by benefactors who, for reasons of age or ill-health perhaps or indeed death before they can embark upon the adventure, are prevented from joining the Crusades, would also obtain 'indulgence' from God. By this means, preachers were able not only to recruit manpower but also to raise funds.

The above examples are typical forms of conceptual mapping during the Crusades. They were specific to the religious culture of the time and many of them were drawn from biblical sources. Below are listed some metaphors of the Middle Ages that contrast most vividly with the sentiments of contemporary Western society:

Family/friends/home:
MATERIAL POSSESSIONS = DUNG

Business/competition:
TAKING THE CROSS = GOOD BARGAIN
HEAVENLY KINGDOM = PRIZE
INDULGENCE = GOODS

In addition, there are very specific metaphors related to symbols such as the cross, as in:

WOOD = SWEET

Animals

The last group of cultural mappings, animals, represents a semantic field whose evolution is a little easier to trace within a linguistic/conceptual metaphor relationship. Broadly speaking, some animals used in sermons were also typical biblical images while others were probably less typical. While the large majority of animal images were used to illustrate the negative sides of human behaviour with regard to church doctrines, there were some animals that were prestigious or intimately linked to the Church. We have seen above that one animal, the deer, was likened to the crusader and therefore had a very positive image in the eyes of the Church. Below we consider long and short-term animal symbolism in this period.

8.5 Long and short-term animal symbolism in the Crusades

We suggested in the last chapter that animal symbolism can be long term, but it can also be very varied. Some animals, like the rat, have been associated with negative qualities for a very long time. Other animals with negative images, some of which involve shorter-term conceptualisation, are monkeys, wolves, bears, foxes, dogs and reptiles, imagined or real, such as dragons and snakes. Dragons and snakes represent long-term symbolism as in the case of the RAT metaphor, others, such as wolves, foxes, bears and possibly dogs are much more limited in time. The monkey image is associated with humour or stupidity. The wolf has often been construed as a predator, as in fairy tales or children's stories.

The following represent shorter-term cultural mappings. The first is a biblical metaphor involving the preaching of the cross against heretics and the animal is thus used to designate the enemy:

HERETICS = WOLVES

> And so it is said about **heretics** in Matthew 7: They come to you disguised as sheep, but underneath they are **ravenous wolves**.
>
> (Humbert of Romans, cited in Maier 2000: 223)

Also associated with heretics are foxes:

HERETICS = FOXES

> Because of this the **heretics** are signified in Judges 15 by the **foxes** of Samson whose tails were tied together but whose faces were turned away from each other, because the heretics are united in their intention to destroy the church.
>
> (Ibid.)

Like the wolf, the bear is a predator but it is analogised in a different way, being associated more with envy. The following mapping shows that a bear is seen as envious and that envious people are associated with the devil. Preachers were against envious people since they are egoistic and distract potential crusaders:

ENVY = BEARS

> The envious are also signed with the sign of the devil [...] **The envious are like bears**, always restless, because a bear tied to a

> tree-trunk never stops either going round in a circle or throwing his head from one side to the other with its paws [...] The envious prefer their own lives [...] It is they who distract crusaders and those who are ready to take the cross.
>
> (Gilbert of Tournai, cited in Maier 2000: 195)

There are many examples in which dogs are described as useless in that they lack the ability to follow the crusader's mission. In addition, the image of dogs carried the message that people should not try and prevent those more capable from signing up. Again, preachers would use different mappings to illustrate the point:

USELESSNESS = DOGS

> **A dog is useless** when it lies in the hay and cannot eat [it], Proverbs 3: Do not prevent from doing good someone who can do it.
>
> (Gilbert of Tournai, cited in ibid.: 196)

> **You know that a dog would never catch a prey fleeing through thorn bushes** if it were afraid of the spines and the thorns, rather it gets caught in the thorns, hurts itself and gets covered with its own blood. Thus, he who wants to catch the Lord needs to expose himself to every danger and labour.
>
> (Eudes of Châteauroux, cited in Maier 2000: 171)

The first example refers to those who might be available to join the Crusades but who lack the courage to do so. 'Lying in the hay' refers to availability and 'eating' to actually joining the movement. Neither should 'useless' people attempt to prevent others being recruited. The second example refers to those who are free to join up but are afraid of getting hurt. The spines and thorns are the dangers of armed conflict. The sermon therefore aims to encourage people to brave the arduous task.

These are examples of shorter-term mappings in war rhetoric that are directly related to the cultural settings of the Crusades, and that would be unlikely to be used today. However, as we have seen in the case of love, war mappings can also fluctuate in their salience. This is the topic to which we will turn in the next chapter.

9

Cultural Change in Western War Mappings since the Late Middle Ages

9.1 Mutations in conceptual mappings from religion to the economy

In an address to the nation in 2009 on military intervention overseas, US President Barack Obama used financial metaphors in order to persuade the population that a further build-up of military forces in Afghanistan was a necessary step in American foreign policy:

> But while we've achieved **hard-earned milestones** in Iraq, the situation in Afghanistan has deteriorated.
>
> (Barack Obama, 1 December 2009)

Using a JOURNEY metaphor, the application of earning in the sense of making money or achieving material possessions is portrayed as a positive goal in the figurative context of winning a battle. This is a far cry from the kind of cultural metaphors that we have seen were used in medieval war rhetoric: 'what once were my assets I now count as my losses through Christ, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things and count them as dung'. It is an almost complete reversal in the appreciation of material possessions. Despite the continuing importance of religion in war rhetoric, whatever the military camp, an analysis of current American English reveals the fact that today, one semantic field overrides all others – economics. How did this happen?

In this chapter, we will look at one particular view of how the ideas of early philosophers of economics paved the way for the predominant cultural models in the United States. This might explain some of the major changes that have taken place over the centuries and therefore reveal long-term conceptual mappings. American cultural models of figurative

language have received a great deal of attention by linguists in recent years. These models may also have become a naturalised part of the language and therefore of thought in general. In addition, we shall look at how age-old techniques such as story-telling and traditional ingredients in the form of justice and morality have been culturally transformed to fit the modern environment.

This once again raises the issue of salience and the debate over which factors might be playing a role in frequency and the impact that a high level of salience might have in rhetoric. One particular line of thought that we will discuss in this field is Goatly's (2007) notion of 'hidden' ideologies in capitalism.

9.2 'Hidden' ideologies

Citing Jackendoff (1983: 29), Goatly (2007: 25) suggests that there are latent ideologies in our ways of thinking that are the result of the ways in which ready-made categorisations of ontologies are handed down. Furthermore, these ideologies, which are related to the way people acquire ways of thinking, are subconscious and become common sense:

> We may think, naively, that the information conveyed by language is about the real world. But in fact 'we have conscious access only to the projected world – the world as unconsciously organised by the mind: and we can talk about things only insofar as they have achieved mental representation through these processes of organisation'.

Although categorisation appears to be ready-made, particular constructs of categorisation may evolve or change radically over a period of time due to different social and historical events. One such event, which completely changed Western society, was the Industrial Revolution, which began in eighteenth-century Britain. It is this event that marks the beginning of the capitalist era and its representative ideologies, which, according to Goatly (2007: 335), have acquired a new ascendancy since the last quarter of the twentieth century. These 'hidden' ideologies were originally propagated by economic philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, David Hume, Robert Malthus and Adam Smith, all of whom also influenced Darwin. Goatly further suggests (2007: 336) that the capitalist ideological tradition represents a confluence of two strands: (a) the idea that humans, along with animals, are basically competitive and selfish and extend their interests only as far as the family and close friends and (b) the idea that quality can be expressed as

quantity and that well-being, relationships, time and even virtue are recognisable in terms of money or material possessions. Thus we have such metaphorical expressions as 'when I was promoted, and he wasn't, it put his nose out of joint', that is, ACTIVITY IS FIGHTING in competition (p. 73) or 'he made sterling efforts to walk again after his car accident', that is, QUALITY (in terms of admiration) IS MONEY (p. 95).

With regard to war, the early economic philosophers apparently felt that conflict was a natural condition and the outcome of economic competition. Goatly (pp. 337ff.) cites Hobbes (1997 [1651]: 70) who maintains that competitiveness means that 'every man is enemy to every man'. Citing Smith (1991 [1776]: 471), Goatly suggests that the view of these philosophers was that wealth, military expenditure and civilisation (and presumably the spread of civilisation through empire) go hand in hand. In short, competitiveness led philosophers to the belief that war was a natural state and that a strong military was required not only to discourage internal dissent but also to maintain sovereignty over other states. Indeed, finance raised in the initial stages of capitalism in Europe was used to fund wars which ravaged countries such as Spain, the Netherlands, France and Germany during a large part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Goatly 2007: 338, citing Tawney 1938 [1926]: 86–7).

One other significant factor discussed by these early economic philosophers, and which will lead us on to current theories in the United States on the subject, is the role of the self, the individual and the family within a capitalist framework. Citing Smith (1991 [1776]) and Malthus (1992 [1798]), Goatly (pp. 347ff.) suggests that these three concepts are important ones for the early philosophers. Smith regards self-interest as a basic feature of human nature. In contrast to feudalism, in which the poor are personally dependent on the rich, he suggests that capitalism caters more to the poor by fostering their individual liberty. Malthus emphasises the natural affection that men have for their offspring and thereby stresses the importance of the family. The institution of marriage is essential, as is women's chastity within it. However, the survival of large families would not be possible without the laws of property and succession.

9.3 Hypothetical cultural models in American society

Some of these ideas helped forge analogical thinking in Western attitudes after the end of the feudal system. In fact, Goatly implies (2007: 386) that American metaphor models can probably be traced back to

seventeenth-century European thought. This is in contrast to the pre-Industrial Revolution period and the feudal system of the late Middle Ages. Hence there are sharp contrasts between the medieval mappings discussed in the last chapter and those that relate to modern times.

The last point above about family structures has led to controversial theories on conceptual models in current American politics. One view is found in Lakoff's works: *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think* (2003; first published in 1996) and *Whose Freedom? The Battle over America's Most Important Idea* (2006). In these books, Lakoff suggests that there are two distinct models in American society based on the fact that Americans often metaphorically understand their country as a family. The government corresponds to the parents while citizens are equated with children. Within the NATION IS A FAMILY structure, conservatives have a STRICT FATHER morality and liberals a NURTURANT PARENT morality. An interpretation of these two models corresponds approximately to the following lines of thought.

The STRICT FATHER model includes three major aspects: (a) morality – as evil is all around, the basis of morality is self-reliance and self-discipline; (b) justice – in some ways this is linked to morality – people get what they deserve; (c) child development – children have to learn self-discipline and justice through rewards and punishment and strict obedience to parents.

The NURTURANT PARENT model, which is based on the mutual support of family members, has different features to those outlined in the model above. Morality is about understanding and respecting other people; justice is far from perfect in the world as many people do not seem to be rewarded for their hard work; while dedication and child development are optimal when exercised through the interaction of good people, and especially good parents. In terms of policies, conservatives thus typically favour issues such as the condemnation of abortion, support for military spending/intervention and a fixed-percentage income tax, whereas liberals tend to vote for the opposite.

This vision of American politics has not been without criticism. Steven Pinker is very sceptical about using cognitive linguistics to explain politics at all. This is similar to the Chomskyan vision that linguistics and politics have to remain separate fields of enquiry. In an article entitled 'Block that Metaphor!', Pinker likewise finds fault in the terms used for the two types of models:

> Now let us consider the metaphor 'a nation is a family'. Recall that in Lakoff's account, conservatives think of a strict father and

> progressives think of a nurturant [...] well, here Lakoff runs into a wee problem. The metaphors in our language imply that the nurturing parent should be a mother, beginning with 'nurture' itself, which comes from the same root as 'to nurse'. Just think of the difference in meaning between 'to mother a child' and 'to father a child'!
>
> (Pinker 2006)

In the same online article, and as the title suggests, Pinker feels that too much emphasis is laid on figurative thought generally, implying that not everything can be explained by metaphorical structures alone:

> As many of Lakoff's skeptical colleagues have noted, the ubiquity of metaphor in language does *not* imply that all thinking is concrete. People cannot use a metaphor to reason with unless they have a deeper grasp of which aspects of the metaphor should be taken seriously and which should be ignored [...] Thinking cannot trade in metaphors directly.

Goatly (2007: 383ff) also has some reservations about the theory although he agrees that Lakoff, as a liberal, does show how neoconservative strands, in relation to hidden ideologies stemming from the early economic philosophers, have produced a dominant way of thinking in contemporary American and global post cold-war politics. He argues, however, that there are two flaws with Lakoff's theory. The first is that the very metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY is problematic for right-wing thinkers since they do not see government control as legitimate and believe in small government with extensive free enterprise. Hence the government could not have a 'strict father' role. The second concerns claims about the nature of metaphor itself. Goatly touches on a number of different aspects in this respect but one point which comes out in particular is the fact that liberals are supposed to prefer the nurture model to the nature model. However, cognitive linguistics, of which Lakoff was a pioneer, was strongly influenced at the beginning by the nature model. This was within the context of universal properties arising from the body and mind rather than from cultural influence.

To summarise at this point, recent theories by linguists such as Lakoff incorporate a number of different features such as morality, justice and so on in the semantic field of politics. As we have seen in the last two chapters, morality and justice are conceptual components which have no doubt existed since Antiquity. As a part of politics, economics metaphors, however, do appear to be more time-specific. In terms of Goatly's 'hidden' ideologies, their current use can probably be traced

back to the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Returning to our main topic of war, the metaphorisation of economics has also been a major aspect of Lakoff's writings on American foreign policy and military intervention.

9.4 Economics and the conceptualisation of war

We noted in Chapter 7 that the prospect of economic gain has probably always been a major factor in military adventures and that Roman commanders on the battlefield undoubtedly had personal profit in mind. In the same vein, it was noted that former US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, sees US economic interests as the underlying force behind foreign policy.

In his analysis of the justification for military intervention in the first Gulf War, Lakoff (1991) suggests that a dominant way of thinking in American foreign policy – one that also applied to the Vietnam War – is that the use of war is simply 'an instrument of foreign policy'. This is closely associated with economic costs and was a concept originally formulated by a Prussian general, Karl von Clausewitz:

> Clausewitz is most commonly presented as seeing war in terms of political cost-benefit analysis: each nation-state has political objectives, and war may best serve those objectives. The political 'gains' are to be weighed against acceptable 'costs'. When the costs of war exceed the political gains, the war should cease.
>
> (Lakoff 1991: 2)

The conceptualisation of the 'political cost-benefit' factor does indeed appear to have become a standard part of analyses concerning potential military intervention. It is often used by the press, as in the following statement from *Time Magazine* (5 March 2010):

> Despite the exhortations of the likes of Sarah Palin, U.S. military action against Iran's nuclear facilities remains unlikely because of the **strategic cost-benefit equation**: the negative consequences of such action are potentially dramatic across a number of fronts, while even a successful bombing campaign would only slow down Iran's nuclear program by a couple of years.

