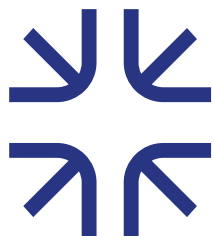


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SPECIAL ISSUE

**STUDIES IN COGNITIVE
LINGUISTICS 2**

GUEST EDITOR:

Daniel Karczewski

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Editorial

This special issue brings together six original articles that view language through a cognitive lens. The cognitive lens here refers to a cognitive linguistics (henceforth CL) approach to language that originated in the United States in the late 1970s and has progressed since then into a full-blown research paradigm. It is centered around two commitments, the generalization commitment and the cognitive commitment, as well as several assumptions, such as a usage-based view of language and the central importance of meaning in linguistic enquiry. The CL movement, which has been enjoying much interest since its inception, continues to encompass new areas of study. This expansion of topics in CL is evident in this thematic volume.

The first article, by **Izabela Kraśnicka**, addresses the way gestures that accompany speech complement a gap in a statement, as shown in a corpus of six episodes of *Kawa na ławę*. The paper demonstrates that there are various types of gaps in statements, as well as various relations between a word and a gesture, in the corpus under scrutiny.

The paper by **Jarosław Wiliński** offers a quantitative analysis of the preposition *under* in the under-NOUN pattern. Based on data taken from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, the paper shows that some nouns are more strongly attracted to the preposition in question than others.

Adopting the concept of emotional potential, the paper by **Magdalena Zyga** examines four popular songs to demonstrate that the UP/DOWN schema is used in these songs to enhance or modify emotional potential at the verbal level.

Departing from semantic field analysis, the paper by **Izabela Sekścińska** and **Agnieszka Piórkowska** is a qualitative corpus analysis that provides a definition of *Brexit*. Overall, Sekścińska and Piórkowska show that the lexeme *Brexit* is predominately used in a negative context and embedded in emotionally laden discourse.

Grounded in the propositional theory of metonymy, the paper by **Łukasz Matusz** offers an analysis of the metonymic extensions of the verb *see*. Based on dictionary data, the paper shows that the English verb *see* is a source of various metonymic senses.

The last article, by **Katarzyna Lach Mirghani**, which embraces the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, discusses the conceptualization of *success* in English and Polish. By investigating data taken from three corpora, the paper shows how *success* is conceptualized in the two languages.

This is the second volume dedicated to studies in CL in *Crossroads* (the first was published in 2017). It is to be hoped that it will become a forum for researchers with an interest in this robust and vibrant research paradigm in the coming years.

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Meaning in multisemiotic messages – functions of gestures accompanying speech as elements of utterance structure

Abstract. The topic of the article will be the discussion of the issue of how gestures accompanying speech may complement a gap in a statement. The considerations will cover particular ways of filling such a gap, both semantically and taking into account the place of the gesture in the syntactic structure of the sentence. The subject of interest will be the analysis of spontaneous statements of interlocutors, which will allow for the isolation of word-gesture wholes; it will likewise describe the relationship between the two modes ahead of recounting the functions of gestures in the structure of the entire utterance. The analysis is based on commentaries from one of the journalistic programs hosting politicians in Poland.
Keywords: gestures accompanying speech, multisemiotic, embodiment of meaning, metaphoric gestures.

1. Introduction

Observing people engaged in a discussion, involved in a dialog, including, or perhaps even, in particular, politicians talking in front of cameras in a TV studio, leaves no doubt that their gesticulation is an integral part of the utterances made. Gestures made while speaking are so strongly related to the uttered words that an attempt itself to separate these two modes of semiotic expression, even only for descriptive purposes, tends to be extraordinarily difficult. While the formal difference between an auditory and a visual mode is obvious, the meaning of an entire statement is of a multisemiotic nature and it should be understood as such. David McNeill's concept of Growth Point takes as its starting point the assumption that a dialectic relationship between two semiotic modes, "dual semiosis" (McNeill 2016: 21), is the core of expression (McNeill 2016: 11-15, 21-22).

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The meaning created in a dynamic mode of interaction is therefore the result of a total combination of both semiotic modes, while the one transmitted by gestures is not redundant in relation to the semantics of linguistic expressions (although it is sometimes so defined in situations where the linguistic and extra-linguistic content is expressed in the same way, cf. Müller et al. 2013: 66; Karpiński et al. 2008: 93), but is of a different character (e.g. Goldin-Meadow & McNeill 1999). The issue to be discussed here will hence be the occurrence of gestures accompanying speech, which, as part of the whole “usage event” (Cienki & Iriskhanova 2018: 26)² also fills in the gap in a speech act at the syntactic level. The ways in which the verbal and gestural components of an utterance make up this multimodal whole will be the subject of this paper, as well as a reflection on the concept of “grammar of gesture” developed by a group of German researchers (Müller et al. 2013: 707-732; Müller 2014a: 138-140), which as it seems, has much in common with the discussed issue.

The combination of two semiotic modes raises a question about functions of gestures in a situation when pauses appear while speaking³ – when the speech act is paused for a moment to accommodate the speaker’s search to find a proper word or use a gesture relevant in the given context, in order to communicate the intended semantic potential. Whether, and if so, how, this “moment” in sometimes dynamic discussions and emotional statements is filled with gestures, whether it is possible to indicate specific words that would fill this gap – these are the main questions that I will be looking for answers to in the analyzed material.

2. What is the “grammar of gesture”?

German gesture researchers, especially Cornelia Müller, Jana Bressemer, Silva H. Ladewig, Ellen Fricke, have adopted the assumptions of Adam Kendon, a pioneer of form-based gesture research (Müller 2014a, Kendon 2004), developed and presented issues related to a formal and functional side of gesture behaviors in their works. For example, Müller discusses the concept of four modes of gestural representation⁴ (but notes that in principle they are reduced to two⁵), which are expressed in gesture. While in the case of an artist’s depiction of a landscape, what matters is the medium chosen to depict it (pencil sketch, oil painting, photography), since visual thinking takes place “»through«

2 “Set of verbal and non-verbal (gestural, in our case) behaviors that interlocutors find relevant for their communication and choose to focus on” (Cienki & Iriskhanova 2018: 26).

3 Interesting research on the function of pauses in colloquial speech as well as a comprehensive review of literature on pauses can be found in Majewska-Tworek’s paper (2014).

4 These are: molding, drawing, acting and representing (see e.g. Müller 2014: 1691 for details).

5 Acting and representing: “in the acting mode, the hands mime themselves, while in the representing mode they mime other entities” (Müller 2014: 1696).

and »with« the ‘modes of representation’” (Müller 2014: 1688), in the case of gestures the speaker can draw iconic images, sculpt them with their hands or use their body to replace a described object (e.g. the hands as an imaginary book) and thus present the content in different ways, in different modes. This approach based on the form of a gesture is also reflected in the concept of “recurrent gestures”⁶, which in turn form groups of conventionalized gestures, belonging to individual families because of the common semantic axis which they have been grouped around (Fricke et al. 2014: 1630-1640). For example, the PALM UP gesture family is united by the concept of “offering, showing, or receiving some object” (Müller 2014a: 137). The issue of gesture families is important for the theme of grammar of gestures (Müller et al. 2013: 718) – recurrent gestures form families on the basis of common formal and semantic features; they are subject to the process of conventionalization (like the AWAY GESTURES family discussed by the researchers) and in this sense they are elements of the “grammar of gestures”⁷. Researchers, therefore, understand this term as, firstly, a collection of formal and structural features of gestures and secondly, as a relation of substitution between linguistic and non-linguistic components of statements. “Notably, the term »grammar of gesture« refers to the basic form properties of gestures and their structures. It does not imply, however, that co-verbal gestures have anything like a grammatical structure. The formulation »Towards a grammar of gestures« underlines two aspects: first, co-verbal gestures show properties of form and meaning which are prerequisites of language and which – in case the oral mode of expression is not available – may evolve into a more or less full-fledged linguistic system such as a sign language or an alternate sign language [...]. Second, when used in conjunction with speech, co-verbal gestures may take over grammatical functions, such as that of verbs, nouns, or attributes pointing towards a multimodal nature of grammar [...]” (Müller et al. 2013: 711). Therefore, the term “grammar” refers to various types of formal regularities that characterize the gestures accompanying speech, but also touches upon an important issue – the function of gestures in the syntactic structure of a sentence, another issue that was also investigated by Ladewig (2014). Her research showed that gestures can replace nouns and verbs in utterances (Ladewig 2014: 1665-1668).

Such approaches move in the direction of grammar as a multimodal phenomenon (Müller et al. 2013: 65), which treats gestures as a part of language, which is also the main premise of McNeill’s work (2016) – verbal and gestural actions of a human being form an inseparable whole that conveys meanings.

6 “In recurrent gestures, gestural form features are not random, by definition, but recur across speakers and contexts whilst sharing stable meanings” (Bresse & Müller 2014: 1577).

7 See also the conception of the “grammar of color” in T. van Leeuwen’s and G. Kress’ perspective (2013: 229-257), in which the authors consider the term “grammar” in relation to color as a semiotic system.

3. Material and method

The Ladewig study (Ladewig 2014) showed that gestures can replace concrete words, but taking into account the observations of Antas (2013), the question arises as to what the gestures illustrate. Taking an approach based on the form and concept briefly discussed above, the answer could go in the direction of concrete words that are demonstrated by gestures, but Antas notes: “Contrary to popular judgments about what gestures illustrate, they never show the words spoken, but the meaning of the concepts behind them” (Antas 2013: 92; see also: Załazińska 2012)⁸. “Apart from the fact that icons provide additional information about the described activity or objects used during its execution and not those contained in a verbal course, they usually precede and initiate the content to which they are related (thus, somehow announcing it)” (Antas 2013: 64). If iconic gestures “precede and initiate the content” they refer to, the question is posed as to how they fit into the semantic and syntactic structure of an utterance.

Six episodes (Table 1) of one of the opinionated news programs, “Kawa na łące” [lay it on the line], were selected for observation (access: <https://www.tvn24.pl/kawa-na-lawe,59,m>). The choice of the program was made based on the following factors: it involves several people talking, it enables spontaneous utterances even though they are recorded, and allows for the possibility of emotional involvement of speakers, sometimes to an extreme degree. This combination, in turn, provides conditions for effortless gesturing that accommodate observation of the embodied conceptualization of concepts and how they are expressed in a multimodal message.

Table 1. Dates and duration of the episodes

Date of episode	Duration
17.02.19	57:00
24.02.19	56:55
03.03.19	59:50
10.03.19	1:00:45
17.03.19	58:29
24.03.19	57:36

The Elan program was used for the observations, which enables, among other things, a significant slowdown in playback and thus the accurate identification of the place

⁸ It is worth noting that we are talking about gestures accompanying speech, four types of which are distinguished by McNeill (1992): iconic, metaphoric, beats, deictic – and not about emblematic gestures, which are of a completely different nature (cf. Ekman & Friesen 1969), where iconic and metaphoric gestures can generally be regarded as iconic, as they differ only in the referent (see Cienki 2008: 8). Below, however, I will use the original McNeill’s distinction of iconic/metaphoric gestures.

where verbal expression is interrupted by a pause not always heard well during the standard pace of conversations.

In the paper, the basis for determining the degree of dependence of gestures on speech is the so-called Gesture Continuum (McNeill 2013: 483), including *Gesticulation – Language-slotted – Pantomime – Emblems – Sign Languages*. The further we move on the scale to the right, the lower the dependence of gestures on speech, and at its last point we are dealing with independent systems of languages expressed only through gestures. The gestures that have been noted in the political discussions under analysis here are rather at the beginning of the above continuum, since their relation to speech is very close. However, since the boundaries between the different levels of the continuum are not sharp, in many cases it is not possible to unambiguously place the gestures I have observed. As McNeill (2016: 5) notes, the closest to them are *language-slotted gestures* which in combination with speech, form some “gesture-speech syntactic hybrids”.

In the dynamic polylogue I observed, mainly of a persuasive nature, there was a certain difficulty to separate sentences with a gap and accompanying gestures from the gesture spectacle, which the audience witnessed⁹. On the one hand, it included many statements that sometimes gave the impression of being “designed” according to the ideological expectations of parties where there is no place for “stops” or hesitation, and on the other hand – there were emotional reactions to the statements of the previous speaker, open and dynamic quarrels between the two speakers that interrupted the statements of interlocutors. Therefore, this multilateral dialog was also characterized by the fact that speakers rather filled in the gaps in speech, so the pauses were usually filled with retardations – the cases of total replacement of words with gestures were few, although the material enabled me to excerpt and describe the examples. An almost complete lack of iconic gestures, and the excess of beats and deictic gestures, as well as gestures structuring discussion and interaction, confirmed the assumption that the concentration of speakers on persuasive interactions (instead of narration/description, as it happened in the case of materials studied by e.g. Cienki and Iriskhanova (2018) would impact the way they employed gestures.

The material observations, which are the basic method of work, allowed for the identification of such examples of gestures that fill the gap in an utterance in a differentiated manner, which is implemented in several ways. The research attention was therefore focused on separating the types of gestures made, and not on the description of individual cases. These separate gestures are what will be discussed below.

⁹ The observations were also more difficult to analyze because of changes in the field of view of the camera and the bars covering the lower part of the screen – although only to a certain extent, because the gestures were still visible.

3. Discussion of examples

Example 1

Gesture accompanying an utterance: ...osobiście odniosłem wrażenie, bezpieczeństwo gdzieś było na... na i to...no o to chodzi... [I personally got the impression that safety was somewhere on... on¹⁰... and that... well, it's about that ...] (17.02.2019)



Fig. 1. Removal from the focus area

During his speech, the speaker made a gesture as if he were pushing an object away from himself, outside the area of his conscious attention. Interestingly, he made the gesture at the moment when the preposition *na* (*on*) was repeated, but he did not finish speaking – the sentence structure lacks a term that would determine *where* the safety he was talking about was located. Therefore, a gap emerges; however, filled in with redundancies, which is accompanied by a gesture without its verbal equivalent. But it has its specific place in the utterance structure, so one can point to the part of a sentence that is missing in a statement, but complemented by non-linguistic behavior. The whole is legible only when a recipient can see the speaker – because then it is possible to complement the missing part of the sentence with the content expressed with the gesture – *safety was somewhere (on the side)* – because this is the place located to the left of the central gesture space¹¹ that the speaker indicated. On the other hand, the gesture clearly refers to the notion of INSIGNIFICANCE – this is a kind of hand waving that I have written about previously (Kraśnicka-Wilk 2018: 75-87), and which connotes such meanings as lack of attention, disregard – *I move it aside* = ‘it is insignificant’ (the gesture of waving one’s hand will also be discussed below – it has several variant forms that change the meaning of the whole statement). It can be assumed, therefore, that the speaker does not verbalize thoughts, leaving an incomplete sentence without an adverbial¹², because the whole concept has already been included in the gesture which is closely linked to the auditory mode and demonstrates the conceptual metaphors IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL mentioned by Kövecses (2011: 309). It can be considered a prototypical example of a gesture-speech hybrid,

¹⁰ Phrases accompanied by a gesture are underlined.

¹¹ Gestures space after Karpiński et al. 2008: 94.

¹² In Polish: *okolicznik*.

i.e. McNeill's *language-slotted gesture*, because it co-creates the whole semantically and syntactically with the verbal statement. The presence of both modes of semiotic expression is necessary for the sentence to be understandable, so one can talk about the "grammar" of the complete verbal-gestural whole, the "expression package", whose semantics is the result of complementing the verbal part of the statement with a gesture.

Example 2

Gesture accompanying an utterance: ...*w jakiś sposób tutaj yyymm tą pedofilię zzzwww udelikatniamy no że tak powiem, jest jest większa możliwość no tak tak uważam ...* [somehow here, uhh, mmm, we soften this pedophilia of shshshsh, so to speak, there is a greater possibility, so, yes yes, this is what I think...] (10.03.2019).

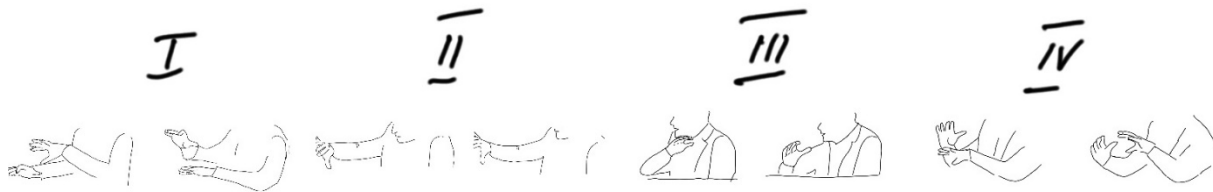


Fig. 2. A sequence of gestures searching for the word: I – *w jakiś sposób tutaj yyymm* [somehow here, uhh, mmm]; II – *tą pedofilię* [this pedophilia]; III – *udelikatniamy* [we soften]; IV – *jest większa możliwość* [there is a greater possibility]

The speaker has a clear problem with finding an appropriate word; his utterance is incomplete, torn, unclear, and he makes several significantly different gestures (Fig. 2) – he starts with a balancing gesture (I), he imitates the movement of pushing an object on a slope (II), and afterward he makes a sharp cut with his whole hand (III) (as in the case of negation; cf. Antas 2013, Antas & Gembalczyk 2018: 50), and at the end of the utterance there is again the balancing gesture (IV). There is still an impression that the word *soften* is not the word the speaker was looking for, because the chosen gesture does not confirm this conceptualization. It is rather about a certain concept expressed with gestures at the beginning and the end of the utterance: BALANCE.

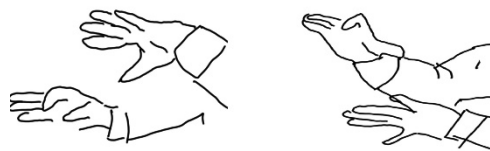


Fig. 3. Balance gesture

This movement resembles an examination of the land, seeking for proper support, something solid; the speaker's hands press on something from above, alternately

seeking for something. It is accompanied by breaks in an expression filled with retardations, which “support the extraction of words from the mental lexicon of the speaker” (Majewska-Tworek 2014: 192). It is difficult to mark gestures accompanying words in the recording of a statement; rather the opposite is true – the gesture performance is accompanied by words, sought by the speaker looking for the right one. In the verbal structure of the statement, there is no object (as a part of the sentence) – the listener does not know what the *greater possibility* refers to, and even the first part of the statement seems a bit illogical: *...w jakiś sposób tą pedofilię udelikatniamy* [...somehow we soften this pedophilia] – given that a recipient who could not see the speaker would be left alone with this statement. Thus, taking into account the grammatical structure of the sentence, one can observe a complement to the word – a gesture – *jest większa możliwość...* [there is a greater possibility...] (+gesture) because it appeared in the place of a lexicalized pause, but the semantics of the whole remains unclear until the end. Although the broader context of the statement may lead the recipient to guess its meaning as a whole, the gesture does not specify the meaning in such a clear way as in the case of Example 1 – it is impossible to point to a single word that would complement a word gap. The gesture rather indicates in *which direction* the interpretation of the statement should go – it is about a certain fluidity, a balance between two values, but also – lowering the value (a gesture imitating sliding down) or even negation (a sharp cutting gesture); it is about expressing the concept, not a particular word. The word *udelikatniamy* ‘we soften’ is not, as it seems, the choice that the speaker meant to convey. In this example, the gestures are combined with the speech in an extremely sophisticated way – three different gestures of the speaker are to convey one notion, in front of the audience there is an explicit search for the most appropriate word – delivered through a nonlinguistic mode. Therefore, we can say that Example 2 is strong proof that gestures replace concepts, rather than individual words in the course of a statement in which the speaker is involved, but they are also its essential “syntactic” part, appearing at the moment of a verbal break.

Example 3

Gesture accompanying an utterance: *...czy będziemy im pro...proponować to, co dzisiaj Wielka Brytania przeżywa, czyli ten y... absurdalny w swojej istocie Brexit....* [...are we going to pro... propose to them what Great Britain is experiencing today, namely this mm... Brexit, absurd in its essence] (10.03.2019).



Fig. 4. Scheme of “exit from...”

The first gesture appears with the following words: *czyli ten y...* [namely this mm...]; it is a definite movement with both hands to the left, limiting a certain imaginary sphere. What has been conceptualized here is a scheme of movement appearing in a place where the utterance was interrupted with a short but clear pause. Carrying on with the statement, the speaker made another gesture with both hands in front of him, gently drawing a semi-circle when he said: *absurdalny w swojej istocie Brexit* [Brexit, absurd in its essence]. While the iconic gesture of a semi-circle, a sphere, is a pattern repeated in various verbal environments (cf. Antas 2013: 148-153), and conceptualizing a “closed set” or a “whole” – in this case the closed set is *absurdalny Brexit* [an absurd Brexit] (a metaphoric gesture), yet the first gesture has a different function here. It is also metaphorical, but it accompanies not words, but a short pause, conceptualizing a thought that is not verbally expressed. The politician talks about a certain proposal for future generations, accompanying it with gestures illustrating an *exit*, a shift, and afterward he draws the semi-circle. If we omitted the fragment with a gesture showing the pattern of movement (*exiting from..., exiting outside...*), it would sound like this: *czy będziemy im proponować to, co dzisiaj Wielka Brytania przeżywa, czyli ten (y...)*¹³ *absurdalny w swojej istocie Brexit* [are we going to propose to them what Great Britain is experiencing today, namely this (mm...) Brexit, absurd in its essence], so it would be a syntactically complete whole, but characterized by a certain illogicality – because the sentence would suggest that *Brexit* will be proposed to Poles who had been mentioned a moment before. The speaker most probably wanted, however, to outline a dangerous vision of a decisive and sudden (precise and fast movement) *exiting from, exiting outside* as the most unfavorable decision *dla naszych wnuków i prawnuków* [for our children and grandchildren] (previous fragment of the statement), and replacing the gesture with a word (*are we going to propose to them? an exit*) would not have the equivalent force of expression – the word *exit* does not connote an image as negative in this case as the gesture itself, a sudden shift out of the area of attention. The second gesture depicted a closed, finished whole (a sphere, a circle) and was accompanied with the words *absurdalny w swojej istocie Brexit* [Brexit, absurd in its essence]. The difference between these two types of gestures is described by McNeill: “Language-slotted gestures look like gesticulations but differ in the manner of integrating with speech. They enter a grammatical slot, semiotically merge with speech, and acquire syntagmatic values from it; gesticulation in contrast to gesture is co-produced obligatorily with speech but semiotically opposed to it” (McNeill 2013: 483). Although in this example it is generally difficult to speak of a “grammatical slot”, only a momentary pause in the statement is a place that is complemented by a gesture expressing the concept of exit.

13 Intentional crossing out, as a sign of omitting a fragment.

Example 4

Gestures accompanying an utterance: *...i zarówno jeśli chodzi o spółkę, czy państwo yyy rządzi tymi yyy... jednostkami, wspólnotami...* [...and both in terms of a company or state, mmm ... these mmm... individuals, communities, are governed by...] (03.03.19)



Fig. 5. Scheme of “being over”



Fig. 6. Scheme of a whole

In the statement, apart from the initial gestural enumeration, which will not be the subject of description here, two gestures appeared, and both during the articulated pauses (*yyy*). The first one started during the pause when the speaker sought for a proper word to express his thought. This was a broad circle with an open hand with fingers spread out, pointing down at a certain area in front of the speaker and finally emphasizing the word *tymi* ‘these’ with a short downward motion, as in Figure 5. It seems that the speaker’s hesitation expressed in a pause was supported with the gesture – the concept of *governing* was conceptualized in gestures as *being over*¹⁴, but the speaker found the missing word, although a little later, because the main phase of the gesture, the stroke, falls at the moment of the pause. The movement of the hand pointed to a way of understanding the concept of governance, but the gesture itself is not a part of the syntactic structure of the sentence, because there is a verbal complement to it that is appropriate in the given context: *rządzi* ‘governs’.

The second gesture also occurred during the pause, but it also ended during the pause, because the speaker returned to the initial position of his hands¹⁵ when he spoke

14 Etymologically speaking, governing means to align, order, organize, watch something, take care of something, manage, administer (after: *Wielki słownik języka polskiego*, https://wsjp.pl/do_druku.php?id_hasła=23823&id_znaczenia=0), so not necessarily the “superiority” which is a metonymic conceptualization in the gesture described above.

15 Constituent elements of non-verbal behavior called *a gesture* after Kendon 2004.

the words: *jednostkami*, *wspólnotami* [individuals, communities]. The notion of a semi-circle, expressed in a non-linguistic manner, refers to the word *wspólnoty* ‘communities’ – more than to the word *jednostki* ‘individuals’ spoken earlier. Imaging by gestures might have guided the speaker to another word, which he used afterward, as a self-correction: ...*jednostkami*, *wspólnotami* [...individuals, communities]. Therefore, it can be postulated that a sentence structure is clear and correct without a gesture, even though the utterance itself lacks a little bit of fluency, which is suggested by short pauses, where notions hidden under the uttered words are represented by gestures. In semantic terms, however, the sentence is complete only when the multisemiotic character of this statement is taken into account – the conceptualizations of concepts: governance as *being over* and community as a circle, a “closed set” is “received” by the recipient in a visual mode.

Example 5

The gesture accompanying an utterance: ...*więc yy już tam yy, mniejsza o... o... semantykę y...* [so mm... in any case mm..., it's not about about semantics mm...] (10.03.19)

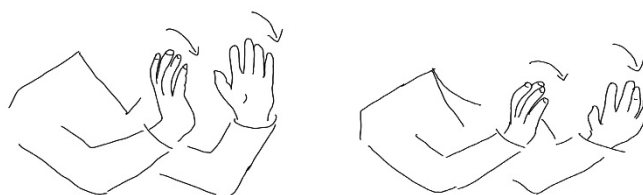


Fig. 7. Throwing away gesture

This example is particularly interesting because of the fact that the gestural phraseologism *machnąć na coś ręką*¹⁶ ‘forget about it’ is non-verbally depicted here (cf. Jarząbek 2016: 250; in detail on the gestural phraseology Krawczyk 1983; Kozak 2007; Kraśnicka-Wilk 2018, 2018a). The gesture appears at the moment of a short pause of the speaker and a broken utterance *yyy już tam yyy* [so mm... in any case mm...], and afterwards it is repeated during the next articulated pause *o... o...* [about... about...]¹⁷. As other material observations have shown (Kraśnicka-Wilk 2018), speakers usually make a gesture when speaking a gestural phraseologism; for example, a speaker states: *machnijmy na to ręką* [let’s forget about it] – and they actually make the gesture of a waving hand/throwing away, therefore embodying its meaning. This notion, which is the subject

16 This expression can be regarded as a gestural phraseologism only in the Polish language, because in the English-language idiom – *forget about it* – there’s no specific “description” of a gesture, which is a characteristic feature of such phraseologisms.

17 In the original Polish-language utterance, only the vowel “o” was repeated.

of a separate research, is presented in a slightly different light in the discussed example, because the speaker only says the words *mniej o* [it's not about], making the throwing away gesture twice in front of him, thus verbally and bodily, almost at the same time representing the notion of *insignificance* (important in the context of the whole utterance about a small mistake by the politician, which he, however, admitted to during the discussion). He does not utter the phraseologism *machnijmy na to rękę* [let's forget about it], but in his multisemiotic message, he stresses that what was said earlier should be considered *invalid* and therefore rejected. This is an example of the Away Gesture family: "An imaginary topic of the talk, sitting in the palm of the hand, is dismissed by throwing it away" (Müller et al. 2013: 719). The verbal statement lacks some fluency, there is still an impression that the words are rushing through its course; but, supplemented by a gesture, it seems to have illocutionary force, appropriate in this context. The gesture complements it both syntactically and semantically – a wave of the hands complements the phraseologism expressed in the sentence, only in a shorter, variant form: *mniej o...* [it's not about] instead of *machnijmy na to rękę* [let's forget about it].

Conclusion

The studied material allowed for placing the observed gestures between *gesticulation* and *language-slotted gestures*, taking into account the fluidity of borders between different categories.

Gesticulation - ...

In the structure of utterance there are shorter or longer pauses, often filled with e.g. retardations accompanied by gestures - the gesture precedes the concept, which is afterward verbalized – Ex. 4 "community", "govern", Ex. 5 "it's not about" - ...

There is a gap in the sentence structure that can be accompanied by a pause/s – what is depicted in the gesture is not a substitute for a specific word/expression that says, "the word disappears but the thought remains" (Antas 2013: 121) – Ex. 2 "soften" - ...

The sentence structure can be supplemented by a specific, easily identifiable word that is only expressed by gestures – Ex. 1 "security" –

... Language-slotted - ...

Although the studies were not quantitative, it could be observed that gestures appeared relatively often in retardation pauses filled with the most frequently repeated vowels. During pauses, the speakers made gestures illustrating conceptualizations of concepts such as: *governance* (raised hands illustrated a plane), *community* (hands outlined a circular shape), *longer perspective* (the speaker gestured to extend the distance marked with

one hand: an example not mentioned above), *insignificance* (waving his hands, pushing the object out of the area of attention). In the case of this kind of relationship between gestural and linguistic imaging, the gesture was ahead of the concept which it referred to, and afterward, it was verbalized (*govern, communities, it's not about...*).

The second relation between the word and the gesture during pauses in an utterance was that the gap in the utterance was filled only with gestures – the speaker could not find the right word to replace what was depicted with gestures. An example is the balance gesture, repeated twice at the beginning and end of the statement, even though the sentence has been “supplemented” with words, expressed in the grammatically correct form (apart from hesitations and breaks in the statement). However, a repetition of the gesture at the end of the statement would indicate that it was this conceptualization, expressed only with gestures, bodily, that was relevant for the speaker in the given context. Antas concludes: “the subject uses the name as the closest to the term. And when he feels that the name does not fully reflect the meaning that he imposes on the concept, or even »the word disappears«, but the thought remains – he uses a gesture” (Antas 2013: 121). In this case, it would be difficult to find the right word to complement the structure of the sentence, since the balance gesture, the search for balance remained only in the form of thought, while the word was used here as an “indirect supplement” – spoken, but, as it seems, significantly different from gestural conceptualization.

