### English hearts and what they tell us about language and mind Andreas Burki

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In this critical application of the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor (henceforth CTM) I will show that with help of the CTM it is possible to capture very significant generalisations about the English language. This will be demonstrated with respect to a set of data comprising 60 representative English expressions which include the word heart. These expressions account for what may reasonably be considered the vast majority of uses of the word heart in English, an area of the language which, although seemingly abundant with metaphor, has not previously been the focus of an analysis in the CTM framework. The expressions are taken from corpus data representing both spoken and written sources. Employing CTM-tools, I shall extract mappings and metonymies that motivate all these expressions from a small number of proposed mappings. Supported by findings of the analysis, I furthermore propose that certain adjustments to the CTM are necessary, including the following:

- Not any possible hypothetical mapping fitting linguistic data is a plausibly

psychologically real mapping.

Whereas some contribution of mappings to understanding is likely, claims that
mappings are necessary for conceptualisation, particularly the claim that target
domain concepts can only be understood via source domain appears insufficiently
supported.

- Mappings can likely generate, not only motivate senses of words and expressions.

- the addition of mapping rules (such as X AS PERSON) would enhance the ability of the CTM to capture generalisations.

On the other hand, findings from the present study provide support for claims that mappings are cognitive, not simply linguistic and that the nature of mappings is permanent not dynamic.

1.1 Introducing the CTM

The theoretical framework variously referred to as the cognitive (or conceptual) theory of metaphor, the contemporary theory of metaphor<sup>2</sup>, or the mapping view, was proposed its present form by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), though parts of the paradigm may be traced in the thought of scholars much before them<sup>3</sup>. A considerable amount of work has been carried out both within the framework and in response to it and it has been acknowledged, even by its critics, to be "extremely influential" not only in (cognitive) linguistics, but in literary studies and the cognitive sciences as well (Keysar et al. 2000: 576). The scholarly debate over its merits, however, is still very much alive.

Support for CTM-claims comes from language data such as the following:

This article is based on an MA dissertation submitted to SOAS in 2001.

Clearly, however, this theory is not the only or even the pre-eminent contemporary metaphor theory, and there are various approaches to metaphor also within the cognitive linguistics paradigm.

So for example John Locke and Immanuel Kant or, more recently, Benjamin Lee Whorf. The reader is referred to Jäkel (1997) for a discussion of predecessors of the paradigm and their significance.

You'll get there eventually. (to a student writing a dissertation)
I'm at a crossroads in my life.
He lost direction in his career.

The above expressions would be analysed in the CTM as manifesting a conceptual cross-domain mapping because the domain of long-term purposeful activities such as writing dissertations, living and pursuing careers (target domain) is at least partly conceptualised via the domain of journeys (source domain). This is formulated as LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS (Lakoff 1993;220) which is a general mapping with logically associated mappings such as, for example, GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS (as seen in the first example). It is a general mapping because mappings such as CAREERS ARE JOURNEYS and LIFE IS A JOURNEY are more specific instances of it and share the associated mappings of the more general mapping, though they may have their own specific associated mappings. Thus there are mappings at different levels of generality, more specific mappings following from more general ones, and there are logically associated mappings.

Mappings are seen not as live processes performed each time a target domain is accessed, but rather as "fixed [...] correspondences across domains" (Lakoff 1993;210). Fixed here does not imply that no new mappings can be created (new mappings are created for example through a novel metaphor), but that mappings are present long-term in the brain and are not instantaneously created for and discarded after a particular instance of use. Mappings are asymmetric; they only work in one direction, from source to target domain. Usually mappings are furthermore only partially conventionalised: a mapping will motivate both conventional uses and novel metaphor.

Below, I will consistently use the format TARGET DOMAIN AS SOURCE DOMAIN since it escapes the unintended suggestion of identification between source and target domains inherent in the format TARGET IS SOURCE.

Metaphor, according to the CTM, is a mapping between two conceptual domains. Hence, mappings are not linguistic rules that produce metaphor, they are rather the metaphors themselves and produce metaphorical concepts (i.e. concepts understood fully or partially in terms of other concepts via mapping). Metaphorical expressions in language are the natural surface reflex of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff 1993:208). Literal concepts, consequently, are concepts that are not comprehended via metaphor (Lakoff 1993:205) and naturally result in literal expressions.

This definition of metaphor, while arguably based on a central aspect of the established meaning of metaphor (expressing one thing in terms of another), is nevertheless not exactly what metaphor means to the rest of us. The sentence *Interest rates rose by 0.5%*, for example, is metaphorical in CTM-terms since it could be said to manifest the mapping MORE AS UP. Jackendoff and Aaron (1991: 326ff) identify the aspect missing from the CTM-definition of metaphor as a sense of literal incongruity. Feeling with J&A that "the traditional insight about the literal incongruity of metaphors is worth preserving" (1991:326), I shall subsequently use the more neutral term *mapping* rather than *metaphor* when speaking about mappings while

reserving metaphor for expressions that display a degree of literal incongruity as well as a mapping.