Lakoff thus suggests that Clausewitz's concept implies that POLITICS IS BUSINESS and that efficient political management can be compared to efficient business management. On the basis of this original

conceptualisation, thinking is reduced to mathematical reasoning. War is a matter of maximising political gains and minimising losses and it can be justified when there is more to be gained by going to war than by not going to war. In many ways this fits into ideas forged during the capitalist era. However, there appear to be two classes of metaphorical structures used by politicians and the media when discussing war. The first is what we shall term here 'overtly persuasive' metaphors. These tend to be innovative structures which are often presented in the form of longer scenarios in order to increase their impact on the audience. The second are 'covertly persuasive' metaphors, which are more like conventional structures and more integrated into everyday language.

'Covertly persuasive' metaphors are terms which are familiar and are therefore understood in a more subconscious way. In many ways, they have become naturalised in language and, even if they are quite strong, do not necessarily stand out from other words in the sentence. This aspect has arisen in a number of different issues discussed so far, such as in metaphorisation of the enemy. However, both have the power of persuasion and, if we accept the theory of 'hidden' ideologies, both are linked to the particular mindset that has developed in Western society since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.

9.5 Overtly versus covertly persuasive metaphors in rhetoric

In this section, we will look at the way in which persuasive metaphors require other components, such as morality and justice, in addition to economic terms, in order to truly convince contemporary audiences. In order to persuade a public to go to war or to join the army, powerful images are needed, whatever the concrete reasons – such as self-protection, pre-emptive war and so on – given. Starting with overtly persuasive structures, their innovative power tends to be most effective when they are established within a longer scenario, such as mapping in the form of story-telling. This was also true of the Crusades preachers, who often used biblical stories.

Again, Lakoff (1991) suggests a number of present-day metaphor systems which can be used to convince people of the rightness of war. We will look at one story-telling version which is closely linked to morality: the 'Fairy Tale of the Just War'. In other words, naked Clausewitzian ideology had to be clothed with a moral costume in order to be both presentable and convincing to the public.

Lakoff claims that the fairy tale image in the First Gulf War was based on a traditional scenario using a familiar cast of characters including a villain, a victim and a hero:

> A crime is committed by the villain against an innocent victim (typically an assault, theft or kidnapping). The offence occurs due to an imbalance of power and creates a moral imbalance. The hero either gathers helpers or decides to go it alone. The hero makes sacrifices; he undergoes difficulties, typically making an arduous heroic journey, sometimes across the sea to a treacherous terrain. The villain is inherently evil, perhaps even a monster, and thus reasoning with him is out of the question. The hero is left with no choice but to engage the villain in battle. The hero defeats the villain and rescues the victim. The moral balance is restored. Victory is achieved. The hero, who always acts honorably, has proved his manhood and achieved glory.
>
> (Lakoff 1991: 4)

The reader or viewer can become very involved in the story line, even though, at the end of the day, it is known to be purely fictional. Storytelling is a natural part of our thoughts and it will be discussed further in natural language analogies and salience below.

The metaphorical adaptation of the classical fairy tale to the first Gulf War, when Iraq invaded Kuwait, had, according to Lakoff (1991), two possible scenarios, each of which President Bush Senior tried out:

> The Self-Defence Scenario: Iraq is villain, the US is hero, the US and other industrialised nations are victims, the crime is a death threat, that is, a threat to economic health.
>
> The Rescue Scenario: Iraq is villain, the US is hero, Kuwait is victim, the crime is kidnap and rape.
>
> (Lakoff 1991: 5)

It turned out that the American public was unwilling to accept the first scenario, which amounted to trading oil for lives. However, the second scenario had much more success. In other words, the morality component of the metaphorical structure won out. This scenario is translated into different examples of discourse given by President Bush Senior. The following (from January 1991) is cited by Charteris-Black (2005: 189):

> The community of nations has resolutely gathered to condemn and repel **lawless aggression**. Saddam Hussein's unprovoked

> invasion – his ruthless, **systematic rape** of a peaceful neighbour – **violated** everything the community of nations holds dear. The world has said this aggression would not stand, and it will not stand. Together, we have resisted the trap of appeasement, cynicism and isolation that gives temptation to **tyrants**. The world has answered Saddam's invasion with 12 United Nations resolutions, starting with a demand for Iraq's immediate and **unconditional withdrawal**, and backed up by forces from 28 countries of six continents. With few exceptions, the world now stands as one.

In line with the classic fairy tale, it can be seen that a number of keywords in this discourse reflect salient concepts in the analogy: lawless, rape, violated, tyrants, unconditional withdrawal. The scenario has the potential for a huge impact on the audience. Within the scenario itself are powerful metaphors such as 'systematic rape' and these also have an overtly persuasive nature. Other important features can be seen in this passage regarding the art of persuasion. A major one is the use of personification of the world: the whole world is against Saddam Hussein. This is in line with Lakoff's 'State-as-Person' metaphor. It is much easier for the public to understand allies or an enemy in terms of a person or face rather than an amorphous state. A parallel can be seen after the 9/11 attacks. The government had very quickly to put a face to the event, in this case Bin Laden. Despite the fact that many people had never actually heard of Bin Laden and that all the perpetrators of the attacks had died in the suicide missions, justice had to be sought, and a wicked individual was easier to understand than an amorphous organisation involving a large number of 'stateless' members.

The importance of the face may also be linked to an American cultural image of the Wild West and its 'Wanted: Dead or Alive' posters. Indeed, the Wild West could be in the minds of politicians when referring to war zones. President Barack Obama refers to Afghanistan as a 'wild frontier':

> The Taliban pursues a hit and run strategy, striking in Afghanistan, then skulking across the border to safety. This is the **wild frontier** of our globalized world.
>
> (Barack Obama, 1 August 2007)

This is reinforced by President Bush Junior's thoughts soon after 9/11:

> Just remember, all I'm doing is remembering when I was a kid. I remember that I used to put out there in the old West a 'wanted'

> poster. It said, 'Wanted, Dead or Alive'. All I want and America wants is to see them brought to justice. That's what we want.
>
> (17 September 2001: cited in Charteris-Black 2005: 171)

Story-telling is thus a very useful and powerful technique in rhetoric. Other techniques, which are not necessarily linked to fairy tales, are recounted by Gibbs (1994: 147). He describes the GLUTTON = SADDAM HUSSEIN analogy used by both sides of the American Senate just before the first Gulf War. One Republican senator elaborated the theme at great length in order to strengthen the impact of the metaphor (my italics):

> Saddam Hussein is like a glutton – a geopolitical glutton. He is sitting down at a big banquet table, overflowing with goodies. And let me tell you – like every glutton, he is going to have them all. Kuwait is just the appetizer – He is *gobbling* it up – but it is not going to satisfy him. After a *noisy belch* or two, he is going to reach across the table for the next morsel. What is it going to be? Saudi Arabia? [. . .] He is going to keep *grabbing* and gobbling [. . .] It is time to let this grisly glutton know the *free lunch* is over. It is time for him to *pay the bill*.

The terms 'grabbing', 'gobbling' and 'belching' increase the pejorative image of the enemy and have a great impact in persuading people that moves should be made to remove such a person from power. Again we have morality/crime and punishment features linked to the financial metaphors 'free lunch' and 'paying the bill'. In addition, there is a humorous element such as 'noisy belch' which is easy to understand in the denigration of the enemy and thereby increases rhetorical power.

Gibbs points out that in the early 1990s, at the time of discussions in the Senate on whether or not to invade Iraq in the action that would become the first Gulf War, different metaphors were used respectively by Democrats and Republicans to oppose or support military intervention. Democrats generally advocated the continued use of sanctions by saying the United States should 'stay the course' whereas Republicans expressed the need to triumph over evil by 'running the bad guys out of town'. Democrats ironically referred to President Bush Senior as a king: 'we still elect our presidents, we do not crown them', while the Republicans referred to him as a captain: 'the captain cannot abandon the ship' or as a conductor: 'Congress forgets that its job is to write the music and not to conduct the orchestra' (Gibbs 1994: 145–6).

This would appear to fit in, to some extent, with Lakoff's strict father/nurturant parent models applied to Republicans and Democrats.

The former, for example, adopt a strict 'crime and punishment conceptual model' with regard to military intervention, as we have seen in some of the examples above.

There is no doubt that analogy in the form of story-telling can have a strong rhetorical impact since it forms an important part of most people's lives. The story-telling structure turns up time and again. A more recent example is in the Iranian sanctions dispute, current at the time of writing:

> If the past year in Iran were a Hollywood movie, the audience would be unsettled by now. The preening villain appears to have come out on top, and it's increasingly difficult to see how he'll get his comeuppance before the credits roll. But those Iranians seeking to free their country from the repressive rule of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and his backers can't expect instant gratification; instead, they appear to be planning for an epic tale that plays out over years.
>
> (*Time Magazine*, 14 June 2010)

There are also large numbers of what we have suggested to be 'covertly persuasive' structures. We will look at a series of metaphors related to economics, which are, again, linked to morality and justice. Indeed, the evocative images of the Wild West above are also linked to what Charteris-Black terms 'moral accounting' (2005: 170ff.) in crime and punishment metaphors. Such is the domain of betting which can be seen in the following discourse given by President Bush Junior after 9/11:

> Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because, in a time of peace, **the stakes of our debates** appear small. There is no corner of the Earth distant or dark enough to protect them. However long it takes, their hour of justice will come. Every nation **has a stake** in this cause.
>
> (12 September 2002, cited in ibid.)

This exemplifies the use of finance metaphors associated with non-literal senses of words such as 'price', 'cost' and 'debt', which often become a more naturalised part of language. The word 'stake/stakes', utilised in the example above, is often used metaphorically in expressions such as the 'stakes are high', in the same way as 'cost' and 'price': 'he did it at great cost to his marriage' or 'the result of his behaviour was a high price to pay'. These expressions, as a part of our modern

language, are used regardless of the administration in power. Examples from Bush Junior's Republican Administration are formulated in the conceptualisation MORAL ACTIONS ARE FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS (Charteris-Black 2005: 184ff.):

> For every regime that sponsors terror, there is **a price to be paid**. And **it will be paid**. (12 September 2002)

> Shannon, I assure you and all those who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget **the debt we owe** Michael and all those who gave their lives for freedom. (29 January 2002)

> Each of us will measure, within ourselves, **the value** of this great struggle. Any **cost in our lives** is beyond our power to measure. (January 1991)

> Since September 11, an entire generation of young Americans has gained new understanding of the **value of freedom**, and its **cost in duty** and in sacrifice. (12 September 2002)

It could be argued here that these are persuasive metaphors but not overtly persuasive as in the 'rape of Kuwait' or 'noisy belch' expressions, which take on a more innovative form. The dividing line between the two is not always clear but we could suggest that a major criterion is whether the term is often used in standard expressions. As observed above, the concepts of price, cost and value are commonplace, and their comparative neutrality is evidenced in their presence in the discourse of Barack Obama's Democratic Administration:

> Now, these new efforts have not been **without a price**. The fighting has been fierce. More Americans have given their lives. And as always, the thoughts and prayers of every American are with those who make the ultimate sacrifice in our defence.
>
> (Barack Obama at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention, 17 August 2009)

> The vast majority of the world's 1.3 billion inhabitants have no use for bin Laden or his **bankrupt ideas**.
>
> (Barack Obama, 1 August 2007)

> And the record of your service is written in the attacks that never occur – because you thwarted them; and in the countless Americans who are alive today – because you saved them. For that, America is **in your debt**.
>
> (Barack Obama at the National Counterterrorism Center, 6 October 2009)

The source domain of economics in conceptual metaphors thus appears to be dominant at the present time. However, these can fluctuate and we shall now take up the issue of salience in this particular field.

9.6 Diachronic salience in political discourse

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, we could postulate certain long-term trends with varying salience in Western society since the Middle Ages. If just the two source domains of religion and economics are taken into account, it would appear that there has been a general decrease in religion but an increase in economics, even though both appear to have existed at each period. After the religious domination of rhetoric in the late Middle Ages, it is likely that economic terms increased after the Industrial Revolution. This is probably the outcome of the kinds of historical and social events that we have been describing so far, so that time-specific salience has followed cultural evolution (Figure 9.1).

However, aspects other than gradual changes in social history might also account for salience at any given point in time. Indeed, the attempt to explain the historical evolution of mappings through frequency counts is a complex one, not least because short-term analyses reveal that a number of different personalised factors may come into play.

Charteris-Black (2005: 198ff.) has analysed frequency rates of source domains in political speeches from Churchill to the Bush (father and son) administrations. He has investigated a large number of domains ranging from highly salient metaphors of journeys and personification, through less frequent ones such as animals, fire and religion to infrequent ones such as the weather, the sea and stories. Salience in this range is equated with total numbers of items over the whole period. Totals according to individual politicians, however, tend to fluctuate considerably. We will examine a few of these source domains according to the politicians concerned.

Placing the politicians used in the analysis in chronological order, we have Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King, Margaret Thatcher, Bill

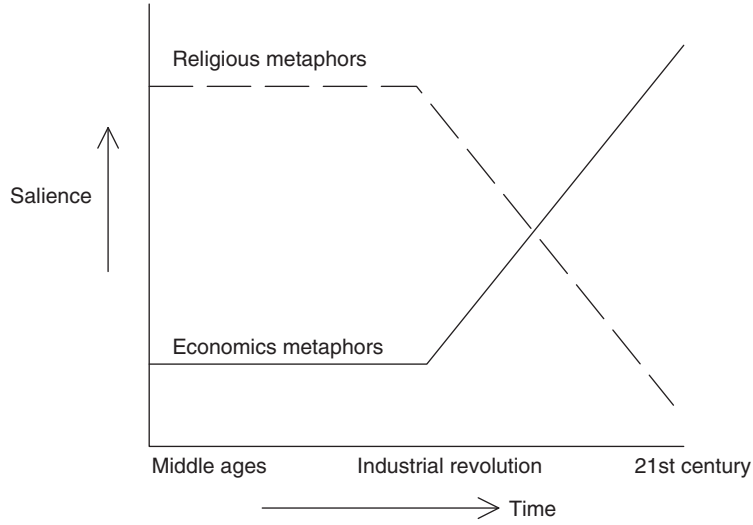


Figure 9.1 Diachronic salience trends in source domains of war rhetoric

Clinton, George Bush, George W. Bush and Tony Blair. Some of these, of course, overlap in time. Source domains relevant to our discussions so far are religion and morality, crime and punishment, finance and story-telling. The interesting point in this analysis is the degree to which frequency varies according to the politician.