The third type of relationship would be substitution, where the meaning expressed in a gesture can be supplemented with an easily identifiable word, so the meaning is contained in “gesture-speech syntactic hybrids” (McNeill 2016: 5). In this case, the gestures complement the statement not only on the semantic level, but also indicate what kind of gap they fill on the syntactic level – in the example discussed here, the gesture performs the function of an object (...*safety was somewhere* [+gesture – a hand stretched out from the central gestural sphere to the left]: *on the side*) which is not verbalized.

The material presented in this paper has shown that there are several kinds of “gaps” in statements – from the most common ones, pauses filled with retardations, during which the speaker hesitates in order to choose the most appropriate word, and encounters “a temporary difficulty with verbalization of thoughts (»how to call it«, »how to express it«) and [may] have difficulty in extracting from memory any more or less accurate word” (Majewska-Tworek 2014: 192-193), to those during which the speaker creates the whole gestural representation, in the end failing to access the right word. The mere recognition of certain gestures such as *entering a language* is therefore completely conventional; since, as the observations have shown, this “entering” takes place on different levels and differs in degree, which in turn depends on the purpose and function of the statement on which the speaker is focused. Further research

may, therefore, move in the direction of seeking regularity in the occurrence of the above-mentioned word-gesture relationships to answer the question of whether there is a limited repertoire of such regularities.

An interesting issue concerning the examined material is also the gestural conceptualization of the concept, which precedes its verbalization. The question arises as to how the semantics of multimodal expression can be studied when a gesture is not accompanied by a linguistic pause and the verbalization of meaning occurs only later – and if the structure of the gesture itself can be described quite accurately by dividing it into phases (cf. Kendon 2004); it seems that the reference to the linguistic layer, which does not coincide with the gesture temporally, remains rather on an intuitive level, though sometimes obvious. However, this issue requires a separate, broader discussion and further research.

The term “grammar of gesture” in relation to the material analyzed above will refer to the whole verbal-gesture unit in which the gesture takes a place equal to its verbal components – it is justified to talk about the “grammar of a multisemiotic message”¹⁸ rather than the grammar of gesture in the case of the approach I proposed. It is not so much the form of the gesture itself that is important, but its place in the structure of verbal expression, which is emphasized by the above-mentioned researchers, who speak of the multimodal character of grammar.

As Cienki and Iriskhanova point out, gestures form a partially dependent semiotic system that “co-exists with language in a mutually beneficial symbiosis” (2018: 33). A necessary dependence in this “symbiosis” is not only the fact that gestures “support” the information transmitted through language, but that language in an interactive manner utilizes the semiotic and semantic potential of gestures.

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¹⁸ I formulated this conclusion together with Prof. Jolanta Antas during the discussion on the “grammar of gesture”.

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The preposition *under* and its noun collocates in the *under*-NOUN pattern: A quantitative corpus-based investigation

Abstract. This paper adopts a usage-based perspective on grammatical structure (Goldberg 2006, 2013) and the attraction-reliance measure (Schmidt 2000; Schmid & Küchenhoff 2013) to gauge the reciprocal interaction between a noun and the preposition *under* in the *under*-NOUN pattern: in other words, to determine strongly attracted nouns of this preposition. On the basis of the data extracted from the academic part of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), this paper seeks to show that there are nouns that are more strongly attracted to the preposition *under* than others and that the co-occurrences of particular nouns with this preposition are more significant than others. In addition, the results of the analysis seem to suggest that the mutual associations between particular nouns and this preposition depend upon different senses of *under* and are therefore motivated by conceptual metaphors, metonymies, and/or image schemas.

Keywords: construction grammar, COCA, attraction-reliance measure, corpus-based approach.

1. Introduction

English prepositions have generated considerable research interest among cognitive linguists (e.g., Lakoff 1987; Brugman 1988; Lindstromberg 1996, 2001, 2010; Tyler & Evans 2001; Evans & Tyler 2005; Radden & Dirven 2007). This research interest is stimulated by increasing recognition of the importance of prepositions when structuring a sentence and in marking special relationships between persons, objects, and locations, coupled with evidence that prepositions are one of the most difficult areas of acquisition for second language learners, and sustained by the fact that the semantic nature of many prepositions presents a number of problems for both teachers and learners.

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In particular, numerous researchers (Brugman 1988; Dewell 1994; Boers 1996; Tyler & Evans 2003; Evans & Tyler 2004a,b; Brenda 2014) have focused on applying insights from Cognitive Linguistics (CL) to the semantics of English prepositions to determine cognitive motivation for their meanings. Brugman (1988), for example, offered a detailed semantic analysis of the preposition *over* as a radial category, whereas Tyler and Evans (2003) and Evans and Tyler (2004a,b) examined various aspects of English prepositions from a CL standpoint and argued that cognitive linguistics findings, which systematize and link the multiple senses of prepositions, offer a more systematic account of the semantics of English prepositions than the more traditional accounts that currently underpin the majority of pedagogical grammars. By focusing on various senses associated with particular prepositions in a systematic way, Evans and Tyler (2004a,b) explored the semantic network of prepositions and proposed perceiving prepositions on the basis of their association to *proto-scenes* (highly schematic spatial scenes or the primary meanings related to specific prepositions). Hence, prepositions and their uses are represented as a coherent network of related senses. Evans and Tyler (2005: 15) provided a model of English prepositions in which “the various senses are represented as gestalt-like conceptualizations of situations or scenes which are systematically connected, rather than a series of discrete dictionary-type definitions strung together in a list”.

Many scholars (Lindstromberg 1996; Boers & Demecheleer 1998; Littlemore 2009; Evans & Tyler 2005; Archard & Niemeier 2004; Cho 2010; Song et al. 2015) have adopted a cognitive linguistic approach to teaching English prepositions with the argument that the multiple uses of prepositions can be perceived as related in systematic ways, which carries important pedagogical implications. For example, Lindstromberg (1996) argued in favor of employing Lakoff’s (1987) prototype theory for teaching prepositions. From this perspective, prepositions are assumed to have a small number of related meanings, among which one is prototypical (i.e., spatial or physical). In addition, some of the literal meanings of a preposition are extended by metaphors and metonymies to create another small set of related senses. Therefore, some figurative meanings can be explained by extending their prototypical meaning.

However, little or no attention has hitherto been paid to the quantification of nouns co-occurring with a particular preposition in a specific pattern, the statistical corroboration of their co-occurrence in academic discourse, or the empirical substantiation of previous hypotheses about their use. Previous empirical research has provided little statistical information about the frequency of occurrence of English prepositions and nouns and their distribution in different types of discourse or corpora and are thus restricted either in scope of interest or quantitative data investigated. For example, Boers’s (1996) corpus-based study into English prepositions associated with the UP-DOWN and the FRONT-BACK dimensions only aimed at comparing British and American corpora regarding the dimensions used to describe given abstract relations by focusing

on providing the overall distribution (in numbers of instances) of the prepositions over the three corpora (the L.O.B. Corpus, the Brown Corpus, and the Corpus of English Conversation), and on giving the relative contribution of literal and figurative senses. No previous study has attempted to investigate the mutual association between nouns and prepositions in a particular pattern and to identify nouns associated with the preposition under scrutiny. The aim of this paper is therefore to show that the preposition *under* displays a marked tendency to co-occur with particular categories of nouns in the *under*-NOUN pattern, and the co-occurrence of specific nouns with this preposition is more significant than their use in other constructions.

The following portion of this paper is organized into five sections. Section 2 outlines the theoretical assumptions of cognitive linguistics relevant for the discussion of the preposition *over*, and it presents a corpus-based method for identifying the most strongly attracted nouns of the *under*-NOUN pattern. Section 3 describes the corpus, the data, and the tools, as well as the statistical procedure adopted in this investigation. Section 4 addresses semantic properties of the preposition *under* followed by a brief overview of the research related to the preposition *under* from a CL perspective. Section 5 integrates the theory and practice by incorporating the findings of the quantitative analysis into a semantic description of nouns collocating with the preposition *under*. The article concludes with a few remarks about the results of this study, observations about the efficacy of using a quantitative corpus-based approach for analyzing prepositions and their noun collocates, and suggestions for future experimental research on prepositions.

2. Theoretical and methodological background

The investigation is founded on the concepts and theoretical assumptions that pertain to usage-based construction grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006, 2013), a cognitive approach to metaphor and metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2010; Kövecses & Radden 1998), and the theory of image schemas (Johnson 1987; Oakley 2007; Mandler & Pagán Cánovas 2014).

The usage-based concept of grammar (Bybee 2010; Goldberg 2006; Hilpert 2014; Langacker 2008) rests on two fundamental principles. First, linguistic structure consists of constructions. A construction is a complex linguistic sign that links a specific structural pattern with a particular meaning or function (see Diessel 2015, 2017). The expression *under control*, for instance, instantiates a phrasal construction consisting of the preposition *under* and a noun that combines with this preposition (*under*-NOUN). Second, language use and linguistic development are shaped by the same cognitive processes as other, nonlinguistic forms of cognition and social behavior (e.g., conceptualization, social cognition, and memory and processing). One aspect that plays a pivotal role in shaping linguistic knowledge is frequency of occurrence. Since frequency determines the representation of grammatical knowledge in memory, it enhances the activation

and processing of lexical items, categories, and constructions, which in turn can influence the development and structure of the linguistic system (Arnon & Snider 2010; Bybee & Hopper 2001; Bybee 2006, 2007, 2010; Goldberg 2006).

The Conceptual Theory of Metaphor (Kövecses 2010, 2015, 2016) rejects the idea that metaphor is solely a figure of speech, or a rhetorical device that is peripheral to language and thought. Instead, the theory assumes that metaphor is fundamental to our conceptual system and therefore fundamental to language. Conceptual metaphors are shared by members of a linguistic community and play an important role in structuring and understanding abstract concepts. From this perspective (Kövecses 2010), metaphor is defined as understanding one concept in terms of another (usually a more concrete concept). For example, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) noted, the abstract concept CONTROL can be understood by means of the spatial orientation UP-DOWN (the source concept), thus reflecting the two orientational metaphors: HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP and BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN. The phrase *under control* is a highly conventionalized metaphorical expression, and its meaning is dependent on the conceptual metaphor in question. Recent research, however, has shown that metaphorical meaning is not only a matter of cognition but is also dependent on a multitude of contextual factors, including situational, discourse, and conceptual-cognitive contexts (see Kövecses 2015, 2016), and therefore should be interpreted from a linguistic, cognitive, discourse-functional, and socio-cultural perspective (González-García et al. 2013).

A cognitive approach to metonymy (Kövecses 2010; Kövecses & Radden 1998; Radden & Kövecses 1999) rests on the premise that metonymy is a cognitive process in which the vehicle (thing, event, property), a conceptual element or entity, is used to provide mental access to the target, which is another conceptual entity such as a thing, event, or property within the same frame or domain (Kövecses & Radden 1998: 39). This can be conceptualized as “within-domain mapping,” where the vehicle entity is mapped onto the target entity (Kövecses 2006: 99). Thus, for example, given the AGE domain, the sentence *If you prove the baby is his and prove the girl was under age when the baby was conceived, that’s statutory rape* directs attention, or provides mental access, to the conceptual element *18 years old* (target) through the use of another conceptual element *age* (vehicle) that belongs to the same frame. In this case, *age* is used metonymically to stand for a specific number (eighteen).

The theory of image schemas is a semantic theory associated with the works of Johnson (1987), Lakoff (1987), Hampe (2005), Oakley (2007), and Mandler and Pagán Cánovas (2014). The term *image schema* refers to “a recurring dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs” that organizes and structures our experiences (Johnson 1987: xiv, xvi). In other words, image schemas are embodied pre-conceptual structures that derive from, or are grounded in, human recurrent bodily movements through space, perceptual interactions, and ways of manipulating objects

(Hampe 2005: 1). The UP-DOWN schema, an orientational schema discussed by Lakoff (1987: 267), is an example of an image schema relevant to the discussion of the preposition *under* and its noun collocates in the current study. This schema arises from sensory and perceptual experience: that is, our physiology (the vertical axis of the human body) and the presence of gravity give rise to meaning as a result of how we interact with our environment. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the UP-DOWN schema provides the basis for abstract concepts by virtue of serving as the source concept in metaphorical correspondences.

The methodology applied in this study is based on quantitative corpus linguistics. The method referred to as the *attraction-reliance measure* (Schmidt 2000; Schmid & Küchenhoff 2013) is employed to determine the mutual association between nouns and the preposition *under* in the *under*-NOUN pattern. *Attraction* measures the extent to which the pattern under scrutiny attracts a particular noun, while *reliance* gauges the degree to which a given noun appears in this pattern versus other patterns in the corpus (Schmid & Küchenhoff 2013: 548). The first calculation involves dividing the observed frequency of occurrence of a noun with the preposition *under* in the pattern by the total frequency of all nouns in this pattern, whereas the latter entails dividing the frequency of occurrence of a noun in the pattern in question by its frequency of occurrence in the whole corpus (Schmid 2000: 54). The results of these calculations are then expressed as percentages by multiplying the observed frequency of a noun in each case by one hundred. In this study, both computations were performed in Microsoft Excel. The percentage provided by both calculations was used as an index of attraction and reliance: the higher the percentage, the stronger the attraction and reliance.

Strictly quantitative and objective as this corpus-based technique might seem with respect to the way in which the reciprocal interaction between a noun and the preposition *under* in the construction in question is determined, the quantitative findings are assessed qualitatively and subjectively. In other words, noun collocates that exert the strongest attraction to the preposition *under* can be grouped semantically according to the different senses the preposition conveys, while the cognitive motivation behind the use of the preposition with these nouns can be explained by means of conceptual metaphors, metonymies, and/or image schemas.

3. Corpora, data, tools, and statistical procedure

The data under investigation were retrieved from the academic part of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), a database of texts covering the years between 1990 and 2016. This sub-corpus is composed of more than 103 million words from approximately 100 different peer-reviewed journals. A search engine in this corpus allowed for the extraction of noun collocates for the preposition *under* in the academic section. The retrieval, however, was restricted to two places to the right of the search

word (i.e., two words), since it was impossible to extract all rare occurrences of nouns with the preposition *under* within a larger span position to the right. This technical difficulty arose when the minimum frequency of collocates of the search word was set to one occurrence.

After the retrieval of nouns, each occurrence of a specific noun in the pattern under study was manually examined to identify genuine combinations. All false hits were eliminated from further analysis, and the observed frequencies of the remaining instances of nouns collocating with *under* were calculated manually by reading concordance lines. Then, all the frequencies necessary to compute the degree of the mutual association between nouns and the preposition were entered into an Excel worksheet and subjected to Schmid’s arithmetic measures of attraction and reliance. The percentages resulting from these computations were used as indexes of association strength, so the percentages showed a noun’s strength of attraction to or repulsion from the preposition *under*: the higher the percentage, the stronger the attraction to, and reliance on, the preposition.

The procedure for this quantitative investigation consisted of three stages. At the first stage, the observed frequencies were calculated. With respect to the noun *conditions* in Table 1, all occurrences of this noun in the *under*-NOUN pattern were first identified from the corpus, which yielded 2080 results. Then, the total frequency of the noun (*conditions*) in the corpus was determined, yielding 26,725. Finally, the total frequency of all nouns in the pattern was calculated, resulting in 29,522. These three figures were extracted from the corpus manually by reading concordance lines and counting all the occurrences of the nouns under scrutiny.

Table 1. Co-occurrence table for a quantitative analysis

Noun	A	x	e	Attraction	Reliance
conditions	2080	29522	26725	7.05%	7.78 %
Note: a = Frequency of noun (e.g., conditions) in the under-NOUN pattern; x = Total frequency of all nouns in the pattern; e = Total frequency of noun (e.g., conditions) in corpora					

At the second stage, measures of attraction and reliance were computed. To this end, the frequencies mentioned above were entered into an Excel spreadsheet and submitted to these arithmetic tests. As shown in Table 1, the percentages obtained from the computation of attraction and reliance for the noun *conditions* are very high in direct comparison with other nouns (see Table 2 for a comparison of scores): 7.05 % and 7.78 %, respectively. This means that the noun occurs in 7.05% of the uses of the construction in the

corpus. In other words, the word *conditions* is highly significant because it is a very strongly attracted lexeme of the *under*-NOUN pattern. In addition, 7.78% of the occurrences of the same noun are found in this pattern, which means that the lexeme *conditions* relies on other patterns in the corpus to a larger extent, in a proportion of 92.22%.

At the final step, the nouns were ranked according to their strength of attraction, and the results were interpreted qualitatively and subjectively. The results revealed that there are indeed nouns that are significantly attracted to the preposition *under* in this pattern, and the results show that the reciprocal interaction between particular nouns and *under* is determined by different senses, which in turn appear to be motivated by conceptual metaphors, metonymies, and/or image schemas.

The preposition *under* and its senses

Even a cursory examination of corpus data reveals subtle semantic differences in the use of the preposition *under* with its noun collocates. The following examples retrieved from the academic section of COCA illustrate the co-occurrence of this preposition with an array of nouns:

1. *He sat down under a tree that was standing by the road.*
2. *Under this agreement each head of household received 100 acres for his or her family.*
3. *The educational options grouped under this rubric are not coded separately.*
4. *The lone female was Tonia Selley, who went under the name of Karla Krimpelien.*
5. *Ninety-one percent of children with rotavirus were under two years of age.*
6. *Subsequently, under the influence of outside Islamic extremists, it was “claimed” by Muslims.*
7. *Accordingly, there was no room for constitutional limits under patriarchal government.*
8. *The cognitive processes that facilitate this transition are still under investigation.*
9. *Under circumstances that are not yet fully clear, Iraqi warplanes were flown to Iran.*

As shown in the above examples, the preposition *under* carries multiple senses and collocates with nouns referring to a physical entity (e.g., a tree), an agreement, a rubric, a name, a particular age, influence, government, investigation, and circumstances. In (1) the preposition is used in a spatio-geometric sense to imply ‘directly below something’. In example (2) it denotes ‘according to a particular agreement’, and in (3) it designates ‘where something can be found’. In (4), the preposition *under* is applied to mean ‘using a particular name in an official situation’. In (5) *under* means ‘younger than a particular age’. In (6), it denotes ‘being affected or controlled by a particular action or situation’. In (7) *under* is used for stating that a particular government is in power or control. In example (8) it designates ‘in the process of being affected by an action’, and in (9) it represents ‘in the situation when something happens or exists’.

The definitions of the preposition *under* in the *Macmillian English Dictionary* (2nd edition) and the usage examples confirm these meanings. The dictionary, edited by Rundell (2007: 1625), offers the following explanation about the semantic properties of the preposition *under*, accompanied by the illustrative examples:

- 10.1. below or covered by something**
- 1a.** directly below or at a lower level than something: ○ We took shelter under an oak tree. **1b.** covered by something: ○ She was wearing a money belt under her sweater. **1c.** moving to a place that is below something or that is covered by it: ○ I think the ball rolled under the sofa. **1d.** passing below something from one side to the other: ○ We drove under the bridge and came out into the High Street. **1e.** below the surface of water: ○ The ducks kept diving under the water to catch fish. **2. less than** a particular amount, or younger than a particular age: ○ There is a working holiday scheme for British citizens, but you have to be under 26. **3. affected by something** in the process of being affected or controlled by a particular action, situation, or state: ○ A number of proposals are under consideration. ○ Police claim the situation is now under control. **4. when particular conditions exist** used for saying that something happens when particular conditions exist: ○ The UN inspectors would be allowed access to the eight sites, but only under certain conditions. **5. according to a rule** according to a particular law, agreement, or system: ○ The boy is considered a minor under British law. **6. when sb is in power or control** used for stating that something happens when a particular person or government is in power: ○ Some former conservatives are returning to the party under the new leader. **7. using a particular name** using a particular name in official situations, often a name that is not your own: ○ Carson had been travelling under a false name. **8. where something can be found** if something is under a particular section, word, letter etc., this is where it can be found: ○ The tickets should be under the name ‘Carlson’(...).

As the dictionary entry for *under* in (10) reveals, the preposition *under* has a common tendency to collocate with nouns denoting a physical entity (e.g., tree, sweater, sofa, bridge, or water), a specific age, a law, a section, control, leadership, consideration, and conditions. In the first definition and example, which is a concrete one, we can distinguish between five different subsenses (1a-e), or more specific senses being derived from, included in, or closely related to the basic spatial meaning ‘below something’. In this concrete sense, the preposition can be used to specify a location, a motion along a path, and a motion to an end-point (Radden & Dirven 2007: 313). The remaining senses seem to be figurative extensions of these concrete subsenses pertaining to a vertical orientation and movement (cf. Boers 1996). For example, sense 2 is a metaphorical extension of the concrete sense ‘below or covered by something’, whereas the preposition in the expression *under 26* reflects the metaphor LESS IS DOWN. The sense of the

preposition *under* in 3 is motivated by the metaphor CONTROL IS DOWN, an orientational metaphor discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in the now-classic *Metaphors We Live By*.

The semantics of the preposition *under* in English has received much attention among cognitive linguists in recent years. The role of the cognitive motivation underpinning the use and comprehension of this projective preposition has been the subject of both extensive linguistic analysis and empirical research (e.g., Boers 1996; Tyler & Evans 2003; Lindstromberg 2010). Boers's (1996) study, for example, revealed that the bulk of uses of the preposition are constituted by figurative extensions of the spatial sense, and only approximately 25% of the instances of *under* primarily activate the domain of the physical space. The remaining instances are metaphorical extensions based on numerous conceptual metaphors: LESS IS DOWN, BEING SUBJECTED TO CONTROL IS DOWN, COGNITION IS PERCEPTION, etc. Lindstromberg's (2010) study also provided valuable insight into the semantic nature of the preposition *under* by identifying its basic spatial meanings and metaphors (e.g., POWERLESS IS DOWN, A SITUATION IS A KIND OF COVERING, UNPLEASANT EXPERIENCES ARE BURDENS). Finally, Tyler and Evans (2003: 121-127) found that all meanings of the preposition *under* are systematically grounded in the nature of human spatio-physical experience, and the original proto-scene provides the foundation for the extension of meaning from the spatial to the more abstract. Tyler and Evans treated the preposition *under* as being comprised of related concepts that form a semantic network of senses related by degrees, with some senses being more central (proto-scene and the 'down' sense) and others more peripheral (the 'less' sense, the 'control' sense, the 'covering' sense, and the 'non-existence' sense). For example, the 'less' sense and the 'control' sense are extensions of the 'down' sense, while the 'covering' sense and the 'non-existence' sense derive from the proto-scene (Tyler & Evans 2003: 121-127).

Given the semantics of the preposition, we could expect that *under* is a polysemous preposition co-occurring with a multitude of closely related nouns (i.e., nouns associated with control) in academic discourse, and the reciprocal interaction between the preposition *under* (its different senses) and its noun collocates can be motivated by conceptual metaphors, metonymies, and/or image schemas.

The application of the corpus-based method allows us to corroborate or refute such pre-set expectations and assumptions. This approach can be employed to uncover and substantiate the existence, and degree, of semantic and distributional differences in the use of the preposition, its collocability with nouns, as well as the semantic restrictions the preposition imposes on the nouns. This substantiation may be provided by virtue of indicating the nouns that co-occur more or less frequently with the preposition.

Findings and discussion

The data excerpted from the corpus included 2790 types of nouns derived from a multitude of semantic domains, out of which 1450 occurred only once in the pattern. Due to space limitations, this section will solely report the results for the most strongly attracted nouns of the combination. Table 2 below exhibits the results of the measures of attraction and reliance for the 30 most strongly attracted nouns of this pattern. It also provides the observed frequency of nouns in the pattern under study, the total frequency of all nouns in the pattern, and the frequency of their occurrence in the whole corpus.

Table 2. The results of attraction and reliance for the 30 most strongly attracted nouns

a = Frequency of noun (e.g., <i>conditions</i>) in the <i>under-NOUN</i> pattern; x = Total frequency of all nouns in the pattern; e = Total frequency of noun (e.g., <i>conditions</i>) in corpora						
rank	nouns	a	x	E	attraction	reliance
1.	conditions	2080	29522	26725	7.05%	7.78%
2.	circumstances	1313	29522	8127	4.45%	16.16%
3.	control	1043	29522	50704	3.53%	2.06%
4.	pressure	871	29522	14435	2.95%	6.03%
5.	law	845	29522	37705	2.86%	2.24%
6.	section	612	29522	23982	2.07%	2.55%
7.	influence	460	29522	24102	1.56%	1.91%
8.	age	454	29522	38252	1.54%	1.19%
9.	rule	446	29522	12140	1.51%	3.67%
10.	auspices	439	29522	500	1.49%	87.80%
11.	consideration	383	29522	12037	1.30%	3.18%
12.	direction	362	29522	9430	1.23%	3.84%
13.	leadership	361	29522	15536	1.22%	2.32%
14.	study	345	29522	117059	1.17%	0.29%
15.	supervision	312	29522	3003	1.06%	10.39%
16.	attack	299	29522	6439	1.01%	4.64%
17.	title	285	29522	6640	0.97%	4.29%

a = Frequency of noun (e.g., <i>conditions</i>) in the <i>under-NOUN</i> pattern; x = Total frequency of all nouns in the pattern; e = Total frequency of noun (e.g., <i>conditions</i>) in corpora						
rank	nouns	a	x	E	attraction	reliance
18.	years	278	29522	89313	0.94%	0.31%
19.	investigation	256	29522	7943	0.87%	3.22%
20.	stress	245	29522	14131	0.83%	1.73%
21.	discussion	222	29522	21722	0.75%	1.02%
22.	scrutiny	212	29522	1699	0.72%	12.48%
23.	rubric	199	29522	1161	0.67%	17.14%
24.	review	199	29522	24139	0.67%	0.82%
25.	guidance	199	29522	5851	0.67%	3.40%
26.	construction	192	29522	10352	0.65%	1.85%
27.	development	181	29522	68049	0.61%	0.27%
28.	president	174	29522	24047	0.59%	0.72%
29.	name	174	29522	14825	0.59%	1.17%
30.	threat	169	29522	9541	0.57%	1.77%

The results shown in Table 2 are sorted according to the measure of attraction. The top of the table includes relatively common nouns, such as *conditions*, *circumstances*, *control*, *pressure*, or *law*. The most logical explanation for this is that the total frequency of these nouns in COCA overall is likely to exert a profound effect upon the likelihood of their occurrence in the pattern under investigation. For example, *conditions* (attraction score 7.05%) and *circumstances* (attraction score 4.45%) obtained much higher scores for attraction than *name* (attraction score 0.59%) and *threat* (attraction score 0.57%), as *conditions* and *circumstances* occurred much more frequently in the pattern than *name* and *threat*. By contrast, the list for reliance comprises much higher scores for less common nouns occurring in the pattern, such as *auspices* (reliance score 87.80%), *supervision* (reliance score 10.39%), and *scrutiny* (reliance score 12.48%), since the formula employed for the calculation of reliance takes the total frequency of each noun in the corpus into consideration. For instance, although the noun *conditions* occurs much more frequently in the pattern than *auspices*, the latter achieves a much higher score for reliance because its overall frequency of occurrence in the corpus is much lower (500 occurrences).

Consequently, the reciprocal association between *auspices* and the preposition *under* also appears to be more significant (87.80%).

The results support the predictions that the semantic relationships between different uses of the preposition *under* and its noun collocates are based on specific metaphorical correspondences, metonymies and/or image schemas. Furthermore, the suggestions concerning the co-occurrence of the preposition with specific categories of nouns are also confirmed. The findings reveal that some nouns occur more frequently with the preposition *under* than others. The two most strongly associated nouns are *conditions* and *circumstances*. The percentages resulting from the calculation of attraction for these lexemes are high in comparison to other lexemes: 7.05% and 4.45%, respectively. The use of these nouns with *under* can be illustrated by the following sentences:

11. *The latter predisposes one to brain hemorrhage, particularly **under conditions** of anticoagulation.*
12. **Under such circumstances**, *reliability and validity of assessment become crucial.*

In these examples, *under* is used to say that ‘something happens when particular conditions exist’. This sense seems to be a metaphorical extension of the ‘covering’ sense: conditions and circumstances limiting or affecting something are construed as objects covering something. In other words, the preposition encodes the spatial relation of covering, while the abstract concepts *conditions* and *circumstances* are conceptualized in terms of this relation, thereby making reference to the SITUATIONS ARE COVERINGS metaphor, a metaphor Lindstromberg (2010: 164) mentioned, in which situations and states such as circumstances and conditions are conceived as coverings.

The second set of the most strongly attracted nouns collocating with the preposition *under* consists of lexemes pertaining to being subject to force, power, control, law, or rules. Its leading lexeme *control*, ranked third, is accompanied by *law*, *influence*, *rule*, *auspices*, *direction*, *leadership*, *supervision*, *guidance*, and *president* in ranks 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 25, and 28. In such combinations, the preposition *under* is used in the ‘control’ sense as a metaphorical extension of the ‘down’ sense. In addition, *under* refers to the UP-DOWN image schema and the FORCE image schema: entities being down are affected and controlled by some forces being up. The preposition *under* encodes the up-down spatial relation between two entities, and then this relation is used to understand the abstract concept *control*, hence activating the LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2010), which is also referred to as POWERLESSNESS IS DOWN (Lindstromberg 2010) or as BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN (Boers 1996).

If we consider all significant combinations of nouns with the preposition *under* in the pattern, it turns out that the nouns mentioned above in fact constitute the most strongly

associated nouns occurring with the preposition in the ranking list. The scores of attraction and reliance reveal that the noun *control* accounts for 3.53% of the uses of all nouns co-occurring with *under* in the academic section of COCA, and 2.06% of uses of the same noun are found in the pattern. The lexeme is thus attracted to the pattern in a proportion of 3.53% and relies on the pattern in a proportion of 2.06%. Hence, *control* is one of the most significant lexemes collocating with the preposition.

