Metaphor as a cognitive process. Analysis in the discourse

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Bachelor Thesis 2009



Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně

Fakulta humanitních studií Ústav anglistiky a amerikanistiky akademický rok: 2008/2009

ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE

(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: Jiří HUŠKA

Studijní program: B 7310 Filologie

Studijní obor: Ang

Anglický jazyk pro manažerskou praxí

Téma práce:

Metafora jako kognitivní proces. Analýza v diskurzu

Zásady pro vypracování:

Studium z různých druhů odborné literatury Vzájemné porovnání zdrojů odborné literatury Formulace hypotézy Výběr anglického textu Analýza textu a identifikace metafor Popis a analýza metafor ve vybraném textu Potvrzení/vyvrácení hypotézy Rozsah práce:

Rozsah příloh:

Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: tištěná/elektronická

Seznam odborné literatury:

Crystal, David. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. Metaphors We Live by. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Kövecses, Zoltán. Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

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Baker, Mona. In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation. London: Routledge, 1992.

Vedoucí bakalářské práce:

PhDr. Katarína Nemčoková

Ústav anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Datum zadání bakalářské práce:

30. listopadu 2008

Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce: 15. května 2009

Ve Zlíně dne 12. února 2009

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ABSTRAKT

Tato práce ukazuje, že metafory nejsou jen řečnickou figurou. Jsou zde analyzovány

zdánlivě běžné výrazy a věty z časopisového článku. Je prokázáno, že tyto vybrané výrazy

a věty jsou metaforické. Metafory jsou rozděleny do tří hlavních kategorií: orientační,

ontologické a strukturální. Metafora je prezentována jako klíčový poznávací prostředek.

Klíčová slova: metafora, řečnická figura, poznávací prostředek

ABSTRACT

This work shows that metaphors are not just a figure of speech. It analyses ordinary

expressions and sentences from a magazine article. These chosen expressions and

sentences are proved to be metaphorical. Metaphors are divided into three major

categories: orientational, ontological and structural. Metaphor is presented as crucial

cognitive devices that greatly influence our everyday lives.

Keywords: metaphor, figure of speech, cognitive device

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To PhDr. Katarina Němčoková for her feed-back and endless liberty she gave me.

To my mum and Martina Esterková who rushed me into writing and suffered the most form my moods.

To my class mates that helped me to get those formal silly things right.

To Mgr. Peter Daniel Hajkr for consultations.

To Kristána for she was proud of me anytime I needed.

DECLADATION (OF ORIGINALITY	•	
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	d has been acknowledge		
May 13, 2009			

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INTRODUCTION

Metaphor is generally considered being just a feature of figurative language. Metaphor is seen as something above common use of language, more decorative then useful for understanding.

"Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish—a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language. Moreover, metaphor is typically viewed as characteristic of language alone, a matter of words rather than thought or action. For this reason, most people think they can get along perfectly well without metaphor. We have found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 3)

The premise of this work is that metaphorical is such expression that speaks of one thing in terms of something else.

"The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 5)

The aim of this work is to show that we use metaphorical concepts unknowingly - that there are metaphors we live by. This will be demonstrated on an article from Vanity Fair magazine. The article deals with scandal caused by publishing pictures of Kate Moss, famous photo model, cutting lines of cocaine in a recording studio where she was with her ingloriously famous boyfriend Pete Doherty who is a front man of UK indie band called Babyshambles. This particular article was chosen because it is from respected magazine and present day topic which is why the language is likely to be up to date.

Lakoff and Johanson in "Metaphors we live by" divided metaphors into three major categories - orientational, ontological and structural. This work will stick to this division.

1 POTENTIAL OF METAPHORICAL CONCEPTS

About abstract things, particularly emotions, there is no other way how to comprehend them then in terms of something that emerges from our experience with material world.

In English there is no expression for *feeling like you started to love somebody* more pregnant then "to fall in love."

Love is an abstract thing that only exists because we experience it - primarily as mentation even though it may also have somatic demonstration. It does not emerge from material world - regardless chemical processes in brain that partially could be described by objective scientific methods. However the *feeling like you started to love somebody* have certain resemblances with a fall - mostly it is sudden and unexpected.

Let us consider some kind of pathological personality that is not able to feel emotions such as love. This personality would not understand why it is "to fall in love" and not for example plain "to get to love." This individual would not have experience with such sudden and unexpected occurrence resulting into an impression of being surrounded by some kind of substance or trapped in some kind of container. Personality like this would not see resemblances with falling into a river while carelessly crossing a bridge with rotten boards.

Love in "to fall in love" has quality of some kind of substance or container, since it is comprehended as something surrounding. Extended version "to fall in love with" is coherent with experience that falling in love often occurs in at least pairs.

"Substances can themselves be viewed as containers. Take a tub of water, for example. When you get into the tub, you get into the water. Both the tub and the water are viewed as containers, but of different sorts. The tub is a CONTAINER OBJECT, while the water is a CONTAINER SUBSTANCE." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 30)

Let us consider love is surrounding CONTAINER SUBSTANCE with essence of *the one the you fell in love with*. Such essence conception would be useful to distinguish whether such feeling is mutual or not - but it is not.