With regard to religion associated with morality, 13 occurrences out of a total of 47 were found in speeches given by Churchill, 10 by Thatcher, 18 by Clinton and 6 by Blair. All 24 occurrences of crime and punishment were found in the Bush administrations. Out of 42 occurrences in the field of finance, 29 were found in speeches of the Bush administrations and 13 in those of Blair. Finally, all 22 occurrences of story-telling were found in the discourse of the Bush administrations.

Among the source domains discussed in the previous analyses above, and according to these statistics, there has been a slow decline in metaphors of religion and morality over the second half of the twentieth century. More surprisingly, metaphors relating to crime and punishment, finance and story-telling domains rose sharply towards the end of the period in question. Why do these appear to fluctuate in politicians' discourse?

It is probable that specific events occurring at a particular point in time modify or determine politicians' use of metaphor. This is similar

to the effect of the Second World War on the metaphoric salience of source domains in British political speeches. Conflict metaphors rose to 43 per cent of total metaphor usage during the period 1974–97 compared to 32 per cent between 1945–70. The change was probably to the result of the relative distance from the Second World War; as experience of war decreases, there is more 'semantic tension', that is, greater potential effect, in a conflict lexicon (Charteris-Black 2004: 80–4).

This phenomenon is easier to observe over shorter periods of time than in relation to long-term conceptual metaphor routes, such as the medieval to modern periods. The sharp increase in frequency of metaphors of crime and punishment and story-telling in Charteris-Black's (2005) analysis is undoubtedly the result of the major events we have been discussing in American foreign policy and military intervention: the Gulf Wars (I and II) and intervention in Afghanistan. According to US government communications, these were responses to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq (Gulf I), the likelihood of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) held by Saddam Hussein (Gulf II) and the elimination of Al Qaida (Afghanistan) after 9/11. Increase in the salience of finance metaphors is more difficult to assess. As salience in this area is also high in the Obama Administration, it may not be so much the response to one particular event as the result of the potential productiveness foreseen in the Clausewitzian ideology described above. The frequency of Blair's use of finance metaphors might have been a reflection of his closeness to Bush Junior and his policies and the result of American expressions being transferred to his speeches.

9.7 Salience and story-telling

The story-telling structure will now be taken up again in relation to salience. It forms a major part of the discourse of George W. Bush, examples of which are given in Charteris-Black's 'story' metaphors (2005: 179):

> We have a place, all of us, in **a long story – a story** we continue, but whose end we will not see. **It is the story of a new world** that became a friend and liberator of the old, **a story of a slave-holding society** that became a servant of freedom, **the story of a power** that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer [...] It is the **American story** – a story of flawed and fallible people, united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals [...] This work continues. **This story goes on**. And an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm. (20 January 2001)

As Charteris-Black points out, this particular story is probably intended to evoke the Protestant beliefs in predestination of the Pilgrim Fathers. We could add here that the angel metaphor fits into a religious component in which the direction of the story is guided by God. As we have seen, this long-term story metaphor allows the determination of hero and villain in foreign policy and reinforces the notion through 'applied stories', according to America's destiny and world events, that America's people are still 'on God's side'.

The story metaphor, together with its related expressions, has existed for a long time. We saw (in Chapter 4) that the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning used the story metaphor to contemplate her future life: 'Leave here the pages with long musing curled, / and write me new my future's epigraph, / new angel mine, unhoped for in the world!' ('Sonnets from the Portuguese'). The same symbol of the angel, as used in Bush Junior's story metaphor, is applied to help guide the destiny of the poet. The metaphor is therefore a long-term one and has many related expressions such as pages, chapters, story-writing and so on.

At the same time, this metaphor is a good example of how salience through time can be applied to specific events that happen to the characters in the story. During his presidential campaign, Barack Obama insisted that a new war strategy was needed in American foreign policy. His aim was to concentrate resources on Afghanistan rather than on an ongoing military presence in Iraq. To this purpose, he constantly referred to the story metaphor in his 'The War We Need to Win' speech (Barack Obama, 1 August 2007):

> After 9/11, our calling was **to write a new chapter** in the American story. To devise new strategies and build new alliances to secure our homeland and safeguard our values, and to serve a just cause abroad [...] It is time **to turn the page**. It is time **to write a new chapter** in our response to 9/11 [...] It is time **to turn the page**. When I am President, we will wage the war that has to be won [...] It's time **to turn the page** on the diplomacy of tough talk and no action. It's time **to turn the page** on Washington's conventional wisdom that agreement must be reached before you meet [...] When I am President, that will change. We will **author our own story** [...] That's the America I know. We just have to act like it again **to write that next chapter in the American story** [...] To **make this story reality**, it's going to take Americans coming together [...]

The story metaphor is this speech has a number of related expressions such as: 'write a new chapter', 'turn the page', 'author our own story',

'make the story reality', and so on. Its high frequency is due to the fact that Obama wishes to use the metaphor as a rhetorical basis for arguing his new military policies. Bush Junior's story metaphor has been 're-written' into a new scenario. Based on the 'new chapter' immediately after 9/11 and its 'justice' component (serving a just cause abroad), Obama argues that the 'page' of Bush Junior's story has to be turned and 'a new chapter of the American story' has to be written.

The consequences of this example in diachronic metaphor is that the fluctuation of frequency in the base metaphor may be directly related to political and social events of the time and not necessarily to ongoing changes in society as in a decrease of courtly love attitudes in love metaphors. In other words, salience may not necessarily undergo a slow decline or increase through time but may fluctuate continuously according to personal usage and temporary events. In addition, personalised expressions may arise from the base structure: 'author our own story' (Obama) or 'write me my new future's epigraph' (Barrett Browning). Although the technique is a long-term one, its structures are based on the particular cultural situation of the author and his/her political or individual context.

Salience based on specific recent events in American history can be summarised as in Figure 9.2. Frequency path A refers to the STORY metaphor (Bush and post-9/11), path B refers to crime and punishment (Bush and Saddam Hussein/Al Qaida) and path C to finance, also productive in the Obama Administration (potential productiveness as the outcome of Clausewitzian ideology?)

We can summarise at this point by saying that the evolution of war-related metaphors in Western society has followed quite distinct paths in changing salience which appear to be based more on cultural frames than on universal constructs. This might make the semantic field of war more culture-based than the emotions, but a high level of quantification regarding data would be needed to assess the extent to which metaphor in the emotions might be more universal.

Significant changes since the Middle Ages include, in particular, the rise of metaphors in the field of economics in contrast to a predominantly religious mindset before the Industrial Revolution. An analysis of political events over a relatively short period of time also reveals that the salience of modern war-related metaphors may not only depend on changes in society but also to politicians' personal use, which might in turn depend on contemporary events or personal ambitions. Despite universal techniques of story-telling or accounts of justice and morality, the linguistic metaphors of war rhetoric thus show a

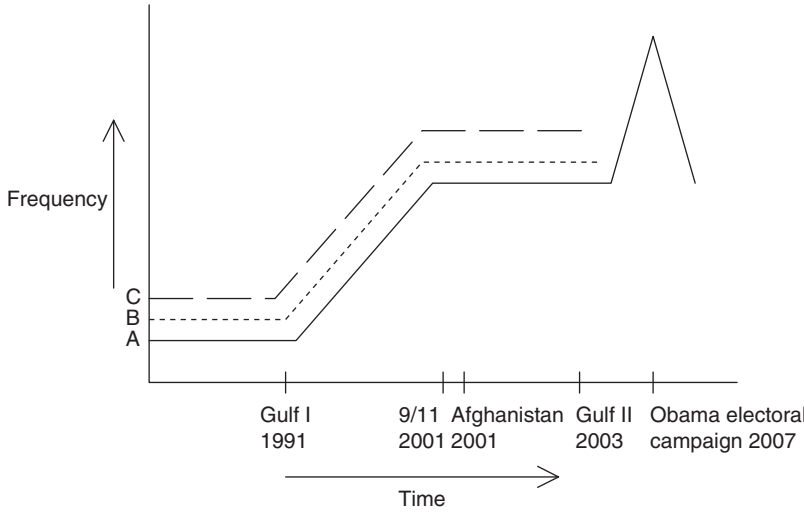


Figure 9.2 Short-term fluctuation in frequency related to political events

considerable number of cultural features in their historical progression and salience.

In Part IV, we will sum up the discussions so far in this book. The basis for this will be an approach towards a generalised theory of evolution that focuses on two major issues: the diachronic progression of conceptualisation in conjunction with the language interface and the theory of the predominant role of culture in diachronic conceptual mapping.

This page intentionally left blank

Part IV

Towards an Evolutionary Model of Conceptual Mapping

This page intentionally left blank

10
Diachronic Mapping at the Conceptual/Linguistic Interface

10.1 Parameters in diachronic models

In this final section, we will draw the threads of the previous discussions together in order to propose an approach to a generalised evolutionary model of conceptual mapping. The section is divided into two chapters focusing on two major themes of an evolutionary model based on data analysed in Part III. The present chapter will look more precisely at the interface between thought and language and models that could represent the diachronic paths of the conceptual and linguistic features concerned. The final chapter will deal with the causes of evolution in the form of embodied and cultural influence and their relation to salience and semantic field.

The overall model of the six major parameters proposed in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.4) may be reiterated in the following way. The first parameter of thought, in the form of basic conceptualisation processes, can be divided into two main sources according to preceding cognitive theories. These include the processes of sensory perception, on the one hand, and theories of human embodiment on the other.

With regard to the first source, different senses of perception have been used throughout the history of mapping, as can be exemplified through discussion of the semantic field of war. *Vision* plays a major role and the examples are countless: they range from sight of the 'brilliant meteors' in Ancient Greece, symbolising the presence of the gods who led the troops to war ('as a sign to some great army' in *The Iliad*) through to the modern concept of a 'two-way street' in describing a relationship of trust between the US and Pakistan. Other forms of sensory perception used in war include *taste*, for example, those drawn from the biblical context: the 'sweetness' of the wood of the cross if a soldier takes up the cross to join the Crusades or the 'bitterness' of the wild

vine if such a decision is not taken. *Auditory* perception can be seen in a GREED IS NOISE mapping in the denigration of Saddam Hussein: 'after a noisy belch or two, he is going to reach across the table for the next morsel'. The component of noise heightens the force of the conceptual metaphor.

We have also seen many examples of human embodiment theories such as spatial orientation – POSITIVE = UP and NEGATIVE = DOWN are used in examples such as 'the high ground' being the virtuous path to a just society and 'the low road' being less virtuous. Other physiological constructs include ENEMY = DISEASE in leprosy and cancer metaphors.

Thought processes are transformed into the second parameter of language at the thought/language interface. This may or may not be a simultaneous process and either component may influence the other, although linguistic influence probably has a relatively limited impact on thought. Conceptual mapping categories in the language component develop into various forms such as metaphor, metonymy, symbolism, phraseology and so on.

The creation and diachronic development of these categories are determined by the potential existence of underlying universal mechanisms or long-term trends (parameter 3) and the influence of cultural factors (parameter 4). Culture appears to play a predominant role and very often embodiment is incorporated into culture. Both have an effect on the duration of mapping paths. Long-term trends, therefore, may also be cultural and not necessarily embodied. Both are subject to long-term fluctuation in salience (parameter 5). The ratio between potential universality and cultural effects may very well depend on the type of semantic field involved (parameter 6).

We will look more specifically at the linguistic aspects of diachronic mapping in relation to the LF/CM interface. The aim will be to look at one concept, the notion of 'shield' described in Chapter 7, to see how its conceptual mapping has evolved more specifically to the relevant language structures involved. This analysis will also test how the parameters proposed play a role in the evolution of the concept. Before doing so, major evolutionary scenarios may be summed up as in Figure 10.1 regarding the diachronic interaction between linguistic form and its associated concepts. Historical processes at the interface may be linked to findings suggested in continuity processes outlined in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.4).

In Figure 10.1(a), it can be seen that a uniform diachronic interface is represented in which there is no change. This can be relatively rare except, of course, over short periods of time. However, longer

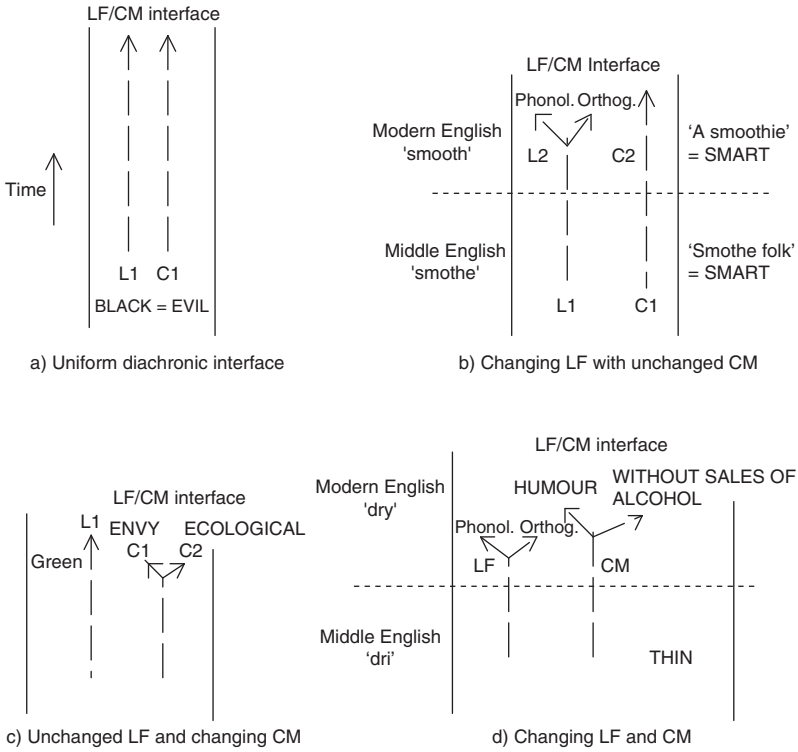


Figure 10.1 The diachronic interaction between LF and CM structures at their interface

periods may witness the same scenario as in the mapping BLACK = EVIL, noted in Shakespeare's use of it in Chapter 6. The linguistic form and attribute have remained the same. The interface is concerned here with the interaction of one particular attribute, or mapping. This scenario may change when comparing other attributes in the same concept.

