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THE SYSTEMATICITY OF METAPHORICAL CONCEPTS

В статье обсуждаются некоторые проблемы изучения метафоры в зарубежной лингвистике.

The article is devoted to much-discussed topic of metaphor in American linguistics.

Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination, a matter of words rather than thought or action. Modern linguistic studies, though, reveal that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life. Our conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical. It plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. Human thought processes are largely metaphorical.

To get an idea of how metaphorical expressions can give us an insight into the metaphorical nature of the concepts that structure our everyday activities, let us consider the metaphorical concept "Time is money" in American culture.

TIME IS MONEY

You are *wasting* my time.
I don't *have* the time to *give* you.
How do you *spend* your time these days?
That flat tire *cost* me an hour.
I've *invested* a lot of time in her.
I don't *have enough* time to *spare* on that.
You're *running out* of time.
You need to *budget* your time.
Put aside some time for ping-pong.
Is that *worth your while*?
Do you *have much* time *left*?
He's living on *borrowed* time.
You don't *use* your time *profitably*.
I *lost* a lot of time when I got sick.
Thank you for your time.

Time in American culture is a valuable commodity. It is a limited resource that people use to accomplish their goals. In Western culture work is typically associated with the time it takes. Time is precisely quantified, it has become customary to pay people by the hour, week or year. In modern culture TIME IS MONEY in many ways: telephone message units, hotel room rates, yearly budgets, interest on loans etc. These practices exist in all cultures. They have arisen in modern industrialized societies and structure our basic everyday activities in a very profound way. Corresponding to the fact that we *act* as if time is a valuable commodity, a limited resource, even money, we *conceive* of time that way. Thus we understand and experience time as a kind of thing that can be spent, wasted, invested wisely or poorly, saved or squandered.

TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY are all metaphorical concepts. They are metaphorical since people are using their everyday experiences with money, limited resources, and valuable commodities to conceptualize time. This isn't a necessary way for human beings to conceptualize time; it is tied to Western culture.

The metaphorical concepts TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY form a single system based on subcategorization, since in American society money is a limited resource and limited resources are valuable commodities. These subcategorization relationships

characterize entailment relationships between the metaphors. TIME IS MONEY entails that TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, which entails that TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY.

Of the expressions listed under the TIME IS MONEY metaphor, some refer specifically to money (*spend, invest, budget, profitably, cost*), others to limited resources (*use, have enough of, run out of*), and others to valuable commodities (*have, give, thank you for*). In this way metaphorical entailments can characterize a coherent system of metaphorical concepts and a corresponding coherent system of metaphorical expressions for those concepts.

There is another kind of metaphorical concept, one that organizes the whole system of concepts with respect to one another. They are called *orientational metaphors*, since most of them has to do with *spatial* orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation: for example, HAPPY IS UP. The fact that the concept HAPPY is oriented UP leads to English expressions like “I am feeling UP today”.

Such metaphorical orientations are not arbitrary. They have a basis in our physical and cultural experience. Most of our fundamental concepts are based on spatialization metaphors. There is an internal systematicity to each spatialization metaphor. For example, HAPPY IS UP defines a coherent system rather than a number of isolated cases. There is an overall external systematicity among the various spatialization metaphors, which defines coherence among them. Thus, GOOD IS UP gives an UP orientation to general well-being, and this orientation is coherent with special cases like HAPPY IS UP, HEALTH IS UP, ALIVE IS UP, CONTROL IS UP.

There are many possible physical and social bases for metaphor. For example, happiness tends to correlate physically with a smile and a general feeling of expansiveness. But the major metaphor in English culture is HAPPY IS UP, not HAPPY IS WIDE. There should be a reason why English people speak of the height of ecstasy, not the breadth of ecstasy.

Our physical and cultural experience provides many possible bases for spatialization metaphors. Which ones are chosen, and which ones are major, may vary from culture to culture. It's hard to distinguish the physical from the cultural basis of a metaphor, since the choice of one physical basis from among many possible ones has to do with cultural coherence.

Bibliography

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