

PANTA REI – ON AQUATIC AND MARINE CONCEPTS AND WORDS IN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

The paper is an attempt to demonstrate that in the languages of nations and cultures living on the shores of seas or oceans, the conceptual structure associated with the sea constitutes a particularly productive semantic template (semplate) and the concepts and words associated with water and the sea provide a large number of source concepts determining the lexical and conceptual structure of the languages of those nations and cultures. The above hypothesis is verified by examining the semantic structure of the basic lexical items belonging to the conceptual domains of WATER, SEA and SAILING, which jointly constitute the SEA semplate in modern English, and the most common metaphors in which water, the sea and sailing provide the source domains. The lexical items considered are five nouns: water, sea, wave, boat and ship, and two verbs: to flow, to sail, as well as a number of »marine« idioms.

Key words: culture, lexical semantics, marine concepts, metaphor, semplate, sense generators

PANTA REI – DEL SENSO DELLE PAROLE RELATIVE ALL'ACQUA E AL MARE NELLA LINGUA INGLESE

SINTESI

Nell'articolo si tenta di dimostrare che nel linguaggio dei popoli e delle culture che vivono sulle rive dei mari e degli oceani, la struttura concettuale associata al mare costituisce una fonte particolarmente produttiva di calchi semantici. I concetti e le parole legati al mare offrono un gran numero di generatori di significato che determinano la struttura concettuale e il lessico di questi stessi popoli e culture. La suddetta ipotesi è confermata dall'analisi della struttura semantica del lessico fondamentale degli elementi che riguardano l'ambito di WATER, SEA e SAILING (ingl. acqua, mare, navigare). Nell'inglese moderno formando insieme il calco semantico SEA (ingl. mare) e rappresentano le metafore più comuni di cui l'acqua, il mare e la navigazione sono la fonte originale. Sono state analizzate numerose categorie lessicali per cinque sostantivi: water, sea, wave, boat e ship (ingl. acqua, mare, onda, barca e nave) e due verbi: to flow e to sail (ingl. fluire e navigare), come pure numerosi termini »marini«.

Parole chiave: cultura, semantica lessicale, concetti legati al mare, metafora, calco semantico, generatori di significato

Jesus was a sailor when he walked upon the water
 And he spent a long time watching
 From his lonely wooden tower
 And when he knew for certain
 Only drowning men could see him
 He said »All men will be sailors then
 Until the sea shall free them«

(Leonard Cohen, *Suzanne*)

CONCEPTUAL IMAGE SCHEMAS AS SOURCE DOMAINS

In their influential cognitive theory of metaphor Lakoff & Johnson defined metaphor informally in the following way:

»The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another« (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, 5). Although the definition sounds rather simple, it had far reaching consequences. For one thing, it opened the door for the theory of conceptual metaphor, i.e. the theory which claims that metaphor is not a matter of language, but a matter of thought, or – as it was formulated later (e.g. by Lakoff, 1990; 1993; Croft, 1993; Barcelona, 2003) – a matter of mapping between two distinct conceptual domains, the donor domain called »source domain« and the domain which is the actual object and content of the metaphor, called »target domain'. Thus a single conceptual metaphor may be realized by a number of different linguistic metaphors, all based on the same cross-domain mapping, e.g. the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY may give rise to a number of metaphorical linguistic expressions based on the correspondence between travelers and lovers: *Look how far we've come, We are at a crossroads, We'll just have to go our separate ways, We're stuck, We're just spinning our wheels, Our marriage is on the rocks, We've gotten off track*, etc. (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, 44f; see also Kövecses, 1986, 1988; Bierwiaczonok, 2002, Ch. 4). Another important corollary of the theory of metaphor proposed by Lakoff and Johnson was that it showed how more physical and perceptually clear and thus better experientially grounded concepts are used to provide ontology and structure for more abstract concepts, such as TIME, LOVE, MORALITY, HAPPINESS, MIND, GOD etc. This in turn raised the question of the most basic domains and concepts of human cognition, which provide source domains for more abstract domains. The first attempts to answer that question were Lakoff (1987) and, particularly, Johnson (1987), where it was suggested that the basic human concepts originate in our bodily experiences and are probably universal. Since these concepts were claimed to be appear before the formation of other,

richer concepts and were believed to be imagistic and schematic, Johnson (1987) called them »preconceptual image schemata« and defined the preconceptual image schema as: *a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience* (Johnson, 1987, xiv).

The two important aspects of image schemata are their »apparently nonpropositional, analog nature« and »their figurative character, as structures of embodied imagination« (Johnson, 1987, xx). In addition, Johnson pointed out that the image schema can also be defined as »a continuous structure of an organizing activity« (Johnson, 1987, 29) – the definition that highlights the dynamic nature of image schemas as patterns of mental organization of experience. As for their internal structure, image schemas are Gestalts: »coherent, meaningful, unified wholes within our experience and cognition« (1987, 41). The most important image schemas seem to be: CONTAINER, BLOCKAGE, PATH, PART-WHOLE, LINK, BALANCE, LINK, NEAR-FAR, CYCLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY, etc. In addition, Cienki (1998) and Bierwiaczonok (2004) have suggested that there are also universal »geometric« image schemas: STRAIGHT and CIRCLE.