In Figure 10.1(b), the linguistic structure changes at the interface while retaining the same conceptual mapping, as in the case of Middle English 'smothe' having the same mapping of SMART as in Modern English. The opposite situation occurs in (c), in which the conceptual mapping changes with an additional attribute through calquing, thereby maintaining the same linguistic form. Such is the case of 'green' discussed in Figure 2.4.

Finally, (d) represents changes in both LF and CM components, as in the item 'dry'. Not only has the lexeme changed from its cognate origin,

metaphoric mappings have also changed, with the concept THIN being lost and the connotations of humour and 'no alcohol' having been added since the medieval period.

10.2 The historical linguistics of the SHIELD metaphor

We will now look at a specific example of LF and CM changes in relation to the parameters outlined in the overall evolutionary model. In the discussion on war rhetoric, we observed that there was a long-term mapping process concerning the human artefact of the shield. Like the cross, it became a powerful cultural symbol in war situations. At the thought/language interface, the concept SHIELD in warfare has developed into different linguistic forms in written records. This has varied according to the historical period in European culture and Western society generally, but there are also variants in the different languages concerned. The etymology of its linguistic representations bears this out. With regard to the origins of English terms, the two main routes of Latin/Greek on the one hand, and Germanic sources on the other, illustrate how the actual linguistic forms have developed.

There are a number of lexical variants in the history of the English word 'shield'. As far as the Latin/Greek route is concerned, one form, which continues to signify 'shield', is 'aegis' which specifically referred to the shield borne by the god Zeus. The original literal meaning of 'aegis' denotes a goatskin and one metaphoric meaning did arise from this lexeme in Ancient Greek with the sense of 'storm' (Chantraine 1968). This conceptual route will be analysed in more detail below.

Etymological research, however, requires particular attention in devising diachronic models. There are other Ancient Greek terms that signify 'shield', which look remarkably similar to present-day English terms and have the similar conceptual mapping of PROTECTION = SHIELD. One is the term *aspis, -idos* (ασπίσ -δοσ), which was simply a small shield used in battle, and looks like the lexeme 'auspices'. Both Modern English 'aegis' and 'auspices' have the connotation of 'being under the protection of an institution'. Is 'auspices' conceptually related to the 'shield' metaphor in the same way as 'aegis'? Despite the lexical similarity, the answer is no, since 'auspices' is derived from Latin *avis* (bird) and *specere* (to see) with the original sense of 'observation of a bird-flight in divination'. This has led to 'institutional protection' or 'patronage' (under the auspices of an organisation).

The result is that, with regard to linguistic form, 'aegis' has not changed a great deal, except perhaps phonologically and orthographically concerning the alphabet. In addition, 'auspices' has come from

a different conceptual and linguistic source, cognate with Latin. In the different semantic field of botany, however, '*aspis*' became a metonym for the plant 'aspidistra' (a foliage plant of the genus Aspidistra, from Greek *aspis*, shield, from the shape of the broad tapering leaves).

The lexeme associated with the general notion of protection in Modern English stems from the Germanic route. The etymology of 'shield' is associated with Old English (OE) *scyld* or *scild*, cognate with other Germanic languages: Middle High German (MHG) *schilt* from Old High German (OHG) *scilt*; Old Norse (ON) *skjoldr*; Gothic (GOTH) *skildus*, all of which originate from Proto-Germanic (PrGmc) **skelduz*. The asterix here is a traditional sign in historical linguistics to denote a postulated form. The PrGmc lexeme probably signified 'a board' and the morpheme **skel-* is likely to have had the notion of 'to divide'. In fact, the Romans claimed that the shields of the Germanic tribes were built of wooden boards, hence the notion of 'divided pieces of board' in this piece of weaponry (Drosdowski et al. 1963: 604).

In the *Beowulf* manuscript, the term *scyld* is in fact used for this concept:

> *Setton sae-meþe side* ***scyldas***,
> *Rondas regn-hearde, wiδ þæs recedes weal*
> The sea-weary men set their broad **shields**,
> Spell-hardened rims, against the high wall
>
> (*Beowulf*, ll. 325–6; Chickering 1977: 66–7)

An interesting point about this example is the term *rondas* at the beginning of the second line. In this context, the lexeme refers to the rims of the shields. A related lexical variant, *rand*, is, in fact, often used in the *Beowulf* manuscript to denote the shield itself, as in the following examples:

> *Setton him to heafdon hild-****randas***,
> *bord-wudu beorhtan* (lines 1242–1243)
> At their heads were placed their round battle-**shields**,
> bright linden-wood.

> *Þa wæs on healle heard-ecg togen*,
> *sweord ofer setlum, sid-****rand*** *manig*
> *hafen handa fæst* (lines 1288–1290)
> Then in the great hall hard blades were drawn,

swords above benches, many broad **shields**
raised high in hand

Se wæs Hroþgare hæleða leofost
on gesiðes had be sæm tweonum,
rice ***rand****-wiga, þone ðe heo on ræste abreat* (lines 1296–1298)
To Hrothgar that man was the dearest warrior
He had among liege-men between the two seas,
A mighty **shield**-fighter whom she tore from his bed

(*Beowulf*, ll. 1242–3, 1288–90, 1296–8;
Chickering 1977: 120–2)

As in the first example of *rand*, the shields at this time were indeed wooden with round rims, hence the term *rondas* in the first OE example. However, OE *rand* was a synonym of *scyld*, originating from a postulated Proto-Indo-European (PIE) form **re-m* which probably had a basic notion of 'support'. This developed into similar cognate forms in the early Germanic languages such as MHG *rant*. OE *rand* developed into Modern English dialectal meanings such as 'border, strip, slice' (Hoad 1986: 388), but retained its 'rim' or 'edge' meaning in standard modern German *Rand*. The PIE 'support' sense continued in a further development of the cognate *Rahmen* in modern German, often used as a support structure, or structure in general. In both cases of OE and MHG *rant*, *rand*, the meaning of 'shield' disappeared. Standard Modern English was therefore left with the sole lexeme of 'shield'.

One of the reasons why a number of different lexical variants evolve is that an object such as a shield can have different shapes throughout history. During the early stages of warfare in the Roman Empire, a common shield was the convex, rectangular form, known as *scutum* in Latin. Etymologically, it is associated with Greek *scutos* (σχυτος) and the semantic origin of this word is linked to the sense 'cover', as found in Sanskrit *skauti* ('he covers'). It can also be seen in the Latin *obscurus* (Ernout and Meillet 1979), having approximately the same meanings of 'dark' and 'obscure' as in Modern English.

The lexeme *scutum*, however, was not the one used in the Crusade sermons. The term *clipeus* was employed, denoting the much smaller, round shield similar to the Greek *aspis*, the sense being associated with the disk of the sun. Due to the complexity of its etymological evolution, the original language of many examples will now be given, as in the Old English texts. The *clipeus* example can be seen in the Latin

original of Bertrand de la Tour's sermon III (cited in Maier 2000: 243–5), whose translation is quoted in Chapter 7 ('Raise the shield against Ai, Joshua 8'):

> *Leva* ***clipeum*** *contra Hay*, Ios. 8. Hay civitas infesta contra Dominum, molesta contra Dei populum, exusta per incendium, representat infidelum populum, qui est armatus contra Dominum, preparatus contra Dei cuneum, deputatus in obrobrium, contra quod iubet Dominus levare **clipeum**. Ait ergo: leva **clipeum** etc., [. . .]

In each case, the lexeme *clipeus*, rather than other variants, has been employed in the sermon. There does not appear to be free variation of lexical choice as in the *Beowulf* manuscript. The interesting point here is that the Latin *clipeus* also had a semantic origin in the sense of 'to cover'. At least, folk etymology links it to the verb *clepere*, as in *quod clepet*, 'that hides something' (Ernout and Meillet 1979), originating in the postulated Western PIE form **klopni*. The linguistic and semantic form is also attested in other early Indo-European languages, such as Old Church Slavonic (OCS) *za-klepe*. The sense of 'to hide', according to etymologists, Ernout and Meillet, is also semantically linked to the verb 'to fly', as attested in GOTH *hlifan*. The c > h and p > f phonemic mutations in the Gothic example, due to the Second Germanic Sound Shift (Grimm 1870 [1822]), would tend to support this hypothesis.

Latin *clipeus* was not loaned into English and forms no part of the English lexical stock of this semantic category. Other more specific lexemes were created in English, according to the type of shield, but did not undergo metaphorisation, at least not in the sense of 'protection'.

One such term is Modern English 'buckler', also a small, round shield, originating from Old French (OF) *bocler* via Middle English (ME) *boceler*. The OF item *boucle* signified the boss of the shield, hence the lexical derivation, and can be seen in modern French *bouclier*. In the two modern languages, analogical extension has taken place in warfare such as 'human shield' (Modern French: *bouclier humain*), but phraseological extensions appear to vary cross-linguistically.

The raising of shields seemed generally to signify readiness for battle, as in the *Beowulf* example cited above of shields being raised high in hand. However, phraseological extension with somewhat contrary meanings to this interpretation appeared early on. In the Roman army, the 'raising of shields' also signified a gesture of opposition to a commander's orders in the Roman army (Rey and Rey-Debove 1986: 203). This extension of meaning has continued into Modern French *levée des*

boucliers, which is used as a symbolic gesture of opposition in modern semantic fields such as political discourse. The following example expresses the anger of African countries regarding decisions taken at a climate change summit:

Copenhague: **levée des boucliers** des pays africains.
La colère monte au sein du groupe Afrique. L'Union Africaine (UA), a estimé mardi que le sommet sur le climat à Copenhague, qui se déroule du 7 au 18 décembre au Danemark, risquait de déboucher sur 'l'arrêt de mort du protocole de Kyoto'

(http://www.afrik.com/article18263.html)

Copenhagen: African countries **raise their shields** (= up in arms)
Anger grew within the African group. The African Union (AU) felt on Tuesday that the climate summit in Copenhagen, which takes place from 7 to 18 December in Denmark, could be the death sentence for the Kyoto Protocol

The idiom does not appear to exist in Modern English, at least not in a salient form, so that there appears to be cross-linguistic divergence (or contrast) at a synchronic level. However, the idiom has continued to a certain extent with the meaning 'shield of faith' in English as well as other languages, such as French *prenez le bouclier de la foi*, or 'take up the shield of faith' (Rey and Rey-Debove 1986: 203).

It can be concluded from the different lexical variants applied to the SHIELD concept regarding the language parameter of its evolution that the actual term used in a given language has often depended on the type of shield used at a given historical period. Furthermore, mapping structures such as phraseology in symbolic gestures vary according to language and given points in time.

It comprises an interesting range of linguistic and metaphorical variants in its history as a long-term mapping model. We will summarise here the main features of its evolution.

10.3 Diachronic interpretations of SHIELD

Turning to the semantic repercussions of the lexical variants of 'shield' outlined above, data from earlier manuscripts suggest that the general concept of SHIELD, whatever its lexical variants were in any early European language, underwent the metaphorisation process of PROTECTION = SHIELD at an early stage in its history. However, the varying examples we have been looking at suggest that the mapping

process was more than just a metaphor. In Ancient Greece, the shield became an offensive symbol in warfare. Homeric literature clearly shows that the 'aegis' of the Greek God, *Zeus*, had supernatural powers. It has an impressive appearance with tassles of gold each worth one hundred oxen. It was not only a protective device, the goddess Minerva uses it as an offensive weapon for attacking the enemy and the symbol is thereby transferred into an actual weapon.

This is supported by dictionary attestations of compounding and affixation in semantic variants of the ancient Greek base concept 'aegis'. Among these many variants is the term *polemaegis* (πολεμαίγίς) with the sense 'a warlike aegis' (http://www.lexilogos.com/grec_langue_dictionnaires.htm). The morpheme *polem-* can be seen in Modern English 'polemical', or being subject to debate. We mentioned above that it underwent a major metaphorisation process in the form of a storm, according to Chantraine (1968). This would mean that a goatskin was used in the manufacture of the Homeric shield that was intended as an offensive weapon in the epic. The reason for the metaphorisation of goatskin is not clear. However, one speculative reason might be that the goatskin was originally used for the shield and then, since the shield was used as an attacking weapon, the goatskin was metaphorised to 'storm' as a result. More research would be needed to find out the exact reasons for this process.

The magical and offensive aspects would appear to be present in the poetry relating to the early Anglo-Saxon and Germanic tribes. If Chickering's translation of *rondas regn-hearde* as 'spell-hardened rims' is an exact rendering of the Anglo-Saxon phrase, it would give a magical quality to the shields. There is a symbolic gesture in 'placing battle-shields at their heads' and 'raising broad shields high in hand' as if shields were more than just protecting the warrior. The term 'shield-fighter' also suggests that a shield is used for attacking as well as defending. The heroic qualities of the shield can even be seen in the name given to one of the characters in the *Beowulf* manuscript, *Scyld Scefing*, founder and hero of the Danish royal line whose sea-burial is described at the opening scenes of the epic.

The symbolism of the shield can likewise be seen in other early Germanic languages such as MHG *schilt* in the Nibelungenlied manuscript:

Ich sage iu wer der wære, der der warte pflac.
Ein liehter ***schilt*** *von golde im vor der hende lac.*

Ez was der künic Liudegast
I will tell you who the scout was.
He carried, ready for battle, a gleaming, gold **shield** before him
It was King Liudegast

(*Aventiure 4*, ll. 183–5; Brackert 1991: 44)

The shield stands out, gleaming with gold. In this context, it was an important feature of the knight prepared for battle. The importance of shields is borne out by the fact that they were a form of identification throughout the medieval period. Apart from often being studded with precious stones, shields were decorated with the coat-of-arms of the knights who bore them, particularly in the later Middle Ages.

10.4 Diachronic salience of offensive/defensive protection

The discussion so far suggests that the symbol of a shield thus not only had a protective attribute in its history but also an offensive one. In Antiquity, the 'aegis' put 'courage into the heart of each, so that he might fight and do battle without ceasing'. In medieval Crusade sermons, the '*clipeus*' was purported to contain 'the encouragement of the leader, the exaltation of the cross and the threat to the enemy'. What about the 'shield' in Modern English? Is it conceptualised as a defensive or offensive symbol within the framework of a PROTECTION = SHIELD metaphor?