"X and Y fell in love with each other."

If this meant that X fell in substance with essence of Y and vice versa and therefore substances with essences of one another mixed...

"X fell in love with Y."

... then this would mean that Y does not love X back.

But it does not. Consider part of sentence above "the one you fell in love with." Such expression would have to mean, in case there was a way to grammatically mark mutuality, that the feeling is mutual therefore there would have to be also expression "the one we fell in love of" to mark that the feeling is not mutual; substances with essence of each other have not been mixed.

Such distinction is probably just unnecessary and spare, since such information like who we are in love with and if it is mutual has context.

Our culture sees love as something that should be mutual and metaphorical concepts are influenced by culture therefore language, as to the grammatical signs, allows only the ideal option of mutuality of such feeling that makes people happy - the whole western society is based on pursuit of happiness after all.

2 ORIENTATIONAL METAPHORS

"But there is another kind of metaphorical concept, one that does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another. We will call these orientational metaphors, since most of them have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. These spatial orientations arise from the fact that we have bodies of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment. Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation; for example, HAPPY IS UP. The fact that the concept HAPPY is oriented UP leads to English expressions like 'I'm feeling up today.'" (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 14)

2.1.1 Visible is UP

... the couple was likely to show up...;

High things are easier to see than those small ones - this directly emerges from our physical environment.

You are supposed to have dinner with your friends at 8 PM but you are already half an hour late. At 9:45 PM you finally arrive. You enter the restaurant and there you are standing tall while guests sit and eat - show up; they can easily see you because you are up above the rest, since it is common to sit while eating in the restaurant.

2.1.2 Alert is ON

My personal advice to the company was: Stay on;

We switch electrical appliances ON and OFF. When they are ON they are ready to be used. Also when someone is ON duty he is supposed to be ready for some kind of action - to stay alert.

2.1.3 Refusal is DOWN

... Moss was repeatedly turned down...;

"HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

Physical basis: Drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 15)

"HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN

Social and physical basis: Status is correlated with (social) power and (physical) power is uP" (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 16)

"GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN

Physical basis for personal well-being: Happiness, health, life, and control—the things that principally characterize what is good for a person—are all UP." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 16)

Refusal like this may belong to all three concepts (SAD IS DOWN, LOW STATUS IS DOWN, BAD IS DOWN), since it does not feel good to be turned down; to be turned down may lower your status; to be turned down is bad.

3 ONTOLOGICAL METAPHORS

Entity and substance metaphor

"Spatial orientations like up-down, front-back, on-off, center-periphery, and near-far provide an extraordinarily rich basis for understanding concepts in orientational terms. But one can do only so much with orientation. Our experience of physical objects and substances provides a further basis for understanding—one that goes beyond mere orientation. Understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances allows us to pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind. Once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them—and, by this means, reason about them." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 25)

3.1 Container metaphors

3.1.1 Bounded area is a CONTAINER

If you go to the playground, stand in a sand pit, and make a circle by using a piece of wood or just by your foot, you would, just by making the circle in the sand, create a CONTAINER for anything that should happen inside the circle. If lightning strike hit you standing in the circle, the circle would be a CONTAINER for the event of you being possibly killed. Obviously such circle cannot serve as an actual container unlike the sand pit but since it is distinctly bounded area, we tend to see it as a CONTAINER.

... in West London; ... in Barcelona; ... in New York; ... in Shrewsbury;

"A clearing in the woods is seen as having a bounding surface, and we can view ourselves as being *in* the clearing or *out of* the clearing, *in* the woods or *out of* woods. A clearing in the woods has something we can perceive as a natural boundary - the fuzzy area where the trees more or less begins." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 29)

City, just like forest, is a distinctly bounded area with buildings towering from the ground just like trees in the woods, moreover we liken cites to jungles.

... in central England; ... in Sweden; in Italy;

"There are few human instincts more basic than territoriality. And such defining of a territory, putting a boundary around it, is an act of quantification. Bounded objects, whether human beings, rocks, or land areas, have sizes. This allows them to be quantified in terms of the amount of substance they contain. Kansas, for example, is a bounded area - a CONTAINER - which is why we can say, "There's a lot of land *in* Kansas.'" (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 29 - 30)

... in the countryside...;

Let us say that countryside is an area bounded by missing bunches of buildings. This distinction is clear enough for countryside to be comprehended as a CONTAINER.

3.1.2 Time is a CONTAINER

... she snored five lines in the 40 minutes;

"The TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor is based on the correlation between an object moving toward us and the time it takes to get to us. The same correlation is a basis for the TIME IS A CONTAINER metaphor (as in "He did it in ten minutes"), with the bounded space traversed by the object correlated with the time the object takes to traverse it. Events and actions are correlated with bounded time spans, and this makes them CONTAINER OBJECTS." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 58 - 59)

... in October...;

Let us imagine a year as a building in a shape of a circle with twelve rooms. Each room is named after certain month.

"TIME is a kind of (abstract) SUBSTANCE" (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 66)

You need to spent exact amount of 30 days in there until it's possible to move on to November room. Until those obligatory 30 days are spent, the October room is an CONTAINER for anything that might happen in there. If you break your leg, you break it in October room that represents month October.