The tendency to look for conceptual universals in the common human bodily experience should not, however, divert our attention from the fact that there are concepts which are culture-specific, since it is these concepts that may also play a role in the way the world is encoded linguistically, for they provide important source domains for the metaphorical structures of the languages spoken in those cultures.¹ These concepts may appear as deeply entrenched cognitive routines either as a result of their ubiquity and hence frequent usage in a given culture or else some of their lexical exponents acquire a special status in the lexical structure of a language and thus they become what I have called »sense-generators« (cf. Bierwiaczonok, 2007). The concepts in question may have to do with the most salient features of the geographical environment, climate and meteorology, as well as the local flora and fauna, but others may well denote culturally important artifacts, such as paper, cup, etc.

Another term which has been recently suggested by Levinson and Burenhult (2009) in order to account for the systematic way in which the vocabulary of various languages is structured and interrelated is the term »semplate«, a blend of *semantic* and *template*. Crucially, a semplate has a rich semantic content, consisting of sets and layers of lexemes and a lexical role in organizing the lexical structure of a language across categorial boundaries.

1 The term *culture* is used here in its most neutral, theory-independent sense as »the customs, beliefs, arts, music and all the other products of human thought made by a particular group of people at a particular time« (Longman, 1992).

We shall discuss the notions of sense generators and semplates in slightly greater detail in the two sections below. In Section 4 we shall try to show that they are directly relevant to the main thesis of this paper, i.e. that for the languages of nations and cultures living on shores of seas or oceans the concepts associated with water, particularly the sea, provide a large number of the most important source concepts determining the lexical structure of those languages, as well as the conceptual and cultural specificity of the nations speaking those languages.

SENSE-GENERATORS

In my recent paper (Bierwiaczonek, 2007), I proposed that each language has its own set of sense-generators (s-generators), defined as those lexical items in a language which exhibit particularly rich polysemy. The presence of s-generators is particularly striking when we compare the semantic structure of different lexemes in two languages: some words in L1 have a large number of senses while their equivalents in L2 only a few, or vice versa. Moreover, s-generators in L1 may not correspond in their prototypical senses to s-generators in L2, therefore, their extended, non-prototypical senses may differ considerably. As particularly well-established, usually high-frequency items, s-generators are cognitively particularly well-established, deeply entrenched lexical items, which are likely to be used more often than other items in categorizing new cognitive entities/conceptualizations.

Following my analysis presented in Bierwiaczonek (2007), we may distinguish four kinds of s-generators:

- 1) s-generators based on elaboration (e-generators);
- 2) s-generators based on feature modification (fm-generators);
- 3) s-generators based on metonymy (my-generators);
- 4) s-generators based on metaphor (m-generators)

Elaboration generators

E-generators are words which have a rather abstract, schematic central meaning² and a number of other senses which are elaborations of this abstract central sense. A good example of an e-generator in Polish is the word *plyta*, whose central meaning seems to be »flat piece of solid material« and whose elaborations involve various often quite distinct categories, as can be seen in Table 1 below.

A good example of the e-generator in English is the word *device* with its general meaning »an object which has been invented for some purpose« and numerous more specific senses differing from each other in terms of purpose and details of construction. Another e-generator is the word *handle*, discussed by Cruse (1986, 74), who points out that it can be used to designate such special subcategories as handle of a door, suitcase, umbrella, sword, spoon. Again, in Polish one needs at least three different items for various subcategories of handle, e.g. the handle of a door is *klamka*, the handle of a suitcase is *rażczka*, the handle of an umbrella and spoon is *uchwyt*, and the handle of a sword is *rękojeść* (in addition to *pałak*, *trzonek* and *uszko* relating to other objects). Almost as a matter of definition, most basic-level words are e-generators, e.g. *chair*, *dog*, *bird*, *book*, etc.

Table 1:

Tabela 1:

Polish e-generator	Senses	English equivalents
<i>Płyta</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. flat piece of metal 2. flat piece of plastic or glass 3. flat piece of wood 4. flat piece of stone 5. piece of paving 6. flat piece of plaster on walls 7. part of cooker 8. record of music 9. round disc for storing digital information 10. part of football, etc. pitch 11. part of airfield 12. memorial 13. top part of tomb 14. main part of computer 	<p><i>sheet</i> <i>plate</i> <i>board</i> <i>slab</i> <i>flagstone</i> <i>panel</i> <i>plate</i> <i>record, album</i> <i>(compact) disc</i> <i>surface</i> <i>apron</i> <i>plaque</i> <i>(tomb)stone</i> <i>(mother) board</i></p>

2 I call it »central« because prototypes usually have rather rich representations (cf. Rosch, 1978).

Feature modification generators

Fm-generators form their polysemous semantic structure by means of what Langacker (1990, 266) calls »extension«, which »implies some conflict in specification between the basic and extended value«. The specification in question is called »feature« here; thus, the polysemy of fm-generators is based on feature modification. In Langacker's example of the word *run*, feature modification may involve the number of legs of the running people and animals, or the way the runner uses her legs on the downhill run on skis.

Another interesting fm-generator in English is the word *house*. Its prototypical meaning of »a building in which people live, usually people belonging to one family« is extended to such concepts as BOARDING HOUSE, OPERA HOUSE, COUNCIL HOUSE, STEAK HOUSE, CHAPTER HOUSE, WENDY HOUSE, DOLL'S HOUSE, etc.³

It will be noticed that feature modification cannot be equated with the traditional notion of semantic broadening or generalization: the feature is not lost but modified e.g. simplifying the contrast a little, a steak house is still a house for people but the feature (or, in more cognitive terms the domain) of LIVING is modified to SERVING CARNIVOROUS FOOD, while FAMILY is modified to CUSTOMERS.