The importance of the shield symbol has actually been the subject of debate in modern warfare. We saw in Chapter 7 that the term 'Liberty Shield', within the context of US military campaign code names, was attributed to the second military intervention in Iraq (2003). The term 'shield' was also originally attributed to the first military intervention in Iraq, which was to be 'Desert Shield', but instead became 'Desert Storm'.

The interesting point here is that this corresponds exactly to the semantic attributes of 'shield' and 'storm' in Ancient Greek 'aegis', as noted above. However, the semantics behind it has been conceived by some observers to have a touch of irony. How can a shield be an offensive weapon? It has been suggested that if the American administration had not changed the metaphor of the code name, it would have 'played out before the whole world the irony of launching an offensive under the title *shield*' (Pancake 1993: 281–95). Despite this observation, the term 'shield' was indeed adopted in the code name 'Liberty Shield' for

the offensive in the second Iraqi War. Does this mean that there has been a decrease of salience in the offensive attribute of PROTECTION = SHIELD? In which case, the term would indeed appear ironic, or, on the other hand, has the symbolic meaning of 'shield' always had an offensive component?

The historical outline of 'shield' above suggests that it often has been an offensive weapon and that, to a certain extent, this notion still exists in our conceptual system today. Such a perception might also depend on individual use and interpretation. The American administration would probably not have created and used the term if they thought it would have been conceived as ironic by the American population. If the average person feels that the term 'shield' is an appropriate term for a war offensive, it would mean that this term is not less salient.

This does raise the issue, however, that, in general terms, a decrease in salience might increase the potential for irony. This would mean that the level of frequency in the language might not change. This is a feature we have seen in the discussion of metaphor in Chaucerian English. Frequency may be reflected in various features of salience. Mapping at one point of time might be felt to express a truth by the average speaker of the language community, at a different point in time, it might be perceived ironically.

The choice of a lexical item does, of course, influence subsequent chaining procedures and the actual choice might influence the degree of chaining. Thus, 'storm' probably lends itself more to subsequent metaphor creation in a war offensive than is the case of 'shield'. Indeed, the press made full use of the major 'structural metaphor', WAR IS A STORM, that is, 'the use of one highly structured and delineated concept to structure another' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 61). Expressions such as 'Bush is the wind behind the storm', 'with the war thundering ahead', 'you are the thunder and lightning of Operation Desert Storm' and so on, proliferated in the press (Pancake 1993: 282).

10.5 The shield symbol within a conceptual/linguistic evolutionary model

We can summarise by saying that an evolutionary model of the conceptual metaphor PROTECTION = SHIELD, taking account of diachronic conceptual mapping in relation to linguistic form, follows a pattern as illustrated in Figure 10.2. Although this diagram has the framework of a family tree, the different categories are not in chronological order. The structure shows how the different mapping processes of each parameter

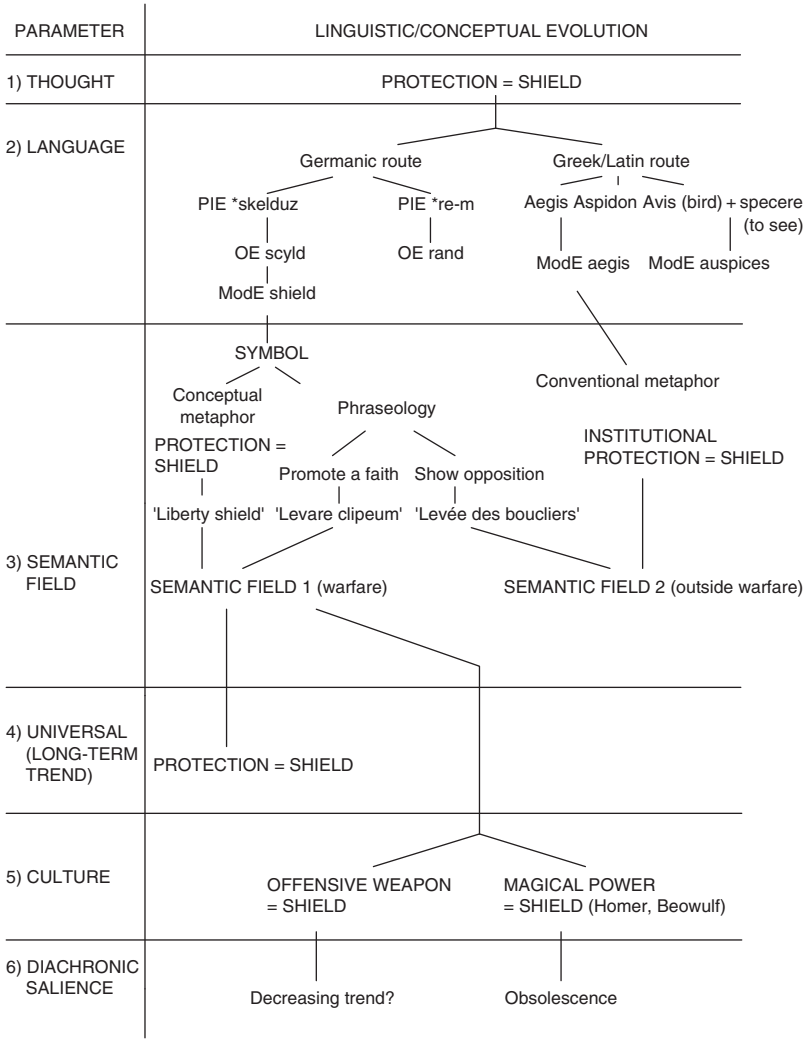


Figure 10.2 A 6-parameter model of the PROTECTION = SHIELD mapping process

are linked together in the overall evolution of the SHIELD concept. This type of diagram is better suited to the inclusion of overall information on the mapping process than some others, such as pie diagrams.

Within the framework of a long-term model conceptual mapping probably started as visual perception (parameter 1) in the category of thought processes. It is likely that it stemmed from the visual perception of a shield protecting the body when it was first used in warfare. At the beginning of Western society, the concept materialised into different lexical variants at the thought/language interface, according to the language concerned. In the evolution of English, two conceptual routes were at the origin of its evolution along the language parameter (parameter 2): Germanic and Greek/Latinate routes. The term 'shield' originated from the Germanic route in PIE **skelduz*. The semantic variant of INSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION = AEGIS came from Ancient Greek 'aegis', meaning shield. The modern-day synonym, 'auspices' came from a different Latin origin.

It thus came to be used in two main semantic fields (parameter 3): warfare and politics outside the field of warfare. These stemmed from different mapping categories, incorporating symbolisation and the creation of conventional metaphors. In the first case, the shield has been a symbol throughout the ages, from Antiquity via the Middle Ages to modern times. It has been symbolic in battle as well as spreading particular values, as in the Crusades. In the second case, it took on the form of INSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION.

The universals parameter (4) denoting long-term diachronic conceptual metaphors would include at least the PROTECTION = SHIELD mapping. This metaphor thus appears to bear the hallmarks of a long-term diachronic trend in Western society. The culture parameter (5) would encompass the notions of OFFENSIVE WEAPON ('Liberty Shield' and 'raising the shield'), as well as MAGICAL POWER (depicted in the Homeric and *Beowulf* texts).

Diachronic salience (parameter 6) raises the issue of how certain aspects of the symbol might be interpreted today. Clearly, the shield was perceived as an offensive weapon in times past. Does it generally have that connotation today and, if so, how salient is this attribute? Opinions differ and questions of salience are often difficult to assess. Other attributes, such as MAGICAL POWER, have become obsolete.

Through such analyses we are able to build up models of how linguistic and conceptual models evolve through time. In Figure 10.3, etymon A could thus represent the term 'shield' from PIE **skelduz* that developed into lexeme 1 in Old English *scyld* and lexeme 2 'shield' in Modern

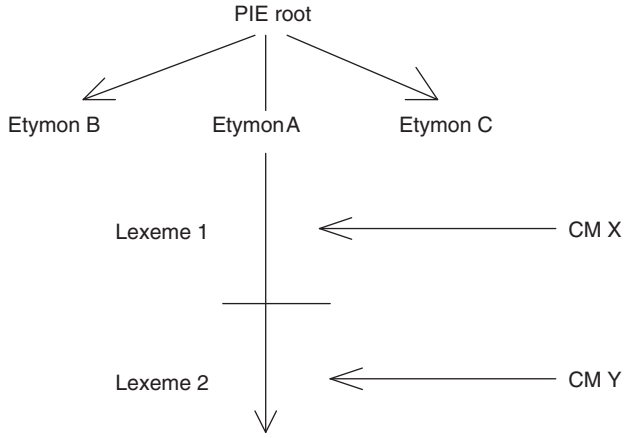


Figure 10.3 The evolution of a linguistic metaphor

English. Etymon A is cognate with other etymons such as B and C which could be Old Norse, Gothic and so on. During the history of etymon A, it could be subject to different conceptual metaphors (CMs) which set up a historical pattern of metaphor evolution in this particular term. In the case of 'shield', CMs X and Y would actually be the same within the framework of a long-term mapping PROTECTION = SHIELD. Following the family-tree framework, evolution is depicted from top to bottom in Figures 10.3 and 10.4.

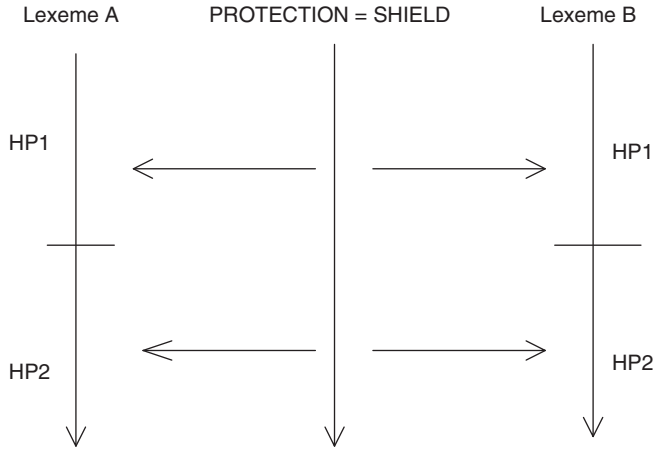


Figure 10.4 The evolution of a conceptual metaphor in relation to multiple lexemes

In the case of a long-term conceptual metaphor such as PROTECTION = SHIELD, Figure 10.4. shows how it can, in turn, influence different lexemes A and B. The starting point in the diachronic analysis is therefore the conceptual metaphor and not the linguistic one. In the case of English, lexemes A and B could be represented by 'shield' and 'aegis' with their corresponding linguistic variations in the different historical periods, HP1 and HP2.

10.6 The formulation of conceptual/linguistic diachronic changes

At this stage, the information above could be transposed into diachronic formulae as proposed by the model of interface scenarios outlined in Figure 2.5 in Chapter 2. As stated before, these types of models, which draw on a number of different disciplines in historical linguistics such as neogrammarian and generativist theories, are complex and tend to be rather opaque. With regard to the 'shield' example, the diachronic polysemous path in the conceptual component involving networking (NET) and obsolescence (OBS) could be formulated as follows. The base concept of PROTECTION (CM1: conceptual metaphor 1) in early languages (for example, Ancient Greek) is combined with the notion of magical qualities (CM1a: the shield is a supernatural force) and the idea of being, at the same time, an offensive weapon (CM1b). This has basically changed today to the attributes of protection (nuclear shield), offensive weapon (military intervention under the codename 'Liberty Shield') and political opposition ('raise the shields' in French):

CM1 + CM1a + CM1b
> CM1 + CM1a (OBS) + CM1b +CM1 c (NET)...

PROTECTION + Magical qualities + Offensive weapon
> PROTECTION + Offensive weapon + Political opposition

The combination with linguistic formulae would make a description of the diachronic interface even longer but it would be possible to construct within the framework of historical linguistics. If linguistic form was a component required in research on diachronic metaphor, further work along these lines may produce a more streamlined approach to combining the two components.

In this chapter we have therefore looked in detail at one particular lexical feature of diachronic mapping at the interface of conceptual mapping and linguistic form. The concept of SHIELD has undergone a

variety of changes in both components according to the six parameters outlined in Chapter 1. We have seen how all of these parameters play a role in conceptual mapping through time. It is also clear that the complexity of changes involved in both components makes it difficult to depict precise formulae involving both linguistic and semantic structures. We shall now leave the more detailed aspects of language structure and focus on the other non-linguistic parameters of universals – culture, salience and semantic field. These aspects of an evolutionary model will likewise be discussed in relation to the data on war rhetoric analysed in Part III.

11
Cultural History in the Evolution of Conceptual Mapping

11.1 Mixing culture and embodiment

In this final chapter, we will look more precisely at the role of cultural history in the evolution of conceptual mapping. This aspect is fundamental not only to the parameters of culture, but also to universals, salience and the nature of the semantic field under study. It is therefore felt that culture plays a particularly important role in conceptual history compared to mental processes that might be supposedly independent of culture. The preceding discussions have tended to divide universal constructs and culture into separate entities. One theory that will be proposed here with regard to the time dimension is that culture and universal theories on human embodiment are very often mixed in mapping procedures. This is in line with ideas proposed by Gibbs (1997: 146):

> Our understanding of what is conceptual about metaphor involves significant aspects of cultural experience, some of which is even intimately related to our embodied behaviour. Under this view, there need not be a rigid distinction between cultural and conceptual metaphor. Second, public, cultural representations of conceptual metaphors have an indispensable cognitive function that allows people to carry less of a mental burden during everyday thought and language use. This possibility suggests that important parts of metaphoric thought and language are as much part of the cultural world as they are internalized mental entities in our heads.

We could even go one step further here by suggesting that if an embodied structure appears in language, it is usually embedded in culture. In fact, purely embodied structures without culture are probably

rare. If they do occur, they may also have different semantic connotations or references. If we take the examples 'I feel high' or 'I am sitting on top of the world', they could theoretically represent the UP = POSITIVE conceptualisation of spatial orientation without a reference to culture. However, in the first case, the connotations are varied in Modern English. They could refer to the simple emotion of being happy, the effects from narcotics, alcohol or pharmaceutical products or otherwise. The underlying connotations therefore start to resemble cultural ones. On the historical scale, however, many of the types of substances that could produce this feeling would not have existed in the past. The second example tends to introduce even more variation as a result of a more precise linguistic structure. There is the connotation of being happy, but not necessarily of happiness related to pharmaceutical products. The linguistic analogy, 'sitting on top of the world', might not have existed in Middle English and a perusal of other present-day languages might reveal the same absence of the item.