The following examples are provided to illustrate the use of the preposition *under* reflecting the general metaphor BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN:

13. **Under prior law**, the distance test was 35 miles.
14. The Pakistani drone program may not long remain **under the auspices of the CIA**.
15. Obama once said about the prospects for health reform **under his leadership**.

Since *under* is associated with downness, it figures in many expressions of the systematic metaphor whereby being subject to control or force is considered being down. For example, the expression *under prior law* in (13) designates ‘being subjected to a law passed by a parliament’, whereas *under the auspices of the CIA* in (14) is used to denote ‘to be under the supervision, control, or management of an organization or a country’. The phrase *under his leadership* in (15) refers to ‘the rules or people controlling a country or organization’.

Other uses of the preposition reflecting the same metaphor are as shown in (16) and (17) below:

16. *Foster came to him that day with a suspicion that Zopatti was **under the influence of some substance**.*
17. *They were much higher than they are **under President Obama**.*

In (16) *under* means ‘affected’, while the whole expression refers to ‘being affected by a substance’. In (17), *under* collocates with *President Obama*, a noun that can be conceptually interpreted with reference to the metonymy A RULER FOR THE PERIOD OF HIS RULE. *President Obama* metonymically stands for the period of his authority.

The third group in the ranking is constituted by a range of nouns denoting unpleasant experiences. Its main lexeme *pressure* (attraction score 2.95%) ranked number four and is followed by *attack*, *stress*, and *threat* in ranks 16, 20, and 30, respectively. *Pressure* and *attack* obtained much higher scores for attraction (2.95% and 1.01%) than *stress* (attraction score 0.83%) and *threat* (attraction score 0.57%), since they occurred much more frequently in the pattern. *Stress* and *threat* obtained lower scores for reliance (1.73% and 1.77%, respectively) than *pressure* and *attack* (6.03% and 4.64%), as they occurred more frequently in other contexts.

The preposition *under* collocating with this set of nouns conveys the sense of ‘being affected or controlled by a particular action, situation, or state’, thereby reflecting the general metaphor BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN in the sense of being affected by unpleasant experiences. In other words, the abstract concepts *stress*, *threat*, *pressure*, and *attack*, which are associated with unpleasant experiences affecting or controlling someone, are understood in terms of downness. This usage of *under* also seems to be related to the UP-DOWN schema and the CONTACT schema, which are consistent with the physical experience of carrying a burden. Hence, this sense of *under* can be additionally interpreted with respect to the metaphor UNPLEASANT EXPERIENCES ARE BURDENS (see Lindstromberg 2010 for a detailed discussion of this metaphor), whereby unwelcome states and events (such as pressure, stress, or attack) are construed as something oppressive and heavy that weigh down the subject (sufferer) from above. The corpus data in (18), (19), and (20) below serve as illustrations of this phenomenon:

18. *Khartoum is increasingly coming **under pressure** from all sides.*
19. *Table one is a brief list of important basic facts in dealing with children **under stress**.*
20. *The Vincennes was never **under attack** by Iranian aircraft.*

In (18), *under pressure* is used to denote ‘being made to feel forced to do something by arguments, threats’, etc. *Under stress* in (19) means ‘affected by a worried or nervous feeling’, while *under attack* in (20) designates ‘affected by an enemy attack’. This last expression may also refer to ‘strong criticism’.

The next category comprises *section*, *title*, *rubric*, and *name* in ranks 6, 17, 23, and 29. In these combinations, the preposition *under* is used for stating that ‘something can be found under a particular section, title, name’, etc., thereby evoking the UP-DOWN image schema, where written discourse may be conceived as a subdomain of physical space. It is two-dimensional and its vertical axis is determined by cultural conventions (Boers 1996: 45). The uses of *under* with these nouns can also be interpreted with reference to the metonymy A PART FOR THE WHOLE, where a title or heading is used metonymically to stand for the text (a piece of written discourse). The corpus data in (21), (22), and (23) illustrate this point.

21. *Social workers can remove people from their homes **under section 47** of the National Assistance Act 1948.*
22. *He has published a novel **under the title** *My Memorial*.*
23. *Hence, the courses described earlier are listed **under the rubric** CSCL.*

In (21), the phrase *under section* denotes ‘found under a piece of writing that may be considered separately’, and it occupies the highest position among the terms

in this category. *Section* is attracted to the pattern in a proportion of 2.07% and relies on this construction in a proportion of 2.55%, which means that the lexeme *section* is used more frequently (in a proportion of 97.45%) in other contexts. By comparison, *title* and *rubric* are less significant lexemes of the pattern (attraction scores 0.97% and 0.67%) but rely on the pattern to a larger degree (reliance scores 4.29% and 17.14%). The term *title* is used to denote ‘the title of a novel written at the top of a page or piece of writing’, whereas *rubric* refers to ‘the name of a particular section under which particular courses are listed’.

The expression *under name* can be motivated by the metonymy THE WHOLE FOR ITS PARTS, in which the category (social studies) stands for its members (geography and history), since those members (parts) can be found under that category (the whole), as shown in (24):

24. *Presently, however, geography is taught together with history under the name of social studies from the 1st until the 7th grade.*

According to Boers (1996: 50), a piece of written discourse can serve as a mental construct to define a particular category, while *under* can be employed to locate members of that category.

Other nouns that are strongly attracted to the preposition in question are terms that refer to growth and quantity, such as *age* and *years*. *Age*, ranked eighth, is a more strongly attracted lexeme (attraction score 1.54%) than *years*, which ranked 18th. Note that *age* relies on the pattern to a higher degree (reliance score 1.19%) as compared to *years* (0.31%), which means that this term appears more frequently than *years* in the pattern with *under*. Examples showing the use of the preposition with these nouns are listed below:

25. *About 20,000,000 children under age 17 have never seen a dentist.*

26. *Most abusive fractures are in children under 3 years.*

In these examples, *under* conveys a conventional meaning of ‘less’, a sense that results from an experiential correlation between a vertical orientation and quantity. Being down directly implicates possessing less of something. Hence, this sense rests on the metaphor LESS IS DOWN, which operates with two notions: quantity and verticality (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2010), where quantity is understood metaphorically in terms of verticality. More specifically, *age* and *years* reference the concept of SCALE, which can be conceptualized either as a vertical or horizontal axis and both mean ‘younger than a specific age’. The metaphor LESS IS DOWN has a metonymic basis

here, since vertical extension can be used to stand for growth within the source domain of physical space (cf. Boers 1996: 46).

Among the most significant lexemes in both lists, there are also terms such as *consideration*, *study*, *investigation*, *discussion*, *scrutiny*, and *review*. The first lexeme is attracted to the preposition in a proportion of 1.30% and relies on the preposition *under* in a proportion of 3.18%. In contrast, terms such as *scrutiny* and *review* seem to be much less important nouns collocating with *under* since their scores for attraction are lower (attraction scores 0.72% and 0.67%). Some examples illustrating the co-occurrence of these nouns with *under* are presented in (27), (28), and (29) below.

- 27. Remedial matters such as relocation and compensation were **under consideration**.
- 28. The cognitive processes that facilitate this transition are still **under investigation**.
- 29. The course of true love was **under intense scrutiny** in postwar America.

The preposition *under* collocating with these nouns conveys the meaning ‘in the process of being affected or controlled by a particular action, situation, or state: more specifically, in the process of being discussed, considered or investigated’, thus reflecting the BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN metaphor in the sense of ‘being subjected to analysis’. This meaning seems to be a metaphorical extension of the ‘down’ sense: objects of study that are placed down or under a microscope are controlled and examined very carefully from the perspective of verticality. Thus, the up-down orientation can also be used metaphorically to understand target concepts related to the process of examining something.

Finally, the ranking list in Table 2 contains nouns such as *construction* and *development*, which occupy ranks 26 and 27, respectively. Examples illustrating the use of these nouns with the preposition are presented in (30) and (31) below.

- 30. Nearby, three villas for foreign archaeologists are **under construction**.
- 31. The mechanical subsystem (MS) of the alpha tool has been **under development** by Nikon.

In such uses, the preposition encodes a metaphorical extension of the down sense and denotes ‘in the process of being affected or controlled by a state, situation, or action’, hence being based on the general metaphor BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN in the sense of ‘being subjected to the process of change or improvement’. *Under construction* in (30), means ‘being in the process of building’, and can be considered to be directly motivated by a specific subtype of the general metaphor BEING SUBJECT TO THE PROCESS OF BUILDING IS DOWN. In (31), *under development* means ‘being in the process of creating a new system’, which can be seen as being motivated by the

sub-metaphor BEING SUBJECTED TO THE PROCESS OF CHANGE, GROWTH OR IMPROVEMENT IS DOWN.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, the quantitative investigation of nouns co-occurring with *under* in the *under*-NOUN pattern indicated that there are indeed nouns that demonstrate strong associations with the preposition *under*, and the mutual attraction between *under* and its noun collocates seems to be determined by the different senses of this preposition used in specific contexts, which are motivated by conceptual metaphors, metonymies, and/or image schemas. For example, as noted in section 5, the ‘control’ sense of the preposition in combinations such as *under control*, *under law*, *under leadership*, or *under president* is highly motivated by the metaphor BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN. Thus, *under* tends to collocate quite frequently with a range of nouns associated with some kind of control, power, force, or law.

The most obvious finding to emerge from this study is that there are several groups of nouns that are closely related semantically and are strongly associated with the preposition *under* in the *under*-NOUN pattern. More specifically, the results indicate that in academic discourse the preposition displays a strong tendency to occur with nouns pertaining to physical situations (e.g., *conditions*, *circumstances*), control and law (e.g., *influence*, *rule*, *auspices*, *leadership*, *supervision*, *president*), unpleasant experiences and situations (e.g., *pressure*, *attack*, *stress*, *threat*), a title and heading (e.g., *section*, *title*, *rubric*, *name*), a particular age and amount (e.g., *age*, *years*), or cognition and perception (e.g., *consideration*, *study*, *investigation*, *discussion*, *scrutiny*). Also, the co-occurrence of the noun *auspices* with the preposition *under* is more significant than its use in other constructions.

The results also revealed that terms (e.g., *influence*, *pressure*, *section*, *consideration*) that are closely associated with, or directly related to, control or law, unpleasant experiences or situations, titles or headings, and cognition or perception constitute the bulk of the most strongly attracted lexemes in the ranking list. A possible explanation for the co-occurrence of those nouns with the preposition *under* in academic discourse may be the semantic restrictions imposed by the preposition (i.e., the kinds of meanings conveyed by the preposition in particular contexts) and the nature and specificity of the academic register. For example, in (27), (28), and (29), *under* bears the meaning ‘in the process of being discussed, considered or investigated’, thereby introducing semantic restrictions upon the types of nouns with which the preposition collocates. Consequently, its collocability in these contexts is restricted to the nouns associated with the act of investigating or examining something. In academic discourse, such combinations are used to present, interpret and/or comment on the results of studies such as in reference to the process of attempting to discover all the details or facts.

The frequent occurrence of the preposition *under* with nouns such as *stress*, *threat*, *conditions*, and *consideration* confirms the prediction that the preposition *under* demonstrates a marked preference for nouns referring to abstract notions that mainly carry figurative meanings. The results of the quantitative analysis indicate that the figurative senses of *under* pertaining to conditions and circumstances, control and law, titles and headings, unpleasant experiences and situations, as well as cognition and perception predominate in the academic section of COCA. These findings support Boers's (1996) conclusions regarding the occurrence of *under* in three types of corpora. Boers (1996: 40) found that from a statistical standpoint, figurative senses are more frequent than literal ones in the L.O.B Corpus, the Brown Corpus, and the Corpus of English conversation. More precisely, out of 1374 instances of *under*, literal senses accounted for approximately 25% of all the instances, or 352 total occurrences: 164 in the L.O.B corpus, 175 in the Brown corpus, and 13 in the corpus of English conversation. A cursory glance at the ranking list in Table 2 reveals that the frequency of figurative senses of *under* in academic discourse substantially exceeds the frequency of occurrence of literal senses.

After a careful examination of the results, it can be concluded that a quantitative, corpus-driven approach can provide detailed statistical description of the nouns collocating with *under* in the pattern in question and identify minor distributional differences in the occurrence of these nouns in the pattern under study. The quantitative method adopted in this study proved to be a useful technique allowing for the determination of frequent and rare occurrences of nouns in the pattern, so it can be successfully employed for the investigation of nouns collocating with other prepositions. Future research might focus on comparing and contrasting nouns co-occurring with prepositions such as *underneath*, *beneath*, *below*, *down*, *above*, *over*, or *behind*.

Finally, given that the current investigation was limited to the academic sub-corpus of COCA, it would be worthwhile to carry out a comparative study of nouns co-occurring with the preposition *under* in other sections of COCA and across different types of written and spoken registers due to the possible existence of slight variations in their occurrence. Such a quantitative analysis could reveal subtle distributional differences in the occurrence of nouns in the pattern under consideration.

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Conceptual metaphors in lyrics, vocal realization and music – reinforcement or modification of emotional potential

Abstract. The paper seeks to examine the ways in which the emotional potential (germ. *Emotionspotential*) rooted in the textual part of selected songs can potentially be reinforced or modified by the music and vocal realization. Music and intonation provide sonic counterparts of the emotional states expressed by language. I shall consider cases where the sonic counterpart is either an analog or stands in contrast to the textual component and the affective value commonly associated with the invoked conceptual metaphor/metonymy. The research material consists of three versions of the song *Ride* by 21 Pilots, the song *Here Comes the Night Time* by Arcade Fire and *Die Flut* [the flood] by Joachim Witt and Peter Heppner. The analysis results show that salient presence of UP/DOWN image schema in verbal and musical orientational metaphors is observable, albeit not always accompanied with the most typical valence pattern.

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphors, emotions, melody and lyrics, popular music.

1. Introduction

The aim of the paper is to examine the emotional potential (Germ. *Emotionspotential*; cf. Schwarz-Friesel 2007: 212) emerging in selected songs as a result of an interplay of image schemata, conceptual metaphors/metonymies and emotionally laden lexemes or language units. The schemata, metaphors and metonymies in the songs are evoked by lyrics, vocal realization and music. Thus, it is assumed that the emergent structure of meaning is created not only by linguistic but also by aural constructions, i.e. the musical component and the particular act of vocal performance by which the emotional potential contained in the text may be either reinforced or modified. With respect to the non-linguistic component, this paper focuses mainly on melody

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and intonation, understood as the sequence of pitches produced by a singer as indicated by the composer (cf. Shrivastav & Wingate 2008: 71). Note that, to arrive at the overall meaning or interpretation of a given song, both cognitive and affective information need to be considered (cf. Sopory 2005: 452, 454). The goal of the analysis presented here is to offer possible interpretations and hypotheses rather than to offer final indisputable explanations since, as noted by Morini (2013), analyses of multimodal constructs such as songs are often fraught with an inevitable degree of impressionism due to imprecision as a feature of musical meaning (cf. 2013: 290).

2. Emotions, music and metaphor

When discussing the affect or affective value and interplay between emotion, metaphor and music, one needs to clarify which concepts and definitions are drawn upon, because various terms and divergent definitions (even when the same term is used) can be found in the literature on the subject. The scholar who needs to be mentioned here with respect to the content and structure of emotion concepts as revealed by metaphors and metonymy is Kövecses (1990). Further, Juslin and Sloboda (2010) offered coverage of the numerous approaches defining the field of music and emotion, and Zbikowski (2017a) elaborated on the issue of how musical utterances are constructed and used to communicate meaning.

In this paper, we rely upon the terms concerning affect and their understanding as provided by Schwarz-Friesel (2007: 2015). She differentiates between *feelings* (germ. *Gefühle*), *emotions* (germ. *Emotionen*) and, with regard to texts, *emotional potential* (germ. *Emotionspotential*). According to Schwarz-Friesel (2007, 2015), *feelings* are these aspects of emotions of which people are aware and experience introspectively, whereas *emotions* are to be treated as a broader phenomenon, encompassing feelings but with an addition of unconscious effects. Emotions include not only conscious but also unconscious knowledge, representations and processes and physical, mental and affective conditions (cf. Schwarz-Friesel 2007: 55, 102; Schwarz-Friesel 2015: 293). Hence, feelings can be perceived as discrete units that can be named, and emotions can be mixed and referred to, more generally, as being positive or negative, perhaps with details expressed verbally in a more descriptive way. *Emotional potential*, in turn, is an inherent feature of any text that is rooted in its information structure, coherence and implicit information determined by the text's referential and inferential potential (cf. Schwarz-Friesel 2015: 167). The constituent *potential* in the term's name suggests that emotional potential is something that can be either activated or not. In the case of song lyrics, music or vocal intonation can be a triggering factor.

The music accompanying lyrics provides sonic counterparts that can be analogs (cf. Zbikowski 2009: 363) or opposites of the dynamic processes or emotional states expressed by the language. In contrast to Zbikowski (2009), the focus of this paper is not

only on mapping the concepts expressed by the text onto sequences of music, such as the descending sounds matching the words denoting downward movement (also used as evaluative terms) (cf. Zbikowski 2009: 360, 366 *et passim*), but I shall also consider cases when the sonic counterpart stands in contrast, or as if in contrast, to the verbal utterance and the affective value commonly ascribed to the evoked conceptual metaphor.

The image schema that plays a crucial role in structuring not only verbal metaphors but also metaphors which are manifested via the musical mode is the UP/DOWN schema, also known as the VERTICALITY schema (cf. Górska 2014: 180-181). With respect to music Zbikowski notices, “the common construal of musical pitches as situated in vertical space, a construal that follows from the characterization of pitches as ‘high’ or ‘low’ with respect to one another” (2009: 360). This perception provides motivation for the metaphor PITCH RELATIONSHIPS ARE RELATIONSHIPS IN VERTICAL SPACE (cf. Górska 2014: 185). Moreover, typically, the UP orientation is associated with positive experiences, while the DOWN orientation is associated with negative ones, which gives rise to pairs of conceptual metaphors with a positive and negative valence attached to them, respectively (cf. Górska 2014: 182; Sopory 2005: 442). Hence, we have widespread orientational metaphors such as HAPPY IS UP – SAD IS DOWN, HAVING CONTROL/FORCE IS UP – BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL/FORCE IS DOWN, (cf. Górska 2014: 182) or the more general GOOD or POSITIVE IS UP and BAD or NEGATIVE IS DOWN (cf. Sopory 2005: 442).

In the light of the above, it can be observed, following Zbikowski (cf. 2009: 366), that the mapping from the domain of text onto the domain of music makes us perceive music in a particular way. For verbo-musical metaphors, however, the opposite is also true: the music guides the recipient’s understanding of the text, e.g. the descending sounds matching – as sonic analogs – the words denoting downward movement (cf. Zbikowski 2009: 366). This is also valid if the words and sonic analogs evoke the verticality schema connected with the orientational metaphors invoking emotions (cf. Zbikowski 2017b: 507). Furthermore, musical metonymy can play a part in the activation of emotional potential of a musical composition since, for example, an opening motto of a symphony can serve as a part which guides the understanding through its connection to the larger whole (cf. Zbikowski 2018: 14). Nevertheless, one should be careful when identifying and ascribing affective value to a given fragment of text or music or manner of vocal performance in a song. The risk consists, on the one hand, in identifying the conceptual metaphor evoked by the non-linguistic component and, on the other hand, in taking into account solely or focussing mainly on the valence scale rather than on both scales of a two-dimensional emotion model by valence and arousal when ascribing the affective value to a given musical metaphor. These issues are addressed by Sopory (2005) and, rather indirectly, by Kim and Andre (2008) in their papers.

Sopory (2005) noticed that certain conceptual metaphors evoked by language expressions are typically attached to certain valence patterns. MORE IS UP, for instance,

is typically associated with positive valence on the basis of the experience of accumulation (having more of something rather than less) and rising (in contrast to falling) and affective information connected with such experience, which evokes the widespread metaphor POSITIVE IS UP. In the case of the sentence *Prices are skyrocketing again*, however, the default valence attached to the UP/DOWN schema is overridden on the basis of our experiential knowledge, i.e. that an increase in prices is a negative phenomenon (cf. Sopory 2005: 442). Thus, the typically ensuing metaphor POSITIVE IS UP rather than the more general MORE IS UP is not the valid one here. The two-dimensional emotion model by valence and arousal (Fig. 1) used in an experiment by Kim and Andre (2008), in turn, begets reflection on the fact that the arousal scale is not to be overlooked when interpreting affective value conveyed or evoked by music. Fig. 2 (Kim & Andre 2008: 5) depicts on the musical emotion model the relevant musical features of songs selected by the study participants. The cues for the selection of four songs to correspond to the four quadrants of the emotion model were: song 1 – positively exciting, energizing, joyful, exuberant; song 2 – noisy, loud, irritating, discord; song 3 – melancholic, sad memory; and song 4 – blissful, pleasurable, slumberous, tender (cf. Kim & Andre 2008: 5). The quoted figure reflecting the participants' song selection to prepare the setting of the experiment in which the subjects' physiological responses corresponding to emotions were measured suggests that the same values of some song parameters, such as volume, pitch or tempo, may be indicative of the same type of arousal while evoking different valences (either positive or negative). It can be observed, for instance, that high pitch seems to be predominantly associated with high arousal, but it could also correspond to either a positive (which is more likely) or negative valence. By the same token, a fast and slow tempo, apparently mostly indicative of high and low arousal, respectively, may be valued positively or negatively in terms of valence. It should be borne in mind as well that, as Kim and Andre aptly noticed, “[e]motional responses to music vary greatly from individual to individual, depending on their unique past experiences” (Kim & Andre 2008: 5).

Another study concerning language, image schemata and evaluative components whose results are relevant for the analysis presented here is Beate Hampe's (2005) analysis of semantically highly redundant verb-particle constructions. The researcher focuses on the phrasal verb pairs *finish up/finish off* and *slow up/slow down* to verify or falsify Krzeszowski's (1997) proposal concerning the axiological relevance of the image schemata, such as UP/DOWN, FRONT/BACK, RIGHT/LEFT, and NEAR/FAR, where in each pair the elements carry opposing axiological defaults with the first element being positively and the second negatively charged (cf. Krzeszowski 1997: 112-131; Hampe 2005: 120-121). This plus-minus parameter is supposed to be a property of image schemata. Furthermore, Krzeszowski claimed that “metaphorization reinforces the axiological charge of concepts or activates latent axiological charge” (Krzeszowski

1997: 156). The results of Hampe's (2005) study of corpus data showing the real usage of the four phrasal verbs did not confirm any predictions as to the evaluative value of the items made on the basis of the plus-minus parameter postulate. She is also of opinion that the earlier study by Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Hanks (1996) of verbs with and without particles, such as *block (up/off)*, *finish (up/off)*, and *close (up/down)*, which is said to confirm the plus-minus assumption, can actually be seen as leading to a rejection of this assumption. The researchers conceived of the plus-minus parameter as a context-sensitive device, where "the prototypical default values can be changed by the elements in the context" (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Hanks 1996: 92), which is not stated or implied in the original claim by Krzeszowski (1997). Hampe concluded that isolated ("primitive") image schemata should in fact not be "considered as the locus of evaluative defaults" (Hampe 2005: 115), but the positive or negative charge is rather to be viewed as a dimension of image-schema compounds that are parts of contextualized cognitive models (cf. Hampe 2005: 141). It is important to note that when a given linguistic expression is used in different contexts, even if it refers to the same conceptualization from a specific domain, it may carry different evaluative properties due to the context of its use (cf. Hampe 2005: 141).

3. The method and material

The method of conduct in the analysis is as follows: first, emotionally laden items and their affective charge are identified in the lyrics, and conceptual metaphors are searched for in the text. However, because evaluation is a matter of entire contexts rather than lexemes (or other items) in isolation, the surrounding words/phrases will be taken into consideration, as "lexical items may tend to occur in the company of word/phrases which are themselves predominantly (and overtly) positive or negative in their orientation" (Hampe 2005: 122). Thus, in contrast to Neary (2019), song lyrics are to be analysed separately as a departure point and not only as a last step to identify how the words interact with the melody. On the basis of lyrics analysis, some predictions are made with respect to the intonation (rising, falling, non-final) used in the act of vocal performance and to music (pitch, tempo). Subsequently, the accompanying music and vocal realization, intonation in particular, is to be examined for the presence of conceptual metaphors/metonymies, as proposed by Zbikowski (2009), and their compatibility with the items present in the lyrics, especially concerning the affective value, is assessed. To investigate the affective aspect and its role in the activation and possibly modification of the emotional potential of a given piece, I refer to a two-dimensional emotional model by valence and arousal, since the two scales (valence and arousal) make it possible to avoid discrete labels or words denoting concrete emotions and to take into consideration blended emotions (cf. Kim & Andre 2008: 4-5). In other words, if the orientational metaphors present in the accompanying music

and vocal realization stand in contrast with respect to the affective value (valence) assumed to be communicated through the lyrics, the aspect of arousal is to be considered as possibly explaining the dissonance (e.g. high pitch and rising intonation accompanying pessimistic line in the lyrics). If the contrast cannot be attributed to the arousal component, then possible intentional modification of emotional potential may be suggested. Limitations with regard to the possibilities of melody shaping and rhythmic regularities can account for the lyrics–music dissonance as well.

The research material consists of three versions of the song *Ride* by the band 21 Pilots (21P), namely the original version; the acoustic version performed by Tyler Joseph (TJ), the band’s lead singer; and the a capella version by Pentatonix. The research also examines the songs *Here Comes the Night Time* and *Creature Comfort* by Arcade Fire and *Die Flut* [the flood] by Joachim Witt and Peter Heppner. Particularly, the divergent performances of the song *Ride* reveal the salient role of the interplay of the lyrics and the non-linguistic sonic counterparts with their affective charge in shaping the overall emotional potential of a song.

4. The analysis: *Ride*

4.1 The lyrics

With respect to the content expressed in the lyrics, the speaker in the song talks about his unrealized fantasies of suicide, which he seems to strive to resist. As a result, the emotional potential of the song seems to have both negative and positive aspects that can be activated or reinforced by the non-linguistic component. The facts that the first line, “I just wanna stay in the sun” (twenty one pilots 2015) is clearly positively charged and that the line does not finish at the end of the sentence (with “where I find”) makes the recipient expect rising (in accordance with the metaphor POSITIVE IS UP) or at least non-final intonation, possibly a high pitch. In the third line, which logically finishes the sentence, “Pieces of peace in the sun’s peace of mind” (twenty one pilots 2015), the intonation should also rise. The line “I know it’s hard sometimes” (twenty one pilots 2015), in contrast, would harmonize with falling intonation (NEGATIVE IS DOWN). The second half of the first stanza, “Yeah, I think about the end just way too much / But it’s fun to fantasize / All my enemies who wouldn’t wish who I was / But it’s fun to fantasize” (twenty one pilots 2015) reveals a mixture of negative and positive affects in the song’s emotional potential, owing to which the anticipation regarding orientational metaphors may vary. “The end” mentioned in the first line about which the speaker thinks “way too much”, together with the notion of taking his time on a ride in the chorus, can be evocative of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY with the entailment DEATH IS AT THE END OF A JOURNEY/DEPARTURE. The phrase “too much”, however, may alternatively signal the metaphor MORE IS UP. Therefore, either falling

or rising intonation might be selected for the vocal performance. The following and the closing line about fantasizing seem, at first glance, to be clearly positively loaded, while the line about the enemies seems to indicate a negative valence; hence, the expected intonation would be rising and falling, respectively. If one considers the whole context, in which fantasizing is clearly about death, the line may be sung with falling intonation.

The chorus consists of the line “I’m falling so I’m taking my time on my ride” (twenty one pilots 2015) repeated twice and followed by the sentence part “Taking my time on my ride” (twenty one pilots 2015). The notion of downward movement (falling) invites the NEGATIVE IS DOWN metaphor in the melody/vocal realization. The entire second stanza generally communicates negative affective information, so the recipient can expect the NEGATIVE IS DOWN metaphor in vocal realization. The only exception could potentially be the last two lines line in the sequence: “A bullet for them / A bullet for you / A bullet for everybody in this room / But I don’t seem to see many bullets coming through / See many bullets coming through” (twenty one pilots 2015). In this case, rising intonation might be applied. With respect to the last three lines in the second stanza, neutral, affectively non-marked intonation for: “Who would you live for? / Who would you die for? / Would you ever kill?” (twenty one pilots 2015) would be the falling one for the first and the second, and the rising one for the third. To express the negative charge present in their content, the performer could, however, use falling intonation. The bridge consists of the lines “I’ve been thinking too much” and “Help me”, where the former can be viewed as being clearly linked to “I think about the end just way too much” from the first stanza. Consequently, for both lines, falling intonation might be predicted or alternatively rising intonation for the former in consistency with the metaphor MORE IS UP, which can be evoked by “too much”. For the latter, additionally mapping an INCREASE IN VOLUME onto an INCREASE IN INTENSITY (OF EMOTIONS) in vocal realization is plausible as well.

4.2 21Pilots – the original version

The musical opening of the song can be considered metonymic in its role, since it seems to guide the recipient’s perception of the piece as a whole. The version by 21 Pilots appears as energetic and joyful due to its fast, upbeat tempo (150 beats per minute) and ascending musical sequences. The first half of the first stanza seems to confirm the predictions regarding vocal realization: the intonation pertinent to the first line is rising and for the third line is rising/non-final, while for the second and fourth (which are identical) the intonation is falling. In the second half, the intonation for the fifth and seventh line, which voices concerns regarding thinking too much about death, is falling according to expectations about the affective value. Lines 6 and 8 (again identical like 2 and 4), however, draw the recipient’s attention by a rather interesting interplay of language, vocal intonation and volume. The former line about fantasizing about

death, namely, is performed with falling intonation, whereas the lexeme “fantasize”, sung for the second time, is strongly emphasised and marked with rising intonation. This results in a disruption of the stanza’s melodic pattern where in the first half every other line has the same intonation (i.e. lines 1 and 3 rising/non-final, 2 and 4 falling). Such a deliberate pattern breach may suggest irony, indecisiveness or may be aimed at activating not only the negative but also the positive emotional potential inherent in the stanza. Rising intonation combined with a strong emphasis on “fantasize”, i.e. singing the word louder, may, alternatively, communicate high arousal and the conceptual metaphor IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME entailing (MORE) IMPORTANT IS LOUD(ER).