Why are some concepts understood (conceptualised) in terms of other concepts? The CTM claims that the reason for mappings is that understanding and meaning need to be built up from basic concepts. Basic concepts are directly meaningful because they are grounded in embodiment. The remaining concepts are "indirectly meaningful; they are understood because of their systematic relationship [mappings] to directly meaningful structures" (Lakoff 1987:268).

It follows that mappings are not arbitrary, but constrained in that source domains of mappings are expected to be basic concepts and target domains non-basic concepts. The CTM is thus able to offer an explanation for why mappings should exist at all, why they are asymmetric and why the direction of mappings is from concrete/physical to abstract/non-physical (though of course this last claim remains to be confirmed in our analysis). The pairings of source and target domains, furthermore, are motivated through "an experiential correlation between [them]" which makes the mapping "natural" (Lakoff 1987:278).

# 1.2 Introducing data and methodology

The data for the present study consists of English expressions which include the word heart. The 60 expressions investigated were arrived at by searching the British National Corpus for sentences containing heart, complemented by a few examples taken from the Bank of English. From these were eliminated duplicate sentences that instantiate the same expression, i.e. for selection purposes, a sentence like She was keeping her promise to herself, but in her heart of hearts Tess knew that eventually she would accept him (BNC GW8 1389) varies insignificantly from It's obvious that in their heart of hearts the Japanese don't really trust calculators (BNC ARB 1407) because both are instances of the heart of hearts expression, hence only the first one was admitted to our set of expressions to be investigated.

These selection criteria produce a clearly and systematically delineated set of data, restricting the number of possible example sentences that vary significantly with respect to the use of heart. Within this restricted area, an attempt was made to provide as full a coverage as possible of all examples. This is in contrast to much other work; it appears that most researchers choose their data on thematic grounds, such as "expressions of anger" (Matsuki 1995, similarly Lakoff [with Kövecess] 1987, Yu 1998 and Ibarretxe 1997) or some-data-supporting-my-proposed-mapping type of selection. Such criteria cannot provide sharp boundaries as to what expressions should or could be considered and hence are unable to escape a certain arbitrariness. Furthermore, only a relatively small set of examples is usually chosen for investigation out of the possible number of expressions in the thematic area. In

An alternative suggested by Lakoff (1993:207)

Conceptual mappings may be partial: target domains may have several source domains helping to conceptualise and understand different aspects of them (L&J 1980:108) and / or they may be understood partly in their own terms (i.e. without mapping).

The notion of directly meaningful concepts remains rather vague. Elsewhere, Lakoff (1993:245) states loosely that mappings are 'grounded in the body and in everyday experience and knowledge' and judging from the kinds of source domains he suggests, this is understood very widely.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The British National Corpus (BNC) is a 100 million word collection of samples of written and spoken language from a wide range of sources, designed to represent a wide cross-section of current pritish English" (BNC 2004, my emphasis).

A 449 million word corpus of current English maintained by Collins Cobuild at the University of Birmingham (Bot 2001).

A rotable avenue 2001).

A notable exception is (pre-CTM) Reddy (1993) who lists more than a hundred types of expression which he estimates to account for at least 70 percent of expressions in his focus area.

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treating the data, researchers often only pay attention to a few mappings under investigation, with other metaphorical aspects of examples not explained or investigated. Thus no complete account is given and explanations can remain sketchy and incomplete. The present study attempts to analyse the whole of each chosen expression.

Finally, again in contrast to most other work and in an attempt to maximise objectivity, the methodology of this study insures that our analysis is based on representative actual language usage rather than on self-invented examples or examples without declaration of origin. The origin of each expression in our data is indicated as [BNC X] (X stands for the BNC reference number of the expression) or [BoE] respectively.