What is also important about e-generators and fm-generators is that they do not involve transfer of meaning, which is characteristic of the other two kinds of generators: metonymy-generators and metaphor-generators, discussed in greater detail in the next sections.

Metonymy generators

A metonymy generator (my-generator) is a lexeme whose rich polysemous semantic structure is a result of

metonymic extensions. Since my-generators differ from language to language, a single my-generator in L1 may have a number of different equivalents in L2. A good example of the my-generator in English is the lexeme *paper*. As in the other tables, the column on the right shows the words in Polish needed to translate various senses of the my-generator in question (Table 2).

Clearly, all senses (2) through (9) have developed through different metonymic extensions from the prototypical sense 1, but two lines of extension following two basic metonymic patterns can easily be discerned: one is MATERIAL FOR OBJECTS MADE OF THIS MATERIAL (senses 7 and 8) and the other is MATERIAL FOR TEXTS WRITTEN ON THIS MATERIAL (cf. also *papyrus*). Predictably, in the remaining senses the two extensions occur jointly, displaying a systematic ambiguity between the sense of physical object and the content of the text. The ambiguity is by no means confined to written texts. A similar case can be made for *canvas*, which apart from its basic material sense, has developed two metonymic senses: one for a picture painted (or to-be-painted) on canvas, e.g. *The canvas is in a terrible condition*, and the other designating the content of the picture, e.g. *The canvas shows an easy rider eating a hamburger*.

Metaphor generators

In addition to e-, fm-, and my-generators, each language has a set of words which it tends to employ more often than others as sources for metaphoric extensions. Those language-specific lexical »favourites« most readily available for metaphorization may be called »metaphor generators« (m-generators). Accordingly, an m-generator is a lexeme whose rich polysemous semantic structure is a result of metaphoric extensions, i.e. domain mapping in the sense of Lakoff (1993) and Croft (1993). In terms

Table 2:

Tabela 2:

English my-generator	Senses of MG-s	Polish equivalents
<i>Paper</i>	1. material 2. a newspaper 3. a formal piece of writing about an academic subject 4. an essay written by a student 5. part of a written examination 6. report on a question or a set of proposals for changes in law 7. cigarette paper 8. wallpaper 9. pl. Documents	<i>papier</i> <i>gazeta</i> <i>artykuł, referat</i> <i>esej, praca (semestralna)</i> <i>egzamin pisemny</i> <i>raport, referat</i> <i>bibułka</i> <i>tapeta</i> <i>dokumenty, papiery</i>

3 The fact that *house* is primarily an fm-generator does not mean that all its meanings are feature modifications. At least a few of them are metonymic, e.g. »the people who live together in a house«. I discuss this issue below.

Table 3:
Tabela 3:

English m-generator	Senses	Polish equivalents
<i>body</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. your physical parts 2. main part of your body 3. group of people 4. the largest part of building 5. the main part of a car, plane, etc. 6. the main part (of an army) 7. a large area of water 8. a large amount (of information) 9. strong flavour (of drinks) 10. (heavenly) natural object in space 11. bodysuit 	<p><i>Ciało</i> <i>tułów</i> <i>grono, ogół, organ</i> <i>korpus</i> <i>karoseria, nadwozie, kadłub</i> <i>trzon</i> <i>akwen</i> <i>materiał</i> <i>bukiet</i> <i>ciało (niebieskie)</i> <i>trykot</i></p>

of Kövecses (2000), an m-generator is a metaphor with a particularly wide scope. To see how m-generators work, let us consider the English word *body*. The table below shows its main metaphoric extensions and their Polish equivalents (Table 3).

It will be noticed that not all the ten senses of *body* extended from its prototypical first sense are metaphoric: senses 2 and 11 are clearly metonymic. However, since all the other senses are metaphoric we may safely call *body* a metaphor generator. Other equally productive m-generators in English are *face*, *mouth* (cf. Cruse, 1986, 72), *bed*, *frame*, *chip*, *wing*, *table*, *skirt*, *ring*, and probably many others. Newmark (1980) pointed out that those »dead« metaphors differ in their universality. Thus the ones often employed in technical vocabularies may be highly language specific, e.g. the word for DOG may have very different technical metaphoric extensions: in English it is a mechanical device for holding, such as a clamp, a drag, the hammer of a gunlock; in French it may denote a pawl, a latch, a catch, a hammer, a trolley, a towing block; in Italian – a catch, a cramp, a cock, a hammer; and a truck, a tub, or a mine car in German. In contrast, Newmark argues, the dead metaphors of non-technical words such as *head*, *food*, *bottom*, *arm*, *circle*, etc., »appear to have universal applications or aspirations for all languages«. As we have seen above, in the case of *body*, which certainly belongs to this group, the metaphoric routes these words take may also be highly idiosyncratic.

Mixed types of s-generators

Of course the terms such as e-generators, fm-generators, my-generators and m-generators should be regarded as cardinal points on a multidimensional scale of lexical developments. For instance, the semantic structure of the word *tarcza* (=»schild«) in Polish involves both metaphor and feature modification. Another »mixed« category is what I referred to as metonymy-

metaphor generators (mm-generators): lexical items which have extended their semantic structure more-or-less evenly through metonymy and metaphor. An excellent example of an mm-generator is the English word *cup* (cf. Bierwiaczonek 2007).