Once more, mixed affective information seems to be communicated in the chorus. Rising intonation is used only when the line is sung for the first time, and falling intonation is applied later. In the context of suicidal thoughts and depression expressed by the idea of falling, which can be a manifestation of NEGATIVE IS DOWN, falling intonation may be expected. The rising intonation accompanying the phrase “taking my time on my ride” (twenty one pilots 2015) evoking the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor may highlight the aspect of delaying death. Such a shift of focus to life could then activate the positive emotional potential of the text. Additionally, the ‘elongation’ in the vocal performance of the lexeme *ride* thus echoing the preceding “taking my time” emphasizes the duration of the event (THE DURATION OF ACTION/EVENT IS DURATION OF ARTICULATION).

The entire second stanza is generally sung (rapped) quickly without changes in intonation. There are only short pauses at the end of the lines “But I don’t seem to see many bullets coming through / See many bullets coming through” (twenty one pilots 2015), but the intonation can be still classified as non-final rather than falling, and definitely not rising, which might seem a plausible option when focusing on the text alone. Also, the question lines are sung in rapid succession such that there is no rise or fall in intonation between the questions; in other words, the two first questions finish with non-final intonation, and the intonation at the end of the last question closing the whole stanza is falling. This coincides with the fact that the lexeme *kill* is negatively marked, and thus its affective value may seem reinforced with the vocal intonation used. Otherwise, rising intonation is common for English *yes–no* questions.

Alternate high and low pitches applied with the phrase *too much* in the line “I’ve been thinking too much” is repeated four times, which functions as a bridge – musically with a slower, no longer upbeat tempo – after the chorus following the second stanza seems to invoke the VERTICALITY schema with its typical valence pattern (POSITIVE IS UP and NEGATIVE IS DOWN) to express what is commonly described as mixed feelings or possibly indecisiveness or irony on the part of the speaker. Moreover, the lines are sung in a significantly higher key, possibly to mark the importance and/or high arousal, and they are followed by the line “Help me” (twenty one pilots 2015) sung in lower key with the second word sung lower than the first, which is accompanied by a falling

musical sequence. The succeeding lines in the original version can be divided into pairs where the first item is performed in a higher key with rising intonation by either backing vocalists or the leading vocalist but with a computer-modified voice, and the second item is sung in a lower key with falling intonation (“Help me” performed in the manner described above) by the leading vocalist:

“I’ve been thinking too much [high key, rising intonation] / (I’ve been thinking too much)
 [lower key, falling intonation]
 I’ve been thinking too much [high key, rising] / (Help me) [lower key, falling]
 I’ve been thinking too much [high key, rising] / (I’ve been thinking too much) [lower key,
 falling]
 I’ve been thinking too much [high key, rising]” (twenty one pilots 2015).

This mode of vocal performance seems to corroborate the hypothesis about the alternate activation of the different emotional potential of the text (positive and negative valence) by intentionally employing the UP/DOWN schema in the manner of vocal performance.

The way the chorus is sung for the last time differs significantly in terms of volume and intonation from its performance earlier in the song. The second line is articulated more loudly or even shouted out (IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME) and is shortened to “I’m taking my time” (twenty one pilots 2015) rather than “I’m taking my time on my ride”. Moreover, the lexeme *time* is ‘stretched in time’, sung longer than earlier, most probably to emphasise the duration in accordance with the metaphor THE DURATION OF ACTION/EVENT IS DURATION OF ARTICULATION. The lexeme *ride* (signalling the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor) in the last line is also articulated longer with non-final intonation. This might suggest that the death by suicide fantasized about by the speaker is to be significantly delayed or even not materialize at all.

The original version is the only one to continue beyond the last chorus. First, the line “I’m falling so I’m taking my time on my ride” (twenty one pilots 2015) is repeated twice, the second time with rising intonation and without the final lexeme *ride*. Subsequently, the song continues with the bridge lines (1) “I’ve been thinking too much” articulated by the leading vocalist, always with falling intonation or by the second voice (either backing vocalists or computer-modified voice of the leading vocalist) with rising intonation and a higher key, and (2) “Help me” articulated by the leading vocalist with falling intonation (falling sequence as described above), thereby creating a pattern:

“I’ve been thinking too much [falling] / Help me [-]
 I’ve been thinking too much [falling] / Help me [-]
 I’ve been thinking too much [rising] / I’ve been thinking too much [falling]

I've been thinking too much [rising] / Help me [-]
 I've been thinking too much [rising] / I've been thinking too much [falling]
 I've been thinking too much [rising] / Help me [-]” (twenty one pilots 2015).

The alternate use of rising and falling intonation, higher and lower keys and two types of voices yet again activates both negative and positive aspects of the emotional potential inherent in the verbal component of the piece, which seems to serve to express ‘mixed feelings’, indecisiveness or irony/sarcasm as a conclusion of the song.

4.3 Tyler Joseph – the acoustic piano version

The version by Tyler Joseph (BBC Radio 1, 2018), though significantly slower and on the whole sung in the lowest key of all the three versions analysed here, also starts with ascending sequences of music, making the recipient likely to expect something optimistic to follow. The first half of the first stanza is performed in the same way as the original version, i.e. the optimistic lines 1 and 3 are sung with rising intonation, while the intonation for lines 2 and 4 is falling. In contrast to the original version, the second half of the stanza is performed according to the same intonation pattern as the first half, i.e. “Yeah, I think about the end just way too much [rising] / But it’s fun to fantasize [falling] / All my enemies who wouldn’t wish who I was [rising] / But it’s fun to fantasize [falling]” (BBC Radio 1, 2018). Such vocal realization contradicts the expectations regarding the affective value (valence) communicated via the non-linguistic component in the fifth and seventh lines. One explanation for the rising intonation of “too much” can be the wish to signal the metaphor MORE IS UP and the state of high arousal, not necessarily positive valence. Alternatively, this may suggest irony or indecisiveness. Even if such modification of the emotional potential might be perceived by listeners (which would have to be confirmed in a broader quantitative study), the easiest explanation for the employed intonation is the intention to maintain the pattern present in the first half of the stanza (rising – falling – rising – falling).

In the chorus, for which falling intonation was initially predicted based on the text examination and for which first rising and then falling intonation are applied in 21P, in this acoustic version the intonation is consistently rising. This may be accounted for, as mentioned above, by the intention to highlight the aspect of delaying death: “taking my time on my ride” (BBC Radio 1, 2018). Hence, a consistent and logical pattern of valence seems to be communicated here by the non-linguistic song component.

In the whole second stanza up to the three final questions, just as in the original version, the lines are sung so quickly one after another that there is no rise or fall in the intonation between them. With respect to the questions, the acoustic performance reveals standard, affectively non-marked falling (two first questions) and rising (the last question) intonation, whereby the final lexeme *kill* seems to be articulated louder,

hence possibly drawing on the metaphor IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME. Tyler Joseph sings the bridge lines “I’ve been thinking too much” four times and the subsequent “Help me” with falling intonation, as anticipated on the basis of the preliminary text analysis. As for the leading voice–second voice pair, however, the parts performed by the second voice (backing vocalists or modified voice of the leading vocalist) in the original version are those which remain, albeit with the intonation changed from rising in the original version to non-final intonation, while the lines sung by the leading vocalist are deleted. Thus, the affective pattern of 21P seems to be changed into a predictable ‘pessimistic’ one – relatively low arousal, negative valence.

The manner in which the chorus is performed for the last time, again similarly to 21P, differs in terms of volume and intonation from its performance earlier after the first and the second stanzas. In the acoustic piano version, the first verse is performed more quietly, three times and in a significantly higher key. The subsequent lines are sung in a lower key and slightly lower volume, with rise–fall intonation and the intonation clearly falling on the lexeme *ride* in the final line. The high pitch used for the first line together with the falling intonation employed later and concluding the piece with an additional line “Help me” (same falling intonation) (BBC Radio 1, 2018) appear to produce a rather atypical affective pattern. The high-pitched voice in this instance is apparently aimed at indicating high arousal rather than evoking the positive valence commonly attributed to the upward orientation in the VERTICALITY schema. This mode of performance might also serve to draw the recipients’ attention, since this provides contrast to the rest of the song and stands in line with the metaphor IMPORTANT IS UP. As regards the co-occurring decrease in volume, such a manoeuvre may be incompatible with the conceptual mapping of IMPORTANCE onto VOLUME, but it is possible that this mode of performance results from the physical limitations of the leading vocalist’s articulatory capacity. The following change to a lower key, metaphorically representing downward movement typically activating the NEGATIVE IS DOWN negative-valence metaphor, combined with falling intonation and relatively slow tempo, may be indicative of anxiety or sadness (cf. Kim & Andre 2008: 5, Fig. 2).

4.4 Pentatonix – the a capella cover

In the Pentatonix a capella cover, in contrast to 21P and TJ, an extra opening and closing line “I’m falling” (NOVA FM 2016) is added, sung in falling intonation with the ultimate word “falling” repeated three times, each time with a lower pitch, thus creating a descending melodic sequence. Consequently, in terms of affective value, the metonymical opening seems to relate to the VERTICALITY schema and the typical pattern of valence, which results in the activation of the conceptual metaphor NEGATIVE IS DOWN. Additionally, the tempo of the piece is significantly slower than that of the original version, which, according to Fig. 2 provided by Kim and Andre (2008:

5), may indicate low arousal. When the overall content of the text is taken into account, Pentatonix’s interpretation and the intentional activation of negative emotional potential of the text by the melodic aspect, among other things by the negative ‘framing’ in the form of the song’s intro and outro, seems legitimate. While the intonation pattern in the first half of the first stanza is, according to expectations drawn from the text analysis, the same as in the original version, i.e. rising – falling – rising/non-final – falling, in the second half of the stanza the intonation is consistently falling for all lines, also in accordance with preliminary predictions.

For the chorus, somewhat contrary to expectations resulting from the notion of falling present in the lyrics, the rising intonation is selected. This, however, as mentioned above, can be attributed to the intention of shifting the focus to the aspect of delaying death, which is also reflected in the ‘elongation’ in the vocal performance of the lexeme *ride*, thus echoing the preceding “taking my time” to emphasize the duration of the event (THE DURATION OF ACTION/EVENT IS DURATION OF ARTICULATION) (cf. NOVA FM 2016). In this way, the positive emotional potential of the piece may be activated.

The performance of the second stanza up to the final three questions is similar to 21P and TJ, apart from the lines “But I don’t seem to see many bullets coming through / See many bullets coming through” (NOVA FM 2016), for which, as anticipated after the text examination, rising intonation is applied. For the first two questions “Who would you live for? / Who would you die for?” (NOVA FM 2016) Pentatonix employs the rising intonation and deletes the last one about killing altogether, thereby apparently imbuing the lyrics with positive emotions.

In the bridge after the chorus following the second stanza, for the line “I’ve been thinking too much”, which is repeated four times, alternate high and low pitches are used. This seems to invoke the VERTICALITY schema with its typical pattern of valence (POSITIVE IS UP AND NEGATIVE IS DOWN) to express what is commonly described as mixed feelings or possibly to imply indecisiveness or irony. The line “Help me” is omitted by Pentatonix in their cover. Moreover, in the succeeding lines, which in the original version can be divided into pairs, the parts performed by the leading vocalist are deleted:

“I’ve been thinking too much [high key, rising intonation] / ~~(I’ve been thinking too much)~~
~~[lower key, falling intonation]~~
 I’ve been thinking too much [high key, rising] / ~~(Help me)~~ ~~[lower key, falling]~~
 I’ve been thinking too much [high key, rising] / ~~(I’ve been thinking too much)~~ ~~[lower key, falling]~~
 I’ve been thinking too much [high key, rising]” (NOVA FM 2016).

This modification seems to convert the ‘mixed-feelings’ pattern into an ‘optimistic’ pattern. Albeit the intentionality of this interpretation can be corroborated by the alteration in terms of intonation earlier in the second stanza (mentioned above), it should be borne in mind that the rising intonation selected for these lines may form the activation of the MORE IS UP metaphor signalled by the phrase *too much*.

In contrast to the original version and the version by Tyler Joseph, Pentatonix performs the chorus for the last time the same as earlier in the piece, with the leading vocalist reaching even higher tones – possibly for dramatic effect and to impress with the vocal prowess – when singing the lexeme *ride* and using rising intonation in all the lines. This manoeuvre seems to, as mentioned above, activate the positive aspect of the emotional potential of the text, i.e. postponing or cancelling death (i.e. taking time on the ride) and not (the thoughts of) death (metaphorically expressed as falling). As a contrast to this part, however, an additional closing line – identical to the opening line – “I’m falling” (NOVA FM 2016) is added and is sung with falling intonation with the ultimate word *falling* repeated three times, each time with a lower pitch, thus creating a descending melodic sequence.

4.5 The three versions – a comparison

When the three versions of the song *Ride* are compared, some significant differences are observable, which may have an impact on the emotional potential of the piece. The most conspicuous feature of the song is creative play with the UP/DOWN conceptual schema and orientational metaphors with respect to non-linguistic components, especially in the original version. Even though the musical upbeat, fast tempo intro of the song initially metonymically guides the recipient to anticipate a piece with optimistic affective information, 21 Pilots uses alternate high and low intonation, sometimes alternately high and low voices, when singing the same textual material, e.g. the bridge line “I’ve been thinking too much” (twenty one pilots 2015), which can be interpreted as intentionally striving to ascribe varying affective value with respect to valence to communicate indecisiveness or irony/sarcasm. By drawing on the VERTICALITY schema with respect to pitch and intonation, in the course of the song both negative and positive aspects of emotional potential inherent in the linguistic component of the piece can be perceived as activated.

Pentatonix, in contrast, in spite of a specific ‘down-framing’ by means of the opening and closing line “I’m falling, falling, falling” (NOVA FM 2016) and the accompanying descending musical sequence, use rising intonation and high pitch more often and more consistently than 21 Pilots in their original version. This, together with deleting some information concerning death and requesting help from the textual component, i.e. omission of the lines “Would you ever kill?” (twenty one pilots 2015) from the second

stanza and “Help me” (twenty one pilots 2015) from the bridge, results in prevalent activation of positive, optimistic aspects of the song’s emotional potential.

The acoustic piano version by Tyler Joseph, in turn, with its slow tempo, prevalent low key and mostly falling intonation can be described in terms of affective information as a ‘downer’, both in terms of valence and arousal. In this context, the high-pitched line of the last chorus sung three times in a significantly higher key comes as a surprise, but this apparently intentional manoeuvre can still be interpreted as supporting, or not denying, the overall negative, pessimistic aspect of the piece’s emotional potential in that it, on the one hand, allows the performer a vocal downward motion invoking the NEGATIVE IS DOWN metaphor and, on the other hand, may be evocative of a different metaphor, (MORE) IMPORTANT IS UP.

The a capella cover by Pentatonix regarding the vocal realization generally seems the most predictable one, since the intonation for almost all the lines could be anticipated based on the text analysis. The original manner of performance (21 Pilots) seems to be, in a way, ‘consistently unpredictable’, since some choices regarding intonation could not be anticipated based on the lyrics alone, but can be explained as motivated by affective information to be communicated. The acoustic version by Tyler Joseph, in turn, could be described as not fully predictable but explicable, since the intonation patterns in the first stanza and the last chorus are not fully predictable based solely on the affective value (especially valence) communicated in the lyrics. Yet, these ‘deviations’ are not unmotivated and can be attributed to the overall pattern of the stanza (first stanza) or a focus on arousal rather than valence, or signaling different metaphors.

5. The analysis: *Here Comes the Night Time* by Arcade Fire

5.1 The lyrics

The musical component and the manner of vocal performance also play a salient role in modifying the emotional potential of the lyrics, or rather in correlating not the most typical pattern of affect with the textual component in the song *Here Comes the Night Time*. The speaker in the lyrics talks about missionaries or preachers whose teachings are motivated by the common DARKNESS/LIGHT and OUTSIDE/INSIDE conceptual schemata with a typical pattern of affect ascribed to these schemata, i.e. the aim is to invoke the metaphorical contrasting pairs NEGATIVE/PAGAN IS DARK – POSITIVE/RELIGIOUS IS LIGHT and NEGATIVE IS OUTSIDE – POSITIVE IS INSIDE (cf. Arcade Fire 2013; also see: Arcade Fire 2018). Therefore, they tell people to “head inside” (Arcade Fire 2013) when it gets dark, “when the sun goes down” (Arcade Fire 2013), otherwise the late-comers “will be left behind” (Arcade Fire 2013), so “If you want to be righteous, get in line” (Arcade Fire 2013). Consequently, falling intonation and relatively low pitch may be anticipated for the entire stanza, except possibly for the part “you don’t mind”,

if the value of valence is to be reflected in vocal realization and music. The falling intonation and low pitch should also pertain to the line “Here comes the night time”, which is repeated three times in the stanza, and the chorus consisting of the lines: “Cause here comes the night time / Here comes the night time (x 4) / Here comes the night / Here comes the night time / Look out, here comes the night time” (Arcade Fire 2013).

In the second stanza, the missionaries are said to condemn music and place it outside heaven: “They say, heaven’s a place / Yeah, heaven’s a place and they know where it is / It’s behind the gate, they won’t let you in / And when they hear the beat, coming from the street, they lock the door” (Arcade Fire 2013). The speaker contests this idea saying, “But if there’s no music up in heaven, then what’s it for? / When I hear the beat, my spirit’s on me like a live-wire / A thousand horses running wild in a city on fire” (Arcade Fire 2013). Therefore, falling intonation could be expected for the lines describing the preachers’ views, and rising intonation would be a plausible match for the expression of the speaker’s views and attitude to music. In this way, the usual valence ascribed to the concepts of INSIDE and OUTSIDE seems indirectly modified by expressing the desire to stay outside where positively valued music is situated. In the line: “But it starts in your feet, then it goes to your head” (Arcade Fire 2013) rising intonation may be expected in accordance with the embodied experience. For the penultimate line of the stanza, either falling intonation (NEGATIVE IS DOWN) owing to the phrase “then the roots are dead” (Arcade Fire 2013) is likely to be applied or non-final intonation since the end of the line does not coincide with the end of the sentence. The question “what is our crime?” (Arcade Fire 2013) in the ultimate line, if affectively unmarked, should be sung with falling intonation. The speaker may, however, wish to express irritation, frustration or use an accusatory tone, and hence use rising intonation.

In the context of the speaker’s views presented in the second stanza, the following chorus consisting of the lines “Here comes the night time”, “Look out, here comes the night time!” and “Here comes the night!” (Arcade Fire 2013) repeated several times is likely to be performed with rising intonation, possibly accompanied with music of a relatively high pitch and fast tempo, especially as they seem to imply high arousal connected with dancing and partying. With regard to the bridge, the choice of either of the two divergent intonations seems plausible. The line about the preachers talking “Up on the satellite” (Arcade Fire 2013) could be sung with rising intonation owing to the preposition used. If the speaker’s evaluation of the preachers’ views is considered, however, such choice seems highly unlikely, and falling intonation can be anticipated. By the same token, for the line: “If you’re looking for hell, just try looking inside” (Arcade Fire 2013), due to the mental link of INSIDE with hell, falling intonation seems a natural choice, even though in accordance with the INSIDE/OUTSIDE conceptual schema, INSIDE commonly carries a positive axiological default. The intonation/music accompanying the closing lines: “When you look in the sky, just try looking inside / God

knows what you might find” (Arcade Fire 2013) is somewhat more difficult to anticipate. Though mentioning the sky commonly evokes the metaphor POSITIVE IS UP, just as the notion of INSIDE (in contrast to OUTSIDE), the INSIDE has already been linked to hell in the previous line. What can actually be found there is, as expressed in the last line, not predetermined.

5.2 The performance

The piece starts with a relatively long instrumental intro that appears to metonymically activate a mental scenario of dancing, possibly a party. The music can be described as energetic, with a fast tempo and ascending musical sequences. Shortly before the verbal part begins, the tempo slows down, and punctual ‘inserts’ of low, disturbing sounds appear. The low, disturbing sounds accompany the words *down* and *inside* in the initial lines: “When the sound goes down / When the sun goes down you head inside” (Arcade Fire 2013), as well as the lexeme *righteous* in: “If you want to be righteous / If you want to be righteous, get in line” (Arcade Fire 2013) where the disturbing sounds are even lower, thus apparently communicating a negative valence attached to these items in accordance with the NEGATIVE IS DOWN metaphor. Negative valence is also signalled by the falling intonation used throughout the whole first stanza, except for the line “Here comes the night time” (Arcade Fire 2013), which is repeated three times with non-final intonation. Additional portions of soft, high-pitch music are added to this line, which may be interpreted as a kind of foreboding of positive valence and high arousal to be voiced later in the song.

The speaker’s negative attitude towards the views of the missionaries voiced in the second stanza is also reflected at the musical level. In the second stanza, for the lines describing the preachers’ views and for the expression of the speaker’s views and attitude to music, falling intonation and rising intonation are employed as expected, respectively. Only for the line “But it starts in your feet, then it goes to your head” (Arcade Fire 2013) and the next one containing the phrase *the roots are dead* (Arcade Fire 2013), non-final intonation instead of the predicted rising and falling, respectively, is used. The question “what is our crime?” (Arcade Fire 2013) in the ultimate line proves to be affectively marked, as it is sung with rising intonation (accusatory tone, maybe frustration).

The chorus is, each time, first preceded and then sung accompanied by ascending high-pitch musical sequences. The tempo of the song accelerates significantly at the end of the second chorus and remains fast for the bridge, which is, as predicted, performed with falling intonation and slows down again for the lines: “When you look in the sky, just try looking inside / God knows what you might find” (Arcade Fire 2013). The former is performed with rising intonation for both sentence parts, while for the latter, non-final intonation is selected. Both lines are accompanied by relatively high pitch music but with a slower tempo.

The intonation/pitch patterns and changes of tempo in the song clearly indicate high arousal connected with dancing and may invoke positive valence concerning the night time, even though DARKNESS is commonly associated conceptually and affectively with NEGATIVE, which corroborates Sopory's observations (cf. 2005: 442) about experiential knowledge of the events or processes talked about, which can override typical patterns of valence ascribed to orientational metaphors. If we look at Kim and Andre's (2008: 5) Fig. 2, we notice that relatively high pitch but slower tempo in the last lines may indicate a fall in arousal with a possible simultaneous shift towards negative valence.

6. The analysis: *Die Flut* [the deluge]

6.1 The lyrics

In the textual component of the song, the stanzas contain lexemes invoking the DARKNESS/LIGHT schema and the typical pattern of affect attributed to these phenomena, reinforced with other emotionally laden lexemes to express the speaker's depressive mood, possibly his disillusionment concerning the surrounding reality. Metaphorical mappings from the FOOD and TEMPERATURE domains onto the domain of EMOTIONS seem to be exploited as well, i.e. NEGATIVE EMOTIONS AS UNTASTY/BITTER FOOD or NEGATIVE IS COLD: "Bitterkeit mein dunkles Herz umspült (...) Wenn Finsternis den klaren Blick verhüllt / Kein Sinn mehr eine Sehnsucht stillt" [Bitterness washes around my dark heart (...) When darkness blocks the clear view / No sense quenches the longing anymore] (Heppner 2018) and in the second stanza: "Gibt es dort am kalten Firmament / Nicht auch den Stern (...) / Ein dumpfes Leuchten, wie ein Feuer in der Nacht" [Is there in the cold sky / no star (...) A dull glow, like fire in the night] [all translations and emphasis mine] (Heppner 2018). The last line is about a dream that will never materialize: "Ruf ich mir herbei ein Traum / Der sich niemals erfüllt" [I summon a dream / which never materializes] (Heppner 2018). Consequently, falling intonation may be expected for the whole two stanzas as well as music with a slow tempo and of low key. In the bridge – in its three variations – a wish for a new, better world is expressed, which is never to be fulfilled: "Doch es wird keine andere geben (or "Doch es wird keine andere sein") [but there will be no other] (Heppner 2018). Here again, the negative emotional potential of the lyrics would correspond well with falling intonation / low key, maybe except for the lines: "Und du siehst zum Himmel auf" [And you look up to the sky] and "Du willst eine schönere erleben" [You want to experience a more beautiful one] (Heppner 2018) where, in accordance with the embodied experience and affective value, rising intonation is also a viable option. In the chorus, however, the speaker clearly reverses the affective value typically ascribed to the phenomenon designated by the lexeme *die Flut* 'the deluge' by conceiving of it as washing away all the evil that he sees on earth as a force able to transport him into better life (cf. Heppner 2018).

This part consists of the question “Wann kommt die Flut” [When will the deluge come] (Heppner 2018), which is to be sung four times, each time complemented by the parts: “über mich” [wash around me], “die mich berührt” [that will touch me], “die mich fort-nimmt [that will take me]” (Heppner 2018) and concluded: “In ein anderes großes Leben irgendwo” [into a different, bigger life somewhere] (Heppner 2018). The standard neutral intonation for suppletive questions and statements in German is the falling one, though it seems that the positive aspect of the emotional potential is activated here by invoking the metaphor SPIRITUAL/MORAL CLEANSING IS PHYSICAL CLEANSING BY WATER, and hence application of rising intonation also seems plausible.

6.2 The performance

The German piece performed by Joachim Witt and Peter Heppner, similarly to *Ride*, involves intentional changes in pitch and intonation and alternate high and low keys (and two different voices). In terms of music, the song opening guides the recipient’s anticipation regarding affective information to be communicated as the song starts with a slow tempo and low key intro, which seems to metonymically forebode the pessimistic aspect of the emotional potential. The choice of key, pitch patterns and tempo with respect to the music clearly correspond with the intended affective information communicated by the text of the song. The stanzas are sung slowly in a low voice by Joachim Witt, accompanied by low-key music with a slow tempo. The intonation is non-final for all the verses except for the last, where falling intonation is applied. This seems to result not only from the standard intonation patterns for sentences in German but also that the first stanza harmonizes with the emotional potential activated in the text. The bridge, in turn, is sung by Peter Heppner in a higher voice, and the tempo is faster. The intonation for all the lines except for the last is falling, which is in accordance with the afore-described predictions. The line closing the bridge, however, in which the speaker states that there will be no new, better world, is sung louder with rising intonation. The affective information in this case attached to the VERTICALITY schema seems to be concerning high arousal rather than positive valence and may possibly be aimed to invoke the metaphor IMPORTANT IS UP, correlated with IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME (entailing MORE IMPORTANT IS LOUDER). The question in the chorus “Wann kommt die Flut” [When will the deluge come] (Heppner 2018) is performed (four times) by both vocalists alternately (i.e. in low and high voice) with rising intonation (especially when performed at the end of the piece), whereby Heppner’s voice rises on the stressed word *kommt*, while Witt’s voice rises on the stressed *Flut*. The second part of each question is sung by Witt alone with non-final intonation, probably because the text still continues. The final chorus line: “In ein anderes großes Leben irgendwo” [into a different, bigger life somewhere] (Heppner 2018) is performed by both Witt and Heppner simultaneously with rising intonation up to “Leben”, then falling with

the lexeme *irgendwo*. Such intonation pattern is clearly affectively marked, since the standard neutral intonation for suppletive questions and statements in German is the falling one. The rising intonation here in the context of the whole song seems to indicate not only high arousal but positive valence (metaphorically identifiable as POSITIVE IS UP), since the positive aspect of the deluge is emphasised. Note that even though Witt's voice is a low one, in the chorus he adopts a noticeably higher key. Rising intonation and high pitch may, furthermore, serve to evoke the metaphor HAVING FORCE IS UP (cf. Górska 2014: 182) concerning the phenomenon of a deluge.

7. Conclusions

The analysis of the research material reveals the salient presence of the UP/DOWN (=VERTICALITY) image schema in vocal intonation and music aimed to enhance or modify emotional potential at the verbal level. The song performers employ changes in vocal intonation, combinations of alternate high and low pitch, slow and quick tempo and ascending and descending melodic lines to evoke certain metaphors and metonymies. There are cases, as noticed by Sopory (cf. 2005: 442) and in Hampe's (2005) analysis, where the pattern of affect typically associated with the VERTICALITY image schema in vocal intonation and accompanying music may seem not to match the valence pattern typically available in the form of the metaphors POSITIVE IS UP and NEGATIVE IS DOWN expressed in a given piece of lyrics. It appears, however, that the seemingly non-typical patterns of affect identified in the material examined herein (e.g. positive valence ascribed to darkness or deluge, high pitch not connected with positive valence) can, more often than not, be predicted on the basis of a thorough analysis of lyrics if the experiential knowledge available to the recipient of the phenomena/events referred to in the textual component is considered. It does not, for instance, suffice to identify the DARKNESS/LIGHT or OUTSIDE/INSIDE image schemata at the verbal level and to assume that in accordance with the default value of valence ascribed to them, the intonation should be falling or rising, respectively. The whole context, that is the night time as the time for the speaker to party (as in *Here Comes the Night Time*), should be taken into account. This means including the aspect of arousal or reference to other metaphors, for example IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME, in the analysis. In some cases, only one, not the most typical but rather latently present, aspect of emotional potential (negative or positive) inherent in a given song may be actualized, such as the cleansing potential of the deluge rather than its destructive force. Eventually, certain manners of vocal realization may result from the adopted intra-opus pattern of the song (e.g. acoustic version of *Ride*).