... in five years...; In recent years...;

Through giving a certain number of years we can distinctly bound a certain period on

timeline.

... in the morning...; ... in the evening...;

Morning, noon, afternoon and evening are more or less distinctly bounded times of day as sun rises and goes down.

... in her teens...;

Teen age is pretty distinctly bounded. From the age of thirteen until the age of nineteen you are a teenager. No sooner, no longer. These seven years are a CONTAINER for anything that might happen during them.

In the ensuing weeks...;

Week is accurately bounded area, since it has precisely seven days.

Listing above may reveal where 'time is a CONTAINER' metaphor emerges from. The listing shows resemblances with 'bounded area is a CONTAINER' metaphor that emerges from immediate human experience with the material world (spatial experience) - more objective. Since time can be quantified and ranged and therefore bounded, 'time is a BOUNDED AREA' metaphor is likely to be superior to 'time is a CONTAINER' metaphor. Consequently it reveals another feature of time - time is a BOUNDED AREA. Here bounded area is not what is being conceptualized but what is being used as a concept to conceptualize time - less objective.

3.1.3 Visual field is a CONTAINER

"We conceptualize our visual field as a container and conceptualize what we see as being inside it. Even the term "visual field" suggests this. The metaphor is a natural one that emerges from the fact that, when you look at some territory (land, floor space, etc.), your field of vision defines a boundary of the territory, namely, the part that you can see. Given that a bounded physical space is a CONTAINER and that our field of vision correlates with that bounded physical space, the metaphorical concept VISUAL FIELDS ARE CONTAINERS emerges naturally." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 30)

Visual field is a bounded area and therefore a CONTAINER.

... recorded in a grainy video...;

TV screen is a distinctly bounded area. We watch videos on TV. Video is bounded by TV screen. Video consist of moving pictures. Pictures are visual fields. Visual field is a bounded area and therefore a CONTAINER.

... in one scene of the video...;

Here scene is a part of video. Video is a visual filed. Visual field is a bounded area. Bounded area is a CONTAINER.

Scene is also a part of a play (in theatre) that has nothing to do with video. However one scene is a coherent sequence of events; what people say; what people do. Particular scene starts with particular event and ends with particular event - is distinctly bounded and there is something that happens between these events. This enables us to handle as a scene also a part of a play broadcasted on the radio where there is no visual field to be seen excepting that created by imagination that places everything that is being said into some kind of imaginary visual field.

Any kind of scene is a bounded area and therefore a CONTAINER.

... Calvin Klein first put her waif-like figure in his underwear ads...;

Since Kate Moss is a photo model, the advertisement mentioned in the text is likely to be visual - probably a picture. Picture is a visual field but there are also advertisements broadcasted on TV or radio. Such advertisements are also seen as CONTAINERS. This is the same case as in "scene from a radio play is a CONTAINER."

... pictured in the press...; Moss herself has been portrayed in the British newspaper...;

As press informs about various events it creates some kind of a visual field. It works like a puzzle where you put pieces together to get a picture. Every piece of information is like a piece of such puzzle. Let us consider a picture in which there is a person and there are some pieces missing - not mentioned information. Those pieces might be from around face area so you could see what happens, the whole scenery - scandal - but you wouldn't really know who the person is. Press could be also seen as an area bounded by a certain number of pieces and therefore it can be quantified.

It is possible to sort expression "to be pictured in press" as an ontological metaphor because it is actual piece of paper and therefore a certain kind of a visual field.

That's how we got through the shows;

Show is probably conceptualized in the similar way as scenes. Show is a sequence of events; what people say; what people do. Particular show starts with particular event and ends with particular event - is distinctly bounded and there is something that happens between these events. Since show is distinctly bounded and can be more or less quantified, there is some content in a CONTAINER to *get through*.

... in public...;

Since to *be public* means to *be seen*, expression "in public" is handled as a visual field - visual field is a CONTAINER.

3.1.4 State is a CONTAINER

"Substances can themselves be viewed as containers. Take a tub of water, for example. When you get into the tub, you get into the water. Both the tub and the water are viewed as containers, but of different sorts. The tub is a CONTAINER OBJECT, while the water is a CONTAINER SUBSTANCE." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 30)

"We use ontological metaphors to comprehend events, actions, activities, and states. Events and actions are conceptualized metaphorically as objects, activities as substances, states as containers." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 30)

He fell in love with her...; ... a woman who falls in love with a young criminal...;

"Various kinds of states may also be conceptualized as containers. Thus we have examples like these:

He's in love.

We're out of trouble now." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 31 - 32)

... she had passed out in a cocaine-induced stupor...; ... to be lying in a drug-induced stupor...;

In this sentence there are two kinds of state - state of mind and state of body. They both are handled by the same metaphorical concept - state is a CONTAINER.

"To pass out" is a phrasal verb that means to lose consciousness. Consciousness is a state of mind comprehended as a CONTAINER. When she *had passed out* she had been no longer conscious - she had been out of consciousness, since it is handled as a CONTAINER with in-out orientation.

Stupor is state of body therefore it is handled as a CONTAINER.

With stupor is connected unresponsiveness and lack of consciousness - being OUT of particular state of mind is consistent with symptoms of being IN particular state of body at the same time.