SEMPLATES

In their recent paper, Levinson and Burenhult (2009) proposed a new descriptive concept in lexical semantics, which they claim can account for important regularities in the lexical organization of languages. As they define it (p. 170), the semplate:

- Has articulated nodes, bearing specific but abstract relations to one another, for example, through edges (which are undirected) or arcs (which are directed),
- Such that the nodes, edges, and arcs may be linguistically labelled or semantically incorporated into lexical items,
- And onto which at least two distinct lexical sets (layers) from different subdomains or form classes are mapped,
- With the sense relations between the lexical items is any one layer being inherited from the underlying template.

Levinson and Burenhult (2009) illustrate the concept of semplate with the »tilted world« semplate they found in a Mayan language of Mexico called Tzeltal. Tzeltal uses the cardinal direction system based on absolute geocentric coordinates of the north, south, west and east, which is used for special reference on any scale, although instead of four terms it has only three: 'up' is south, 'down' is north, and 'across' is east or west. This general configuration determines the structures of a number of formally unrelated lexical sets; e.g. the layer of abstract spatial nominals and the layer of basic intransitive verbs which indicate 'ascending', i.e. going south, 'descending', i.e. going north, and 'traversing', i.e. going west or east.

THE MARINE SEMPLATE AND THE DOMAINS OF WATER SEA AND SAILING IN ENGLISH

The hypothesis I wish to consider consists of a few general basic assumptions and a number of specific theses based on those assumptions.

General claims and assumptions:

Apart from universal image schemas and conceptual archetypes (cf. Langacker, 1999), there is a set of basic concepts in each culture which are derived from some common experiences in that culture. More specifically this means that:

- Although there might be a general schematic concept of a **THING**, in fact we may more often use its more concrete elaborations, e.g. (natural categories) STONE, LEAF, BRANCH, STICK, BONE, etc.; and (artifacts) CUP, POT, BALL, CHAIR, TABLE, BOX, BRICK, BOARD, PIN, etc. The lexemes denoting these categories often function as sense-generators.
- Similarly, there might be a general schematic concept of **MASS (SUBSTANCE)**, but in fact we may more often use its more concrete elaborations, e.g. AIR, GAS, WATER, OIL, SAND, ROCK, etc. Again, the lexemes denoting these categories often function as sense-generators.
- There might be a very general schema of **MOVEMENT IN SPACE**, but this schema may in fact be realized by a number of richer basic level concepts, such as WALK, RUN, DANCE, DRIVE, FLY, SWIM and SAIL. Again, the lexemes denoting these categories often function as sense-generators.

Specific theses:

1. In the languages of nations and cultures living on shores of seas or oceans the conceptual structure associated with the SEA will constitute a particularly productive semplate and the concepts and words associated with water and the sea will provide a large number of the most important source concepts determining the general conceptual and lexical structure as well as the identity of those nations and cultures.⁴ Since England, Poland and all the Mediterranean countries are such »marine« cultures, we should expect that aquatic and marine concepts will be particularly productive as sense-generators.

2. In »marine« cultures such as Poland, Slovenia, and particularly England (as an island), the general event structure metaphor, which often takes a more specific form of the metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY, takes on an even more particular form in the lower level metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY.

The above hypotheses can be best verified by ex-

amining the semantic structure of the basic lexical items belonging to the conceptual domains of WATER, SEA and SAILING, which jointly constitute the sea semplate, and the most common metaphors in which water, the sea and sailing provide the source domains. The lexical items we shall consider are five nouns: *water*, *sea*, *wave*, *boat* and *ship*, and two verbs: *to flow*, *to sail*. Although the present study is confined to English, I hope that future research into the conceptual and lexical structures of other »marine« languages, such as Norwegian, Polish, Slovenian, French as well as non-Indo-European languages will show to what extent the above claims can be confirmed or disconfirmed. The next step of the study could then involve a comparison of the lexical productivity of the domains of the SEA SEMPLATE with other domains, e.g. the domains of SAND and DESERT, in those languages as well the comparison of the role of the marine domain in the languages of non-marine cultures, such as e.g. Czech, Hungarian, Tibetan, the languages of Sudan (Sudanese Arabic, Bari, Toposa, or Zande), etc.

THE SEA SEMPLATE AND ITS SENSE-GENERATORS IN ENGLISH

The basic distinctions related to the SEA semplate, i.e. the crucial nodes in the configuration of the SEA semplate are represented by concepts and lexemes arranged in a number of different layers. A sample of the layers and lexemes is given below:

- 1) Body of water: *sea*, *ocean*, *bay*, *gulf*, *seaway*, *strait*, *channel*, *kyle*, *fjord*, *inlet*, *swash*, *lagoon*, etc.
- 2) Body of land defined as a profile against the base of the sea: *coast*, *seaboard*, *shore*, *beach*, *island*, *peninsula*, *shelf*, *spit*, *reef*, *seabed*, *seafloor*, *strath*, *cape*, *promontory*, etc.
- 3) Spontaneous activity and forms of sea water – waves, *tide*, *flood*, *seaway*, *swell*, *blind roller*, *beach/reef break*, etc.
- 4) Activities performed while interacting with water: *swim*, *sail*, *navigate*, *drown*, *sink*, *drift*, *go ashore*, *crash into rocks*, etc.
- 5) Adjectives related to the sea: *marine*, *seaworthy*, *seagoing*, *navigable*, *nautical*, etc.
- 6) Vehicles used to move on water: *boat*, *ship*, *ferry*, *towboat*, *tanker*, *brigantine*, *corvette*, *yacht*, *ice-breaker*, etc.
- 7) People related to the sea: *seafarer*, *sailor*, *deep-sea fisherman*, *helmsman*, *deckhand*, *seaman*, *admiral*, *commodore*, etc.
- 8) Basic directional oppositions: *inshore* ≠ *offshore*, *seaward(s)* ≠ *landward(s)*

⁴ The sea semplate for Old English has been recently proposed by Deborah DuBartell in her paper »The Anglo-Saxon 'sea' semplate: a preliminary analysis of a key concept in Old English lexical semantics« presented at 3rd UK Cognitive Linguistics Conference at University of Hertfordshire, 6–8 July 2010.