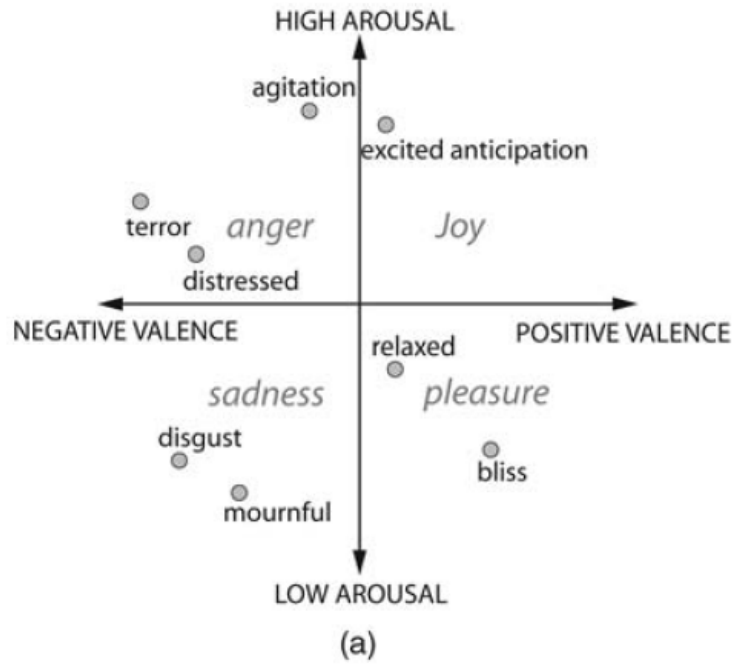


Fig. 1. Two-dimensional emotion model by valence and arousal (Kim & Andre 2008, 4).

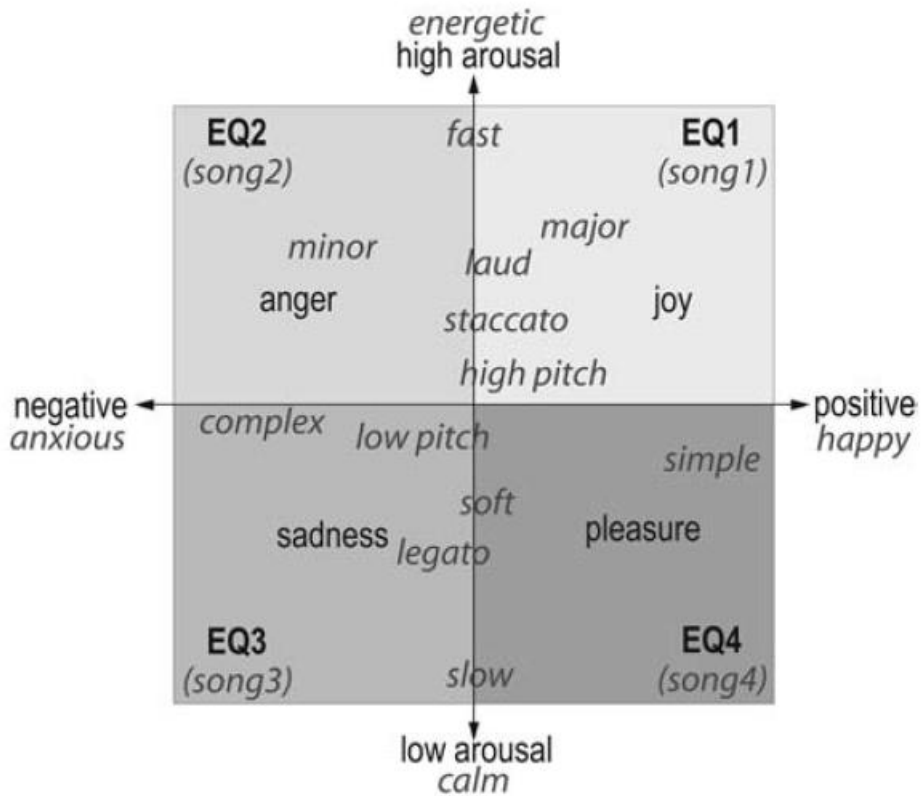


Fig. 2. Reference emotional cues in music based on the 2D emotion model. EQ1 = positive/high arousal, EQ2 = negative/high arousal, EQ3 = negative/low arousal, and EQ4 = positive/low arousal.

(Kim & Andre 2008, 5)

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Does Brexit mean Brexit? An analysis of the semantic field of the lexeme *Brexit*

Abstract. The article presents the results of a discourse analysis of the contextual uses of *Brexit*.³ Based on corpus-driven Internet samples, the research employs the method of semantic field analysis devised by Robin (1980) and her team of researchers from the Saint-Cloud Political Lexicography Center. According to Robin, in order to find the meaning of a word, the context of its use must be analysed, as well as its lexical relations with other linguistic units. For this reason, we have divided the elements of the co-text of the lexeme *Brexit* into six groups, which represent various connections of linguistic items with the SUBJECT, i.e. the lexeme under scrutiny. Subsequently, in compliance with Kłosiński's approach (1994), we propose the definitions of the SUBJECT which reflect the meanings featuring the actual usages of the lexeme *Brexit* and which integrate the key words from the semantic field of the concept in question.

Keywords: *Brexit*, semantic field, corpus, context, definitions.

1. Introduction

The term *Brexit*, or rather *Brixit*, as it was used initially by the financial press in 2012, stands for Britain's exit from the EU and is a blend of an adjective and a noun (cf. Davis 2017;

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3 Please, note that the article had been prepared for publication before Brexit came to fruition.

Fontaine 2017). Chosen as the word of the year 2016 by *Collins Dictionary* (Stolworthy 2016), *Brexit* entered the *Oxford English Dictionary* (the *OED* henceforth) as early as in November 2016 (Line 2016).⁴ The *OED* offers a more detailed account of the phenomenon as it provides a twofold meaning. First and foremost, *Brexit* is regarded as “the proposed withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, and the political process associated with it” and, secondly, the term is used “with reference to the referendum held in the UK on 23rd June 2016, in which a majority of voters favoured withdrawal from the EU” (ibid.).

The dictionary meaning of *Brexit* can be detected in Theresa May’s catchphrase “Brexit means Brexit”, which was followed by her forceful promise: “we are going to make a success of it. There will be no attempts to stay within the EU [...] we must leave the EU” (Cowburn 2016). However, with the departure process extending over a prolonged period of time, the word *Brexit* has gained new meanings. *Brexit* no longer means only the scheduled withdrawal from the EU but may also be used as a verb to refer to “the act of telling everyone at a gathering (party, meeting, etc.) that you are leaving but actually staying” (Web 2), or as a cat’s name to describe the cat’s indecisive nature (Stone 2019).

Brexit discourse is often imbued with emotionally-charged expressions that betray speakers’ attitudes, opinions and feelings towards this political event. This affective meaning inherent in the semantics of the lexeme *Brexit* is not, however, reflected in the dictionary entry. The dictionary meaning of the word seems to be semantically impoverished as it does not show that BREXIT is a sharply polarized concept, which everyday language use clearly indicates. We aim at providing a thorough definition of *Brexit* that is based on the actual uses of the analysed word and which can be found in pieces of knowledge about *Brexit* gathered from individual language users. Part of the purpose of the paper is also to evaluate Robin’s method of semantic field analysis (Robin 1980) and to test its applicability to linguistic research. Though not well-known within the field of language study, Robin’s approach seems to constitute a useful tool for linguistic analysis as it emphasizes the importance of context in the meaning of a lexical item, which is also the case in Cognitive Linguistics. Robin’s (1980) syntagmatic approach to meaning appears to be consistent with the assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics, according to which “there are no stable word meanings, rather meanings of words are dynamic, context-sensitive and construed on-line” (Paradis 2012: 3357). Due to limitations of space, only Robin’s method of semantic field analysis will be discussed in detail and contrasted briefly with the cognitive approach to lexical meaning.

⁴ More recently, *Brexit* has been announced the 2019 Children’s Word of the Year as a result of a competition hosted by BBC Radio 2 Breakfast Show in partnership with Oxford University Press. The analysis of children’s short stories submitted for the competition revealed that the use of the word increased by 192 percent since the 2018 competition. Frequently, children used the word as inspiration for inventing new names for different types of leaving, e.g. *clEXIT* ‘class leaving the school’ (Web 1).

2. Semantic field analysis by Régine Robin (1980)

Similarly to Firth (1935: 37), who claims that “the complete meaning of a word is always contextual, and no study of meaning apart from a complete context can be taken seriously”, Robin (1980) emphasizes that the meaning of a word cannot be studied in isolation from other linguistic elements. She defines the semantic field of a word as a network of lexical items which co-occur in real-world situations and which influence and contribute significantly to the meaning of the key element, i.e. the SUBJECT (Robin 1980). The hub of the entire network is the analysed word, which is either syntagmatically or paradigmatically related to other linguistic elements in the network. Robin (1980) suggests that the linguistic elements be divided into six different categories, but that any necessary changes to the classification of lexical items can be introduced if need be. According to Robin (1980), linguistic samples should be grouped as follows:

- i. equivalentents – expressions synonymous to the key word;
- ii. oppositions – antonymous expressions;
- iii. descriptions – expressions which are used to characterise the term in question;
- iv. associations – words which are somehow connected with the key term;
- v. actions of the SUBJECT – what the SUBJECT, i.e. the analysed word, does or what impact it has upon other entities, etc.;
- vi. actions towards the SUBJECT – how the SUBJECT is influenced/affected; what actions are performed upon the SUBJECT, etc.⁵

All those linguistic elements constitute the semantic field of a given lexical item and contribute to the meaning of the key term, the definition of which can be worded, in keeping with Kłosiński’s (1994) proposal, in the following vein:

THE LEXEME UNDER SCRUTINY (i.e. THE SUBJECT), *that is*
[equivalentents], as opposed to [oppositions], is described as [descriptions].
It is associated with [associations], causes/makes/performs [actions of
the SUBJECT] and undergoes/is subject to [actions towards the SUBJECT].⁶

In the convention used:

ALL CAPS are used for the SUBJECT of the analysis;
italics are used for corpus data;
italics in bold are used for conjunctions;

⁵ Translation by the authors.

⁶ Translation by the authors.

bold font (to occur in the *Brexit* definitions) is used for extra commentary of the authors resulting from the contexts in which the corpus examples appeared or were deemed necessary for stylistic purposes, but never interfering with the original meanings.

Kłosiński's suggestion, pursuant to Robin's postulate, to employ the expressions coded in particular relational networks so as to construe the broad and aspectual definitions of the term under scrutiny, is open to modification depending on the requirements of individual analyses (see the discussion in Fatyga et al. 2014: 2).⁷ Fatyga et al. (ibid.) claim that Robin's method is a flexible analytic tool and, while adapting it for their study of public discourse on copyright, they added to it an evaluation of the emotional temperature of linguistic expressions that co-occur with *prawo autorskie* 'copyright'. They assign the samples into four groups: positively-charged expressions, negatively-charged expressions, neutral and ambivalent expressions. In doing so, they refer to the psychological notion of affect, which is an integral part of human attitudes and can be defined as an elementary assessment of the state of affairs with reference to the positive-negative scale.

In our analysis, we embrace the alterations of both Kłosiński (1994) and Fatyga et al. (2014) and as a result, apart from the main definition of *Brexit*, we put forward two emotionally-marked definitions which synthesize the co-text expressions of *Brexit* that involve positive and negative attitudes, respectively (see the discussion in Section 5). Prior to this, we provide a detailed classification of the corpus samples based on the application of Robin's method (see Section 4). Each category into which lexical co-items of the key word were classified is briefly characterised and illustrated by means of selected examples from the corpus. The summary of the data collection procedure, as well as a brief description of the corpus is provided in the following section.

3. Data collection procedure and the characteristics of the corpus

The present study is a qualitative corpus analysis for which linguistic samples have been retrieved via WebCorpLive which, as is stated on the website (Web 3), "allows access to the World Wide Web as a corpus – a large collection of texts from which facts about the language can be extracted" (2019-09-06). WebCorpLive allows its users to find a word or a phrase in its own textual environment by means of such search engines as FAROO, Bing and The Guardian Open Platform. It generates concordance lines which show every occurrence of a particular word/phrase in the corpus on a single results page.

The authors of the paper used FAROO search engine as it operates on peer-to-peer technology to crawl the World Wide Web and provides a real-time search. All FAROO users contribute to the world-wide peer network, and the ranking of results is based

⁷ Cf. Paul & Kisilowska (2016); Ziarko (2017).

on user behaviour tracking and the popularity of webpages. The more often a web page is visited by FAROO users and the more time they spend browsing a given page, the higher in rank the webpage is. The linguistic data extracted by means of a distributed search engine appear to reflect browsing habits of FAROO users – there is no optimisation or positioning involved, which influence the visibility of a website or web page in popular centralised search engines.

The search was conducted on April 8, 2019. Limited to the English language, the case insensitive search generated 2060 concordances showing the word *Brexit* in the context of 100 characters. WebCorpLive successfully accessed 92 web pages and 15 websites. Wikipedia.org and youtube.com generated the greatest number of concordances as these are the pages which are the most frequently visited sites not only by FAROO users.⁸ Table 1 shows the distribution of concordances between the visited websites. It is important to underline that, as far as youtube.com is concerned, the search took into account only the written language, i.e. titles, descriptions of films, comments made by viewers, etc. Apart from wikipedia.org, and youtube.com, pages such as dailymail.co.uk, news.yahoo.com or bbc.co.uk were also searched, to find the word of interest, i.e. *Brexit*. The least frequently visited websites were telegraph.co.uk, theguardian.com, and mashable.com.

Table 1. The distribution of concordances between the websites

No.	Website title	Number of concordances	Concordance percentage
1	bbc.co.uk	87	4.22%
2	bbc.com	54	2.62%
3	cnbc.com	26	1.26%
4	dailymail.co.uk	167	8.11%
5	en.wikipedia.org	718	34.85%
6	express.co.uk	72	3.50%
7	mashable.com	14	0.68%
8	nakedcapitalism.com	29	1.41%
9	news.yahoo.com	89	4.32%
10	nytimes.com	21	1.02%
11	reuters.com	67	3.25%
12	telegraph.co.uk	12	0.58%
13	theguardian.com	14	0.68%

⁸ According to SimilarWeb ranking of the biggest websites based on the number of visits in June 2019, youtube.com is the second largest and Wikipedia.org is the fifth largest website in the world (Routley 2019).

No.	Website title	Number of concordances	Concordance percentage
14	xinhuanet.com	24	1.17%
15	youtube.com	666	32.33%
		2060	100.00%

The first mention of the word *Brexit* in the generated corpus dates back to January 1, 2016. The number of concordances appears to correspond to political events, and therefore, in the years 2016 and 2019, a significant increase in the interest in Brexit-related issues can be observed. The majority of concordances occurred in texts published in 2019 – 1619 (78.59% of all the concordances in the corpus) and in 2016 – 228 (11.07%). 2017 and 2018 saw a significant drop in matters pertaining to Brexit, as there are only 30 (1.46%) and 85 (4.13%) concordances from those years, respectively. For 98 concordances (4.76%), the publication date remains unknown.

4.1 Identifying the semantic field of *Brexit*

The purpose of this section is to present the analysis of the semantic field of the concept BREXIT which was conducted in accordance with Robin’s approach (1980). As advocated by Robin (1980), linguistic elements from the corpus have been assigned to appropriate categories and each group of words contributing to the meaning of *Brexit* is briefly described in the subsections below.

4.1. Equivalentents

The network of equivalentents of *Brexit* comprises a collection of expressions which relate to the meaning of the notion in question and includes: phrases that relate to the idea of the UK leaving the European Union, as illustrated by the examples in (1a); those expressions that additionally evoke the notion of time connected with the upcoming Brexit (see the examples in (1b)); and those that apart from the basic meaning (cf. [1a]) carry an additional emotional/subjective⁹ component, as illustrated by the samples in (1c).

(1)

- a. *Leave; leaving the EU; Britain’s withdrawal from the EU; the UK’s exit; Britain’s departure from European leaders; UK divergence from EU;*
- b. *the planned withdrawal of the UK from the EU; the UK’s scheduled exit;*
- c. *the troubled plan for Britain to quit the EU; the confusing and deeply nightmarish hellstorm*

⁹ By “subjective” we mean elements of discourse which concern “expression of self and the representation of a speaker’s (or, more generally, a locutionary agent’s) perspective or point of view”, as worded by Finegan (1995: 1).

that Britain's attempt to leave the EU has become; Britain's great exit; Britain's Great Escape; split with Europe.

4.2. Oppositions

The phrases identified as oppositions of *Brexit* were divided into two main groups. The first group constitutes expressions that are direct opposites of the term or indicate ideas opposite to leaving the EU, as the examples in (2) illustrate. The second group (see the data in [3]) comprises expressions which refer to various scenarios that *Brexit* is contrasted with: all types of alternative scenarios like Britain having another referendum in which people would reconsider their choices concerning staying in or leaving the EU, or Britain leaving the European Union without a deal because of Parliament's lack of acceptance of the withdrawal agreement negotiated by Prime Minister May.

(2) *Remain; Remain +; Bremain; The remain inside the EU; continued membership; not leaving at all;*

(3)

- a. *Norway-style soft Brexit and second referendum;*
- b. *to have another vote on Brexit;*
- c. *a no-deal Brexit; crashing out without a deal;*
- d. *reveal Brexit plan B; arrive at a consensus Brexit plan within any future time frame;*
- e. *rejecting a no-deal Brexit and failing to reach a consensus for any alternative options.*

4.3. Descriptions

The description network, according to Robin (1980: 255), refers to a variety of means of characterising the SUBJECT. As for the way users of the English language characterise *Brexit*, expressions that show their negative attitude towards the phenomenon (see the examples in [4a]) clearly prevail over those that code the positive attitude (cf. [4b]).¹⁰ Negative assessment is also salient in a group of expressions that refer to the way *Brexit* was or is being handled, as illustrated by the examples in (4c).

(4)

- a. *Brexit was a mistake; Brexit is a bad idea; Brexit is bad from every single angle; a catastrophically stupid decision;*
- b. *Brexit is good for working people; Brexit is a very big step; Brexit is the only sensible choice;*

¹⁰ The terms “positive/negative evaluations” are used in the sense of Fries (1992: 25-56), who maintains that evaluations expressed, for example, by adjectives like *good* or *bad* require for their interpretation the concept of both a scale and understanding that speakers' assessments of this kind involve gradation.

- c. *Brexit has been a story of party management over the national interest; It's like the playground; a comedy of errors; Brexit: malice or incompetence?*

A large collection of words referring to Brexit are expressions, mainly adjectives, that describe the event with respect to the legal aspects of the British withdrawal from the EU and can be organized around two ideas: leaving with a deal or leaving without a deal. Brexit, in view of the deal scenario, is usually described as “orderly” or “soft” (see the data in [5a]). Expressions used to refer to Brexit without a deal tend to evoke the ideas of abruptness and volatility, as the instances in (5b) show.

(5)

- a. *soft Brexit; a “softer” Brexit; orderly Brexit; “slow Brexit”;*
 b. *a disorderly Brexit (without an agreement); an “accidental disorderly” no-deal Brexit; Worst-Case Brexit; hard Brexit; painful Brexit; a rapid Brexit; cliff-edge Brexit; a clean# Brexit; blindfold Brexit;*
 c. *the “have cake and eat it” mentality Brexit; cherry-picking Brexit; a Green Brexit; a red, white and blue Brexit; white Brexit.*

The senses in (5c) are usages whose interpretation is metaphorically grounded. On the one hand, there are “*have cake and eat it*” *mentality Brexit* and *cherry-picking Brexit*, which both indicate the disapprobation of the attitude of the British towards the process. Namely, the British are often criticized for wanting their exit to be an escape from the problems of the EU without losing the privileges and benefits arising from the membership. On the other hand, there are “colourful” Brexit adjectives: *a Green Brexit* that stands for Brexit and its potential benefits for environmental protection in the UK; *white Brexit* that stands for a partial Brexit, with Britain retaining its membership in the UK customs union of a single market; or *a red, white and blue Brexit* that stands for an ambitious deal with the EU from which all British subjects shall benefit once it takes place.

4.4. Associations

Another group of expressions are items that belong to the association network of *Brexit*. By associations we mean syntagmatic relations motivated contextually (see Robin 1980: 254). The expressions classified as associations can be sorted in the following vein. First, a substantial number of corpus expressions are associations that relate to Brexit taking place (6a), or expressions associated with procedural difficulties in handling Brexit (6b). The latter idea is also present in (6c), but in the case of these associations, an additional focus is on the timeline of Brexit and the duration of the process. Following this, there is a variety of names that we consider to be associations relating to people engaged

in Brexit or affected by Brexit, so that the group includes both people in favour of it and those against it (6d).

(6)

- a. *the Brexit referendum; the Leave campaign; the exit deal; “divorce bill”;*
- b. *consensus Brexit plan; toxic Brexit debate; the Brexit withdrawal agreement; impasse over Brexit; the betrayal of Brexit; trice-rejected divorce deal;*
- c. *a B “flexextension”; an extension to Brexit; a postponement of Brexit; a further Brexit delay;*
- d. *a fan of Brexit; Brexit Ally; the EU “BREXIT” Illuminati; Leavers; adherents of the Leave campaign; ardent Brexiteers; Brexit camp; Brexit supporters; Mr Brexit; Remainers; Remoaners.*

One of the more conspicuous groups of associations of the SUBJECT are phrases that bring to light the chaos and uncertainty prompted by Brexit. Consider the data in (7).

(7) *rising Brexit uncertainty; to solve Brexit chaos; to escape Brexit troubles; to put lipstick on the pig of her Brexit mess.*

Importantly, a whole set of expressions are associations that relate to all sorts of Brexit-induced consequences. Presented in (8), they are either corpus instances that show that Brexit is frequently associated with its impact (8a), or examples which more specifically relate to the impact of Brexit in the realm of economy and finance (8b). It has to be noted that the majority of these associations correspond to the downsides of Brexit.

(8)

- a. *the impact of Brexit on the EU; Britain’s self-inflicted Brexit crisis; damage of Brexit to the British economy*
- b. *the savings on Brexit; the financial benefits of Brexit; economic effects of Brexit; estimates of the cost of Brexit; the real price of Brexit.*

4.5. Actions of the SUBJECT

In Robin’s approach, two more groups of phrases relate to the verbal network: those which encode actions of the SUBJECT and those which encode actions towards the SUBJECT. According to Fontaine (2017: 8), *Brexit* is a complex nominal, the meaning of which “encodes both the meaning of exiting as an event and the cognitive meaning of who/what will be doing the exiting”. In view of the above characteristics, we decided that the actions of the SUBJECT can be divided into two groups: those which indicate that Brexit is an event, as in the case of the data in (9) and (10); and those which show that Brexit itself may be a trigger for various consequences, as in (11). Such a division

of linguistic samples is based on the meaning of verbs which are used to convey information on Brexit actions/influence.

The neologism *Brexit*, as underlined by Fontaine (2017: 2), carries an event-oriented meaning and, therefore, it is said to occur, happen or take place (9):

(9) *Brexit is taking place; Brexit may not happen; Brexit won't happen without a compromise on both sides; No-one thinks Brexit will work;*

As illustrated by (10), the lexeme *Brexit* may also be considered in terms of accomplishments, which constitute a subtype of the event, in line with Wilhelm's (1999: 45) observation that "accomplishments have an initiation point as well as an endpoint. They take a certain (long or short) time to be completed, and are not completed before this time has elapsed".

(10) *Brexit could slip away as crunch week looms; Brexit could "slip through our fingers".*

The actions of the SUBJECT, however, refer mostly to the consequences connected with Britain's withdrawal from the EU (see the examples in [11]). Although the actual leaving has not taken place in the time frame of this article being written, Brexit has already exerted considerable influence upon different spheres of human life, international politics, and European Union stability. 7.6% of all the linguistic examples in which *Brexit* is used in the subject position and is the trigger for the actions described refer to the past, 31.6% to the present, and 60.8% to the future. Significant as it is, a great number of examples that are future-oriented express hypothetical situations, worries or threats. Fontaine (2017: 12) even underlines that this hypothetical meaning is "implicitly encoded in the term *Brexit* [... which] is not derived from the blend itself but from the context of situation and how it came to be coined".

The samples describing the impact of Brexit have been divided into four topic-related categories that include: political consequences of Brexit, the impact of Brexit on business, economy and finance, social consequences of Brexit, and other consequences. The corpus usages of the lexeme *Brexit* used in the subject position and catalogued within these four categories were most numerous among the data in the study and therefore, a limited number of them were selected for the sake of presentation (11).

36.7% of all the samples describing Brexit as a cause of consequences can be interpreted as referring to political consequences of Brexit, mainly potential and anticipated. The group is illustrated with the examples in (11a). Equally, many corpus instances indicate consequences which are economic and financial in nature (11b). 13.9% of the samples are concerned with the social consequences of Brexit, as some of them included below in (11c) show. Finally, 12.7% of the samples are cases which were classified as other consequences of Brexit (11d).

(11)

Brexit raised issues around sovereignty for Gibraltar; Brexit threatens Good Friday agreement; EU referendum: Brexit would spark “constitutional crisis” for UK;

- a. *Brexit has already hurt EU and non-EU exports; Brexit will redirect our nation’s cash-flow; The no deal Brexit could create economic pain across Europe, with no winner;*
- b. *Brexit poses challenges for UK higher education and academic research; *the Brexit destroys own country and people;¹¹ Brexit would deplete the National Health Service (NHS) workforce;*
- c. *a no-deal Brexit would have dire consequences; a hard Brexit would deliver a shock; Brexit would result in a “lose-lose situation” for both the UK and the EU.*

In all the examples listed above, the term *Brexit* is used in the subject position. However, there are also examples in which the action of the SUBJECT is implicitly conveyed. *Brexit* is frequently used as a noun modifier or part of a noun modifying phrase. As a result, it is not the Brexit as such that is the “causer” of certain actions but phenomena strictly related to it, and therefore, it is *the Brexit referendum itself that damaged the economy*, or *the Brexit vote that may spark recession*. Consider more examples in (12):

(12) *Brexit-induced reductions in migration; Every move in the pound has been tied directly to Brexit news; The 27 are frustrated with all the Brexit wrangling.*

Similarly, the data in (13) refer to a Brexit-induced impact with the lexeme *Brexit* featuring in these examples as a prepositional complement. In some cases, as in: *What can America learn from Brexit?*, Brexit itself is the phenomenon that leads to certain consequences. In others, however, as in: *the country at large remains deeply polarised over the terms of Brexit and even whether to depart at all*; Brexit is, in general, the factor leading to certain consequences.

(13) *almost all UK regions are systematically more vulnerable to Brexit than regions in any other country; The end of British austerity starts with Brexit.*

4.6. Actions towards the SUBJECT

For clarity, actions towards the SUBJECT have been divided into seven topic-related categories. They reflect external influence exerted upon the SUBJECT, i.e. what is done to Brexit or with Brexit, and how it is affected by some actions. Apart from the phrases in which *Brexit* is used in the object position, examples in which the key term functions

11 Our corpus contains non-standard usages of spelling and grammar of English, which we indicate with asterisks where necessary.

as a noun modifier (NM) or a prepositional complement (PC) have been included as well, as they still describe actions directed at the SUBJECT.

First and foremost, Brexit is subject to actions which are either to prevent it from happening (14) or which are to ensure that it will take place (15).

(14) *to unilaterally halt Brexit; to stop Brexit; take Brexit off the table and stay in the EU; “kiss goodbye” to Brexit (PC).*

(15) *leaving “no stone unturned” to try and resolve Brexit; to navigate Brexit; to nail Brexit; to secure Brexit; to have another vote on Brexit (PC).*

Still other examples can be grouped on the grounds that they seem to indicate the awareness of the speakers as to the obstacles leading up to Brexit (16) or actions towards the SUBJECT that are destructive for it (17).

(16) *There is now a danger that Brexit could be lost; Is May set for total Brexit surrender? (NM); to fail to deliver on Brexit (PC); there was a risk of Brexit slipping further from grasp (PC).*

(17) *destroying Brexit in the process; “terrible collaboration” between EU and UK MPs to HIJACK Brexit; Rees-Mogg ATTACKS PM for KILLING BREXIT.*

While the examples in (17) show the negative or destructive impact upon Brexit, others contain verbs or phrases which signify that Brexit is a source of confusion and disagreement, as in (18) below:

(18) *Brexit was sold through hysteria; *brits poke their eyes out with Brexit. They are a never-ending Monty Python Show! (PC); Parliament wrestles with Brexit (PC).*

With a global-scale impact, Brexit attracts a great deal of attention and its updates occur regularly. Hence, a significant portion of the corpus shows actions which are to influence the reception of Brexit or which inform about recent news releases. Consider the data in (19):

(19) *Trevor Noah roasts Brexit using multiple British accents; Mark Blyth, who accurately predicted Brexit and Trump explains in clear language how globalisation and capitalism are failing people.*

Finally, the examples in (20) refer to the actual departure of Britain from the EU and, to be more specific, to the extension to the withdrawal date, often referred to as “Brextension”:

(20) *to delay Brexit; to kick Brexit a year more down the road; to postpone Brexit; a flexible Brexit extension (NM); to grant the UK more time over Brexit (PC).*

5. Definitions of Brexit

On the basis of the corpus analysis and Kłosiński’s (1994) formulation of the definition which stems from semantic field analysis (see Section 3 of the article), it was possible to arrive at a broad definition of *Brexit*. May’s statement “Brexit means Brexit,” in view of real language use, could thus be rephrased as follows:

Definition 1:

BREXIT *that is Leave, the UK’s scheduled exit, as opposed to Remain, continued membership but also in contrast to other alternative scenarios, such as not leaving at all, putting Brexit to a second referendum [...] with a view to cancelling it or to an “accidental disorderly” no-deal Brexit, rejecting a no-deal Brexit and failing to reach a consensus for any alternative options, is described both as a mistake and the only sensible choice, bad from every single angle and good for working people, as well as soft and hard, orderly and disorderly, either a success or a failure, green, white, or red, white and blue.*

BREXIT is associated with its own proceeding, as in the Brexit referendum, the Leave campaign, a consensus Brexit plan, a series of Brexit options, the Brexit withdrawal agreement, a Brexit impasse, Brexit day, a flexible Brexit extension; BREXIT is also associated with the people engaged in the process, like Leavers, pro-Brexit members, pro-Brexiters, Brexit-backing ministers, but also with hardline Eurosceptic Conservative lawmakers, or Remainers, as well as with its multiple consequences including the impact of Brexit on the EU, economic effects of Brexit, the real price of Brexit, Brexit uncertainty, Brexit chaos.