If we look at some of the embodied data discussed in Chapter 7 relating to possible universals in war rhetoric, the same doubts creep in. Are they purely mental constructs whose origins are entirely culture-free? In the case of the JOURNEY image schema, both the medieval and modern periods reveal notions of pathways towards particular objectives. However, Modern English tends to focus on the moving forwards or backwards of a particular situation: 'Afghanistan is not lost, but for several years it has moved backwards', 'Moving forward, we are committed to a partnership with Pakistan' and so on. In the religious context of medieval battlefields, paths were about making the 'right choice', for example, 'the right path to heaven', 'the right way at the cross'. Moving forwards to or backwards from heaven might not have seemed appropriate. There was a clear-cut choice that had to be made and this fitted the cultural and religious context of the time.

The examples of embodiment mixed with culture abound in the war rhetoric data. The JOURNEY metaphor offers numerous examples: introducing the aspect of modern roads: 'trust is a two-way street'; and finance: 'the hard-earned milestones in Iraq'. There is also the importance of the symbol of the cross, equated with a crossroads in medieval times: 'a sign of direction is put at a crossroads'. It is an undeniable fact that where an embodied structure is used, embodiment and culture are very frequently mixed, and this can be clearly seen in diachronic examples. Needless to say, it is not the case the other way around. A cultural structure does not require embodiment and this is one of the factors that seems to contribute to a much larger, overall proportion

of cultural analogies in the history of language. In line with this argumentation, there would appear to be an interaction between human experience and cultural factors which would also seem to fit into other long-term, universal mental constructs such as Absolutes. This is particularly in reference to the notions of 'God' in warfare. Philosophers have often suggested, as we shall see below, that absolute concepts, such as God, truth, goodness and the like, are mental ideals that are conceptualised outside man's cognitive abilities. We will propose very briefly here that, although such claims exist, the feature of man's immediate environment does come into the writings of philosophers who support this view. In fact, we categorised the component of religion in war rhetoric outlined in Chapter 7 as a cultural path. The suggestion is that its foundation could be seen as a cultural model in diachronic paths of mapping.

11.2 Religion and cultural history

Despite fundamental differences in philosophy between the pre-Christian and Christian eras, the notion of an Absolute idea such as God has existed since the early written records of Western civilisation. In Christian theology, the Absolute is conceived as being synonymous with or a necessary attribute of the term 'God'. Other notions such as truth, wisdom, love and goodness are also incorporated into the Absolute term, 'God', and transcend different religions. However, in many philosophical and theological writings, it appears that any rational thought on the subject is difficult to separate entirely from conditions relating to human existence. It was clear that Ancient Greek philosophers, at least the pre-Socratic philosophers, used the idea of God to explain diverse natural and cosmological phenomena. The gods themselves personified certain natural concepts such as storms, the sun and so on. This is particularly evident in literary works.

In the Middle Ages, the theologian Thomas Aquinas, in his work *Summa Theologiae* (1267–73), suggested that the comprehension of certain qualities associated with the Absolute notion of God, such as goodness, were understood by humans' own experiences of the world. Comprehension was a result of a mapping between personal experience and the mental construct.

> Now because we do not know the essence of God, the proposition is not self-evident to us; but needs to be demonstrated by things that are more known to us, though less known in nature – namely, by effects.
>
> (Question 1, Article 3)

One method of demonstration, among others, is by analogy and comparison. In order to understand the highest level of a quality such as goodness, we need to compare such qualities with concepts in the human environment such as heat and fire:

> But 'more' or 'less' are predicated of different things, according as they resemble in their different ways something which is the maximum, as a thing is said to be hotter according as it more nearly resembles that which is hottest; so that there is something which is truest, something best, something noblest and, consequently, something which is uttermost being [...] Now the maximum in any genus is the cause of all in that genus; as fire, which is the maximum heat, is the cause of all hot things.
>
> (Question 3, Article 2)

The maximum of a genus is therefore related to the concept of fire, the hottest known object at the time, and this scale of gradation could hypothetically be used as a cultural input in metaphorisation of goodness.

In twentieth-century philosophy, interpretation of the human world in relation to defining the Absolute can also be seen in the works of philosophers such as the American, Josiah Royce. In his semiotic conception of 'true ideas' in his work *The Problem of Christianity* (2001 [1913]), he offers an alternative to rationalism and empiricism in the form of 'absolute pragmatism'. According to this line of thinking, the 'true idea' selects, emphasises and represents in a different form aspects of an object which can be meaningful in relation to human experience.

The conclusion is therefore that, even if a mental ideal such as an Absolute is construed as independent of human experience, its understanding often requires the latter. As soon as it enters the realm of conceptualisation, cultural features of experience will very likely play a role in metaphorisation or mapping processes in language. For this reason, it is likely that historical and cultural features will influence the types of religion-related mappings created when applying the concept of God to political events.

We have seen, for example, that the medieval mindset of mapping God to analogies in Crusade sermons is different to that of the modern day. Indeed, the stricter adherence to biblical references in the Middle Ages is illustrated in cultural variations such as the concept of a house being a place that welcomed recruited soldiers: 'eaten up with the zeal for the House of the Lord'. In modern times, the notion of God is applied to particular themes, such as liberty, that a political campaign wishes to

promote: 'winning this war will require the determined effort of a unified country [. . .] and we go forward with trust and faith in a loving God who made us to be free'. The philosophical debates here require further discussion, but with regard to the cultural input in mapping there are a number of arguments supporting the hypothesis that mental constructs deriving from embodiment or the conceptualisation of Absolutes are influenced by cultural aspects of human existence.

It should be pointed out that such ideas on meaning have been totally rejected by cognitive linguists such as Lakoff and Turner who refer to a 'God's-eye view' of reality as erroneous. The reason is that it suggests a framework of fixed meaning which is in contrast to Lakoff and Turner's view that the definition of meaning comes from the mind. The latter view is therefore in accordance with the Conceptual Metaphor Theory that they have developed and the type of image schemas that were outlined in Chapter 1. They go as far as to call this approach to meaning 'the villain of Western philosophical tradition' (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 215). However, it should also be pointed out that some of the cognitive theories introduced in the 1980s are not entirely new and have been discussed by philosophers and linguists, albeit with different references and frameworks. As Jäkel (1999: 9–27) points out, the issue of cognition goes back at least as far as John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) and the exact equivalent of image schemas can be found in Weinreich's metaphorically-based cognitive models (1964).

With regard to the influence of culture in pre-cognitive linguistics writings, Jäkel (1999: 16) also suggests that the importance of cultural models in metaphor creation was recognised by Blumenberg (1960). He cites Blumenberg's coinage of 'background metaphors'. He claims this is roughly equivalent to today's term 'conceptual metaphors'. Concerning the present discussion, this, in many ways, sums up the influence of cultural history on diachronic metaphor:

> Their content determines behavior by providing orientation. They give structure to the world, representing the unassessable whole of reality which can never be experienced. To the historically understanding observer they indicate those fundamental certainties, conjectures, and evaluations which regulated the attitudes, expectations, activities and inactivities, desires and disappointments, interests and indifferences of an age.
>
> (Blumenberg 1960: 20)

Any mental construct such as the idealised cognitive models (ICMs) or possible Absolutes discussed above would appear to require this background structure of the age concerned. As suggested, even theologians such as Aquinas recognised this fact and understood that cultural features of human experience are required if the understanding of Absolutes is desirable.

11.3 Long-term mappings and different civilisations

We have seen that some mappings that have lasted for centuries are not necessarily connected with embodiment theories or related to ideas such as Absolutes. Varied long-term mappings can also reveal the importance of cultural history. Certain colours in Western civilisation have retained the same mapping as in the Shakespearian BLACK = NEGATIVE, and the RAT has remained associated with negative aspects such as the plague. The latter has therefore been used to denigrate the enemy or describe negative concepts such as in Camus's analogy of Nazi ideology (Chapter 7).

Despite their long duration and seemingly universal nature in a given civilisation, their origins are cultural rather than universal. Even BLACK, which may be associated with DARK and LIGHT, has varied in its association with notions such as bereavement in the history of European languages (Chapter 6). It was suggested in Chapter 8 that the RAT symbol as a negative concept followed a long-term path. Although this has been the case, a closer analysis also reveals that in Antiquity it was a more ambivalent concept. In fact, *The Iliad* illustrates this ambiguity with the symbol being equated with the plague, on the one hand, but with an animal beneficial for crops, on the other. Apollo, who, among others things, was a god equated with the harvest, was also a protector of the rat. Variation can thus often be found in long-term symbols within the same civilisation. If different civilisations are compared, this variation becomes more pronounced. According to Chevalier and Gheerbrant (1982: 802), the rat was considered to be a symbol of fertility in China and Japan, where it was a companion of Daikoku.

It is this comparison with other civilisations which emphasises the importance of the role of culture and how long-term conceptual mappings cannot be taken for granted, even if they might appear obvious in Western civilisation. For this reason, diachronic studies in other civilisations such as China provide useful information on this aspect.

Different cultural mapping is even more noticeable when varying conceptual systems (in the sense of civilisations with a common cultural

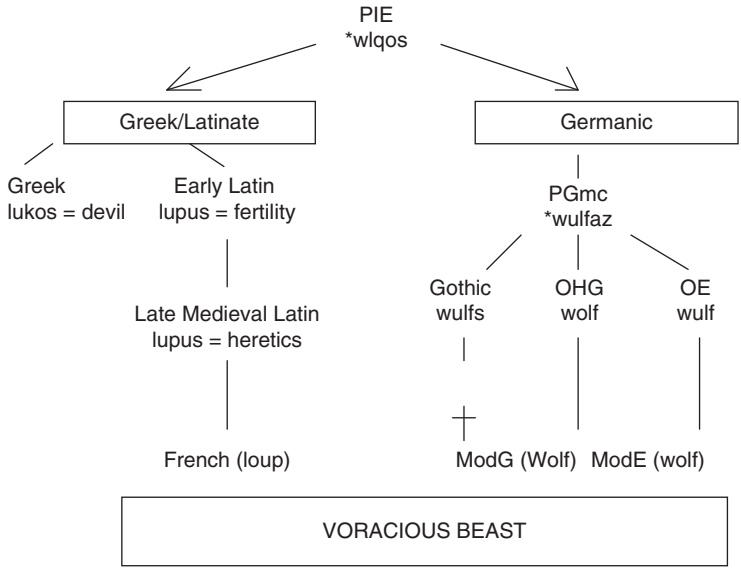


Figure 11.1 Generally negative concept of the wolf in Western civilisation

heritage) are taken into consideration. We have discussed the mapping that has tended to equate the WOLF in Western civilisation with a VORACIOUS BEAST, and this has often come out in war rhetoric. We could summarise the conceptual/linguistic routes for this in the Greek/Latinate and Germanic paths in Figure 11.1. Ancient Greek (*lukos*) had the notion of 'devil' and was thus a negative concept. However, we know from the mythological story of Romulus and Remus and the foundation of Rome that the wolf was also equated with fertility. The association with the female species, 'she-wolves', again became negative in the Middle Ages with reference to heretics and witches, although this mapping did exist with reference to the Ancient Greek notion of the devil. It also had a number of pejorative repercussions such as the attribute of cowardice in *The Iliad*:

> Cowardly **she-wolves** that you are, you feared not the anger of dread Jove, avenger of violated hospitality who will on day destroy your city.
>
> (Homer, *The Iliad*, Book XIII)

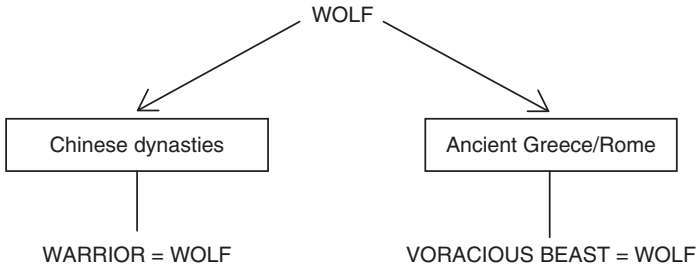


Figure 11.2 Contrasting mappings between civilisations in long-term symbolisation

It can be seen that modern Romance languages, such as French *loup*, linguistically cognate with its Greek origins *lukos*, have retained the mapping VORACIOUS BEAST, as in the Germanic languages, German *Wolf* and English 'wolf'. However, a very different picture can be seen in Figure 11.2 which illustrates the way in which the Chinese dynasties, favoured the notion of WARRIOR = WOLF.

This is a general pattern. However, it should also be pointed out that a more refined analysis of different languages in a given civilisation may come up with similar contrasting findings. In other words, to take up the term of 'within-culture' variation described in Chapter 4, there may be any amount of 'within-civilisation', or 'within cultural-heritage' variation that could correspond to other civilisations with the same models. The wolf was apparently also considered a warrior in the history of Ukrainian culture (personal communication: Anna Kryvenko, Kiev National Linguistic University) and not just a voracious beast as the prototypical symbol in Western society. This variation in standard or traditional mappings points to the increased role of culture in the history of symbolism. Local cultures might adopt different conceptualisations with regard to mainstream mapping procedures.

11.4 Internal diachronic variation and salience in cultural history

Variation in the role of culture in the history of conceptual mapping can, from a comparative view, be analysed by contrasting the histories of civilisations. Internally, it can be carried out by analysing the parameter of diachronic salience. Changing society modifies the use of analogies. In our studies of love and war, it was seen that religion had a powerful impact on the types of metaphors used in the Middle Ages. In the case

of love and marriage, the role of the Church probably influenced the creation of such analogies as servility, typical of courtly love: 'a lord in marriage'. In the case of war, religion naturally played a major role in Crusade sermons. In the present-day, the use of religion has decreased or has been modified. In modern Western society, servility is not part of the usual conception of marriage and soldiers are not depicted as martyrs for the Lord.

At the same time, there are a number of other variables in salience or frequency which are not solely due to a regular chronological increase or decrease in social values. Frequency may not simply reflect social changes, although such changes may play a role in a more indirect manner. Individual uses can also be involved, such as the ironic and comic effects we have seen in Chaucerian texts. Irony is a technique which embodies criticism of a social order rather than belief in it. Individual uses may also constitute personal use of mappings at specific points in time. This would be the example of the 'writing a new chapter' model in presidential or other political campaigns. The result is that frequency of usage may not be directly related to the language community as a whole. Salience occurs in different parts of the community for particular reasons which might be related to cultural influence at an individual or group level. The types of expressions used may be highly innovative or more conventional. The sexual economics metaphors of Chaucer's *The Wife of Bath* are innovative while the 'writing a chapter' analogy in a political campaign is more conventional in its linguistic expressions. This might, however, become more innovative in its extended phraseology used in 'writing a story' scenarios in the political arena.