Water

Beside its prototypical meaning of »a clear thin liquid that has no colour or taste when it is pure« (*Cobuild Dictionary for Advanced Learners*) or »colourless transparent odourless tasteless liquid compound of oxygen and hydrogen, convertible into steam by heat and ice by cold« (*Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary*), *water* developed other senses. Here is a list of those senses along with the specification of the processes of meaning extension.

Extended meanings of *water*:

- 1) A liquid consisting chiefly of this and found in seas, lakes, and rivers, in rain and in secretions of organisms.

Metonymy: PART FOR WHOLE

- 2) An expanse of water: a sea, lake, river, etc.

Metonymy: WHOLE (SUBSTANCE) FOR PART (A QUANTITY)

- 3) Part of a sea or river, e.g. *in Icelandic waters*.

Metonymy: WHOLE FOR PART

- 4) Mineral water at a spa, esp. *The waters*.

Metonymy: CENTRAL PART OF LOCATION FOR LOCATION

- 5) The state of a tide, e.g. *high water*.

Metonymy: WHOLE (SUBSTANCE) FOR PARTICULAR FORM (OF THIS SUBSTANCE)

- 6) A solution of a specified substance in water, e.g. *lavender water*.

Metonymy: MAIN PART (COMPONENT) FOR WHOLE (SUBSTANCE)

- 7) The quality of the transparency and brilliance of a gem, esp. of a diamond.

Arguably Metonymy: WHOLE FOR ATTRIBUTE

- 8) An amount of nominal capital added by watering (i.e. increasing a company's debt or capital by the issue of new shares without a corresponding addition to assets).

Ontological metaphor: CAPITAL IS WATER

Verbal meanings of *water*:

- 9) Sprinkle or soak with water
- 10) Supply (a plant) with water
- 11) Give water to an animal to drink
- 12) (Of the mouth or eyes) To secrete water as saliva or tears, e.g. It made my mouth water
- 13) Adulterate (milk, beer) with water
- 14) Water down – make less vivid, forceful or horrifying
- 15) (Of a river) Supply a place with water
- 16) (Of an animal) Go to a pool etc, to drink
- 17) (Of a ship or engine) Take in a supply of water

All the verbal senses of *water* except sense 14, which is metaphoric, are metonymic where *water* stands for activities typically performed with it, e.g. supply water, or give water to drink.

Idiomatic expressions:

- 18) *By water* – using a ship
- 19) *To cast one's bread upon the waters* – without expecting reward
- 20) *Like water* – lavishly, profusely
- 21) *On the water* – on a ship
- 22) *Water under the bridge* – irrevocable past events
- 23) *Test the water(s)* – test an action or idea before you do it or tell people about
- 24) *Keep one's head above water* – avoid getting into difficulties
- 25) *Waters break* – the fluid in a pregnant woman's womb that surrounds the baby passes out of her body, e.g. 'My wife's waters broke at 6am.'
- 26) *Hold water* – (of an argument) seem reasonable
- 27) *In hot water* – in trouble
- 28) *Pour cold water on sth* – show that you have a low opinion of sth, e.g. 'Economists poured water on the idea that the economic recovery has begun.'
- 29) *In deep water* – in a difficult situation

Except for the simile in (20) and three metonymies in (18), (21) and (25) all the remaining eight senses are metaphoric, with the most common mapping: PROPERTIES OF SITUATION ARE PROPERTIES OF WATER.

However, the multiplicity of the senses of *water* is hardly surprising as *water* is so essential to life in general that there is hardly any culture that can do without it altogether. What is more culture specific is the importance of the sea and its most important perceptual form: waves.

Sea

The prototypical meaning of *sea* is 'the large area of salty water'. Its extended meanings include:

- 1) A very large number of people or things that all look similar, e.g. *the sea of faces*
- 2) The state of confusion, in the idiom (*all*) *at sea*
- 3) One of the broad areas that seem flat on the moon and Mars

All the extensions are metaphorical. With its three extensions, *sea* does not seem like a most powerful s-generator, but we should note that sense (1) is productive and hence frequent as a lexical metaphorical quantifier (cf. Radden & Dirven, 2007), cf. e.g. the title of the film *The Sea of Love*.