### 2 Application

### 2.1 The meaning of heart

As indicated above, the word heart is central to the data and consequently its meaning plays a significant role in our analysis. Word meaning is equally a non-trivial issue to the CTM-framework; its claims are intimately bound up with word meaning and indeed the CTM is also a tool of lexical semantics. Thus, for example, CTM-style metaphorical mappings are used as a tool to explain meaning extensions in Lakoff's (1987) study of the meaning of over, accounting even for cases like overdoing and doing it over again.

of our application of the CTM. Among meanings of heart commonly listed in dictionaries are 'blood-pumping organ of the body,' 'centre of emotions,' 'spatial centre,' 'vital part' and 'abstract heart-shape'. The CTM, being part of the larger theory of categorisation (traceable in modern thought to work of Eleanor Rosch). cognitive linguistic paradigm, accepts and builds upon the premises of the prototype others hold, a network of related prototypes with one being the central (prototypical) so-called prototype or in case of polysemous words, as Lakoff, Taylor, Langacker and Prototype theory conceives of the meaning of a word as a typical or ideal instance, a related, if they turn out to be related, which we may assume as a starting point. It source domains to abstract target domains. Unless we preclude the possibility that any central, is provided by the CTM-claim that metaphorical mappings are from physical derived (in a synchronic sense). A further hint as to which meaning is likely to be follows from the very concept of a central prototype that the central meaning of a meaning of heart from which other senses follow or via which other senses are prototype. Consequently, in our application, we proceed in trying to establish a central of the senses of heart result from a mapping, a concrete, physical meaning is more lexical category should be the one from which other senses may be most easily meaning as blood-pumping organ. This seems to accord well with intuition and might likely the central meaning. I propose that the central meaning of heart is its physical be the first meaning quoted if one asked a member of the public for the meaning of the heart as the centre of emotions, but this seems intuitively a metaphorical meaning heart. Another meaning for heart likely to be named would be the understanding of despite being conventionalised. Given the importance of word meaning to our study, it must be the starting point

The blood-pumping heart appears to be understood as the centre of the physical body in a comprehensive sense, paraphrasable as 'the most vital part of the physical

body' as well as being 'located in the spatial centre of the body' (regardless of whether the heart is scientifically at the centre of the body shape). Some linguistic support for this comes from data sentences 45) to 48), reproduced below for convenience:

convenience:

45) ... a radically new and immensely powerful device which remains the heart of every modern radar. [BNC B7M 1733]

46) Indeed, the conditions created by the electoral system were seen as being the heart of Britain's current problems. [BNC J57 1703]

47) The feeling is very much that of a country house hotel in the heart of London, a retreat from the busy streets outside. [BNC, BPF2030]

48) Daimler-Benz, for example, has bought a large site on Potsdamer Platz, in the heart of the new Berlin. [BNC ABE 2574]

MACHINE AS PERSON mapping suggested by Lakoff and Turner (as cited in sentences as manifesting cross-domain mappings, we may use, for example, the 48) a sense to do with being 'located in the spatial centre.' If we treat these example 45) and 46) a sense to do with being 'the most vital or important part' and in 47) and In 45) to 48), the sense of heart is clearly not that of 'blood-pumping organ', but make up sentences like his problems rob him of his sleep, robbing being primarily a where we may suggest a mapping PROBLEM AS PERSON which also permits us to over to the target domain (Invariance Principle). A similar case can be made for 46) be pumped around and so naturally that aspect of the meaning of heart is not carried being the vital part, though radars not actually being bodies, they don't have blood to corresponding to the heart of a machine (in this case a radar), the heart in both cases or many modern cities don't seem to have character (my example). Though a source to use them. [BNC FTO 1698], But Grisedale remains a sad place [BNC ASU 243]. mapping can be independently detected as the mapping involved in sentences like human predicate. 47) and 48) suggest a mapping like PLACE AS PERSON. (such a Jackendoff and Aaron, 1991) and apply it to 45) with the heart of a person are most typically human, especially 'sadness' and 'having a character'). We further domain of animals or people could be argued for, it appears to me that these attributes London suffers not from too many hospital beds, but from too many people who need meant (Hammersmith still has a spatial centre, of course). If the meaning of heart in of Berlin. In 20) the 'spatial centre' sense is completely absent, and only typicality is depth of character. Potsdamer Platz, we would assume from 48), is somehow typical of the meaning of heart can play a role, such as a meaning of heart as the place of the that spatial centre-location is not the only aspect of the heart picked up. Other aspects in the sense that both are located in the centre of that which they are a part of, it seems observe that although heart in 47) and 48) corresponds to the heart in a person mainly 48) is the product of the mapping PLACE AS PERSON, this nuance is nicely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> BNC (British National Corpus) data were obtained on 30 August 2001 via the online search facility at http://sara.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/lookup.html, BoE (Bank of English) data via the Collins Cobuild English Dictionary (1995a) and the Collins Dictionary of Idioms (1995b).

Subsequently, rather than reproducing data in the main text, only the number of the expression is given. The reader is referred to the complete list of data at the end.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The notion of animals as including humans is more a scientific and specialist one. Ordinarily, 'animals' are non-human and of a different kind. Mammals would not be a likely source domain; again this is a somewhat abstract biological term, not one from experience.

explained, but if heart in 48) simply gave access to a lexicon-listed meaning of heart (for example, centre with nuance of typicality), the correlation between centre and typicality would be accidental.