The suggestion here is that the type of 'within-culture' variation discussed in cross-cultural issues in Chapter 4, even if synchronic and diachronic levels do not always match up, can sometimes play a part in diachronic fluctuations. They may be related to society as a whole or to individual expressions. In each case, certain aspects of the cultural context will influence their structure.

11.5 Semantic fields and cultural input

The last aspect we can comment on in an evolutionary model, and which we raised in Chapter 6, is the role that a semantic field, or cognitive domain, might play in the degree of influence exerted by culture in a given mapping. Many of these ideas would have to be tested in further research but findings from different fields suggest that the parameter could be an important one. This is the hypothesis that we have been

suggesting so far. The field can be important since, first of all, it might have a considerable influence on the kind of results that a researcher wishes to acquire with relation to metaphor studies. A straightforward example is in quantification. Although metaphor tends to abound in language, it can actually be quite restricted in some semantic fields. A text about machine technology – contrary to the language of information technology – might be comparatively limited in metaphoric expressions, apart perhaps for certain metonyms used for machine parts. At least, the texts are likely to contain more literal language than that used in poetry or in texts that describe the emotions.

The second point is that some semantic fields might indeed contain more embodiment structures than others. It might be the case that the emotions, on account of their emphasis on physiological conceptualisation, could have more embodied schemas in their analogies than a field such as colour. As we saw in Chapter 6, the history of colour points to a highly symbolic form of metaphorisation, one that therefore relies heavily on cultural conceptualisation.

A third point is that many semantic fields/cognitive domains are heterogeneous in the kinds of concepts that could be included. Colour might be less so, being more clearly differentiated into yellow, blue and so on, despite some of the problems of colour definition mentioned in Chapter 6. The emotions, despite sharing some of the definitional problems found in colour, can be described in a straightforward way – love, hatred and so on. However, a domain such as war tends to be far more mixed. As pointed out in Chapter 6, one of the problems here is to try and define the field and specify its limits. It might, nevertheless, turn out that a very mixed cognitive domain, such as war, is significantly influenced by culture as a result of the rich variety of aspects of human society on which it touches: social and religious movements, political campaigns, weaponry, battle strategies and so on. This is difficult to quantify but a comparison of domains might reveal varying cultural influence. On the diachronic side, these patterns might influence the extent to which evolutionary paths vary.

11.6 Conclusions

At the beginning of this book we suggested that a minimum number of basic parameters would be needed in order to develop any global model of evolution in figurative language. By 'global' would be meant basic principles of change in mappings relating to any language and culture along the time scale. The present model suggested

a 6-parameter framework which would include conceptualisation processes in thought, the role of language structures, universal influences, cultural influences, the importance of salience at any point in time and, finally, the fact that the semantic field under study would probably determine the types of embodied or cultural mappings involved in analogies. These points have been discussed in relation to three differing types of cognitive domain: love, colours and, more extensively, war rhetoric.

The six parameters constitute major features or aspects involved in the language change process. The model represents a general guideline but is perhaps a simplification of the mechanisms and categories in operation. Each parameter represents a constant operating on the overall evolving product through time and involves sub-categories that might comprise different effects. The conceptualisation process in thought is very varied regarding sensory perception. Some types of perception might play a greater role than others. The nature of language structures might determine which loanwords can naturally undergo further morpho-syntactic evolution after borrowing. Potential diachronic universals are very speculative. Long-term paths may be the result of two different sub-categories: embodiment or culture such as symbolism. Culture itself has a large number of sub-categories as witnessed by the theory of 'within-culture' variation. This, in turn, influences salience: one type of cultural variant might fluctuate differently to another or low salience might actually signify obsolescence. A semantic field can have a wide variety of categories whose boundaries are difficult to define: armaments, military strategy and so on.

Further sub-categorisation of parameters would therefore be a complex task. However, it would appear that all the main parameters need to be included in an evolutionary model if we wish to have an overall picture of what contributes towards the evolution of conceptual mapping. At this stage of research, two major problems arise from the analysis. The first concerns the area of language itself.

It could be argued that if we wish to develop a global model of evolution in figurative language, the purely conceptual component is not sufficient. It should be related directly to the diachronic progression of language and the linguistic form of conceptualisation. This task naturally includes developing models as historical linguistics has attempted to do in the past. Several suggestions have been put forward in Parts I and IV. Although these models can account for diachronic evolution at the conceptualisation/language interface, such formulae, or any other conception of transcribing diachronic patterns, ideally need

to constitute a more streamlined framework. This would give a better overview. However, the task is made difficult by the large amount of diachronic linguistic changes involved.

Diachronic models of purely conceptual metaphor structures are probably an easier task to formulate. However, this leads us on to the second major problem in an evolutionary model. To what extent are purely cultural factors in the form of basic sensory perceptions involved in creation and how prevalent is a culture-free, universal form of embodiment? In other words, are there genuine universals? The types of data in this research suggest that there must be cross-cultural and diachronic mechanisms at work. This is a hypothesis which needs further exploration with more data from very different civilisations. It is certainly an issue that cannot be ignored. At the same time, the results of this study suggest that cultural features are usually a part of embodied structures. The human mind needs to conceptualise within a cultural framework which, as we suggest in the diachronic data here, is adapted to its age.

As a last thought, and in order to emphasise the latter point, we know that the human being needs to love and to eat. It is perhaps natural that a long-term mapping such as LOVE = FOOD has gained a kind of universal, embodied feel. However, despite the Chaucerian irony of 'I don't want any woman thirty years of age that's nothing but straw and coarse fodder', possible cultural attitudes behind the irony in this conceptual mapping have fortunately moved on to expressions such as 'she's the cream in my coffee'.

References

Aitchison, Jean (1989), *Words in the Mind: An Introduction to the Mental Lexicon*, Oxford and New York: Blackwell.

Allen, J.L. (1973), 'The Road to Byzantium: Archetypal Criticism and Yeats', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 32 (1): 53–64.

Aquinas, St Thomas (1947 [1267–73]), *Summa Theologiae*, translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province, Benziger Bros. edition, http://www.ccel.org/a/aquinas/summa.

Barcelona, Antonio (ed.) (2000), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Beidler, Peter G. (ed.) (1996), *Geoffrey Chaucer's The Wife of Bath*: *Case Studies in Contemporary Criticism*, Boston: Bedford Books.

Berlin, B. and P. Kay (1969), *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Blair, Tony (2001), 'Grasping the Opportunities of an Open World', 12 November, http://www.warwick.ac.uk/~poseaj/celsus/papers/blair2001.pdf, accessed 3 May 2011.

Bloomfield, L. (1933), *Language*, New York: Holt.

Blumenberg, Hans (1960), *Paradigmen zu einer Metaphorologie*, Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte, Vol. 6, Rothacker, Bonn: Bouvier, 7–142.

Bokor, Zsuzsanna (1997), 'Body-Based Constructionism in the Conceptualization of Anger', Budapest and Hamburg: CLEAR series, 17.

Boroditsky, Lera (2001), 'Does Language Shape Thought? Mandarin and English Speakers' Conceptions of Time', *Cognitive Psychology*, 43, 1–22.

——, A. Schmidt and W. Philips (2003), 'Sex, Syntax and Semantics', in D. Gentner and S. Goldin-Meadow (eds), *Language in Mind: Advances in the Study of Language and Thought*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 61–78.

Brackert, H. (1991), *Das Nibelungenlied. Mittelhochdeutscher Text und Übertragung*, I, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag.

Brunt, P.A. (2004), 'Laus Imperii', in Champion (2004), 163–81.

Burns, E.J. (2001), 'Courtly Love: Who Needs It? Recent Feminist Work in the Medieval Tradition', *Signs*, 27 (1), 23–57.

Bush, George (1991), 'State of the Union', 29 January, http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3429, accessed 3 May 2011.

Bush, George W. (2001), 'Guard and Reserves Define "Spirit of America" ', 17 September, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-3.html, accessed 3 May 2011.

—— (2002), 'President Thanks World Coalition for Anti-Terrorism Efforts', 11 March, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020311-1.html, accessed 3 May 2011.

—— (2003), 'Ultimatum to Saddam Hussein', Address to the Nation, 17 March, http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/wariniraq/gwbushiraq31703.htm, accessed 3 May 2011.

—— (2003), press release, 31 March, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030331-4.html, accessed 3 May 2011.
—— (2006), President's Address to the Nation, 11 September, http://www.americanrhetoric.com /speeches/wariniraq/gwbush911after5years.htm, accessed 3 May 2011.
Bynon, T. (1977), *Historical Linguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Camus, Albert (1948), *The Plague*, Harmondsworth: Penguin; translation of (1947) *La Peste*, Paris: Gallimard.
Castex, P.-G., P. Surer and G. Becker (1974), *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, Paris: Hachette.
Champion, Craig B. (ed.) (2004), *Roman Imperialism: Readings and Sources*, Oxford: Blackwell.
Chantraine, P. (1968), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris: Klincksieck.
Charteris-Black, Jonathan (2004), *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
—— (2005), *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Chevalier, Jean and Alain Gheerbrant (1982), *Dictionnaire des Symboles*, Paris: Editions Robert Laffont.
Chickering, Howell D. (1977), *Beowulf. A Dual-Language Edition*, New York: Anchor Books.
Chomsky, Noam (2003), *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance*, New York: Metropolitan Books.
—— and M. Halle (1968), *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Chouet, Alan (2010), 29 January, http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xcb9dg_alain-chouet-dgse-al-kaida-est-mort_webcam, accessed 3 May 2011.
Clinton, Hillary (2009), Foreign Policy Address at the Council of Foreign Relations, US Department of State, 15 July, http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/july/126071.htm, accessed 3 May 2011.
Davenport, Tony (2004), *Medieval Narrative*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
De Girolami Cheney, Liana (2004), 'Edward Burne Jones' *Andromeda*: Transformation of Historical and Mythological Sources', *Artibus et Historiae*, 1, 197–227.
Delaney, Sheila (1983), 'Sexual Economics, Chaucer's Wife of Bath and The Book of Margery Kempe', in Ruth Evans and Lesley Johnson (eds), *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature: The Wife of Bath and All Her Sect*, New York: Routledge, 72–87.
Delbrück, B. (1919), *Einleitung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Methodik der vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, 6th edition, Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel.
De Saussure, Ferdinand (1977 [1916]), *Course in General Linguistics*, trans. W. Baskin, Glasgow: Fontana/Collins.
Dor, Juliette (2003), 'The Wife of Bath's "Wandrynge by the Weye" and Conduct Literature for Women', in Wendy Harding (ed.), *Drama, Narrative and Poetry in the Canterbury Tales*, Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 139–55.
Douay, Françoise (2009), 'Analogie/anomalie: deux approches de la métaphore', unpublished lecture given at the University of Ljubljana.

Drosdowski, G., R. Köster, W. Müller and W. Scholze-Stubenrecht (eds) (1963), *Das Herkunftswörterbuch: Eine Etymologie der deutschen Sprache*, 7, Mannheim, Vienna and Zurich: Dudenverlag.

Elouard, Daniel (2007), *Les croisades . . . au-delà des mythes*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.

Ernout, A. and A. Meillet (1979), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris: Klincksieck.

Fabiszak, M (1999), 'A Semantic Analysis of Emotion Terms in Old English', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensa*, 34, 133–46.

Fein, Ellen and Sherrie Schneider (1995), *The Rules: Time-Tested Secrets for Capturing the Heart of Mr. Right*, New York: Warner.

Flori, Jean (2001), *La guerre sainte. La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien*, Paris: Aubier.

Forceville, Charles J. (1996), *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*, London: Routledge.

Fowler, Alastair (ed.) (1980), *English Verse: 1830–1890*, London/New York: Longman Annotated Anthologies of English Verse.

Fowles, John (1969), *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, London: Jonathan Cape.

Gallese, V. and G. Lakoff (2005), 'The Brain's Concepts: The Role of the Sensory-Motor System in Reason and Language', *Cognitive Neuropsychology*, 22: 455–79.

Geeraerts, Dirk (1997), *Diachronic Prototype Semantics: A Contribution to Historical Lexicology*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

—— and Caroline Gevaert (2008), 'Hearts and (Angry) Minds in Old English', in F. Sharifian, R. Dirven, N. Yu and S. Niemeier (eds), *Culture and Language: Looking for the Mind inside the Body*, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 319–47.

—— and Stefan Grondelaers (1995), 'Looking Back at Anger: Cultural Traditions and Metaphorical Patterns' in J.R. Taylor and R.E. Macular (eds), *Language and the Cognitive Construal of the World*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 153–80.

Gennari, S.P., S.A. Sloman, B.C. Malt and W.T. Fitch (2002), 'Motion Events in Language and Cognition', *Cognition*, 83: 49–79.

Gevaert, Caroline (2001), 'Anger in Old and Middle English: A "Hot" Topic?', *Belgian Essays on Language and Literature*, Belgian Association of Anglicists in Higher Education, University of Liège, 89–101.

—— (2002), 'The Evolution of the Lexical and Conceptual Field of Anger in Old and Middle English', in J. Diaz (ed.), *A Changing World of Words: Diachronic Approaches to English Lexicology and Semantics*, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 275–99.

—— (2007), 'The History of Anger. The Lexical Field of Anger from Old to Early Modern English', PhD Thesis, University of Leuven.

Gibbs, R.W., Jr (1994), *The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language and Understanding*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—— (1997), 'Taking Metaphor out of our Heads and Putting it into the Cultural World', in Raymond W. Gibbs Jr and Gerard J. Steen (eds), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers from the Fifth International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Amsterdam, July 1997*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 145–66.