BREXIT happened and it has become so toxic; it sparks chaos, threatens to eat up more of the EU’s time; it may not happen, or “slip through our fingers” as it won’t happen without a compromise. BREXIT would have a “knock-on effect in Europe and in the world” and would result in a “lose-lose situation” for both the UK and the EU. It raises questions: if it could create a crisis at the Irish border; what the implications of Brexit for agriculture and farming will be; whether “Brits are going to be worse off” because of it; if our democracy is under threat over Brexit.

BREXIT undergoes actions which are to prevent it from happening, such as voting to cancel Brexit, stopping Brexit, taking Brexit off the table, or which are to ensure that it will take place, such as navigating Brexit, finding a way out of a Brexit impasse, arriving at a consensus Brexit plan or debating the way forward on Brexit. People are anxious about

BREXIT, as in *Brexit might not be delivered at all or could be lost as time is running out for Brexit to be secured. BREXIT is being sold through hysteria and surrounded in chaotic uncertainty and undergoes attacks which attempt to wreck it, thwart it, kill it, hijack or destroy it. Most of all, however, BREXIT is being debated, explained, updated, roasted, and spoofed, and the way it came about and has been prosecuted is a tragedy.*

In analysing the corpus data, the next step was to sort linguistic samples into groups according to their emotional charge. Brexit discourse, especially the samples classified as “actions of the SUBJECT” and “actions towards the SUBJECT”, appeared emotionally-marked to a large extent, covering extreme attitudes of the speakers towards the phenomenon, from fierce opposition to absolute approval with total disregard for the complications that Britain’s withdrawal from the EU may result in.

In accordance with the suggestions of Fatyga et al. (2014),¹² we divided the samples into four categories by assigning to them positive, negative, neutral or ambivalent values. The assessment was carried out in such a way that we focused on those elements of the utterances that indicated the speaker’s subjective and intersubjective evaluations of the states of affairs, like expressions of emotional attitude, or boulomaic modality, which, according to Nuyts (2006: 12), is typically coded by means of lexical means such as predicative adjectives, adverbs, and the main verbs. In our data, positive or rather a positive attitude is illustrated by the samples in (21a), while those in (21b) exemplify neutral senses. Utterances such as those in (21c) and (21d) were interpreted as ambivalent and negative or rather negative, respectively. Let us note at this point that, after the convention of Nuyts, the expression of emotional attitude involves scalarity, with the speakers’ opinions varying from absolute liking, through neutral, to absolute disliking. Therefore, we assume the boundaries between the categories below to be fuzzy, rather than clear-cut.

(21)

- a. *Brexit is causing summer package holiday prices to Europe to drop; to save Brexit;*
- b. *Article 50 – the legal mechanism through which Brexit is taking place; to propose options for Brexit;*
- c. *Brexit beckons; May offers to compromise on Brexit;*
- d. *Brexit will hurt the economy; MPs voting to seize control of Brexit from ministers has only fuelled the demands.*

In the case of the actions of the SUBJECT, the majority of the examples (65.5%) exhibit mostly negative emotions. The neutral value was assigned in about one quarter

¹² Cf. the discussion in Section 2.

of the examples, while ambivalent or positive values were assigned in 5.5% and 4.8% of cases, respectively (see Figure 1 below).

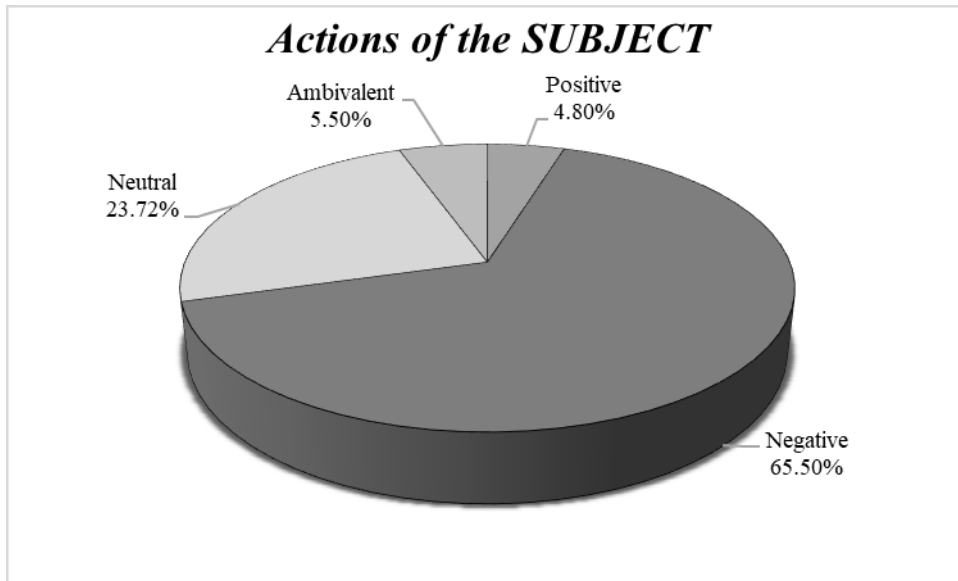


Figure 1. Emotional bias as exhibited by samples classified as “actions of the SUBJECT”

Likewise, actions towards the SUBJECT have been analysed according to their emotional charge. Figure 2 visualizes the division of linguistic examples into positive, negative, neutral and ambivalent, and gives their percentage distribution. From the pie chart, it is clear that the majority of examples are negative or neutral, with just 9.87% difference between the two. Only a small fraction of linguistic samples is positive (8.01%) whereas 21.6 % is considered ambivalent.

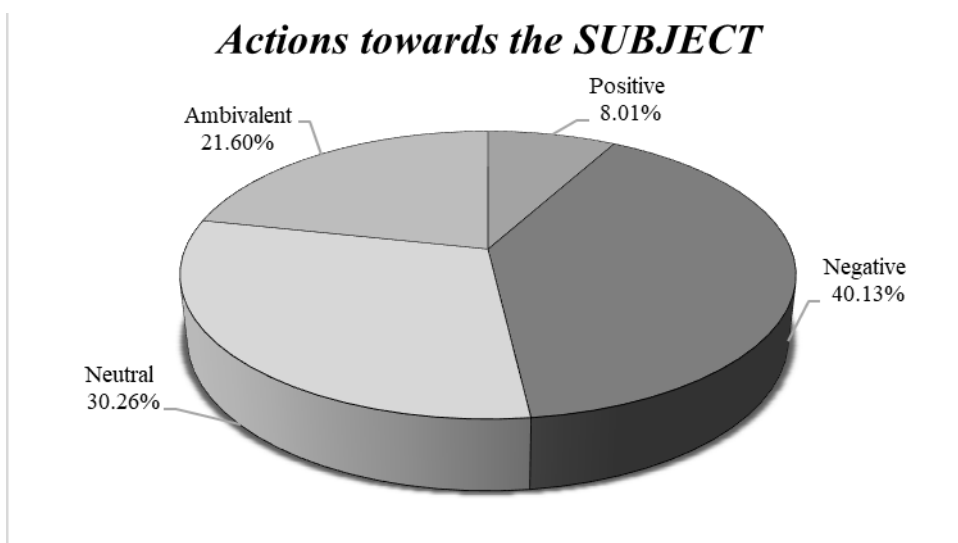


Figure 2. Emotional bias as exhibited by samples classified as “actions towards the SUBJECT”

Taking into account the above considerations, the authors propose the formulation of two more definitions of Brexit, that is the positive one (see Definition 2) and the negative one (Definition 3). Depending on language users' experience with the phenomenon of Brexit, May's definition of Brexit could be completed in the following vein:

Definition 2:

BREXIT, *that is the planned withdrawal of the UK from the EU, the UK's scheduled exit, Britain's Great Escape, as opposed to alternative options, such as Norway-style soft Brexit and second referendum, is described as soft, orderly, and good for working people. It is a very big step and the only sensible choice.*

BREXIT is associated with its own proceeding, as in the Brexit referendum, the exit deal, a consensus Brexit plan, a series of Brexit options, the Brexit withdrawal agreement, and with the people engaged in the process, like a fan or supporter of Brexit, pro-Brexit members, pro-Brexiters, as well as with its consequences which include the savings on Brexit, and the financial benefits of Brexit.

BREXIT will redirect our nation's cash-flow, and wages for British workers will rise in the event of Brexit. It is causing summer package holiday prices to Europe drop and the end of British austerity starts with Brexit.

BREXIT undergoes actions whose aim is to try and resolve Brexit (leaving 'no stone unturned'), to nail and agree on it, to conclude a Brexit deal, or grant the country an extension to it.

Definition 3:

BREXIT, *that is the troubled plan for Britain to quit the EU, the confusing and deeply nightmarish hellstorm that Britain's attempt to leave the EU has become, as opposed to alternative scenarios like rejecting a no-deal Brexit and failing to reach a consensus for any alternative options, crashing out without a deal; is described as a mistake, a catastrophically stupid decision, a story of party management over the national interest and a comedy of errors. It is hard, disorderly, painful, bad from every single angle, and it is like the playground.*

BREXIT is associated with its own proceeding, as in the impasse over Brexit, the fundamental problem with Brexit, the betrayal of Brexit, trice-rejected divorce deal; with the people engaged in the process, like Remoaners, the EU "BREXIT" Illuminati and infuriated Brexit supporters, as well as with its consequences, as in Brexit uncertainty/chaos/mess or troubles; Brexit betrayal, budget cuts and damage to the British economy.

BREXIT, among other things, threatens to eat up more of the EU's time, while other issues demand attention; it will strengthen all authoritarians and would spark 'constitutional crisis' for the UK. It has already hurt EU and non-EU exports, and poses challenges for UK higher education and academic research as it could cost UK science millions in lost research funding. It will have immediate and longer-term effects on the economies of the UK and would have an adverse impact on health in the UK under every Brexit scenario as it would deplete

the National Health Service (NHS) workforce. Brexit destroys own country and people and is damaging their brains.

BREXIT undergoes actions whose aim is to unilaterally halt Brexit or hijack and kill it; to reverse it, to stumble toward it or to destroy it. Brits poke their eyes out with Brexit, and people/politicians lash out over it, clash on it, roast or spoof it, and Parliament wrestles with Brexit, whereas MPs vote to seize control of it as they will not let Theresa May “surrender” to a soft Brexit. They talk about nothing else but Brexit, and the BBC is biased against it.

The definitions above reflect the extreme positions that speakers assume when expressing their assessment and attitude towards Brexit, and bring to light the political divide over the issue of Brexit. Apart from the dictionary meaning, they contain context-inferred elements of cultural knowledge, as well as personal experience-based knowledge of language users, who vary in their opinions of Brexit. Emerging from the analysis of real language use, the definitions show that the meaning of a concept is reliant upon other linguistic elements, and its semantic field reflects its network of relations with other contextually-bound lexical units. Hence, the word *Brexit* does not merely mean ‘the British exit from the EU’, but also, as definitions show, *the scheduled exit or the planned withdrawal*, and at the same time, *Britain’s Great Escape or the confusing and deeply nightmarish hellstorm*. May’s sentence: “Brexit is...” appears to have multiple endings because Brexit means something different for each of us, as the meaning of the concept is highly dependent upon our background knowledge and experiences with the term under discussion.

6. Cognitive approach to the meaning of Brexit

Similarly to the syntagmatic approach represented by Robin (1980), “the cognitive approach to meaning is usage-based” (Paradis 2012: 3357) and, as Evans and Green (2006: 160) emphasize, “words do not represent neatly packaged bundles of meaning (the dictionary view), but serve as ‘points of access’ to vast repositories of knowledge relating to a particular concept or conceptual domain”. This set of cognitive domains evoked by an expression is called a conceptual matrix by Langacker (2008), who also claims that it is essential to activate encyclopedic knowledge for proper understanding of a concept. In Langacker’s vein (2008), the conceptual matrix for the word *Brexit* will thus incorporate such basic domains as SPACE, TIME and FORCE (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), and some abstract domains which are reflected in metaphorical usages of the lexeme *Brexit*.

As the analysis of the *Brexit* corpus revealed, the term is largely used in negative contexts and is perceived mostly as a THREAT or DISASTER, which the selected examples in (22) and (23), respectively, demonstrate:

(22)

Brexit is a threat

Brexit: the unexpected threat to peace in Northern Ireland.

Brexit will reinvigorate the Armageddon synonym industry by freeing it from the constraints of Brussels red tape.

Brexit would threaten Calais border agreement.

(23)

BREXIT IS A DISASTER

**The Brexit destroys own country and people.*

Brexit would be a disaster for UK science, say scientists.

Almost all UK regions are systematically more vulnerable to Brexit than regions in any other country.

Never-ending Brexit talks, replete with sheer hatred and bile, turn the political scene into a battlefield, and Brexit appears to be the object of FIGHTING/WAR (24):

(24)

Brexit is fighting/war

I'm waiting for May to move Brexit "red lines".

She fought off a plot to delay Brexit.

The foreign secretary immediately went on the attack over Brexit...

Such mixed feelings over the UK's withdrawal permeate speech and language, in general, and influence public attitude towards the inevitable split with the EU. Interestingly, Brexit is not only perceived as a bone of contention but also as a VICTIM (25), which the following examples illustrate:

(25)

Brexit is a victim

May has wrecked Brexit, and wrecked the country.

May launched talks with him in a last-ditch bid to save Brexit.

May to BLAME: Rees-Mogg ATTACKS PM for KILLING BREXIT – All rests with HER!

Fierce disagreement over the terms of the withdrawal, verbal abuse among politicians, as well as bitter hostility between pro – and anti-Brexit protesters result in talking about Brexit in terms of CHAOS, as indicated by the examples in (26):

(26)

Brexit is chaos

May attempted to put lipstick on the pig of her Brexit mess.

Britain's thriving art scene strangled by chaos.

The chaos over Brexit will likely have done irreparable damage to public confidence in our political system.

As is often emphasised, 23 June 2016 has changed the world forever and undermined European integrity. Brexit-resultant political and economic instability and insecurity are predicted to drag on for years, and the costs of Brexit are likely to increase significantly. Hence, Brexit is often portrayed metaphorically as a COST, which is illustrated by the examples in (27):

(27)

Brexit is a cost

The real price of Brexit begins to emerge.

Brexit vote may spark recession.

Brexit will likely reduce the UK's real per capita income.

Brexit has been the buzzword on everyone's lips since the referendum, and "has inspired far more metaphors than it has solutions" (Tapper 2019). Compared to a cup of peppermint tea, escaping from prison, eating a chocolate orange, ordering at a restaurant, a divorce or failed marriage, *Brexit* refers to an excruciatingly prolonged process that is difficult to grasp or explicate, and which arouses long-standing controversy, which figurative language tends to illuminate. Though it is not our aim to analyse all the metaphors connected with the key term, we are convinced that it is worth mentioning just a few of them, as they undeniably bring to light certain aspects of the *Brexit* phenomenon. They provide a window into human cognition and reveal how people conceptualise and reason about this political phenomenon. The inductive approach to metaphor analysis enabled us to identify domains against which the concept is understood and characterised.

In contrast to Robin's method of analysis, which enabled us to arrive deductively at the definition of *Brexit*, the cognitive approach to semantics illuminates which bodies of knowledge are activated during the process of meaning construction. It concentrates mainly on the conceptual level, as opposed to Robin's, which focuses on the syntactic level of language and analyses linguistic samples which may have influence upon the meaning of a lexical item. Obviously, Robin's approach to lexical semantics cannot be treated on a par with Langacker's encyclopaedic view as they represent different, but not exclusive, approaches to the analysis of a word's meaning. However, it goes

without saying that cognitive assumptions may contribute significantly to a deeper understanding of the key concept.

7. Conclusion

This paper set out to provide a definition of *Brexit* which resulted from the analysis of instances of the occurrences of the key term in the generated corpus. We adopted Robin's method of semantic field analysis to divide linguistic samples and made use of Kłosiński's (1994) and Fatyga et al.'s (2014) assumptions to provide a more thorough usage-based analysis of the lexeme *Brexit*. We also showed that, on the basis of the analysis of emotional temperature, apart from the broad – neutral definition, we may formulate positive and negative ones to present polar views about the term under discussion. Finally, we noted that the cognitive approach to lexical semantics may contribute significantly to the analysis of a word's meaning, as it brings to light aspects of encyclopedic knowledge that are essential for the concept to be properly understood.

Although Robin's approach seems to provide a well-designed division of linguistic samples, it is effortful and time-consuming and therefore, may be inappropriate for the analysis of large corpora. However, it seems quite useful for specifying synonyms, antonyms or collocations of a concept, or for determining grammatical features of a lexeme. In addition, Robin's analysis of semantic fields, applied together with Kłosiński's (1994) definition of the SUBJECT, reveals how the analysed concept is portrayed by language users and provides us with a compilation of views about the lexeme. As has already been posited, *Brexit* discourse is florid and emotionally loaded, frequently aggressive and disrespectful, and the term itself is largely used in negative contexts, the trend being well-captured in the positive and negative definitions of the lexeme that the authors develop.

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I will see it done: Metonymic extensions of the verb *see* in English

Abstract. English verbs of perception appear to be significant generators of divergent polysemous senses. The aim of this paper is to propose a dictionary study of the verb *see*. It appears that many semantic extensions of the term are metonymic in nature, because they are motivated by metonymic shifts within specific State-of-Affairs Scenarios (SASs). Three distinct dictionary sources are consulted in order to identify different metonymic extensions of the verb *see*. The majority of the database samples appear to belong to the PART FOR WHOLE propositional metonymy category (a stage of SAS for SAS). The conceptual link between seeing and intellectual comprehension is complex and appears to require the discussion of metonymy–metaphor interaction for its fuller explanation. The analysis is followed by conclusions drawn from the database study, as well as suggestions for future research in the field of metonymic extensions of English terms of visual perception.

Keywords: propositional metonymy, State-of-Affairs Scenarios, metonymy–metaphor interaction, visual perception, *see*.

1. A brief outline of the propositional metonymy theory

The theory of metonymy in contemporary linguistics has come a long way from the days of rising interest in the topic (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Norrick 1981; Nunberg 1978). This has occurred through a primary focus on the referential aspects of metonymies (Croft 1993; Kövecses & Radden 1998; Radden & Kövecses 1999) and also a more inclusive look at the issue, encompassing types of formal, propositional, and illocutionary metonymy (Bierwiazzonek 2001, 2007, 2013; Hernández 2007; Panther & Thornburg 1999, 2003b, 2003c; Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal Campo 2002). In his discussion of metonymy, Bierwiazzonek (2013: 16) adopts a modified definition of Kövecses and Radden (1998: 39) to refer to metonymy as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, associated with it within the same single integrated conceptualisation.” This definition warrants a significantly broad understanding of the term, which encompasses, besides referential metonymy, different types of formal, propositional, and illocutionary metonymy.

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The focus of the present paper is on propositional metonymy, as presented by Panther and Thornburg (1999, 2003a, 2005, 2007) and modified by Bierwiazzonek (2013). Bierwiazzonek (2013: 24-26) disregards Panther and Thornburg’s distinction between referential and predicational types within the propositional metonymy category. Instead, he proposes that propositional metonymy can be divided into propositional sentential metonymy and predicative metonymy. Thus, in Bierwiazzonek’s (2013: 156) definition:

Propositional metonymy is a metonymy in which the whole propositional content *p* of a sentence *S* is used to access either the whole ICM, or another propositional content *q* within the same ICM. If the proposition serving as the target is accessed by a sentence whose propositional meaning is completely different from the target (i.e. its subject and predicate are different), then the metonymy may be called *sentential*. If the propositional metonymy is limited to the predicate, the metonymy is referred to as *predicative*.

A significant example of propositional (predicative) metonymy in action was presented by Lakoff (1987: 78), who reported on the way in which the speakers of Ojibwa, a Native American language of central Canada, refer to the activity of travelling. Upon being asked how they arrived at a certain destination, Ojibwa speakers would typically reply with the following English equivalents:

1. I started to come.
2. I stepped into a canoe.
3. I got into a car.

What follows is that Ojibwa speakers have a way of conventionally using a particular stage of the travelling script, namely the stage of Embarkation, to talk about the scenario as a whole. The particular cognitive construct underlying this kind of metonymic transfer consists of five stages representing the prototypical succession of events for moving towards a destination in a vehicle:

Table 1. The Travelling Scenario (Lakoff 1987: 78)

1	Precondition	You have (or have access to) the vehicle.
2	Embarkation	You get into the vehicle and start it up.
3	Centre	You drive (row, fly, etc.) to your destination.
4	Finish	You park and get out.
5	End point	You are at your destination.

Ojibwa speakers using the stage of Embarkation to talk about travelling as a whole represents a predicative metonymy in which part of the travelling script is used to access the whole scenario (PART FOR WHOLE metonymy). Lakoff (1987: 78) notes also that this kind of metonymy is by no means limited to Ojibwa. Speakers of English, for instance, often use similar predicative metonymies in which different stages of the script refer to travelling as a whole:

4. *I have a car.* (Precondition)
5. *I borrowed my brother's car.* (Precondition)
6. *I hopped on a bus.* (Embarkation)
7. *I just stuck out my thumb.* (Embarkation)
8. *I drove.* (Centre)

Bierwiazzonek (2013: 158) notes in this context that the Travelling Scenario in English may also be accessed by more conceptually distant sentential metonymies, as in (9) and (10), below:

9. *My brother gave me a lift.* (Precondition)
10. *My sister had lent me her car.* (Precondition)

The script presented in Table 1, above, is a particular realisation of what Panther and Thornburg (1999: 337) refer to as a State-of-Affairs Scenario (SAS), that is, a general script for propositional contents describing an existing (actual) state of affairs. A SAS is divided into four stages developing in time, each one possessing its specific elements, as demonstrated in Table 2:

Table 2. State-of-Affairs Scenario (Panther & Thornburg 1999: 337)

1.	The Before	Necessary preconditions: motivations, potentialities, capabilities, abilities, dispositions, etc., which can bring about the State of Affairs
2.	The Core	The existing, true State of Affairs
3.	The Effects	Necessary consequences immediately following from the State of Affairs
4.	The After	Non-necessary consequences of the State of Affairs

In the forthcoming sections, I adopt Panther and Thornburg's (1999) framework of SASs in order to propose specific scripts motivating different propositional metonymies of the verb *see* in English.

2. Methodology

The aim of this paper is to propose a dictionary analysis of the verb *see* in English in order to identify different metonymically motivated extensions of the term. For this aim, I intend to focus primarily on the framework of propositional metonymy, as defined by Bierwiazzonek (2013: 156). Different propositional metonymies of the verb are presented by means of Panther and Thornburg's (1999: 337) SASs in their various realisations. The subsequent study is based on a database analysis involving three dictionary sources: *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary* (CCALED), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDCE), and *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (TNODE). Admittedly, focusing the analysis solely on dictionary sources may seem controversial because it conceivably poses the risk of providing less representative results than real-life corpora-based data. However, the main goal of this analysis is to look at specific senses of the verb *see* in order to propose a framework on which future, possibly more representative research may be constructed. I believe that a short dictionary analysis may be sufficient for this purpose.

In order to analyse different senses of the verb *see*, appropriate dictionary entries have been considered and representative examples are provided with their dictionary sources in parentheses. The starting point of the analysis should conceivably be to identify the basic, non-metonymic sense of the verb. LDCE defines the primary meaning of *see* as to “notice/examine something using your eyes.” According to CCALED, “when you *see* something, you notice it using your eyes.” Consider the following examples from the dictionary database:

11. *Can you see the Houses of Parliament from here?* (LDCE)
12. *I saw a man making his way towards me.* (CCALED)
13. *You can't see colours at night.* (CCALED)

The primary meaning of *see* appears to be, thus, the one of visual perception of the object of seeing. An adequate description of human visual modality and its linguistic representation goes well beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say here that in visual perception, an individual experiences immediate and direct sensory data, irrespective of the intentional act of the individual's will (Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976: 586). Thus, in the remaining part of this article, whenever I make a reference to the act of seeing, I refer to (unless otherwise specified) the act of an involuntary perception of visual data by a sentient human individual.

In the forthcoming sections, I aim to distinguish different metonymic extensions of *see* by analysing dictionary entries for the term in order to establish which senses of the verb are underlain by possible propositional metonymic transfers. For this aim,

I refer to SASs as presented by Panther and Thornburg (1999). The act of seeing in different SASs presented below appears to be a salient stage of its respective scenarios. Therefore, I expect to find cases in which the act of visual perception is a part of a larger SAS (PART FOR WHOLE metonymy). Selected SASs, serving as the basis for the examples, will be presented, as well. It is conceivable that for some database examples, the analysis based on metonymic shifts within SASs will not be sufficient and that for a fuller understanding of the issues at hand, the role of metonymy–metaphor interaction should also be considered.

In the forthcoming analysis, I am going to focus on a number of polysemy patterns of *see* as they are presented and exemplified in the dictionary sources. Therefore, this paper does not presume to provide the full picture of how metonymic processes operate in different senses of the verb. Also, the limited scope of this paper precludes any reasonable representation of a full polysemy network for English expressions of visual perception. Despite these shortcomings, I hope that the forthcoming analysis provides a reasonably informative and sufficiently representative account of certain metonymic patterns of the verb *see* on which future study of the issues at hand may be based.

3. Part for whole metonymic patterns of *see*

In his discussion of the metonymy-motivated polysemy of verbs, Bierwiazzonek (2013: 201-202) provides numerous examples in which the act of seeing is a central component of a more complex script (PART FOR WHOLE metonymy):

14. *We are going to see 'Hamlet' tonight.*
– seeing as PART OF WATCHING FOR WATCHING
15. *I'm seeing the doctor tomorrow afternoon.*
– seeing as PART OF VISIT FOR VISITING
16. *Tom is seeing a client.*
– seeing as PART OF MEETING FOR MEETING
17. *They've been seeing a lot of each other.*
– seeing as PART OF SPENDING TIME WITH SOMEONE FOR SPENDING TIME WITH THAT PERSON
18. *Mary is seeing John now.*
– PART OF HAVING A ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP FOR HAVING A ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP
19. *It's up to you to see if the job is done properly.*
– PART OF CHECKING AND CONTROLLING FOR CHECKING AND CONTROLLING

The categories proposed by Bierwiazzonek are corroborated by numerous examples from the dictionary database. Consider, for instance, the following:

- 20. *We're going to see 'Romeo and Juliet' tonight.* (LDCE)
- 21. *He had been to see the semi-final of the FA Cup.* (CCALED)
 - seeing as PART OF WATCHING FOR WATCHING
- 22. *She was seen by a doctor but didn't need hospital treatment.* (LDCE)
- 23. *You need to see a doctor.* (CCALED)
 - seeing as PART OF VISIT FOR VISITING
- 24. *Mr. Thomas is seeing a client at 2:30.* (LDCE)
- 25. *You may need to see a solicitor.* (TNODE)
 - seeing as PART OF MEETING FOR MEETING
- 26. *They have been seeing a lot of each other.* (LDCE)
- 27. *They've seen more of each other since Dan moved to London.* (LDCE)
 - seeing as PART OF SPENDING TIME WITH SOMEONE FOR SPENDING TIME WITH THAT PERSON
- 28. *Is she seeing anyone at the moment?* (LDCE)
- 29. *My husband was still seeing her and was having an affair with her.* (CCALED)
 - PART OF HAVING A ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP FOR HAVING A ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP
- 30. *Please see that the lights are switched off.* (LDCE)
- 31. *See that you take care of him.* (CCALED)
 - PART OF CHECKING AND CONTROLLING FOR CHECKING AND CONTROLLING

In sentences (20) to (31), the act of seeing is metonymically used to access its respective scenario as a whole. Thus, I consider (20) to (31) to be examples of PART FOR WHOLE propositional metonymy. Each of the above categories requires a specific SAS in order to illustrate the metonymic transfer. Consider, by way of illustration, the following Watching Scenario underlying examples (14), (20), and (21):

Table 3. The Watching Scenario

The Watching Scenario	
1. The Before	There is a certain show, play, or film Y available to watch for X. X is a sentient individual capable of watching Y. Y carries a certain message, some information, or a meaning that can be internalized or understood by X. X wants to see Y. (...)
2. The Core	X comes into visual contact with Y. X visually perceives (sees) Y. X engages in watching Y. X terminates watching Y.
3. The Effects	X has internalized or understood the message, information, or meaning carried by Y. X has the experience of watching Y.

The Watching Scenario	
4. The After	X shares his/her experience of Y with other individuals. (...)

The SAS of watching a show, play, film, or similar spectator event requires the event (Y) being the object of visual perception for a sentient human individual (X). Y is assumed to carry a certain kind of message, information, or meaning that X is able and willing to decode and internalize or understand. Moreover, the individual must be willing to watch the event and undertake steps to do so. The “(…)” marking in the Before stage is meant to represent any further unspecified preparatory conditions necessary for the scenario to take place, such as the need of the spectator to possess the mental or physical capacity to engage in the act of watching, or the lack of impeding forces or circumstances preventing the individual from taking part in the activity. The Core of the scenario requires X coming into visual contact with Y, followed by the visual perception of the spectator event. X must, subsequently, engage in the act of watching by voluntarily paying attention to Y over a period of time. Watching implies, thus, the act of volition on the part of the spectator. The Core of the scenario is concluded with eventual termination of the watching experience. Numerous elements of the Effects may include X’s having internalized or understood the information carried by Y, as well as having the experience of watching Y. Finally, the non-necessary consequences of the scenario (the After stage) may include, among numerous unspecified others, the spectator sharing the experience with other individuals.