Anthropomorphisations are of course possible with a wide range of concepts and with differing degrees of specification. The question may be posed as to whether, given such a productive mapping, we should posit a mental mapping rule such as X AS PERSON, where X is any concept, rather than listing a near infinite number of individual mappings of the sort PLACE AS PERSON. A mapping rule like X AS PERSON or X AS OBJECT (which we will encounter later) would, however, be problematic for the CTM because for the CTM, mappings are a fixed set of correspondences between conceptual domains. In order for such correspondences and the resulting conceptualisation of the target domain to exist, all individual mappings would seem to have to be static. Consequently, it appears that the CTM cannot offer a unified way of accounting for the extremely widespread phenomena of anthropomorphisation and viewing something abstract as a physical object, except to say that the phenomena consist of thousands (or perhaps millions) of individual mappings that share the same source domains. I shall continue to use the 'X AS...' format, provisionally as a shorthand for the fully specified mappings, and return to the issue below.

We have so far, then, discussed some evidence indicating that the heart is understood as the centre of the physical body in a comprehensive sense (including 'most vial part' and 'spatial centre'). This was of course arguing backwards from metaphorical uses of heart to literal uses of heart. That the real direction is from literal to metaphorical (i.e. to make sure I am not interchanging source and target domains at will) may be demonstrated using a test sentence similar to Jackendoff and Aaron's (1991; 326):

Of course a machine is not a person, but if it were, we might say the most vital part of a machine is the heart of the machine. (X AS PERSON)

? Of course a person is not a machine, but if they were, we might say the heart of a person is the most vital part of a person. (PERSON AS X)

The second sentence appears very odd for the reason that the heart of a person IS indeed the most vital part of a person (regardless of any mapping) whereas in the first sentence, machines do not literally have blood-pumping organs, but only via mapping. This indicates not only that the mapping must be in the direction claimed, but also that the heart being the most vital part of the body is not a metaphor itself, but rather a literal belief held, or one may say, part of the English concept of heart. The direction (X AS PERSON) is also given by the constraints on mapping direction: a machine may just about pass as a target domain; although physical and concrete, it may be argued to be less basic than experience of the physical body itself. We can propose the mappings CENTRE AS HEART and VITAL PART AS HEART as more specific instances (associated mappings) of X AS PERSON. As will be argued below, however, these specific mappings have little justification if occurring independently of X AS PERSON.

In expressions 1), 2) and 15), it is clear that it is not the blood-pumping organ that is broken, torn or stolen in any literal sense. Matsuki, in her analysis of anger metaphors in Japanese (1995) is faced with a similar situation in her discussion of the 'hara' concept which is both a physical body-part (belly) and, as she explains,

"metaphorically contains the emotions in Japanese" (142). <sup>13</sup> This leads to expressions like "to split hara, i.e., to open one's heart" and "hara is black, i.e., not fair/wicked" (143). To explain those uses, Matsuki suggests a mapping "hara is the container of real intention and emotion" which also manifests itself as "hara is real intention and emotion" which also manifests itself as "hara is real intention and emotion" which also manifests itself as "hara is real intention and emotion" with the container stands for the content (143).

associations of the blood-pumping organ with the centre of emotions throughout. facilitated by the fact that the two women shared one heart and it plays on viewers which she dies and her heart is given to another woman, waiting for a donor heart, MGM film released in 2000) wherein a happily married couple have a car accident in pumping organ. This is exemplified by the romantic comedy "Return to Me" (an suggested by the otherwise irrational attitudes that people have towards the bloodsimply a homophonous word or one of several polysemous literal meanings of heart is finds out about the heart. The film suggests that the love relationship was helped if not heart is actually a metaphorical meaning of the blood-pumping organ, rather than domains to talk about emotions. Furthermore, that the 'centre of emotions' meaning of been shown to be a frequent target domain (Lakoff [partly with Kövecses] 1987, Yu mapping-direction constraint, but also because expressions of emotion have already The husband later falls deeply in love with that woman and is shocked when he later abstract, non-physical domain) not only because it would go against the CTM's domain) would be partly conceptualised in terms of the centre of emotion (highly mapping CENTRE OF EMOTIONS AS HEART. The heart would clearly have to be 1998, etc.) and it helps, so it appears, to use language for more concrete physical the source domain in the above mapping: it is unlikely that the heart (a concrete paraphrase 'centre of one's emotions or feeling,' we may, à la Matsuki, suggest the Given that 1), 2), 15) appear to show senses that may be generalised with the