Wave

The prototypical meaning of *wave* is 'a line of raised water that moves across the surface of the sea'. There is little doubt that *wave* is a metaphor generator in English. Consider its extended senses:

- 1) A sudden increase in a particular type of behavior, activity or feeling, e.g. *a wave of anger*

- 2) A sudden increase in the number of people or things arriving at the same time
- 3) The form in which some types of energy such as light or sound travel
- 4) A movement in which you raise your arm and move your hand from side to side
- 5) A loose curl of your hair
- 6) An occasion when many people who are watching an event stand up, move their arms up and down and sit down again one after another in a continuous movement (esp. *Mexican wave*)
- 7) Style of music, art, film etc., as in *new wave music*
- 8) Problems, as in the idiom *make waves*
The verbal meanings of *wave* seem all to be motivated either by the prototypical sense (10) or by sense (4) – (9), (11), (12), or by (5) – (13)
- 9) Raise your arm and move your hand from side to side in order to make someone notice you
- 10) (Make sth) move from side to side, e.g. *a tree waving in the breeze*
- 11) Show sb which way to go by waving your hand in that direction
- 12) Move your arm and hand when you or the other party are leaving, esp. *wave goodbye to sb or sth.*
- 13) (Of hair) (make hair) form loose curls

Boat

The prototypical senses of *boat* are first, »sth in which people can travel across water«; and second, a more specific (autohyponymic) sense »passenger ship«. Apart from those two »literal« senses *boat* appears also in a number of idioms, where it is used metaphorically, although in (2) and (3) they are motivated metonymically, the metonymy being PART OF EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT. In all the idioms the metaphoric mappings are SITUATION IS BOAT OR BEING IN A SITUATION IS BEING IN A BOAT.

Consider the following idioms with *boat*:

- 1) *Miss the boat* – miss an opportunity
- 2) *Push the boat out* – spend a lot of money on sth in order to celebrate, e.g. *I earn enough to push the boat out now and again* (Post)metonymy: PART OF CELEBRATION FOR WHOLE CELEBRATION
- 3) *Rock the boat* – upset a calm situation and cause trouble
- 4) *In the same boat* – in the same unpleasant situation

Ship

The dictionary definitions imply that in its basic prototypical sense *ship* is a hyponym of *boat*, as they define it as 'a large boat which carries passengers or cargo'. In addition, *ship* also has two verbal senses:

- 1) Send sth on a ship or by some other means of transport, e.g. *'Food is being shipped to drought-stricken regions of Africa.'*

- 2) *Ship out* – leave a place (esp. by ship)

The definitions indicate that each sense in fact comprises two senses. Thus (1) may involve a simple metonymy OBJECT FOR CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY and another sense 'send by some other means of transport', which involves a generalization (e.g. schematization, auto-superordination) of the basic metonymic sense. In the case of (2) the basic sense 'leave a place by ship' is also metonymic and its extension 'leave a place' again involves generalization. It must be noted, however, that in both cases the generalization is motivated metaphorically: sending sth on a ship and leaving a place by ship were first metaphorically mapped onto other forms of transport or traveling.

Conceptual field of boats and ships

In addition to the lexemes *boat* and *ship*, other lexical items belonging to the conceptual field of MARINE VESSELS denote a wealth of source concepts for metaphoric extensions in English:

- HELM – the steering wheel of a ship
 - *Take the helm* – take control.
 - *Be at the helm* – be the boss
- MAIN STAY – a main strong wire or rope used for supporting a ship's mast.
 - *Leader*, e.g. *'He was the mainstay of our team.'*
- DECK
 - *Hit the deck* – to fall to the ground in order to avoid something dangerous
 - *Clear the decks* – to clear the way for something, e.g. *'The hostage release could clear the decks for war.'*
- BOARD
 - *Go overboard* – over the side of a ship or boat into the water, to do or say something that is too extreme for a particular situation, e.g. *'I hope politicians will not go overboard in trying to control the press.'*
 - *Throw something overboard* – to get rid of an idea, system etc. that is considered to be useless or unnecessary
- KEEL – a bar along the bottom of a boat that keeps it steady in the water
 - *Keep something/get something back on an even keel* – steady, without any sudden changes, e.g. *'Now that the crisis is over, we must try to get things back on an even keel.'*
- HATCH – opening in the deck of a ship
 - *Down the hatch* – something you say before drinking an alcoholic drink quickly
 - *Batten down the hatches* – prepare oneself in order to survive a coming difficulty, e.g. *'Many firms are battening down the hatches and preparing to ride out the storm.'*
- SAIL – a large piece of strong cloth fixed onto a boat, so that the wind will push the boat along

- *Take the wind out of sb's sails* – make sb less confident
STERN – back part of a ship
- *From stem to stern* – 1. from the front of a ship to the back, e.g. '*He inspected the boat from stem to stern and decided he wanted to buy it.*' 2. from one end to another, e.g. '*Now, I have to clean the house from stem to stern.*'

To flow

The prototypical meaning of *flow* is '(of liquid) move steadily and continuously'

It also has seven extended senses, all of them metaphorical:

- 1) (Of people) move steadily in large groups
- 2) (Of money, information) move freely between people and organizations
- 3) (Of emotion) though sb – feel it very intensely
- 4) (Of quality or situation) from sth – result naturally from sth
- 5) (Of words) – be spoken smoothly and continuously
- 6) (Of hair or clothing) – hang freely and loosely
- 7) (Of places) with sth – there is a great deal of sth in that place

The converted noun *flow* appears in two idioms, both of them metaphorical:

- 8) *In full flow (of sb)* – talking easily and continuously and likely to go on
(*Of activity*) – has started and is being carried out with a lot of energy and enthusiasm
- 9) *Go with the flow* – let things happen without trying to control them

To sail

The central meanings of the verb *sail* are 'to travel on or across an area of water in a boat or ship', 'to start a journey by boat or ship' and 'to direct or control the movement of a boat or ship that has a sail'. Other senses are clearly metaphorical:

- 1) To move quickly and smoothly through the air
- 2) To move forwards gracefully and confidently
- 3) To succeed very easily on a test, examination, etc.

PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY

Apart from the polysemous structure of the single lexemes linked with the marine environment of the English culture, the multifarious and ubiquitous experience of the sea has also its impact on the structure of English conceptual metaphors of life. To begin with, let us recall the general mappings in the event structure metaphor suggested by Lakoff (1993):

- STATES ARE LOCATIONS
- CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (INTO AND OUT OF BOUNDED REGIONS)

- CAUSES ARE FORCES
- ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS
- PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
- MEANS ARE PATHS (to destinations)
- DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION
- EXPECTED PROGRESS IS A TRAVEL SCHEDULE
- EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE, MOVING OBJECTS
- LONG-TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

What I show below is that this very general metaphor of life takes on a rather more specific form in English, namely PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY. The mappings in this metaphor are as follows:

- STATES ARE SEA-RELATED LOCATIONS: SEA, COAST, ISLAND, PORT
- CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS ON THE SEA
- CAUSES ARE »MARINE« FORCES, e.g. WAVES, WIND
- ACTIONS ARE »MARINE« SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS, e.g. SAILING
- PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, e.g. PORTS, HARBOURS, DISTANT SHORES
- MEANS ARE PATHS (to destinations), e.g. ROUTES TAKEN BY BOATS and SHIPS (BOATS and SHIPS themselves are MEANS)
- DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION ON THE SEA
- EXPECTED PROGRESS IS A VOYAGE SCHEDULE
- EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE, MOVING OBJECTS,
- LONG-TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS BY SEA

These conceptual mappings of the PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY metaphor appear in various forms and realizations in English. Below is a representative sample. Note that some of the idioms have already been mentioned, but now they can be seen as parts of a larger whole:

- 1) STATES ARE SEA-RELATED LOCATIONS: SEA, WATERS, BAY, PORT
 - (*All*) *at sea* – in a ship on the sea, to be perplexed, confused
 - *In dire straits* – in a calamitous situation
 - *In (adj.) waters*, e.g. '*The Polish government may soon be in stormy economic waters.*'
- 2) CHANGES IN LIFE ARE CHANGES OF THE COURSE OF SAILING
 - *On another tack* – to change position, attitude etc.
 - *To drift off* – to gradually change from being in one condition, situation etc into another without realizing it
- 3) LONG-TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS BY SEA
 - *Sail through life* – make progress with little effort, e.g. '*She's always had brains, looks and luck. She has just sailed through life.*'

- *Plain/smooth sailing* – to be very easy to do or achieve, e.g. *'If you can answer the first question, the rest of the test should be plain sailing, it's smooth sailing from here on.'*
 - 4) FORCES (FAVOURABLE or ADVERSE) IN LIFE ARE WINDS or WAVES
 - *Upwind* – in the opposite direction to the way the wind is blowing ≠ *downwind* – in the direction that the wind is moving, *fair wind* – favourable wind
 - *Take the wind out of somebody's sails* – make sb lose their confidence
 - *See which way the wind is blowing* – find out what the situation is before you do sth or make a decision
 - *Sail close to the wind* – to do or say sth that is nearly wrong, illegal or dishonest
 - *Swim with/against the tide* – support or oppose what most people think)
 - 5) CONTROLLING LIFE IS CONTROLLING THE SHIP
 - *Take the helm* – take control
 - *Be at the helm* – be the boss
 - *Try a different tack* – (tack is a change in the direction a ship is going) – try a different method e.g. *'I tried to learn French by reading novels but it didn't work so well. So I tried a different tack. I went to a language school in France.'*
 - *Under one's own steam* – not pulled by another ship, e.g. *'She needed lots of help while she was learning the ropes but now she's operating under her own steam.'*
 - *Learn the ropes* (a truncated form of *learn the ropes of a sailing ship*) – learn how to do a new job, e.g. *'In a very new job it takes a while to learn the ropes.'*
 - 6) HAVING PROBLEMS IN LIFE IS HAVING PROBLEMS WHILE SAILING
 - *Be stranded* – (*strand* is an old word for 'beach') to be stuck somewhere with no means of transport
 - *Run aground* – experience a difficulty which stops progress
 - *To leave someone high and dry* – to leave sb in a difficult situation, one which they might find it difficult to get out of
 - *In the doldrums* – (the doldrums is the region near the equator which is often windless) in a state of making little or no progress for days and weeks
 - *Between the devil and the deep blue sea* – in a difficult situation because there are only two choices you can make and both of them are unpleasant
 - *Keel over* – (of people) to faint or collapse and fall over
 - 7) EXPERIENCING A SITUATION IS BEING IN A BOAT
 - *Be in the same boat* (as somebody) – to be in the same unpleasant situation as someone else
 - *To rock the boat* – to stir things up – ontological metaphors, identifying causes
 - *Burn your boats* – to do something with the result that you will not be able to return to a previous situation again, even if you want to
 - *Give someone leeway* – (the leeway in nautical terms is the drift of an object, with the wind, on the water's surface or the sideward motion of a ship due to wind and current) – give sb sufficient freedom to do what they want to do
 - *Give someone or something a wide berth* – (a 'berth' is a 'parking place' for a ship) – to avoid sb or sth
 - *In the offing* – (originally of a ship approaching port visible at sea off the land) likely to happen in the near future
 - *Fire a shot across someone's bow* – give him/her a clear warning
- Although the list is by no means complete, it seems representative enough to demonstrate the productivity and systematicity of the conceptual metaphor *PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY*, the metaphor which is deeply entrenched in English because of the common experience of sailing and interacting with the sea and the resultant *SEA* semple. English, as a language of islanders, is of course an extreme example of how a nation's common experience may shape its conceptual structure and, as a result, the metaphorical extensions of its basic »aquatic« and »marine« terms, as well as the source of its idioms. As I previously mentioned, it remains to be seen to what extent the generalizations suggested here hold true also of other languages. For instance, future research should show to what extent English shares its conceptual metaphors with other marine languages, e.g. the languages of the Mediterranean, and how it differs in this respect from languages of non-marine nations.
- Finally, it should come as no surprise that the proverbs of marine nations like the English should also use marine and nautical experiences to express their national wisdom. Here are a few examples:
- *Calm waters do not make a skilled sailor* – perform in challenging situations
 - *Listen to the forecast, but sail the weather you are in* – balance strategy and tactics
 - *Don't leave wind to find wind* – take risks responsibly
 - *Any port in a storm* – respond to crisis situations
 - *A missing 50-cent cotter pin can sink a ship* – pay attention to details
 - *Changing a boat's name can be bad luck* – honour rituals and tradition
 - *Local knowledge is often better than a chart* – listen to your team of experts
 - *Keep one hand on the helm and one for yourself* – balance your work/life
 - *Alone at the helm on night watch* – be aware in the present moment