I believe that the script presented in Table 3 is sufficiently representative of the Watching Scenario underlying the metonymic shift exemplified by (14), (20), and (21). In those cases, the Core stage of X visually perceiving (seeing) Y stands for the whole Watching Scenario (PART FOR WHOLE metonymy).

Apart from the Watching Scenario, similar scripts may be proposed for other categories presented by Bierwiazzonek (2013: 201-202) in order to illustrate PART FOR WHOLE metonymic mappings within their respective SASs. In all of them, the act of visual perception metonymically stands for the whole respective script.

Consider, by way of illustration, sentences (15), (22), and (23), which refer to a particular Visiting Scenario encompassing a patient’s appointment at a doctor’s office in order to receive medical attention. Unavoidably, the act of visual perception of the doctor by the patient (and of the patient by the doctor) is a salient stage of the script allowing for the PART FOR WHOLE metonymic shift. It is important to note at this point that a feasible description of different examples from the dictionary database may require their underlying scenarios to be appropriately adjusted and modified.

For instance, other kinds of visits may require distinct variations of the Visiting Scenario. Consider the following:

- 32. *I will be seeing her tomorrow night.* (LDCE)
- 33. *I saw Jane while I was out.* (LDCE)
- 34. *I don't know who he is, but I've seen him around.* (LDCE)

Sentences (32) to (34) refer to visiting or meeting a person, presumably for personal rather than medical or business-related purposes. The act of visual perception remains a salient stage of the script, but other elements of the scenario would have to be adequately modified for a comprehensive representation of the metonymic transfer. Note also that it is possible to use the verb *see* to metonymically stand for visiting a place or location rather than a person, as shown below:

- 35. *I would like to see Alaska.* (TNODE)
- 36. *I want to see something of those countries.* (TNODE)
- 37. *Would you like to see round the house?* (LDCE)

Sentences (35) and (36) refer to the scenario of travelling or visiting places in the sense of undertaking a recreational or touristic activity, but the context of sentence (37) is different and may involve either a meeting for personal purposes or a commercial activity in which visitors inspect a house they intend to rent or purchase. Thus, (35) and (36) would conceivably require a different variation of a SAS than (37) in order for their respective PART FOR WHOLE metonymic shifts to be illustrated.

The analysis of the dictionary database suggests also that the Checking and Controlling Scenario, underlying examples (19), (30), and (31), may have a number of varieties. For instance, certain scripts of Checking and Controlling involve a strong willingness to help or assist a person, thus possessing the illocutionary force of promises or offers to perform a particular activity (commissives):

- 38. *Leave the papers with me and I'll see what I can do.* (LDCE)
- 39. *I must see about selling the house.* (CCALED)
- 40. *I'll see to Dad's tea.* (TNODE)

Other examples may be used to oblige the addressee to perform an activity, thus possessing the illocutionary value of directives:

- 41. *You should get that tooth seen to by the dentist.* (LDCE)

Another variation involves the speaker's making sure that a person is adequately rewarded for an action or behaviour, as in (42), below:

42. *Just do this for me and I will see you right.* (LDCE)

It seems safe to assume, therefore, that different categories of PART FOR WHOLE metonymies discussed by Bierwiaczonek (2013: 201-202) exhibit a degree of flexibility. In those examples, the English verb *see* may metonymically stand for different realisations of complex SASs of which the stage of visual perception is a particular cognitively salient part.

One common metonymic category that is not discussed by Bierwiaczonek (2013: 201-202) is the use of *see* in the sense of accompanying somebody to a location:

43. *My mother used to see me across the road.* (LDCE)

44. *Let me see you to the door.* (LDCE)

45. *He didn't offer to see her to her car.* (CCALED)

46. *They've gone to the airport to see their son off.* (LDCE)

47. *Security guards saw him off the premises.* (LDCE)

I believe that such examples are instances of the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy relying on the Accompanying Scenario, as demonstrated in Table 4:

Table 4. The Accompanying Scenario

The Accompanying Scenario	
1. The Before	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an individual (Y) who needs to be physically accompanied to a location (L). • X is an individual capable of physically accompanying Y to L. • X intends to accompany Y to L.
2. The Core	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • X and Y embark on their journey to L. • X and Y arrive at L. • X perceives (sees) that Y is at L. • X understands that Y is at L. • X terminates accompanying Y to L.
3. The Effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Y is at L.
4. The After	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • X goes back to his/her previous location. (...)

The Accompanying Scenario requires two sentient individuals (X) and (Y), and Y needs to be accompanied to a location (L). X, who is capable of accompanying Y and willing to do so, embarks on the journey and successfully arrives with Y at L. Consequently,

X visually perceives Y at L and understands this fact. X then terminates accompanying Y to L and may, in some cases, return to their previous location (the After stage).

In the Accompanying Scenario, it is the stage of X visually perceiving Y at location L that is used to metonymically access the Accompanying Scenario. It is important to note, however, that although sentences (43) to (46) possess clear metonymic qualities of physically accompanying a person to a location, sentence (47) is ambiguous because *seeing off* may refer either to physically accompanying an unwanted visitor off the premises or to repelling an individual from trespassing due to the sheer presence of security guards. Such examples would require the study of metonymy–metaphor interplay for their explanation. This problem will be briefly addressed in the following section.

Another PART FOR WHOLE metonymy found in the database is illustrated by the following examples:

48. *We saw in Chapter 16 how annual cash budgets are produced.* (CCALED)

49. *Elements are usually classified as metals or non-metals (see Chapter 11).* (TNODE)

50. *See below/above.* (LDCE)

The referential use of *see*, as presented above, is typical of formal written registers, such as instruction manuals or academic papers. The verb of visual perception in this context stands for referring to another part of the text in order to retrieve or check important information. Note, that in sentences (48) to (50), *see* does not stand solely for the act of visually perceiving the appropriate part of the text; rather, it stands for the whole sequence of events required for looking up the relevant information, including searching for and retrieving the appropriate portion of the text, reading it, and understanding it. Thus, I consider (48) to (50) to be yet another category of PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in which the act of visual perception is a salient stage of the script, and it is this stage that provides mental access to the whole SAS.

To conclude the discussion of PART FOR WHOLE prepositional metonymy patterns, consider the following database examples:

51. *I can see you're not happy with the situation.* (LDCE)

52. *After a month's practice, you should see a difference in your playing.* (LDCE)

53. *She went outside to see what was happening.* (LDCE)

In sentences (51) to (53), *see* is used in the sense of learning or comprehending a certain phenomenon. Note that in such examples, acquiring appropriate knowledge happens as a direct result of visually perceiving the phenomenon. This is hardly surprising because, as Sweetser (1990: 33-35) notes, physical vision is a primary source

of information. *Seeing*, thus, appears to be a core component of acquiring knowledge in this context. To illustrate that, consider the following Learning Scenario:

Table 5. The Learning Scenario

The Learning Scenario	
1. The Before	There is a certain proposition, message, sign, or piece of information Y, the knowledge of which is important to X in a given context. X is a sentient individual capable of acquiring knowledge of Y. X intends to acquire knowledge of Y. X is unimpeded in his/her acquisition of knowledge of Y. (...)
2. The Core	X comes in contact with Y. X visually perceives (sees) Y. X acquires the knowledge of Y. (...)
3. The Effects	X has acquired the knowledge of Y. (...)
4. The After	X further expands his/her knowledge of Y. (...)

It is well beyond the scope of this paper to adequately account for different sets of conditions and circumstances applicable to the processes of learning and acquiring information. Thus, the Learning Scenario presented above unavoidably constitutes significant idealization and oversimplification of these processes. However, I believe the script presented in Table 5 is sufficiently representative of the metonymic shift that underlies database examples (51) to (53). In the scenario, a sentient human being X comes into visual contact with the object of learning Y. The knowledge of Y is important for X in a given context, and X is unimpeded in the attempt to learn Y. As a result of coming into contact with Y, X visually perceives Y. Since visual perception is a primary channel of learning, X acquires appropriate knowledge of Y as a result of the encounter. The Effect of the scenario includes X possessing the knowledge of Y. The After stage may be realised, for example, by X expanding the knowledge further for other purposes and future goals.

In the Learning Scenario, the act of visual perception is a central component of the script for acquiring information by a sentient human being. Thus, sentences (51) to (53) may be characterised as PART FOR WHOLE propositional metonymy. Note, however, that this interpretation is possible only in cases where the effect of acquiring appropriate knowledge of Y takes place as a result of X's direct visual contact with Y and where X's visual perception of Y is necessary for the acquisition of knowledge.

However, in the dictionary database, there are numerous instances where *seeing* is related to learning and acquiring information without the direct mediation of visual perception. Consider the following examples:

- 54. *These chocolates are gorgeous. Try some and see for yourself.* (LDCE)
- 55. *I will call him and see how the job interview went.* (LDCE)
- 56. *I saw through his excuses.* (LDCE)

Sentences (54) to (56) cannot be convincingly analysed in the light of the Learning Scenario because the central stage of the script, the visual perception of the object of learning, is not a necessary condition for acquiring appropriate information in this context. In fact, other sensory modalities might be more prominently involved. In (54), the relevant information is obtained primarily through the sense of taste and in (55) through the sense of hearing. On the other hand, sentence (56) refers to the Speaker's processes of thinking and mental deduction, through which a particular conclusion about a third party is reached. Therefore, what appears to be the case with the use of *see* in (54) to (56) is a more conceptually distant inter-domain mapping. In order to analyse such samples in a convincing way, it is important to consider the role of metaphors or, more precisely, the role of metonymy–metaphor interaction in conceptualising the link between visual perception and intellectual comprehension.

4. KNOWING IS SEEING: a case of metaphor–metonymy interaction

The metaphoric link between *understanding* and *seeing* was explicitly proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 48):

- 57. *I see what you're saying.*
- 58. *It looks different from my point of view.*
- 59. *What is your outlook on that?*
- 60. *I view it differently.*

Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 354-355) elaborate on that by positing that the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor constitutes the basis of the folk theory of how the mind functions. They also point to the ubiquitous and cross-linguistic nature of the metaphor and its pervasiveness in influencing the intellectual tradition of Western culture:

- 61. *I see what you mean.*
- 62. *Could you shed some light on the chaos theory for me?*
- 63. *I have a great deal of insight into social relations.*

- 64. That's about as obscure an idea as I've ever seen.
- 65. *We just can't seem to get clear about gender roles.*
- 66. *Talk about a murky argument.*

The dictionary database analysis of the verb *see* reveals numerous examples in which the verb is used in the sense of mental experiencing or intellectual apprehension of a certain phenomenon for which no direct mediation of the visual component is necessary. Such samples include, apart from the ones presented above in (54) to (56), the following ones:

- 67. *I saw through your little ruse from the start.* (CCALED)
- 68. *You see, the thing is, I'm really busy right now.* (LDCE)
- 69. *The other officers laughed, but Nichols couldn't see the joke.* (LDCE)
- 70. *They are unimpressed with the scheme and rightly see it for what it is.* (LDCE)
- 71. *Now I see that I was wrong.* (CCALED)
- 72. *You and I see things differently.* (TNODE)

In order to account for such instances, in this section I intend to focus on the link between visual perception and intellectual comprehension in more detail. Although I agree that the relationship is metaphoric in nature, I believe that the situation is somewhat more complex than a simple cross-domain mapping and that for a more comprehensive understanding of the issue, the role of metonymic mappings and metaphors must be considered simultaneously.

In order to demonstrate that, it is important to mention Grady's (1999) distinction between *resemblance metaphors* and *correlation metaphors*. Resemblance metaphors result from a perceived similarity between elements of the source domain and target domain, as in *Achilles is a lion*, where the feature of courage is canonically ascribed to the animal and mapped onto the human character. Correlation metaphors, on the other hand, arise as a result of the correlation of two domains in human experience. KNOWING IS SEEING is an example of this kind of metaphor. In other words, the metaphoric transfer between visual perception and intellectual comprehension is based on the correlation of those elements in the human experience of acquiring knowledge. The nature of this correlation was, at least partly, presented in Table 5. As demonstrated in the Learning Scenario, visual perception, due to its status as a primary source of knowledge, may be considered a core element of the script for learning by means of visual perception (PART FOR WHOLE propositional metonymy).

Observations like the one above pose serious questions concerning the relation between correlation metaphors and metonymy. This problem has sparked a considerable debate in contemporary linguistics (c.f. Barcelona 2000; Grady & Johnson 2002; Kövecses 2010, 2013; Kövecses & Radden 1998; Radden 2002; Radden & Kövecses 1999),

and it is well beyond the scope of this paper to address it in any detail. Suffice it to say here that there appears to be compelling evidence that metonymic processes play a role in the emergence of certain metaphoric patterns. Kövecses (2013), for instance, claims that most correlation metaphors derive through the metonymic stage via the processes of schematization and generalization. Such is the case with *understanding* and *seeing*, which were originally a part of the same conceptual structure (metonymic relation) but have been abstracted into the metaphoric pattern linking visual perception and intellectual comprehension (Kövecses 2013: pp. 81-83). Therefore, in order to have a slightly more comprehensive understanding of the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor, it is important to look in more detail at different patterns of metonymy–metaphor interaction in which the emergent metaphor is based on a metonymic mapping.

A study of interaction between metaphor and metonymy for linguistic expressions in English was first proposed by Goossens (1990/2002), who coined the term “metaphoronymy” as an umbrella term for such processes. When analysing his language data, Goossens (1990/2002: 355-357) identifies different instances of metaphor and metonymy, as in (73) and (74), below:

73. *She barked at me and hung up.*

74. *‘Oh, dear,’ she giggled, ‘I’d quite forgotten.’*

Sentence (73) may be classified as an example of “pure” metaphor, due to the cross-domain transfer between animal vocalisation and human sound. Sentence (74), on the other hand, possesses a metonymic reading in which the speaker may have uttered specific words *while giggling*. In such a case, (74) represents PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, wherein giggling is a part of the actual human vocalisation. Another interpretation is also possible for sentence (74), however, namely one in which the speaker may have uttered the words *as if* she were giggling (i.e., in a light-hearted, perhaps slightly silly manner). In such a case, there is a metaphoric transfer between the domains of non-verbal vocalisation and human speech. However, the conceptual link with the metonymic reading is still present there, because the kind of speech exemplified by (74) is characterised precisely by light-heartedness and silliness and may even possess some physical qualities of giggling. Goossens (1990/2002) calls such examples “metaphor from metonymy”, that is, cases of metaphoric transfer that result from and are motivated by metonymic relations and in which the metonymic reading may still be present as a possible interpretation of the utterance.

Goossens’s approach has been reviewed and refined by Ruiz de Mendoza and his collaborators (Ruiz de Mendoza 2000; Ruiz de Mendoza & Díez Velasco 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal Campo 2002). They claim that Goossens’s metaphor from metonymy category can be characterised more precisely as an instance of a metonymic domain

expansion within the source of the metaphoric mapping. By way of illustration, consider Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco's (2002: 518-520) analysis of *to beat one's breast*.

This metaphoric expression is commonly used to designate an act of the open show of sorrow about a certain situation. It is based on the physical act of beating one's breast, which metonymically stands for the whole, religiously motivated, scenario of showing sorrow. The activity of striking one's chest area is a cognitively salient part of this script. Thus, such a metonymic shift may be considered, in accordance with the discussion of the SASs in the preceding section, an instance of the PART FOR WHOLE propositional metonymy, although Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002) refer in this context to the phenomenon of domain expansion. The metonymic target is used, subsequently, to metaphorically access the target domain in which the open show of sorrow, which may in fact be a disingenuous act carried out in order to achieve one's particular goals, is realised without the physical act of beating one's breast:

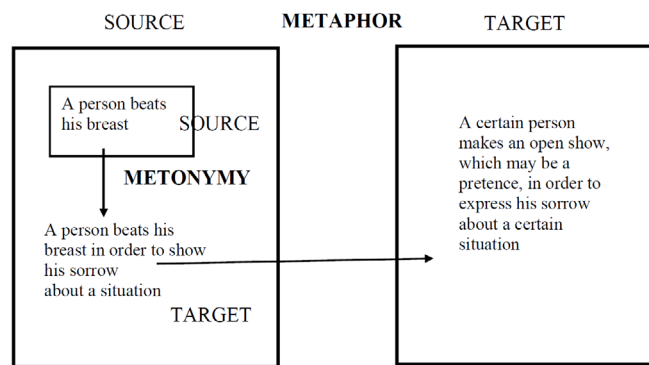


Figure 1. *To beat one's breast* (Ruiz de Mendoza & Díez Velasco 2002: 519)

I believe that a similar line of enquiry may plausibly be applied for the analysis of the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor, as exemplified in (54) to (56) and (67) to (72). Consider the following diagram, where X is a sentient human being and Y stands for the object of learning, that is, any kind of proposition, message, sign, or piece of information the knowledge of which is important for X in a given context:

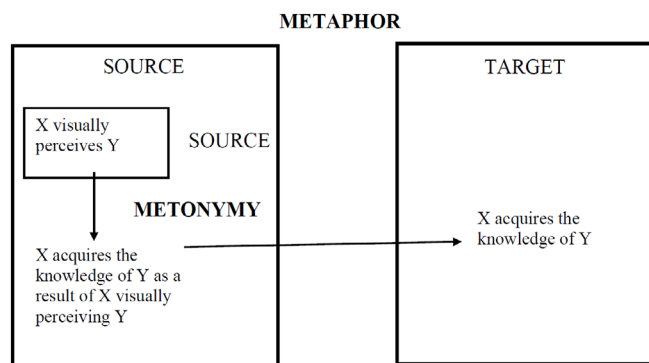


Figure 2. KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor

The diagram shown in Figure 2, despite its unavoidable oversimplifications, appears to be reasonably sufficient for the purpose of presenting the basic structure of the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphoric pattern. The metaphor is based on a sentient human being's (X's) visual perception of the object of learning (Y), which metonymically stands for the whole scenario of acquiring the knowledge of Y as a result of X visually perceiving Y. Note at this point that this metonymic shift is congruent with the metonymic pattern shown in (51) to (53) and may plausibly be analysed as a PART FOR WHOLE propositional metonymic mapping within the Learning Scenario, as demonstrated in Table 5, above. The target of the metonymic shift is subsequently used to metaphorically access the target domain, which includes X acquiring knowledge of Y without the direct mediation of visual perception, as exemplified in (54) to (56) and (67) to (72).

Finally, an interesting side note to consider is provided by database examples that may be ambiguous between metonymic and metaphoric reading. Consider the following:

75. *A lot of people saw what was happening but did nothing about it.* (CCALED)

76. *I see from your appraisal report that you have asked for retraining.* (TNODE)

77. *Let me just see what the next song is.* (CCALED)

In such cases, depending on the context of the utterance, the relevant knowledge may be acquired as a direct result of visual perception or without the mediation of visual input. In sentence (75), the future prediction to which the speaker is referring may have been based on direct visual observation or may have come as a result of mental deduction. Sample (76) describes an appraisal report in which the need for retraining may have been explicitly stated or implicitly hinted at and successfully deduced by one's superior. Similarly, in sentence (77), the act of checking what song is forthcoming may involve direct visual observation of the display of a player device. Alternatively, checking the appropriate track may involve the sense of hearing or, possibly, the speaker's mental capacities of memory and reasoning. In all of the above cases, the reading requiring direct visual perception warrants the metonymic interpretation of the utterance of the PART FOR WHOLE kind, as exemplified in (51) to (53). In cases where no visual input is directly required, metaphoric interpretation is enforced, in accordance with Figure 2 and examples (54) to (56) and (67) to (72). This observation sheds extra light on the discussion of metonymy-metaphor interaction and suggests the possibility of other cases that may plausibly be explained as borderline instances residing on a metonymy-metaphor continuum.

Conclusions

English verbs of sensory perception appear to be significant generators of numerous polysemous senses. The aim of this paper was to propose a cursory analysis of certain polysemy patterns of the verb *see* in the light of propositional metonymy

theory. In order to achieve this, a data sample study based on three distinct dictionary sources was conducted. The sense of involuntary visual perception was established as the basic non-metonymic meaning of the term. The dictionary sources were subsequently analysed in order to distinguish different extensions of *see* that might be motivated by metonymic mappings.

The analysis suggests that the English verb of visual perception constitutes a significant generator of divergent metonymic senses. Such meaning extensions may feasibly be discussed in the light of propositional metonymy theory as presented by Bierwiazzonek (2013). In accordance with Panther and Thornburg (1999), different metonymic extensions are analysed by means of specific context-dependent SASs, of which the stage of visual perception is a cognitively salient part. The most significant metonymic category appears to be the PART FOR WHOLE propositional mapping. It contains the cases in which the stage of visual perception (part of the Core of a SAS) stands for the whole relevant scenario. This category includes conceptual patterns described by Bierwiazzonek (2013: 201-202), as well as others (e.g., different metonymic shifts motivated by the Accompanying Scenario). In order to account for different database samples, the relevant SASs must possess a degree of flexibility, allowing for variation of their constituent elements.

Another particularly productive conceptual link in English is the one in which the verb *see* is used in the sense of acquiring appropriate information or knowledge. The conceptual link between visual perception and intellectual comprehension has posed some theoretical challenges. In contemporary linguistics, the relationship is predominantly considered to be metaphoric in nature (c.f. Kövecses 2013: 81-83; Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 48, 1999: 354-355; Sweetser 1990: 33-35). However, there appears to be compelling evidence that for a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, the role of metonymic mappings must be considered alongside metaphor. In accordance with Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2000: 518-519), I consider KNOWING IS SEEING a case of metonymic expansion within the source of the metaphoric mapping. The metonymic relation is congruent with the propositional PART FOR WHOLE metonymic shift within the Learning Scenario presented in Table 5, and can plausibly account for cases where acquiring appropriate knowledge happens as a direct result of the visual perception of the object of learning. The metaphoric mapping, on the other hand, accounts for cases where acquiring information happens without the requirement of direct visual input, as discussed in Figure 2 and exemplified by samples (54) to (56) and (67) to (72). Certain database samples may be ambiguous, and, depending on the context, their interpretation may gravitate towards either metonymic reading or metaphoric reading.

Although the present paper discusses certain patterns of metonymic extensions of *see* in English and briefly touches upon the problems of metonymy–metaphor interaction in relation to the English verb of visual perception, the analysis of these issues is by

no means complete and leaves considerable space for further investigation. Firstly, the analysis proposed in this paper is based on a considerably limited pool of dictionary data. The data samples include predominantly well-established polysemy patterns of the English verb of visual perception as they are presented and recorded in three dictionary sources. Although this has allowed for the representation of a number of common meaning extensions of *see*, it does not allow for a comprehensive representation of the polysemy network pertaining to the verb. A more comprehensive study of the English verb of visual perception would require much richer and more informative data, presumably based on a more detailed analysis of corpora sources.

Secondly, an elaborate sample database would unavoidably require a more complex theoretical background in order for an adequate description of the issues at hand to be provided. Although the propositional theory of metonymy and the notion of SASs appear to be reasonably adequate tools for the description of the majority of data samples, future research might undoubtedly benefit from the use of more detailed and representative SASs underlying their respective language samples. Also, because of the limited scope of this paper, the database analysis carried out above largely ignores the possibility of PART FOR WHOLE metonymic mappings within SASs. Although the relationship between visual perception and intellectual comprehension was identified in the present paper as a case of metonymic expansion within the source of metaphoric mapping, a more comprehensive study of *see* would require the investigation of different patterns of interaction between metaphor and metonymy. A more comprehensive account of the English verb of visual perception would thus require a more detailed focus on the problem of propositional metonymy, correlation metaphors, and metaphor–metonymy interaction for the discussion of different polysemy patterns of the verb.

Thirdly, *see* is not the only verb of visual perception in English, and a more representative study of the issues at hand would require the consideration of other terms, such as *observe*, *notice*, *perceive*, *view*, and *discern*. This would have to be connected with a more detailed enquiry into numerous idiomatic expressions referring to the human visual modality. It may also be interesting to see what kinds of metonymy and metaphor are at work there and how they interact in the formulation of such expressions. A more comprehensive analysis of a richer pool of language data could possibly allow for the formulation of a complex semantic model pertaining to English expressions of visual perception. It is hoped, therefore, that the present paper may serve as a small step in this direction and that further studies will continue such enquiries in a more systematic way for the aim of a more comprehensive account of linguistic representation of visual perception expressions in English.

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WORK IN PROGRESS

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Selected aspects of the conceptualisation of *success* in English and Polish

Abstract. Conceptualisation is “the process of meaning construction to which language contributes. It does so by providing access to rich encyclopaedic knowledge and by prompting for complex processes of conceptual integration” (Evans 2007: 38). Concrete, non-abstract entities are easy to grasp and to conceptualise with the use of the senses. A problem occurs when the mind has to form an idea about abstract concepts that cannot be seen, heard, smelled, or tasted. Linguists (Evans & Green 2006; Gibbs 1999; Kövecses 2010; Lakoff 1986; Lakoff & Johnson 2003) proved that people share a tendency to create conceptual analogies between abstract concepts and concrete entities by mapping the properties of the latter upon the former. It has been proved (Trojszczak 2016, 2017) that people share conceptualisations between languages. The primary goal of this comparative study was to examine the conceptualisation of success in two languages, English and Polish, in order to identify differences and similarities. The results of the study proved that people share the conceptualisation of the analysed target domain in both languages, which means they understand success in the same terms. There is a difference in the intensity, however; some metaphors are more widely used in one language and some in the other. There is also a difference in the linguistic expressions that constitute the conceptualisations.

Keywords: conceptualisation, metaphor, mapping, source domain, target domain, success.

1. Introduction

At the beginning of the 18th century, researchers acknowledged metaphors as a cognitive tool, but a tendency to marginalise the role of metaphors in communication

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was widespread. In the 20th century, metaphors became the subject of numerous studies (Gibbs 1999; Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003; McGlone 2007; Reddy 1979), and they have been proved to enable us to comprehend and verbalise abstract concepts. We use them unconsciously (Lakoff 1987: 296), and we share the conceptualisations of these abstract concepts within a particular language, which makes effective communication possible. What is more, some conceptualisations are shared between languages and cultures (Trojszczak 2016, 2017), which leads to the conclusion that there may be a universal way of thinking about particular concepts. The aim of this study is to compare English and Polish conceptualisations of SUCCESS in order to find out whether the two distinct cultures share a way of conceptualising this abstract concept. It may also be a starting point for research on the influence of certain conceptualisations on people's attitudes towards achieving success.

2. Literature review

2.1. The concept of SUCCESS

The concept of SUCCESS has usually been approached from a practical perspective (Cottrell 2003; Gunz & Heslin 2005; Hall 2005; Heslin 2005) as a goal that may be achieved by a variety of means. A study by Łacka-Badura (2016) focused on linguistic manifestations of SUCCESS metaphors in American success guidebooks, aphorisms, and quotes. Cross-linguistic research was conducted by Ajimer (2004), who compared ways of talking about ability and success in English and Swedish; the locus of this research was in grammar and modality, however. This study will look at the concept of SUCCESS from a cognitive linguistic point of view. Cross-linguistic research will be used to compare conceptualisations in two languages.

2.2. Literal versus figurative meanings

There have been many attempts to draw a distinction between the *literal* and the *figurative* use of language (Evans & Green 2006: 287-289; Rumelhart 1993: 71-82; Searle 1979: 117-136). All of them came to the conclusion that the distinction is never straightforward. What we think of as literal depends on a variety of factors, including the culture, context, and aim of the utterance. Therefore, we must assume that it is impossible to consider an utterance as 100% literal or figurative; it is always a matter of degree. In order to analyse metaphors, some assumptions about the literality of a phrase must be made because they serve as a foundation for a figurative language interpretation. For the purpose of this paper, a phrase will be considered figurative or metaphorical if it has a more basic, contemporary meaning in the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (Rundell & Fox 2002) and the Metaphor Identification Procedure (henceforth, MIP) by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), which will be described further later in this paper.

2.3. Metaphor

The term *metaphor* stems from the Greek *metaphora*, which derives from *meta* ‘across’ and ‘beyond’ and *phora* ‘to carry’ or ‘to bear’. The etymological sense is ‘to transfer from one thing to another’ (Deutscher 2005: 117). Aristotle considered metaphor a sign of language proficiency and mastery and claimed that “metaphor requires a special talent or genius and should be alien to most ordinary speakers” (Gibbs 1999: 121). On the other hand, he considered it an embellishment or a deviation from language clarity. In the late 17th century and early 18th century, Giambattista Vico claimed that human beings could apprehend the world with the use of the senses and metaphors; this became a means of describing concepts difficult to capture. At the end of the 19th century, the French philologist Michel Bréal, in his *Essai de Semantique*, argued that metaphor was not just a discourse decoration but that it was a ubiquitous and principal device of semantic change. Later on in the 20th century, linguists changed their perspectives and began to view metaphor as a communicative tool (Gibbs 1999: 199; Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003: 4-5; McGlone 2007: 110; Reddy 1979: 306-308). Michael Reddy (1979) was one of the first researchers to provide us with a detailed linguistic analysis of metaphors, which he believed were not a linguistic phenomenon but rather a cognitive phenomenon. In his paper, he analysed the metaphors of *language* in English and found that people share a tendency to understand LANGUAGE in terms of a CONDUIT that conveys ideas. He described the following complex metaphors: IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS, and COMMUNICATION IS SENDING. As a result, he proved that metaphors do not belong solely to the realm of poetry and are widely used in everyday language (Reddy 1979: 284-324). What is more, in a study that examined psychotherapeutic interviews, essays, and political debates, Pollio et al. (1977) counted the frequency of “frozen” metaphors (existing in language) and those created spontaneously (“novel” metaphors). The research revealed that people used 1.8 novel and 4.08 frozen metaphors per minute of discourse. With the assumption that people engage in conversation for as little as 2 hours a day, a person would utter 4.7 million novel and 21.4 million frozen metaphors over a 60-year lifespan (Pollio et al. 1977; Gibbs 1999: 123). This indicates that metaphors are commonly used and are neither exotic nor literary forms of language.