Suggesting the mapping CENTRE OF EMOTIONS AS HEART to take care of 'centre of emotions'-type meanings of heart, however, seems insufficient for two reasons:

mountain. If specific mappings alone are posited or if there is no evidence for the can similarly explain sentences like the new tunnel goes right through the heart of the automatically or follow naturally in a motivated way: if we posit MOUNTAIN AS PERSON, we don't need to posit LOWEST PART OF A MOUNTAIN AS FOOT and may posit more general mappings from which the lower-level mappings either fall out conceive of mappings as being hierarchically structured, as the CTM suggests, we vocabulary. It therefore seems that these mappings need supplementing. this area lie precisely in CTM's ability to explain such meanings or uses lexicon-listed meaning, because the strength of and justification for CTM-claims in provide little justification for being a mapping rather than simply an (arbitrary) in that they capture linguistic phenomena, they are not particularly interesting and PART OF A MOUNTAIN AS FOOT or our mappings from above CENTRE AS HEART and VITAL PART AS HEART. Though such mappings are possible and true a certain meaning to heart as could be done, for example with the meaning of foot (another body part) as the lowest part of a mountain where it flattens out: LOWEST First, our mapping sounds very much like a definition, a statement of attributing If of

One of the senses listed in a (presumably bilingual) dictionary quoted by Matsuki is indeed 'heart; real intention'.

A similar incident is reported by Yu (2003:14) with regard to the gall bladder which in Chinese stands for courage (GALLBLADDER IS CONTAINER OF COURAGE): a Chinese person had to have his gallbladder surgically removed and was subsequently rather shaken by the fact, although, medically speaking, there was no reason for concern.

presence of supposed higher mappings that could justify the lower mappings, there is should therefore be shown to be part of a hierarchy so that ultimately we have no more general mappings and their validity. suggested mappings with reference to other already established mappings or possible similarly constrain mappings by forcing those who suggest them to locate their would not only result in more wide-ranging and convincing explanations, but would Event Structure Metaphor as presented for example in Lakoff 1993: 220ff). This longer single mappings in empty space, but a network of hierarchies (similar to the very thin evidence indeed that such a specific-level mapping exists. Mappings

minimally necessary. not explain how emotions can have a centre. An additional mapping or explanation is Second, CENTRE OF EMOTIONS AS HEART is insufficient in itself; it does

2), 15) and similar expressions actually follows from the more general mapping EMOTIONAL SELF AS PHYSICAL SELF. Addressing the two above objections, I suggest that the meaning of heart in 1),

HEART mapping (if the physical self has a centre, then the emotional self has one, whether the EMOTIONAL SELF AS PHYSICAL SELF mapping has support other also a range of more differentiated meanings. First, however, we should try to see the heart is naturally the centre and most vital part of the emotional self as well) but too, and if the centre and most vital part of the body is the heart, as argued above, then associated mapping of EMOTIONAL SELF AS PHYSICAL SELF. The physical mapping ESSENCE OF IDENTITY AND CHARACTER AS HEART as an character (evidenced in 20), 10), 11), 41) and 31)). We can therefore suggest the emotional identity and character. The heart, being not only in the general centre of the person whose hair is cut off or who loses a finger is the same person" (Lakoff defines the identity of the individual in a way that the peripheral parts do not. [...] A latter making use of the proposed mapping. Furthermore, physically, "the centre hurt me or I got a knock from him can refer to bodily or emotional injury suffered, the than explaining CENTRE OF EMOTIONS AS HEART: it can be pointed out that you AS PHYSICAL SELF mapping which I have argued is responsible for the meanings of *heart* found in example 1), 2) and 15) above. heart of hearts (51) is then naturally the location of one's very, very innermost and emotional heart and what it is made of cannot be seen by outsiders, hence it is the heart, located inside the body, cannot be seen from the outside. Similarly, the body but at its very central point, is consequently the centre or essence of identity and private feelings. These facts provide good justification for the EMOTIONAL SELF location of private feelings, intentions, secrets and precious thoughts as in 50). One's 1987:274). Therefore, emotionally, the innermost part or the inner self are seen as the From this we may not only derive our earlier CENTRE OF EMOTIONS AS

of the blood-pumping organ, not only of its 'centre of emotions'-type uses or only as a brief comment: the abstract heart-shape (as in 52), which is meant as a representation One further meaning of heart, though not central to our concerns, is worth a

blood-pumping organ, although the two look very different. shape' meaning of heart precisely because the abstract shape is a representation of the pointing to a picture of him). I propose the same mechanism explains the 'heartsame name we use to refer to the real object (so we can say this is uncle Alfred refer to a picture or a two- or three-dimensional representation of something by the logos of heart-disease groups or blood donation organisations. By metonymy we can symbol of love. This can be seen, for example, from the use of the heart symbol in