CONCLUSION

The main thesis of this short study was that in the languages of nations and cultures living on the shores of seas or oceans the conceptual structure associated with the SEA will constitute a particularly productive semplate and the concepts and words associated with water and the sea will provide a large number of sense generators and the most important source concepts determining the conceptual structures of those nations and cultures. Since England is such »marine« culture, we have presented the general structure of the SEA semplate in English and analyzed five English nouns: *water*, *sea*, *wave*, *boat* and *ship*, and two English verbs: *to flow*, *to sail*, which function as particularly productive sense – generators, i.e. the lexemes which exhibit particularly rich polysemy, most of which results from metaphoric extensions of their basic aquatic or nautical senses. Since an important component of the SEA semplate in English is the domain of vessels used in traveling on sea,

along with their parts and associated human activities, these parts and activities motivate a large number of English idioms, which metaphorically map the nautical experiences onto other domains of human life. The same cognitive mechanism is involved in the conceptual structure and functioning of numerous English proverbs. In addition, we have shown that in English the high level metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY takes on a more particular form in the lower level metaphor PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY, again motivated by the »marine« nature of the English culture. Although the present study has been confined to English, the future research into the conceptual and lexical structures of other »marine« languages, such as Norwegian, Polish, Slovenian, French as well as »non-marine« languages, such as e.g. Czech, Hungarian, Tibetan, etc., should show to what extent its main theses, which have been borne out by the English data, can be confirmed or disconfirmed cross-linguistically.

PANTA REI – O KONCEPTIH IN BESEDAH ZA VODO IN MORJE V ANGLEŠKEM JEZIKU

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POVZETEK

Glavna predpostavka predstavljene kratke študije je, da z morjem povezana konceptualna struktura pri narodih in kulturah, ki naseljujejo obale morij in oceanov, ustvarja izrazito produktivno semantično šablono, koncepti in besede, povezane z vodo in morjem pa nudijo veliko število generatorjev pomena in najpomembnejše izvorne koncepte, ki določajo konceptualne strukture teh narodov in kultur. Glede na to, da je angleška kultura »morska«, smo predstavili osnovno strukturo semantične šablone sea (ang. morje) v angleščini in analizirali pet angleških samostalnikov, *water*, *sea*, *wave*, *boat* in *ship* (ang. voda, morje, val, čoln in ladja), ter dva angleška glagola, *to flow*, *to sail* (ang. teči, jadrati), ki delujejo kot posebej močni generatorji pomena, torej leksemi, ki kažejo izrazito večpomenskost in večinoma nastanejo kot metaforični podaljški svojih osnovnih vodnih in navtičnih pomenov. Glede na to, da je pomembna komponenta angleške semantične šablone SEA domena *plovil*, namenjenih potovanju po morju s svojimi pripadajočimi deli in z njimi povezanimi človeškimi aktivnostmi, se ti deli in aktivnosti pojavljajo v številnih angleških idiomih, ki metaforično prenašajo navtične izkušnje na druga področja človeškega življenja. Isti kognitivni mehanizem je na delu v konceptualni strukturi in delovanju številnih angleških pregovorov. V prispevku smo prikazali tudi to, da v angleščini metafora višjega reda, A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY (ang. polno življenje je potovanje), zavzame bolj določeno obliko v metafori nižjega reda, PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY (ang. polno življenje je potovanje po morju), ki jo prav tako osmišlja »morska« narava angleške kulture. Pričujoča raziskava je omejena zgolj na angleški jezik, v prihodnosti pa bi lahko raziskave konceptualnih in leksikalnih struktur v drugih »morskih« jeziki, kot so norveški, poljski, slovenski in francoski jezik, pa tudi v »nemorskih« jeziki, kot so češki, madžarski, tibetanski idr. jezik, pokazale, v kolikšni meri je mogoče z navzkrižno lingvistično analizo potrditi ali zavreči osrednjo hipotezo tega prispevka, ki temelji na podatkih iz angleščine.

Ključne besede: kultura, leksikalna semantika, koncepti morja, metafora, semantična šablona, generatorji pomena

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