Goatly, Andrew (2007), *Washing the Brain: Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Goosens, L. (1990), 'Metaphtonomy: The Interaction of Metaphor and Metonymy in Expressions for Linguistic Action', *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1 (3): 323–40.
Grimm, Jakob (1870 [1822]), *Deutsche Grammatik*, Berlin: Scherer.
Gruen, Erich, S. (2004), 'Material Rewards and the Drive for Empire', in Champion (2004), 30–46.
Halliday, M.A.K. (1973), *Explorations in the Functions of Language*, London: Edward Arnold.
Halsall, Paul (2000), 'Arrian: Speech of Alexander the Great', from *The Campaigns of Alexander*, 1–2, www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/arrian-alexander1.htm, accessed 3 May 2011.
Hardy, Thomas (1974 [1874]), *Far from the Madding Crowd*, London: Macmillan.
—— (1984 [1891]), *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Harris, R. (1976), 'Comprehension of Metaphor: A Test of a Two-Stage Processing Model', *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society*, 8: 321–4.
Harris, W.V. (2004), 'On War and Greed in the Second Century BC', in Champion (2004), 17–29.
Hauptmann, Gerhart (1963 [1887]), *Bahnwärter Thiel*, Ditzingen: Reclam.
Healey, Tim (1977), 'The Symbolism of the Cross in Sacred and Secular Art', *Leonardo*, 10(4): 289–94.
Heine, Bernd (1995), 'Conceptual Grammaticalisation and Prediction', in J. Taylor and R. MacLaury (eds), *Language and the Cognitive Construal of the World*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 119–35.
Hieatt, A. and C. Hieatt (1976), *Chaucer: Canterbury Tales*, New York: Bantam.
Hoad, T.F. (ed.) (1986), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
—— (ed.) (1993), *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hobbes, Thomas (1997 [1651]), *Leviathan*, ed. R.E. Flathman and D. Johnston, New York and London: Norton Critical Editions.
Homer, *The Iliad*, www.online-literature.com.
Homer (1976), *The Odyssey*, ed. E.V.Rieu, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Hook, Stephen (2002), 'Enigmatic Reflections', review of Henry Kissinger (2001), *Does America Need a Foreign Policy? Towards a Diplomacy for the Twenty-First Century*, New York: Simon and Schuster, http://www.jstor.org/pss/3186288.
Howard, Donald R. (1960), 'The Conclusion of the Marriage Group: Chaucer and the Human Condition', *Modern Philology*, 57 (4): 223–32.
Humbley, John (2003), 'Metaphor and Secondary Term Formation', in C. Cortès (ed.) *La Métaphore: Du discours général aux discours spécialisés*, Cahier du Centre Interlangue d'Etudes en Lexicologie, Paris: Université de Paris 7, 199–212.
Jackendoff, R. (1972), *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
—— (1983), *Semantics and Cognition*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Jager, E. (1990), 'Speech and the Chest in Old English Poetry: Morality or Pectorality?', *Speculum*, 65 (4): 845–59.
Jäkel, Olaf (1999), 'Kant, Blumenberg, Weinreich: Some Forgotten Contributions to the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor', in Raymond W. Gibbs Jr and Gerard J. Steen (eds), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers from*

the Fifth International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Amsterdam, July 1997, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 9–27.
Johnson, Lyndon B. (1965), 'Peace without Conquest', speech, 7 April, http://www.famousquotes.me.uk/speeches/Lyndon_B_Johnson/2.htm, accessed 3 May 2011.
Johnson, Mark (1992), 'Philosophical Implications of Cognitive Semantics', *Cognitive Linguistics*, 3 (4): 345–66.
Joyce, James (1960 [1922]), *Ulysses*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
JTA (2008), http://www.jta.org/news/article/2008/08/24/110071/swastikasphiladelphia, accessed 3 May 2011.
Katz, J. and P. Postal (1964), *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions*, Cambridge: MA: MIT Press.
Kaufhold, S.D. (1997), 'Ovid's Tereus: Fire, Birds, and the Reification of Figurative Language', *Classical Philology*, 92 (1): 66–71.
Kiernan, Ryan (1993), *Shakespeare: Poet and Citizen*, New York: Routledge.
King, R.D. (1967), 'Functional Load and Sound Change', *Language*, 43: 831–52.
Kissinger, Henry (2001), *Does America Need a Foreign Policy? Toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century*, New York: Simon and Schuster.
Kittredge, G.L. (1912), 'Chaucer's Discussion of Marriage', *Modern Philology*, IX: 435–67.
Koller, Bálint (2003), 'Metaphoricity and Metonymicity in Grammar: A Journey in Space', MA dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.
Kövecses, Zoltán (1988), *The Language of Love*, London and Toronto: Associated University Presses.
—— (1995), 'American Friendship and the Scope of Metaphor', *Cognitive Linguistics*, 6: 315–46.
—— (2005), *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—— (2006), *Language, Mind and Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
—— (2000), *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture and Body in Human Feeling*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Krantz, S.C. (1987), 'Metaphor in Music', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 45 (4): 351–60.
Kristeva, Julia (1980, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez, trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon Roudiez, New York: Columbia University Press.
Labov, W. (1973), 'The Boundaries of Words and their Meanings', in C.-J.N. Bailey and R.W. Shuy (eds), *New Ways of Analysing Variation in English*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
Lakoff, George (1972), 'Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts', *Papers of the 8th Regional Meeting*, Chicago Linguistics Society, 183–228.
—— (1987), *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
—— (1990), 'The Invariance Hypothesis: Is Abstract Reason Based on Image Schemas?' *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1: 39–74.
—— (1991), *Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf* (*Parts 1 and 2*), www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Texts/Scholarly/Lakoff.

—— (1993), 'The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor', in A. Ortony (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 202–51.
—— (2003), *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*, 2nd edn, Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
—— (2006), *Whose Freedom? The Battle Over America's Most Important Idea*, New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux.
—— and Mark Johnson (1980), *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
—— and Mark Johnson (1999), *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*, New York: Basic Books.
—— and Mark Turner (1989), *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Langacker, Ronald (1987), *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Theoretical Prerequisites*, Vol 1, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
—— (1991), *Concept, Image and Symbol: The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Lawton, Lesley (2003), '"Glose, Whoso Wole": Voice, Text and Authority in the Wife of Bath's Prologue', in Wendy Harding (ed.), *Drama, Narrative and Poetry in the Canterbury Tales*, Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 157–74.
Li, Xiacong (2005), 'Etude de la métaphore dans une perspective trans-culturelle en anglais et en chinois', MA dissertation, University of Provence, France.
Lippman, E.A. (1953), 'Symbolism in Music', *Musical Quarterly*, 39 (4): 554–75.
Locke, John (1988 [1689]), *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Lockspeiser, E. (1966), 'Mallarmé and Music', *Musical Times*, 107 (1477): 212–13.
Loewenstein, John Prince (1941), 'The Swastika: Its History and Meaning', *Man: A Record of Anthropological Science*, 41: 49–55.
Lottman, Herbert R. (1978), *Albert Camus*, Paris: Editions du Seuil.
Lovejoy, A.O. (1936), *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Lucy, John (1992), *Grammatical Categories and Cognition: A Case Study of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
—— (1996), 'The Scope of Linguistic Relativity: An Analysis and Review of Empirical Research', in J. Gumperz and Stephen C. Levinson (eds), *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 37–69.
Maalouf, Amin (1983), *Les croisades vues par les Arabes*, Paris: Jean Claude Lattès.
Maier, Christophe (2000), *Crusade Ideology and Propaganda*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Malthus, T.R. (1992 [1798]), *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, ed. Donald Winch, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Matsuki, K. (1995), 'Metaphors of Anger in Japanese', in J.R.Taylor (ed.), *Language and the Cognitive Construal of the World*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 137–51.
Mattern, Susan (2004), *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate*, in Champion (2004), 186–200.
McClusky, Mark (1996), 'The Ruling Class', http://www.salon.com/media/media961010.html, accessed 3 May 2011.
Micholajcuk, Agnieszka (1998), 'The Metonymic and Metaphoric Conceptualization of Anger in Polish', in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds),

Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualization and Expression, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 153–91.
Molina, Clara (2008), 'Historical Dictionary Definitions Revisited from a Prototypical Theoretical Standpoint', *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 6: 1–22.
Mommsen, Theodor [1880], *The History of Rome, Book III*, Project Gutenberg, www.gutenberg.com.
Munro, Pamela (1991), 'ANGER IS HEAT: Some Data for a Cross-Linguistic Survey', Manuscript, Department of Linguistics, UCLA.
Musolff, A. (2008), 'What Can Critical Metaphor Analysis Add to the Understanding of Racist Ideology? Recent Studies of Hitler's Anti-Semitic Metaphors', *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines (CADAAD)*, http://cadaad.org/ejournal.
Myers, P. (1999), 'Introduction', *The Four Seasons* by Antonio Vivaldi, the Venice Baroque Orchestra conducted by Andrea Marcon and produced by Wolf Erichson, Sony Music.
Naciscione, Anita (2003), 'Phraseological Metaphor: Dead or Alive?' in A. Hamm (ed.), *European Society for the Study of English, RANAM (Recherches anglaises et nord–américaines)*, 36, Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg.
Newmark, Peter (1985), 'The Translation of Metaphor', in W. Paprotté and R. Driven (eds), *The Ubiquity of Metaphor*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 295–326.
O'Neill, M. (2000), *The Four Seasons* by Antonio Vivaldi, the Venice Baroque Orchestra conducted by Andrea Marcon and produced by Wolf Erichson, Sony Music.
Obama, Barack (2007), 'The War We Need to Win', speech, 1 August, http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobamawilsoncenter.htm, accessed 3 May 2011.
—— (2009), Speech, 17 August, http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/issues/Veterans?page=12, accessed 3 May 2011.
——- (2009), Speech, 6 October, http://projects.washingtonpost.com/obama-speeches/speech/124/, accessed 3 May 2011.
—— (2009), Speech, 1 December, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-address-nation-way-forward-afghanistan-and-pakistan, accessed 3 May 2011.
Ortony, Andrew (ed.) (1993), *Metaphor and Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
——, G.L. Clore and A. Collins (1988), *The Cognitive Structure of Emotion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Osthoff, H. and K. Brugmann (1878), *Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig: Hirzel.
Padel, R. (1992), *In and Out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Pancake, Ann S. (1993), 'Taken by Storm: The Exploitation of Metaphor in the Persian Gulf War', *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 8 (4): 281–95.
Pastoreau, Michel (1996), *Couleurs, Images, Symboles: Etudes d'histoire et d'anthropologie*, Paris: Le Léopard d'Or.
Pinker, Steven (2006), 'Block that Metaphor!', http://pinker.wjh.harvard.edu/articles/media/2006_09_30_thenewrepublic.html.

Putin, Vladimir (2010), 3 March, http://www.actionnews.ru/2010/03/putin-nado-vykovyryat-terroristov-iz-kanalizacii/ (in Russian).
Reddy, M.J. (1979), 'The Conduit Metaphor: A Case of Frame Conflict in our Language about Language', reprinted in Ortony (1993), 284–324.
Rey, A. and J. Rey-Debove (1986), *Le Petit Robert: Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, Paris: Le Robert.
Rich, John (2004), 'Fear, Greed and Glory: The Causes of Roman War Making in the Middle Republic', in Champion (2004), 46–67.
Richards, I. (1965), *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Roberts, Michael (ed.) (1965), *The Faber Book of Modern Verse*, London: Faber and Faber.
Robertson, Elizabeth (2003), 'Marriage, Mutual Consent, and the Affirmation of the Female Subject in *The Knight's Tale*, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, and *The Franklin's Tale*', in Wendy Harding (ed.), *Drama, Narrative and Poetry in the Canterbury Tales*, Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 175–93.
Rosch, E (1975), 'Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories', *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 104 (3): 192–233.
Rosen, Stephen (2007), *War and Human Nature*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Royce, Josiah (2001 [1913]), *The Problem of Christianity*, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press.
Samuels, Michael Louis (1972), *Linguistic Evolution: With Special Reference to English*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Schmandt-Besserat, Denise (2007), *When Writing Met Art*, Austin: University of Texas Press.
Silverman, D. and B. Torode (1980), *The Material Word: Some Theories of Language and its Limits*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Smith, A. (1991 [1776]), *Wealth of Nations*, Buffalo and New York: Prometheus Books.
Soustelle, Jacques (1955), *La vie quotidienne des Aztèques à la veille de la conquète espagnole*, Paris: Hachette.
Steen, Gerd (2002), 'Towards a Procedure for Metaphor Identification', *Language and Literature*, special edition: *Metaphor Identification*, 11(1): 17–33.
Sweetser, E. (1990), *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Tawney, R.H. (1938 [1926]), *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Taylor, J.R. (1989), *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
—— and Thandi Mbense (1998), 'Red Dogs and Rotten Mealies: How Zulus Talk about Anger', in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds), *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 191–226.
Time Magazine (5 March 2010), http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1969786,00.html, accessed 3 May 2011.
Time Magazine (14 June 2010), www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1996153,00.html, accessed 4 May 2011.
Tourangeau, R. and R. Sternberg (1982), 'Understanding and Appreciating Metaphors', *Cognition*, 11: 203–44.

Traugott, E. (1985), '"Conventional" and "Dead" Metaphors Revisited', in W. Paprotté and R. Dirven (eds), *The Ubiquity of Metaphor*, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 29, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 17–56.

—— and R. Dasher (2002), *Regularity in Semantic Change*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 96, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trier, J. (1931), *Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes. Die Geschichte eines sprachlichen Feldes*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Trim, Richard (1997), 'How Universal is Metaphor? The Case of Drugs in European Languages', *Lexicology. An International Journal on the Structure of Vocabulary*, 3/2: 244–72.

—— (2007), *Metaphor Networks. The Comparative Evolution of Figurative Language*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

—— in press (a), 'The Limits of Comprehension in Cross-Cultural Metaphor: Networking in Drugs Terminology', in *Proceedings of the RAAM 7 Conference (Research and Applying Metaphor)*, University of Extremadura, May 2006, Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

—— in press (b), 'Traces from the Past: Old and New in Metaphor Evolution', in *Proceedings of the Metamind 2006 Conference*, Riga: Latvian Academy of Culture.

Ullman, S. (1957), *The Principles of Semantics*, New York: Barnes and Noble.

—— (1962), *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Weinreich, Harald (1958), 'Münze und Wort: Untersuchungen an einem Bildfeld', in Weinreich (1976), 276–90.

—— (1964), 'Metaphora memoriae', in Weinreich (1976), 291–4.

—— (1976), *Sprache in Texten*, Stuttgart: Klett.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee, (1956) *Language, Thought and Reality*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Yu, Ning (1995), 'Metaphorical Expressions of Anger and Happiness in English and Chinese', *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 10: 223–45.

—— (1998), *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from Chinese*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Zola, Emile (1968 [1885]), *Germinal*, Paris: Flammarion.

Index