SELF AS PHYSICAL SELF (and their more specific instances) blood-pumping organ with help of the mappings X AS PERSON and EMOTIONAL for example, in 1), 2), 14), 45) to 48) follow from the central meaning of heart as the In this section I have shown that the most common meanings of heart as found

### 2.2 Heart-expressions

further expressions of particular interest in the remaining groupings discussion of the analysis is given for all expressions in the first grouping and for remaining data to establish the mappings (and other devices where appropriate) which motivate their wording and meaning. The data is divided into four thematic groups. A important mappings present in heart-language, we may now turn to an analysis of the Having so far clarified the meaning of heart itself and having ascertained some

heart and objects coming or being in contact with it. 1) to 14) may be grouped together as they all speak about physical manipulation of the

causes more pain is equally present in the abstract domain. cause. In 5) the inference from the physical domain that if something pierces deep it or a mapping X AS PHYSICAL OBJECT would have to be made. Most subordinatesight or words spoken, for example) use of either the anthropomorphisation mapping could be due to no direct outside act such as when one suffers emotionally without conventional. 4) is special in that it does not mention the act, but only the result which one's heart pierced. Such injury to the heart is found in 1) to 6). It is possible to being hurt emotionally (without specification where) is far less serious than having often life threatening) than injuries to the peripheral parts" (274). Perhaps that is why serious or affecting some vital, central aspect of one's emotional self. Lakoff states this necessarily being the fault of someone else, though someone else might be the level terms for injury seem fairly conventional, with break and tear perhaps the most vs. 3). In 1), 6) and other cases where the agent is not a person (but an act, situation, portray either the act of injuring in process or the finished result, as can be seen in 1) that "Injuries to the central parts [of the body] are more serious (i.e. not mendable and (you hurt me) and injury to the heart in particular, if the injury is perceived to be very English speakers to express emotional injury in terms of physical injury in general beliefs held about the heart in relation to the body (vital part, centre, etc.) enables The mapping EMOTIONAL SELF AS PHYSICAL SELF together with the

influence on the touched object, so that we may suggest a mapping INFLUENCE AS Making physical contact involves the touching object having a certain effect and 7) and 8) imply that an external object made direct contact with the heart

Lakoff and Johnson specifically insist on the presence of mappings in cases where higher level mappings are not actively supported; as evidence they suggest that novel metaphor can make use of the unused part of the higher level mapping and it must hence exist. Neverthees, they concede 'if any metaphorical expressions deserve to be called "dead," it is these' (1980:54,55)

<sup>&</sup>quot;The mapping KNOWING AS SEEING is made use of here. The mapping is argued for by Sweetser 1990.5-6 and evident from expressions like Ah. I see how it works, now.

So also Chambers Dictionary: 'a sign representing a heart or often love' (1997:291). Collins Cobuild inaccurately in our view, only explains that the heart-shape is 'used as a symbol of love' (1995a:780). Is So also Lakoff when he suggests the mapping SOCIAL/PSYCHOLOGICAL HARM AS PHYSICAL.

HARM (1987:448)

PHYSICAL CONTACT (also manifested in utterances like 'Hands off our rights,' retorted the unions [BNC CRB 1734], In other words they are continuing to operate in their separate ways, largely untouched one by the other [BNC B2T 876]). If something influences directly the centre of emotions, it clearly has a rather profound effect. The kind of motion further suggests a rather sudden strong influence, not are similarly explained; something located close to the heart presumably has contact with it. In contrast to 7) and 8), however, specifically a longer-term influence is sometimes appears that the heart does not particularly in some of the following data, it only, but for the whole of the emotional self, or one's emotions. This is a case of metonymy which allows one to speak of something by referring only to a (salient) part it would be the metonymy CENTRE OF EMOTIONS FOR PERSON). In our case it would be the metonymy CENTRE OF EMOTIONS.

In 13) and 14) the heart as container is not a metaphorical understanding; rather than being confronted with a mapping, we are confronted with an aspect of the ontology of the object: the heart contains different substances in its structure, such as muscle and flesh as well as containing blood and presumably air in its hollow spaces. On the mapping EMOTIONAL SELF AS PHYSICAL SELF, and the more specific CENTRE OF EMOTIONS AS HEART, the bodily substances contained within the outer shape of the heart, constituting it, naturally correspond to the feelings, inclinations and other contents that make up the emotional heart. Opening something entails gaining access to it and if the heart is opened to someone, one lets that person partake in one's emotional self, and even the centre of it as in 13). Pouring out what is inside the heart as in 14) makes the whole content visible (and, via the mapping KNOWING AS SEEING, known) to another person. That this is done verbally, rather than through a showing of emotions (though that may be part of it, too) must be put down to the idiomaticity of the expression, it does not follow from the mappings.