... she was out of control ...; I can't have you around if you're this out of control because it's going to get me into trouble;

Control is a state of mind. States are CONTAINERS. Here in second sentence the state of control is given feature of measurability when pronoun "this" is used to specify degree of loss of control.

"PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL STATES ARE ENTITIES WITHIN A PERSON" (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 50)

The loss of control as an entity is given an attribute of ability to influence people - to get Kate Moss into trouble.

Trouble is a CONTAINER.

"The view that IDEAS ARE OBJECTS is a projection of entity status upon mental phenomena via an ontological metaphor. The view that THE MIND IS A CONTAINER is a projection of entity status with in-out orientation onto our cognitive faculty. These are not inherent objective properties of ideas and of the mind. They are interactional properties, and they reflect the way in which we conceive of mental phenomena by virtue of metaphor." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 214)

3.1.5 Activity is a CONTAINER

... she's really great in checking things out.;

"Activities in general are viewed metaphorically as SUBSTANCES and therefore as CONTAINERS.

Thus, activities are viewed as containers for the actions and other activities that make them up. They are also viewed as containers for the energy and materials required for them and for their by-products, which may be viewed as in them or as emerging from them." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 31)

3.1.6 Relationship is a CONTAINER

Maybe that is not the best relationship that she has ever been in;

Relationship is a CONTAINER where people are stuck together. If they split up they no longer found themselves in the relationship. This CONTAINER metaphor highlights in-out orientation feature of a relationship.

3.1.7 Eyes are CONTAINERS

... see Lila Grace in your eyes;

"THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS I could see the fear in his eyes." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 50)

In case eyes are not CONTAINERS FOR particularly EMOTIONS. However imagining daughter certainly brings lots of emotions. Eyes are CONTAINERS not only for emotions but anything you can picture in your head.

3.1.8 Mind is a CONTAINER

"IDEAS ARE OBJECTS and we can get them from outside ourselves. It also assumes the MIND IS A CONTAINER metaphor, which establishes a similarity between the mind and the body—both being CONTAINERS." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 148)

... in the back of her mind...;

Mind is a CONTAINER with front-back orientation. We carry various ideas in our minds and thanks to front-back orientation we can distinguish between those we are focused on and those we miss out. We perceive, considering front-back orientation, things in the back as farther from us than those in the front. Things in distance seem smaller - marginal - than those close to us. What is in the back of mind maybe barely perceivable but it is there.

3.1.9 Summary of container metaphors

It seems that things that can be quantified and bounded (some can be bounded just because they can be quantified) are likely to be seen as containers. Things like time and a visual field seem to be part of a set that is firstly bounded area and as a result they are being handled as CONTAINERS or, as we seem to need to place everything in some kind of spatial context, it is just the boundary feature that makes them containers. There is also considerable chance that it is not the boundary feature but the quantification feature. Even a visual field can be kind of quantified but this quantification probably would be also some kind of boundary.

It is obvious that quantification and boundation, as features that lead certain things to be handled as containers, are closely connected.

Moreover all of this is likely to be overlapping. It is hard to say which one is likely to be superior to the other one.

3.2 Substance metaphors

3.2.1 Style is a SUBSTANCE

... raw and natural production style...;

Style as a substance is given a feature of taste.

... mix of punk with classic or retro or avant-garde...; ... mixing bohemian and classic;

Various substances can be mixed one with another. Style comprehended as a substance allows us to talk about mixing different trends in fashion and create almost endless number of unique flavors.

3.2.2 Charisma is a SUBSTANCE

... he has buckets of charisma;

We have a certain amount of personal charm at our disposal. The amount that Pete Doherty has at his disposal is above average - *he has got buckets* of it. Charisma is handled as some kind of substance that can be stored in a container - bucket.

3.2.3 Incident is a SUBSTANCE

... some good might actually come out of the entire unfortunate incident;

"The OBJECT COMES OUT OF THE SUBSTANCE metaphor is

also used outside the concept of MAKING but in a much more limited range of circumstances, mostly those having to do with evolution:

Mammals developed out of reptiles.

Our present legal system evolved out of English common law.

Thus the two metaphors we use to elaborate direct manipulation into the concept of MAKING are both used independently to conceptualize various concepts of CHANGE.

These two metaphors for CHANGE, which are used as part of the concept of MAKING, emerge naturally from as fundamental a human experience as there is, namely, birth. In birth, an object (the baby) comes out of a container (the mother). At the same time, the mother's substance (her flesh and blood) are in the baby (the container object). The experience of birth (and also agricultural growth) provides a grounding for the general concept of CREATION, which has as its core the concept of MAKING a physical object but which extends to abstract entities as well." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 74)

Let us say that the incident is a manure, since we say "shit happens" and we mean various

incidents. If you manure field you will be rewarded by valuable crops - that is the good that may *come out* of the incident.