2.4. Conceptual metaphor theory

Michael Reddy’s (1979) conduit metaphor proved that the locus of metaphors is in thought, not in language, but the researchers started to analyse the key aspects of conceptualisation after the publication of the first edition of the influential book *Metaphors We Live By* by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in 1980. Many researchers soon addressed this issue, as well (Gibbs 1999; Kövesces 2003/2010; Lakoff 1986, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003). Lakoff (1987: 296) emphasised that our conceptual systems are unconsciously organised into categories and most of our thinking involves these categories. The researchers

observed that “conceptual metaphors are *unidirectional*” (Evans & Green 2006: 296). Although we conceptualise ARGUMENT in terms of WAR, we cannot conceptualise WAR in terms of ARGUMENT. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 131-133) also observed that even if there are two domains that can be conceptualised interchangeably, the conceptualisations have different mappings and therefore they are different metaphors.

(1)

PEOPLE ARE MACHINES

- a. *He works like a robot.*
- b. *She’s had a nervous breakdown.*

MACHINES ARE PEOPLE

- c. *Why does my computer do that to me?*
- d. *Did your car want to start today?*

In (1a) and (1b) the efficiency and reliability, or lack of them, in the machines are mapped onto humans, but in (1c) and (1d) the desire and free will of people are mapped onto machines.

2.4.1. Conceptual versus linguistic metaphor

For most ordinary people a metaphor is a feature of a language. However, there is a distinction between a “linguistic” metaphor and a “conceptual” metaphor. The linguistic metaphor is a linguistic expression (Lakoff 2003: 4). It is the articulation of an unaware conceptualisation. Concepts govern our thought and our everyday functioning (Lakoff 1987: 293). “A conceptual metaphor consists of two *conceptual domains*, in which one domain is understood in terms of another. A conceptual domain is any coherent organisation of experience” (Kövecses 2010: 4). The conceptualisation is a projection (“mapping”) between a “source domain”, which is more concrete and easy to grasp, and a “target domain”, which is more abstract. The conceptual metaphor is a foundation for the linguistic metaphor. When the conceptualisation is established, language users can start expressing one domain in terms of another. The linguistic metaphors are examined in order to gain knowledge about conceptual metaphors.

2.4.2. Elements of the conceptual metaphor: conceptual domains and mapping

As cited above in the article by Kövecses, the conceptual domain is “any coherent organisation of experience”. It can be a journey, a war, a motion, feelings, a human body, buildings, or any number of other things. Two conceptual domains establish the conceptual metaphor through mapping. The mapping is a transfer of some

characteristics from one domain to another, or a set of “semantic correspondences” between two domains (Kövecses 2010: 7). The domains involved in this process are the target domain and source domain. The target domain is the domain being described. The source domain is the one we use to describe the other domain. Source domains are usually concrete. They emerge from our indirect experience (Kövecses 2010: 18-23). Target domains are the ones that we cannot grasp indirectly. They are usually more abstract (Kövecses 2010: 23-28).

As mentioned above, mapping transfers some characteristics from one domain to another, and therefore it emphasises these characteristics of the target domain. At the same time, it hides characteristics that people (unconsciously) do not want to highlight. Let us consider the example from Kövecses (2010: 91): the MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT metaphor:

(2)

MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT

- a. *Her ego is very fragile.*
- b. *You have to handle him with care since his wife’s death.*
- c. *He broke under cross-examination*
- d. *She is easily crushed.*
- e. *The experience shattered him.*
- f. *I’m going to pieces.*
- g. *His mind snapped.*
- h. *He cracked up.*

The source domain focuses on psychological strength or the lack of it, which is only one aspect of the concept of the mind. It highlights this aspect, and the other aspects remain out of focus. To observe this process, we can use examples of metaphors with the same target and different source domains provided by Kövecses (2010: 92):

(3)

- a. AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER: *Your argument has **a lot of content**. What is the **core** of his argument?*
- b. AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY: *We will **proceed in a step-by-step** fashion. We have **covered a lot of ground**.*
- c. AN ARGUMENT IS WAR: *He **won** the argument. I couldn’t **defend** that point.*
- d. AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING: *She **constructed a solid** argument. We have got a **good foundation** for the argument.*

The CONTAINER metaphor in (3a) emphasises the content and basicness of an argument; the JOURNEY metaphor (3b) highlights the progress and the content; the WAR metaphor (3c) focuses on the control over the argument or the opponent; and the BUILDING metaphor (3d) emphasises the aspects of the construction of the argument and its strength.

3. The study

Rundell and Fox (2002: 1434) define *success* as “the achievement of something that you planned or wanted to do,” and *a successful person* as somebody who “achieves a lot and becomes rich, famous, respected, etc.” One of the synonyms for *success* is *victory*, a word that adds a winning/losing connotation to the purport of the term. Having assumed that being happy, healthy, or wealthy may be the aim of every human being, I will analyse phrases that indicate the fact of fulfilling this aim even if the willingness and planning aspects are not explicitly stated.

3.1. Methodological framework

In this study, the cognitive linguistic theoretical framework (Croft & Cruse 2004; Evans & Green 2006) and corpus-based research approach (McEnery & Hardie 2012) have been combined. The conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) has been adopted as a fundamental approach to metaphors. In order to determine the figurativeness of a phrase with the use of the MIP (Pragglejaz Group 2007), the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (Rundell & Fox 2002) has been used; all of the definitions come from this dictionary. Polish definitions, when needed, were also taken from a corpus-based dictionary, namely, *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* (Drabik et al. 2018). All of the example phrases come from corpora, and the examples of phrases in Polish have been translated with the use of the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2015).

3.2. Corpora

In this research three corpora have been used: the British National Corpus (BNC), the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), and the National Corpus of Polish (NCP). The BNC and the NCP are “reference corpora”, which means that texts are no longer added to them. All the corpora are available online for researchers.

The BNC is a corpus of more than 4000 written (90%) and spoken (10%) British English samples. The number of words totals 100 million (Aston & Burnard 1998: 28). The NCP is a collection of Polish written and spoken samples (Przepiórkowski et al. 2012: 8). The COCA is a corpus of spoken and written American English that was established in 2008 by Mark Davies. It is regularly updated (Davies 2010: 447). Each year texts containing 20 million words are added; at the end of 2017, the corpus consisted of more than 570 million words (available at <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>).

To extract linguistic data online, browsers have been used. Both the NCP and the BNC have been accessed through the HASK browser created by Piotr Pezik (available at http://pelcra.pl/hask_pl/ and http://pelcra.pl/hask_en/). The NCP data have also been extracted through the official corpus browser (available at <http://nkjp.pl/poliqarp/>). The COCA has been browsed using its online interface by Brigham Young University (available at <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>), which provides the BNC corpus search engine, as well (available at <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/>).

The expressions used in the research have been compiled with the use of the “searching for target domain vocabulary” and “searching for source domain vocabulary” strategies (Stefanowitsch 2006: 2). The former was the first step in the research, and it allowed the author to find metaphorical collocations with the word *success* and its synonyms. The latter provided the author with the set of metaphorical expressions that linguistically do not stem from the lexeme *success* or its synonyms. They are expressions with the lexical units from popular source domains such as food and motion.

The corpora were not only used as search tools; all of the example sentences for each metaphorical expression were taken from them. Because they are collections of authentic language, corpora depict the use of the metaphors realistically.

In order to determine whether a phrase is metaphorical or not the MIP of the Pragglez Group (2007) had to be used. However, because it is a method for identifying metaphors in discourse, it had to be adjusted so that it fulfilled the research needs. The procedure by the Pragglez Group is as follows:

(4)

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse.
3.
 - a. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
 - b. For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be
 - More concrete (what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste);
 - Related to bodily action;
 - More precise (as opposed to vague);
 - Historically older.
 - Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
 - c. If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

d. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

(Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3)

As may be seen in (4), the first step was supposed to be reading the entire text, which is impossible while researching the corpora, so this step had to be omitted. The first step of the research involved gathering the phrases concerning the target domain by means of the already mentioned methods. Then, it had to be determined whether they were metaphorical or not. In order to do that, the definition of the components of the phrase had to be analysed by searching for more concrete, more precise, historically older lexical units within the phrase or for meaning as related to body action in the lexical units within the phrase. If it was possible to find a basic meaning, and the contextual meaning contrasted with this basic meaning, the lexical unit was categorised as metaphorically used. The phrases were then categorised according to mappings. The step-by-step procedure of the research is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The research procedure (based on Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3)

<p>1. Search for a target domain vocabulary.</p> <p>1.1. Gather the target domain vocabulary using a dictionary.</p> <p>1.2. Search the corpora for collocations of the target domain vocabulary.</p> <p>1.3. Establish the meaning of each phrase.</p> <p>1.4. Establish the meaning of each lexical unit within the phrase to search for the meaning that is:</p> <p>1.4.1. more concrete or precise;</p> <p>1.4.2. historically older.</p>
<p>2. Search for a source domain vocabulary.</p> <p>2.1. Gather the source domain vocabulary using a dictionary.</p> <p>2.2. Search the corpora for collocations of the target domain vocabulary meaning by which it is connected to the source domain.</p> <p>2.3. Establish the meaning of each phrase.</p> <p>2.4. Establish the meaning of each lexical unit within the phrase to search for the meaning that is:</p> <p>2.4.1. related to bodily action;</p> <p>2.4.2. historically older.</p>
<p>3. Group phrases that have a metaphorical meaning according to mappings.</p>
<p>4. Extract the examples of the phrases from the corpora.</p>
<p>5. Translate and gloss Polish example phrases.</p>

3.3. Glossing

The comparative analysis of metaphors in two languages requires the translation of phrases. Lexical units must be translated from Polish to English. In order to fully represent metaphorical expressions, some units had to be translated lexeme by lexeme or morpheme by morpheme. The glossing rules developed by the researchers of the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and of the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig were used. They may be accessed at <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf> (Comrie et al. 2015). In order to translate lexemes properly, there was a need to use grammatical labels, a list of which may be reviewed in the APPENDIX.

4. Results

4.1. Metaphors of success

4.1.1. *Being successful is being high up*

One of the most widespread conceptualisations of the analysed target domain is SUCCESS IS UP. There are many examples of this metaphor in both English and Polish. They are in agreement with the orientational, generic metaphor MORE IS UP. It manifests in English phrases such as *upwardly mobile*, *to come up in the world*, *to be at the top of the heap*, *to do something with flying colours*, *to be flying high*, and *to reach/to be at one's peak*. *Upwardly mobile* (5a) is an adjective that describes a person who “moves into a higher social class by becoming richer and more successful” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1582). *To come up in the world* (5b) means “to become richer, more powerful or more successful than before” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 272). *To be at the top of the heap* (5c), according to Rundell and Fox (2002: 1582), means to be “in the highest position in a society or organisation.” In this particular definition, we can also see *the highest position*, which is in agreement with the SUCCESS IS UP metaphor. We can also do something (especially, pass an examination) with *flying colours* (5d), which means “very successfully” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 543), and we can be *flying high* (5e), which means to be “very successful” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 542). The word *peak* in the phrases *to reach one's peak* and *to be at one's peak* (5f) is “a time when someone or something is most successful or powerful” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1044). *To rise* can also mean “to achieve success or power” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1226), as in the phrase *rise to the top* (5g).

(5)

- a. *The children of many working-class parents have been **upwardly mobile** socially.*
- b. *Kaz had **come up in the world** from the lowest ranks to the highest.*
- c. *... from Aerosmith, which was **at the top of the heap** around the middle of the decade, to Deep Purple, Black Sabbath, and Grand Funk Railroad.*

- d. ... she passed with **flying colours**.
- e. Engineers ... have been **flying high** recently.
- f. Mr. Wise ... felt that he had **reached his peak** at Reuters in 1987.
- g. Testosterone can help explain which men **rise to the top**.

There are similar metaphors in Polish, such as *piąć się w górę*, *górować nad kimś*, *przewyższać kogoś*, *osiągnąć szczyt*, *być na szczycie*, *wznieść się na wyżyny*, and *być ponad innymi*. The basic meaning of *piąć się w górę* is to ‘climb up’, but its metaphorical meaning is to ‘become more successful’ (6). It is worth noting that in Polish, the preposition *w górę*, which means ‘up’, is a metaphor itself, because its glossing is *up the.mountain*; example (6).

(6)

Zaczął	piąć.się	w	górze,	jako	jego	kochanek.
start-2-M-PAST	climb-REFL	up	the.mountain	as	his	lover

As his lover, he started to become more and more successful.

The verb *piąć się*, or its perfective aspect *wspiąć się*, also collocates with a *corporate* or *social ladder*, as in example (7):

(7)

Mieli	nadzieję	szybko	wspiąć.się
have-PL-PAST	hope-N	fast	climb.up-PRT-REFL
po	drabinie	społecznej	
on	the ladder	social	

They hoped to climb up the social ladder fast.

The next two phrases (8a) and (8b), *górować nad kimś* and *przewyższać kogoś*, literally mean “to be taller or higher” or “to be in a higher physical spot” than somebody else, but they also mean “to be successful and superior to somebody else” or “to have an advantage over somebody (usually the enemy, the opponent)” (Drabik et al. 2018: 241, 784).

(8)

a. Jestem	w	stanie	znów	górować	nad	innymi
be-1-PRS	in	a.state	again	mountain-V-INF	over	the.others

I’m able to outdo the others again.

b. nie	tylko	dorównał	Horacemu,	lecz	nawet	go	przewyższył
not	only	equal-V-2-PAST	Horacy	but	even	him	over. high-V-2-PAST

Not only did he equal Horacy, he even outdid him.

The primary, literal meaning of the phrase *być na szczycie* is ‘to be on the peak’. The metaphorical meaning is ‘to be successful’ or ‘to be on the top’ (9), which is analogous to the phrase in (5g).

(9)

<i>Wyniesiony</i>	<i>oklaskami</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>niejaką</i>	<i>wysokość,</i>
rise-3-M-PRT	by.applause	to	some	heights
<i>uwierzył</i>	<i>że</i>	<i>jest</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>szczycie</i>
believe-3-M-PAST	that	be-1-M-PRS	on	the.peak

Risen to the heights by the applause, he believed to be on top.

In the example above there is also the novel metaphor *to raise someone* (by applause) *to the heights*, a phrase that is not commonly used in Polish; it is in agreement with the BEING SUCCESSFUL IS BEING HIGH UP metaphor; a successful performer gets much applause that can be a measure of his/her success. What is more, *the society* and *the career* can be collocated with the word *ladder*, as in *social ladder* or *career ladder* (in Polish, *drabina społeczna* or *szczeble kariery*); the higher on the ladder people climb, the more successful they are. There is also a phrase *stanąć na wysokości zadania*, which can be translated into English as ‘to fulfil the task successfully’ and can be used as in example (10).

(10)

<i>Jonathan Davis</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>kolegami</i>	<i>stanęli</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>wysokości</i>	<i>zadania</i>
Jonathan Davis	with	friends	stand-3-PL-M-PRT	on	the.height	of.the.task

Jonathan Davis and his friends fulfilled the task...

4.1.2. *Being successful is moving forward*

Being successful is also conceptualised as moving forward. Both in English and Polish, if you are ahead of the rest, you are more successful. These metaphors may have derived from sports and racing, fields in which the fastest person gets ahead of the competitors, wins, is successful. The phrase *to get ahead* (11a) means “to be more successful than other people” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 594). The phrase *to be ahead of the pack* (11b) has a similar meaning; *the pack* can be “main group of people following behind the leader in a race or competition” or “a group of people who do something together” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1019). *To lead the way* (11c) is similar and means “to be the first to do something, especially to achieve success” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 807). There are also Polish phrases such as *wyprzedzać kogoś* (12a) and *przodować* (12b) that mean the same as the English expressions “to get ahead of somebody” or “to be ahead”.

(11)

- a. *We were go-getters and we wanted to **get ahead**.*
- b. *Hewlett-Packard Company is well **ahead of the pack** in fitting out its Unix machines...*
- c. *To see Butler **lead the way** in Sunday' 2-0 win against the haughty Giants...*

(12)

- a. *Europa wyprzedzała resztę świata.*
 Europe get.ahead-3-F-PROG-PAST the.rest of.the.world
 Europe was getting ahead of the rest of the world.
- b. *Za wszelką cenę chciał przodować we wszystkim.*
 For all cost want-3-M-PAST be.ahead in everything.
 He wanted to be ahead in everything at all costs.

The next three verbs that have a metaphorical meaning of wanting to succeed are *to coast* (13a), which means, according to the dictionary, “to achieve success very easily” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 260); *to cruise* (13b), which means “to achieve success early in a race, game, or competition” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 335); and *to storm* (13c), which can mean “to quickly become very successful” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1414).

(13)

- a. *Lisa Low **coasted** to victory.*
- b. *They **cruised into** a three-goal lead.*
- c. *... by the skilful Portuguese, who scored three goals in eight minutes and then **stormed on** to victory.*

To “talk about progress or success” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 504), we can use the phrase *to get far* (14a) or *to go far* (14b). In Polish, the equivalent phrase is *zajść daleko*; example (15).

(14)

- a. *He won't **get far** with those infinitive verbs he uses at the moment.*
- b. *I never **went far** with languages before...*

(15)

- Joakim może w koszykówce zajść daleko.*
 Joakim can-3-PRES in basketball go far
 Joakim can get far in basketball.

4.1.3. *Being successful is swimming*

Another conceptualisation is that BEING SUCCESSFUL IS SWIMMING. It is used in both English and in Polish, but there are more diverse linguistic expressions in the former. This may be due to the fact that England is an island country with a maritime culture.

Being on the crest of the wave (16a) means “enjoying a period of great success” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 329); the Polish equivalent of the phrase is *być na fali* (16b).

(16)

a. *They're selling the work of artists who are on the crest of the wave in the market.*

b. Zespół zaczął być na fali, wygrał kilka
ważnych spotkań.

The.team start-3-M-PRT be-inf on the.wave win-3-M-PAST. a.few
important meetings

The team won a few important matches and started riding the crest of the wave.

The idiom *sink or swim* (17a) means “to be left on your own to succeed or fail” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1334). The phrase *to swim* means “to succeed” and the phrase *to sink* means “to fail”. If something is done *swimmingly* (17b), it is done “in an extremely satisfactory or successful way” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1453). Another adjective is *buoyant* (17c). According to Rundell and Fox, “if the economy [or business] is *buoyant*, it is successful and seems likely to remain successful” (2002: 180).

(17)

a. *It was sink or swim for Noreen O'Neil.*

b. *Obviously, if a business is going really swimmingly, then it may be easier to...*

c. *While the business was buoyant, there was a living in it for many small shops...*

4.1.4. *Success is food/beverage*

Another conceptualisation is that SUCCESS IS FOOD/BEVERAGE. It is heard in both languages. You can be *hungry for success* (18a) (in Polish, *głodny sukcesu*) (19a) or *spragniony sukcesu* (19b) (‘thirsty for success’). You can enjoy *the sweet smell of success/victory* (18b). The Polish equivalent, *słodki zapach zwycięstwa* (19c), may be a borrowing from English because there is only one hit in the corpus and no mention in the PWN dictionary (Drabik et al. 2018). There can also be *a recipe for success* (18), or *przepis na sukces* (19d) in Polish. There is also the Polish phrase *upojony sukcesem* (19e), which means ‘drunk with success’.

(18)

a. *I am hungry for success again.*

b. *Celebrate the sweet smell of success at a shrimper's family feast.*

c. *We found a recipe for success...*

(19)

- a. *Wciąż jestem bardzo, bardzo głodny sukcesu.*
 Still be-1-PRES very very hungry for.success
 I'm still very, very hungry for success.
- b. *Jak nikt byłem spragniony sukcesu, chciałem medalu.*
 Like nobody be-1-PAST thirsty for.success want-1-PAST a medal
 I was hungry for success like nobody else, and I wanted a medal.
- c. *Dobrze jest czuć słodki zapach zwycięstwa.*
 Good be-3-PRES smell-V-INF sweet smell-N of.the.victory
 It's good to enjoy the sweet smell of success.
- d. *Dobry pomysł czyli przepis na sukces*
 Good idea so a.recipe for success
 'A good idea'; in other words, a recipe for success.
- e. *Upojony sukcesem wyborczym i medialnym*
 Drunk with.success electoral and media-ADJ
Gerhard Schröder zapowiadał zmniejszenie liczby bezrobotnych.
 Gerhard Schröder announce-3-M-PRT the.decrease number of.unemployed
 Gerhard Schröder, buoyed up with the media and electoral success, announced
 a decrease in the unemployment.

4.1.5. *Success is fruit and work is a plant*

In the metaphor SUCCESS IS FRUIT, our WORK IS A PLANT that can *bear fruit* (20a), or in Polish, *przynosić owoce* (21c). You can enjoy the *fruit of your labour* (20b), or in Polish, *zbierać plony* (21a) or *owoce ciężkiej pracy* (21b). The metaphorical meaning of the phrase *to bear fruit* (20a) is “to have a successful result” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 571). The Polish equivalent is *przynosić owoce* (21c) or *przynosić plony* (21d). *Przynosić* means in Polish ‘to carry something to a place’ but also ‘to be the cause for something’. After the work bears fruit, you can *zbierać plony* (21a), which means ‘to harvest’.

(20)

- a. *The Chancellor's policies are not expected to **bear fruit** until the spring.*
 b. *The Canal Treaties he signed with Jimmy Carter were **the fruit of his long labours**.*

(21)

a. *W tej chwili dopiero zaczynam powoli*
 At this moment just start-1-PRES slowly
zbierać plony swej działalności.
 collect the.crop-PL my activity
 I'm just starting to take the fruit of my labour.

b. *Zbieramy owoce ciężkiej pracy – wyjaśnić*
coach Byron Scott.
 Collect-3-PL-PRES the.fruit of.hard of.work – explain-3-M-PAST
 coach Byron Scott
 We collect the fruit of our labour explained coach Byron Scott.

c. *...ich walka zaczęła przynosić owoce.*
 ...their struggle-N start-3 bear-INF fruit
 ...their struggle started to bear fruit.

d. *Upór i skoncentrowane działanie zaczęły*
przynosić plony.
 Stubbornness and concentrated work start.to-3-F-PL-PRT
 bear crops
 Stubbornness and concentrated work started to bear fruit.

4.1.6. Success is a flower and an enterprise is a plant

In the metaphor SUCCESS IS A FLOWER AND AN ENTERPRISE IS A PLANT, if an enterprise is successful, it *blossoms*, *blooms*, or *flowers*. In Polish, there is an adjective, *kwitnący*, which means 'blossoming'. *To bloom* (22a) means 'to develop successfully' (Rundell & Fox 2002: 137); *to blossom* (22b) means 'to develop and become more successful' (Rundell & Fox 2002: 137); and *to flower* (22c) means 'to become more successful and completely developed' (Rundell & Fox 2002: 540). In Polish, if a business is *kwitnący* (23) ('blossoming'), it means it is very successful.

(22)

- a. Relationships have been **blooming** since the show first began.
- b. ...summer of 1967 that birthed activists, artists, and a **blossoming** hippie movement.
- c. What these two towns shared was an intellectual **flowering** in improbable places.

(23)

Kwitnący biznes metalowy.

Blossoming business metal-ADJ

The blossoming metal business.

4.1.7. Success is a (locked) building

The metaphor SUCCESS IS A BUILDING or A LOCKED BUILDING implies that you can acquire the key to get into the room and gain success. *The key to success* (24), or *klucz do sukcesu* (25) in Polish, is the most critical factor in achieving success.

(24)

The real key to success is tailoring the system to fit the end users.

(25)

Dobry pomysł to w Supraślu klucz do sukcesu.

A.good idea it in Supraśl the.key to success

A good idea is the key to success in Supraśl.

In both languages, success can also be conceptualised as a building per se. The phrase *murowany sukces* means it is sure the success will be achieved. The literal meaning of *murowany* (26) is ‘made of bricks’, but metaphorically it can mean ‘absolutely certain’. In English, we can *build success* on a *foundation* (27a) and (27b).

(26)

Ty i ja — murowany sukces.

You and me — made.of.bricks-ADJ success.

You and me — a certain success.

(27)

a. To **build success**, parents and mentors should help children develop their natural talents.

b. Preschool can provide children with a solid and lasting **foundation for success** later in life.

4.1.8. Being successful is being big

There are a large number of metaphorical expressions that describe a successful person in terms of the metaphor BEING SUCCESSFUL IS BEING BIG. “A person that is important, powerful, and successful” can be called *a big cheese* (28a), *a big gun* (28b), *a big beast* (28c), or *a big boy* (28d) (Rundell & Fox 2002: 123). The phrase *to make something big* (28e) means “to make something successful” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 122). In Polish, the nouns

sztycha (29a) (literally, ‘a big cone’) and *gruba ryba* (29b) (literally, ‘a fat fish’) can mean ‘an important, powerful and successful person’.

(28)

...remember Chris Licht; he used to be **the big cheese** over here.

What’s **a big gun** like Burt Becker doing in a burg like this?

The last of the “**big beasts**”, Kenneth Clarke, has finally been shuffled off the stage.

But ultimately, General Kelly is **a big boy**.

Legent Corp is aiming to **make it big** in systems management.

(29)

a. *Bo pani była sztycha.*

Because you-F-FR be-3-F-PAST a.big.cone

Because you were very important and successful.

b. ...*gruba ryba. w światowym showbiznesie.*

... a.fat fish in global show.business

... a very important and successful person in global show business.

4.1.9. Success is a container

If success is *full* (30), it means the aim of the person striving for success has been fulfilled completely. In this case, the metaphor is SUCCESS IS A CONTAINER. It also functions in Polish; success can be *pełny* (31).

(30)

Whilst this requires considerable political and structural change to achieve full success.

(31)

Trudno osiągnąć pełny sukces.

Hard-ADV achieve-INF full success

It’s hard to achieve full success.

4.1.10. Success is a loud thing

The adjective *resounding* (32a) can be “used for emphasis on how successful someone or something is” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1206). Something can also be *a roaring success* (32b), which means it is “very successful” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 1229). To do something *with a bang* (32) means to do it “in a very exciting or successful way” (Rundell & Fox 2002: 95). In Polish, success can be *głośny* (33).

(32)

- a. ...it was all such **a resounding success** so I was regaled with all the details...
- b. The final week of Hamlet was **a roaring success**.
- c. It'll go up **with a bang** I think!

(33)

...przyniosta	mu	pierwszy	głośny	sukces.
...bring-3-F-PRT	him	the first	loud	success

She brought him the first resounding success.

5. Conclusions

The above analysis shows that *success*, understood as achieving something that was intended, is conceptualised in both languages in a similar way. The reason that the metaphors in both languages are comparable may be that people share some perception schemas. In all conceptual metaphors that have been analysed, *success* is understood in terms of physical entities, such as a fruit, flower, or building, and actions and states, such as being in a specific place or performing an action. The properties of *success* are identified in terms of these entities, and this makes the abstract concept easier to understand. The metaphors BEING SUCCESSFUL IS BEING HIGH UP and BEING SUCCESSFUL IS MOVING FORWARD rely upon our orientation in space and are connected with a cultural experience. Polish speakers, as well as English speakers, share the conceptualisation of a positive evaluation in association with the upward or forward orientation. The BEING SUCCESSFUL IS BEING HIGH UP metaphor in English was more often associated with flying, whereas in Polish, the majority of metaphors were connected to mountains and highlands. The metaphor BEING SUCCESSFUL IS MOVING FORWARD stems from the fields of sports and racing, in which the faster one moves forward the more successful the person is. BEING SUCCESSFUL conceptualised as SWIMMING stems from the maritime culture of England; it may be that because Poland is a landlocked nation, there are not many linguistic examples for this conceptualisation in Polish. In the metaphors SUCCESS IS FOOD/BEVERAGE, SUCCESS IS FRUIT AND WORK IS A PLANT, and SUCCESS IS A FLOWER AND AN ENTERPRISE IS A PLANT, a nonphysical, abstract entity gains physical features; it can grow, bloom, and be eaten or drunk by a human. If it is achieved to the fullest extent, *success* can also be conceptualised as A CONTAINER: it is *full*. This conceptualisation highlights the state of completeness but does not map all the states between being full and empty. If the achievement does not work out as planned, we do not say that it is *half empty* or *half full*. In European culture, a successful person is set as an example for others and is often admired. In the metaphors BEING SUCCESSFUL IS BEING BIG and SUCCESS IS A LOUD THING, a successful person can be

easily distinguished among others because of his or her metaphorical size or loudness. *Success* is also something that everyone desires, but it is not easily achieved. This difficulty is emphasised in the SUCCESS IS A LOCKED BUILDING metaphor. The metaphorical *key to success* is an essential factor in achieving what one wants.

The study of two Indo-European languages of two distinct families seems to prove that people may, to some extent, share conceptual systems and verbalise these conceptualisations similarly, but the proof needs further research. It also indicates that the same conceptualisations may be found in other languages. It would be worth researching what similarities and differences occur between more distant languages.

Further research may focus on the relationship between a conceptualisation and the attitude toward the concepts to see whether there is dependency between the prevalent use of certain metaphors and conscious and unconscious behaviours.

APPENDIX

Label	Meaning
N	noun
V	verb
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
F	feminine
M	masculine
INF	infinitive
PRS	present tense
PAST	past tense
PRT	preterite (perfective-past)
REFL	reflexive
PROG	progressive
PL	plural
SIN	singular
ADV	adverb
FR	honorific

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