### Group 2

Group 2 contains examples of expressions dealing with the location of the heart relative to other entities and relations between the heart and those entities. These concrete relations between physical entities are used to express a range of abstract relations between abstract entities. 15) to 25) are discussed below as examples of group 2. 20) to 25) raise the issue of narrowly idiomatic expressions and how they can best be treated in the CTM-framework.

If one feels that someone (or something) else is in control of the centre of one's emotions, this may be expressed as the other person possessing the heart (CONTROL AS POSSESSION<sup>2</sup>): the other person may keep the heart, give it back, or throw it away (though such expressions may be less conventional). This mapping and the familiar CENTRE OF EMOTIONS AS HEART, may be united into the more specific mapping CONTROL OVER CENTRE OF EMOTION AS POSSESSION OF HEART. The heart may be given by the owner (17), taken without (16) or against (15) the owner's will, corresponding to how one feels about the way control over one's centre of emotions was transferred. In 18), unlike 19), it is not specified who is now in control, but someone is. Although usually these expressions are used when talking

about love (which of course is a very salient emotion) a sense of the possessor being in control over one's entire emotions (not only love) is not absent. 16) involves, in the second part of the sentence, the X AS PERSON mapping as sucker is usually a derogatory term for a person. 20) also involves the removal of the heart, but as already observed, the mapping which produces the correct semantics is ESSENCE OF IDENTITY AND CHARACTER AS HEART (as well as the X AS PERSON). Though the CENTRE OF EMOTIONS-mapping could be chosen, I propose that the correct mapping is selected on contextual grounds, as the correct meaning of a word is selected with help of the context.

The expressions 21) to 23) are at least partly idiomatic; one may suppose that they result from the established metonymy (PERCEIVED) PHYSICAL EFFECT OF EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff 1987:382) though in these cases the physical effect is evidently overstated. If one is suddenly frightened or alarmed, the upper part of the body or at least the inner organs of the chest area are felt to move upward with the typical sudden intake of air and in strong cases one may feel one sheart beat in the throat. The heart as a salient organ in the chest area and cause of heartbeat would somewhat naturally be selected as the subject of dislocation. Diametrically opposite to a general upward dislocation is the general downward dislocation that is felt when discouraged or dismayed (22, 23), one feels pulled down: unlike the case of sudden fright when the body is put into a state of high alertness, when discouraged, the body is put into a state of high alertness, when discoated part is not entirely clear, though similar semantics follow from using other parts like shoulders: He sat on the bed, shoulders down, face averted, like a refugee [BNC FP7 1989].

The high uncertainty here is indicative of the degree of idiomaticity. This is also felt in 24) and 25) with 25) actually in contradiction semantically to 18). Although there is a sense in which much heart-language may be argued to be idiomatic, I take idiomaticity narrowly as an attribute of expressions that sprang from mappings that are no longer evident from elsewhere in the language. Additional indications are severe restrictions to a particular wording (*He lost the heart* cannot even point to the sense in *Don't lose heart!*), relatively easy translations with little loss (*Don't he discouraged* is equivalent) and semantic contradictions as the above. Particularly this last point suggests to me that synchronically there is no mapping present in narrowly idiomatic expressions. As such, narrowly idiomatic expressions fall outside the focus of this application. The CTM, however, nowhere acknowledging the possibility of mappings falling into disuse, would consider mappings detectable in idioms, as elsewhere, as mappings present in conceptualisation.

### Group

Expressions in group 3 deal with attributes of the physical heart and express characteristics of the emotional self. The examples discussed below are interesting in that they show how inference patterns from the source domain are valid in the target domain.

In 31) and 32) we encounter metaphorical mappings that go beyond heartlanguage: the talk of temperature in the emotional domain. I suggest this follows from

Similarly, Lakoff & Johnson argue for a mapping "EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT" (1980:50) on grounds of other data.

Further justification for this mapping below

<sup>&</sup>quot;The expressions under discussion could be related to a focus on the emotion of courage; the heart consequently viewed as standing primarily for the centre of courage and by metonymy SALIENT PART STANDS FOR WHOLE the heart stands for courage per se. Beave heart could receive some explanation in this way, though I would hold that this focus is fossilised and no longer active in productive (theart-) language.