3.3 Entity metaphors

"When things are not clearly discrete or bounded, we still categorize them as such, e.g., mountains, street corners, hedges, etc. Such ways of viewing physical phenomena are needed to satisfy certain purposes that we have: locating mountains, meeting at street corners, trimming hedges. Human purposes typically require us to impose artificial boundaries that make physical phenomena discrete just as we are: entities bounded by a surface." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 25)

... story broke...; ... story took on a life of it's own;

This story should have been kept in secret to prevent scandal but it got to public. Imagine the story is a spy who is being captive for he has got information which he intends to sell to media. This spy makes it to escape and sell it. He *broke* from the prison where he was kept.

After the spy got out he stared from the scratch.

The vignette... sums up the dynamic of the couple's relationship - a desperate struggle on her part to control Doherty's open use of crack, cocaine and alcohol;

Vignette is an entity that is able to *sum up* dynamic of relationship. It also says that relationship is an MOVING OBJECT, since it has dynamic that can be summed up. Struggle is an entity that can be *desperate*.

... the scandal will affect Moss's future income...;

Scandal as an entity has a power to influence people's lives - in this case income in negative way.

... to be inspired by the mysticism of Blake;

Mysticism is an entity that is able to influence people; to inspire them. Here it is not Blake who inspires but his mysticism as an entity.

... pretty frank relationship with the Daily Mirror...;

Relationship is an entity that can be *frank*.

... this is going to be a storm... This is not going away;

Events according to this sentence may be handled as entities. This scandal is not going to go away. It is going to stay and maybe become a storm - this expression is obviously figurative. There is a distinct similarity between scandals and storms - storms can leave quite a mess.

One of the secrets of Moss's success is that fashion editors are awed by her personal style...;

Success is something that can be achieved by some kind of formula. In chemistry we prepare various substances according to chemical formulas.

Someone's style is an entity that can make impression - the Kate Moss's one does.

After looking at it more closely;

By "it" is meant the scandal with using cocaine. This scandal is handled as an entity to be studied.

3.4 Personification

"Perhaps the most obvious ontological metaphors are those where the physical object is further specified as being a person. This allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 33)

It's not that the clothes dominate her. She dominates the clothes...;

Clothes is given hypothetical power over someone which is mainly human ability.

... the relationship spelled trouble...;

Here the relationship is compared to a person with magical power - a wizard or something

like that.

... the previous year had finally taken Moss over the edge;

Maybe the "over the edge" reference would be more interesting but it is not quite *living by metaphor*, since it is obviously figurative expression.

The year being able to take someone whatever where is personification. Let us say the year is a person which can be comprehended as a container that is full of not quite positive events. This person gets angry and takes Kate to jump from a cliff.

3.5 Metonymy

"Metonymy serves some of the same purposes that metaphor does, and in somewhat the same way, but it allows us to focus more specifically on certain aspects of what is being referred to. It is also like metaphor in that it is not just a poetic or rhetorical device. Nor is it just a matter of language. Metonymic concepts (like TEIE PART FOR THE WHOLE) are part of the ordinary, everyday way we think and act as well as talk." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 37)

... English media were going to be brutal; the London newspapers began to question...; The British media reported...; ... hassled by the press...;

Only creatures can be brutal. The people who work in the media were going to be brutal.

The people who work for the newspaper questioned.

The employees of the media reported.

The people from the press hassled.

And all the fashion business will support her;

People, her friends from the fashion world will provide Kate Moss with their support.

4 STRUCTURAL METAPHORS

"Structural metaphors, cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 14)

"Structural metaphors allow us to do much more than just orient concepts, refer to them, quantify them, etc., as we do with simple orientational and ontological metaphors; they allow us, in addition, to use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 61)

"Like orientational and ontological metaphors, structural metaphors are grounded in systematic correlations within our experience." (Lakoff and Jonhson, 2003, 61)

4.1 Valuable commodity metaphors

4.1.1 Money is a VALUABLE COMMODITY

It remains to be seen how much money Moss, who reportedly makes between 5 milion and 9 milion a year and whose net worth has recently been estimated at 55 milon, will lose from the scandal;

"The metaphorical concepts TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A RESOURCE, and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY form a Mingle system based on subcategorization, since in our society money is a limited resource and limited resources are Valuable commodities." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 9)

Earning money is a creative activity - something that can be made. In our culture we even worship those who can make really huge amount of money as if they were real artists.

4.1.2 Time is a VALUABLE COMMODITY

"Time in our culture is a valuable commodity. It is a limited resource that we use to accomplish our goals." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 8)

For Kate Moss, an evening spent at the side of boy friend...; ... she had spent much of the 90's drunk; ... Moss spent a period in rehab...; ... the management team in Sweden took

time over the weekend to analyze the situation...; We had a really great time...; ... a peaceful time spent...;

"We understand and experience time as the kind of thing that can be spent, wasted, budgeted, invested wisely or poorly, saved, or squandered." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 8)

4.1.3 Life a VALUABLE COMMODITY

As we are mortal beings, we see life as limited resource. It is similar to time and money VALUABLE COMMODITY concepts.

... appetite for life;

Life is a kind of substance that can be consumed and since it is limited resource, it is a VALUABLE COMMODITY.

... she had given birth to Lila Grace;

Birth is bringing to life. Life is a VALUABLE COMMODITY that is culturally viewed as a gift from someone - parents. This implicates gratefulness that we are supposed to feel towards our parents like we owe them.

We all do - at times - need to stand back and look at our lives;

This shows that life doesn't have to be comprehended as a valuable commodity only for its limited resource feature.

Living life is comprehended as a creative activity therefore life itself is seen as a piece of art - valuable commodity. The need of standing back is typical for artist to see as a whole what has been created so far. Painter *stands back* to see a whole painting to decide how to continue.

Oscar Wilde in his novel "The Picture of Dorian Grey" directly speaks about Dorian's life as it was a piece of art.

4.1.4 Discourse is a VALUABLE COMMODITY

Discourse is comprehended as a commodity, since it is something we can give. Almost anything that can be given has certain value.

Examples of given discourses:

a speech; an interview; an answer; a decision; a message;

She has rarely given interviews...;

Interview is seen as something valuable at least if it is interview with some kind of public figure, celebrity, someone important or for some reason interesting. Interview is a kind of spoken discourse. People get paid for what they say in media.

... she gave a heartfelt apology;

Apology is a kind of discourse no matter if it is spoken or written.

... gave her advice...;

Mainly in words expressed what to do. It probably does not have to be necessarily in words but it also might be in some kind of understandable signs like mathematical or chemical formula but still it would be a discourse.

4.1.5 Sex is a VALUABLE COMMODITY

... she had sex;

There seemed to be kind of difficulty with categorization.

"We use ontological metaphors to comprehend events, actions, activities, and states. Events and actions are conceptualized metaphorically as objects, activities as substances, states as containers." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 30)

Having sex is an activity and therefore it may seem that it should be comprehended as a substance and categorized as an ontological metaphor.

"I couldn't do much sprinting until the end. (sprinting as SUBSTANCE) " (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 31)

To be at least partially ontological metaphor there would have to be something like "she had a lot of sex," since *much sprinting* is an ontological metaphor because the activity is

being just quantified.

Sex actually is an activity and this activity is comprehended as a valuable commodity therefore "sex is a VALUABLE COMMODITY" is a structural metaphor with different features from the ontological "activity (sex\having sex) is a SUBSTANCE" metaphor.

Comprehending sex as a valuable commodity seems to be culturally grounded. It is likely to be cross-cultural phenomenon thanks to prostitution that is common all over the world. Sex is viewed as a commodity that can be consumed.

However "sex is a VALUABLE COMMODITY" is not the only metaphorical concept used when we talk about intercourse - we also often use expression "to make love" which is the same event but experienced and perceived in a completely different way.

When we use expression "to make love," we use metaphorical concept "sex is a CREATIVE ACTIVITY" which hides the "to have sex" commodity feature and on the other hand highlights that it is a process of making some kind of values. This is contradictory with that consumption feature of "to have sex."

"Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 156)

When you talk about sex as it is some kind of commodity to be consumed, you see yourself as just a consumer. This approach may minimize degree of your own contribution - your partner gets little satisfaction and it may became meaningless even for yourself. On the other hand when you talk about sex as it is some kind of creative activity there is something to be achieved; to be created - and creative activities are the most satisfactory activities and they give us meaning.

Things are accordingly the way we talk about them which means that through used metaphorical concept we can define reality. It is upon everyone themselves to decide whether they just consume or create.

4.1.6 Virginity is a VALUABLE COMMODITY

... lost her virginity...;

Virginity is culturally viewed as something very valuable; something that you own only

once and as soon as you lose it or give it to someone, you can never have it back.

One girl in the USA even auctioned her virginity - this case shows how metaphor can define reality. There may be cultures where virginity is something extra and undesirable - in such culture people would pay to get rid of such burden. Our culture, probably thanks to Christianity, is based on moral purity of which particularly virginity is one of the most important elements.

We are urged by nature to reproduce therefore majority of population will not stay virgin forever and since our culture is parallelly with moral purity based on making money, it is possible for someone to auction virginity because other people also perceive virginity as a VALUABLE COMMODITY - and we are used to paying to get valuable commodities.

4.1.7 Senses are a VALUABLE COMMODITIES

Senses in general serve as some kind of device that enables us to percept variety of experience. Smell, sight, touch, hearing and taste are kinds of actual devices. Taste enables us to tell delicious and disgusting apart - if we are able to tell elegant and inelegant apart, we say that we think of ourselves that we have sense of style - like we possess that kind of device that enables us to distinguish between those.

... lose your sense of humor...;

We think of sense of humour as it was a VALUABLE COMMODITY. We treasure funny people because we like to have fun. When we have fun, we feel good. In case we lose our sense of humour, we are no longer able to experience fun - when you go blind, you are no longer able to see and we treasure our sight because it is something that cannot be replaced.

4.1.8 Support is a VALUABLE COMMODITY

... offering his support...;

Support is a commodity at one's disposal. The one who possesses this commodity may provide with this commodity someone else who might need it.

4.1.9 People are VALUABLE COMMODITIES

It remains to be seen how much money Moss, who reportedly makes between 5 million and 9 million a year and whose net worth has recently been estimated at 55 million, will lose from the scandal; Quite literally... we consumed her;

Human being is comprehended as a VALUABLE COMMODITY and therefore can be appreciated by money, even though slavery itself is no longer in our society tolerated, or consumed. Kate Moss as a photo model makes her living out of herself as a public figure. This figure is the VALUABLE COMMODITY. When there is generated kind of pressure from society upon this figure which leads to its fall-back - when something is in the back it seems smaller, since it is in the distance or when it is lowered we may perceive it as decrease in amount - it may look like it was consumed while keeping low profile.

4.2 Spatialization of time

4.2.1 Time is a SPOT

Around the same time...; Some swear she is on time...;

Time is a spot in space. Distance between us and the particular time signifies punctuality.

4.2.2 Time is a COURSE

At the turn of the millennium...;

Time is a COURSE and 1000 years is a kind of check point.

Let us imagine millennium as a swimming-pool line.

"Now, time in English is structured in terms of the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor, with the future moving toward us." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 42)

Thanks to this time can be also a racer in a pool. At the end of the pool he must turn and swim back for another millennium - unfortunately this parallel with the swimming pool is not perfectly fitting, since it hides still onward-going feature of time but that it is nature of

metaphorical concepts - to hide some features so others can be highlighted.

... on her birthday...;

Time is a COURSE. Year is a certain distance. Particular day is a spot. To imagine particularly birthday it is better to think of a year as it was a circle with fixed length.

4.2.3 Time is a LOCATION

... at the time of this writing...;

Time is a place where certain event happened.

We all do - at times - need to stand back and look at our lives;

There are certain locations where we find ourselves during living our lives when it is advisable to have kind of break and stand back - time as a LOCATION has a surface on which we can move - to look at life which is a piece of art that is being created as time flows (time is a MOVING OBJECT).

4.3 Metaphors based on similarity

There are events that remind us of something from material world. They have some features in common that is why we may use them even when it is completely different experience.

... Piers Morgan, who was fired...;

Mr. Morgan is like a bullet and he works in a gun. Making him redundant is like his employer pulled the trigger and the bullet went off. This firing comparison also highlights that it is sudden and fast.

... her contemporaries have long since faded;

People are compared to flowers. When they grow up and blossom and after some time they start to fade. They are beautiful in bloom and then they wrinkle and die out. Our appearance has an expiration date.

Her looks were starting to go...;

Imagine beauty as a circus. It comes to town and it is all fresh and full of life - the town becomes pretty. Circus usually comes during spring and summer. We also comprehend our lives as seasons of the year - when autumn comes the circus has got to go. We know that we cannot stay young forever - looks are something that is not here to stay, it comes and goes.

4.4 Uncategorized metaphorical concepts

4.4.1 The one in charge is a HEAD

... head of Metropolitan police... who has been leading campaign against...;

"The foot of the mountain, a head of cabbage, the leg of a table, etc. These expressions are isolated instances of metaphorical concepts, where there is only one instance of a used part (or maybe two or three). Thus the foot of the mountain is the only used part of the metaphor A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON. In normal discourse we do not speak of the head, shoulders, or trunk of a mountain, though in special contexts it is possible to construct novel metaphorical expressions based on these unused parts." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 54)

This is not case of dead metaphor like A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON. When we talk about police, we may use expression *body*. *Head* belongs to human body and it governs it. This concepts may be easily extended - officers on the beat are legs, since their job is to walk on the street; detectives may be hands for they examine stuff; and trunk are those in office because their job is to process or, if you will, digest stuff.

4.4.2 The feeling like you stared to love somebody is a FALL

He fell in love with her...; ... a woman who falls in love with a young criminal...;

"Love is a CONTAINER" is an ontological metaphor but the feeling like you started to

love somebody, expressed by "to fall in love," have certain resemblances with a fall - mostly it is sudden and unexpected therefore it is likely to be structural metaphor, since *the feeling like you started to love somebody* is comprehended in terms of a fall.

This is also nice demonstration how the way we conceptualize our experience is influenced by our body shape. We have erect bodies therefore we are able to experience a fall as something sudden and unexpected; as something we have almost no control over. If our bodies were kind of snake-like, we would never be able to conceptualize *the feeling like you started to love somebody* as a fall because we would not have this particular experience with falling so *the feeling like you started to love somebody* would have to be conceptualized in terms of something other than a fall.

"The nature of our bodies and our physical and cultural environment imposes a structure on our experience." (Lakoff and Jonhson 2003, 230)

4.4.3 Drugs are MEANS OF TRANSPORT

... she had passed out on cocaine;

Cocaine is a substance that changes state of mind. Here cocaine is handled as means of transport that moves you from one level of consciousness to another.

Let us imagine that cocaine is an airplane. You sniff it - get on board - and when you get too high (also used when talking about drug abuse), you lose consciousness - let's say because of lack of oxygen (when you suffocate you also experience feelings of being high).

Since cocaine's effects seem to be handled as means of transport, airplane, it is likely to be structural metaphor for it's being talked about in terms of completely different kind of experience - flight. Moreover slang expression for cocaine is "blow" which is also coherent with the flying MEANS OF TRANSPORT concept.

4.4.4 Culture is a VISUAL FILED

She'll come out a more culturally complex figure;

Culture in this sentence is handled in terms of a visual filed therefore it is likely to be a structural metaphor. Visual field is a CONTAINER.

Problems may be comprehended as events. Various events shape culture. Events are metaphorically conceptualized as objects.

Culture is a visual field. In this visual field stands a person situated among variety of objects. The more significant the person is, the more objects in the visual field the person is able to embrace and the more objects in the visual field the person is able to embrace, the more significant the person becomes. It is kind of hydra.

Or this sentence may be divided into two parts and be analyzed separately:

A) "come out"

Visual field as a container is given a front-back orientation - she had to step back to the background for drug use that is considered as something immoral and forbidden in our society but still it is a part of it.

B) "more culturally complex figure"

Person is a CONTAINER. Problems are OBJECTS. Since Kate Moss as a CONTAINER contains this drug OBJECT and other OBJECTS that comes with it like public disgrace and fight for herself to be able to come back - to come out from the cultural background where she has been banished - she becomes more complex.

4.4.5 Privacy is a BOUNDED AREA

She was shocked at the invasion of privacy. "Fuck off! Fuck off!" she allegedly told a reporter...;

We think of our private life as it is some kind of restricted area for only those permitted to enter. Imagine a person as tribe. Every tribe has certain territory in its possession. If anyone extraneous stepped in this territory the tribe would be upset and would react; maybe like Kate Moss did - impolitely tell to back off.

4.4.6 Relationship is a JOURNEY

Moss told Doherty at the beginning of their romance...;

When we say that romance has a beginning, we presume it is going to lead somewhere. We think of it in terms of a journey. When we go somewhere, our journey also has a beginning and the way leads us.

... it was not a relationship destined to last;

When you set off, you may have an idea how long it is going to take (summer love is not supposed to outlive summer) or you are looking for something serious - in such case you do not know the exact duration. However relationships that are supposed to be long term may indicate signs that suggest that this particular journey is not going *to last* long.

4.4.7 Mood is a CLIMATE

Her mood... shifted from shock and fury to devastation as the significance of what had happened slowly settled in;

When climate changes, we talk about shifting because there is a range in which it can move - shift. On the large scale climate shifts between glacial age and interglacial age - just like Kate Moss's mood shifted from shock and fury to devastation.

Metaphorical is also *the settling in of significance of what had happened*. Significance is comprehended as some kind of dust-like substance that has been thrown up - therefore it is ontological substance metaphor.

4.4.8 Campaign is a BATTLE

... head of Metropolitan police... who has been leading campaign against...;

Army just like police has its leaders who command soldiers. This campaign is comprehended as a war against Kate Moss.

It was scheduled to shoot a new campaign in the fall featuring Moss, but decided to drop it;

Campaign is like a battle to win new customers. They planned to win new ones by using Kate Moss as a weapon but discovered some malfunction so they decided to call off the operation.

We haven't announced any changes to the planned campaign...;

Campaign needs to be carefully planned. There must be developed some strategy just like in war. When thinks are not going as they were planned strategy need to be modified.

4.4.9 Personality is an OBJECT

... a reflection of Moss complex personality...;

Personality is handled as some kind of solid object with distinct structure because it is said to be complex. It is handled as an object from material world because it is said to have a reflection.

4.4.10 Career is a VEHICLE

But continually re-inventing herself to keep her career on track was tough...;

Let us imagine career as a vehicle. You get in and drive. There might be some obstacles on the way so it might get hard *to keep it on track*.

CONCLUSION

Britannica Encyclopedia says:

"Metaphor - figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities, as distinguished from simile, an explicit comparison signalled by the words 'like' or 'as.'

Many critics regard the making of metaphors as a system of thought antedating or bypassing logic." (Britannica Encyclopedia)

Such definition seems to be obsolete in the light of facts presented in this work.

Chosen article was full of so called "metaphors we live by" and they were successfully identified and described. However there were difficulties with their categorization. In ordinary sentences metaphorical concepts and kinds occur mixed. Lakoff and Johnson later admitted that such division is wrong, since every metaphor is partly orientational, ontological and structural.

The first corpus draft of the metaphors from the article showed mainly metaphors consisted of a verb and a noun. The reason was that those were easier to identify because verbs belonged to one field of experience and nouns belonged to different field of experience - mainly abstract like mood which can be compared to climate which shifts between glacial ages and interglacial ages.

The analysis proved that there are "metaphors we live by" which we use unknowingly. Analysis of particular ones (sex is a VALUABLE COMMODITY) showed that metaphors can even define reality. This is possible because every metaphorical concept highlights certain characteristics and hides others.

Lakoff in his essay "Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf" showed how chosen metaphorical concept can easily manipulate public opinion.

There are, or at least there were, primitive cultures that have the same expression for what is good and what is wrong because to them the difference between good and wrong is obvious. This is probably a result of their primitive society and culture; their life is that simple that there is no need to grammatically distinguish good and wrong. As absolute an opposite of this stands western culture with all its technology, politics Etc. There it is hard to tell what is good from what is wrong. Even such fundamental terms got dissolved in the

complex mess of what is called western culture where word "relative" is essential to get along.

Since metaphors emerge from our experience with material world, it is impossible to have some kind of world-wide understanding throughout different cultures. In different environments people experience world differently and therefore metaphorical concepts they use must differ.

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