emotional temperature as indeed we find in 31) and 32). The resulting semantics follow predictably the heart (as the centre of emotions) in ways consistent with the above examples of of time. It is now no surprise that one may also speak of the emotional temperature of even cool are temperatures humans don't feel comfortable with for prolonged periods we feel this temperature to be most comfortable as physical sensation; hot, cold and Warmth seems to be the most positive of the emotional temperatures, likely because well with Lakoff and Kövecses' mapping ANGER AS HEAT (Lakoff 1987:383) sense of excessive and almost violent emotional involvement results which accords negative connotations is communicated. As far as hot can be used in these examples, a warm is substituted for cool or cold, little or no emotional involvement with strongly with warmth, etc. all speak about sympathetic emotional involvement, whereas if one's work, someone warming up, having warm feelings towards someone, speaking PERCEPTION OF TEMPERATURE suggests itself): a warm welcome, warming to describe emotion and how it is perceived (PERCEPTION OF EMOTION AS Specifically in this case, temperature sensation (cold, cool, warm, hot) is used to (1987:448) are part. Accordingly, English speakers feel heat and also feel sadness. THROUGH TOUCH and Lakoff's "INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS" mapping of which KNOWING AS SEEING (encountered above) as well as an array of other more specific mappings like EMOTIONAL SENSATION AS SENSATION the mapping ABSTRACT SENSATION AS PHYSICAL SENSATION, a general

something hard and also cool. etc. 35) results from the same mechanism: a stone is a prototypical example of mapping level EMOTIONAL SELF AS PHYSICAL SELF: he's rough, I'm smooth adjectives for physical touch perception. This also works on the more general understood novel expressions may be constructed with nearly any of the basic-level conventionalised expressions like 33) and 34), semi-conventional or readily applied to heart language, physical touch language appears very productive; beside influenced much by touching, something rough might hurt if touched, etc., etc. When suffer too much emotionally). Something hard cannot be hurt but neither is it rather easily (a softic might cry often, if one's heart is too soft and tender one might one touches something soft and tender, it does not hurt, but the object might get hurt domain meanings are fairly closely linked to the meanings in the source domain: if characteristics that can be readily perceived from touching. soft | tender | hard | rough | edgy | smooth | slippery and similar physical domain via EMOTIONAL SENSATION AS SENSATION THROUGH TOUCH are Other aspects of the physical sense of touch that get mapped onto the emotional The resulting target

varied. Expressions 53) to 60) have been selected for representative discussion Group 4 consists of the remaining expressions of our data which are thematically

according to one's desires, but it appears more likely that this use is a fossil from also in 54). It is possible that a similar conception is behind 55), i.e. a breakfast that is the desires that issue from there (rather than from rational or utilitarian thoughts), as mappings once active. If something is according to one's centre of emotions as in 53), it is according to

reservations' follows from that. If something is from the heart (56), it is authentic in that what it communicates truly originates from (or corresponds to something at) the emotions, and there are no contrary emotions. The sense of 'very much', 'without 60) assures one that something is done (a family loved, for example) with all

> express their emotions on a certain topic without consideration of constraints which social conventions, hearer's reaction, etc.). In a heart-to-heart talk, then, two parties results in an extremely frank conversation. within, at least not in their entirety. Rather we feel constrained in various ways (by familiar with the fact that we cannot usually express our emotions as they are felt communication remains fully representative of the emotions in the heart. We are all each other, there is no path and hence no intervention from any other faculties. The only originates in the heart, but since the hearts themselves are perceived to speak to-heart talk (59) is similarly authentic communication, yet what is communicated not OBJECT'S JOURNEY ALONG A PATH"). If something comes straight from the instance of the X AS OBJECT mapping and the communication process as a journey along a path with start and destination (COMMUNICATION PROCESS AS AN undergone any change and still resembles the emotion as it was in the heart. A heartheart (58), the path is direct and no intermediate stops took place. Hence it has not travelling from its place of origin to expression. As such it could be viewed as an assured in 57). The come from suggests some motion, perhaps of a feeling or thought something being its deepest place) and hence more profoundly felt communication is superficial. The latter is excluded by the place of origin being the heart and the heart centre of one's emotions rather than having no true emotional basis, or being merely PROFOUND AS DEEP hence only states the obvious. An even deeper (the bottom of also Lakoff 1987, 274-5). A mapping such as SUPERFICIAL AS ON SURFACE, have seen above how centre location has associations with typicality and identity (see being in central location inside the body, which is here seen as the emotional self. We 0

underlying English, particularly English heart-language. Above I have, with help of a CTM-style analysis, extracted a number of mappings

meanings are related via mappings. We found that the proposed mappings are able to organ'-sense of heart naturally takes the role of a central prototype, to which the other nuances of typicality) that would otherwise have to be regarded as accidental provide a clear explanation for certain meaning nuances (heart as central location with lexicon-listed (I shall argue below that this is likely the case), the 'blood pumping AS PHYSICAL SELF). If any of the meanings resulting from those mappings are meaning and merely two general mappings (X AS PERSON and EMOTIONAL SELF follow naturally and differentiatedly from the physical (blood-pumping organ) First, we have found that the metaphorical meanings of heart can be shown to

Second, the more specific mappings responsible for individual senses have been

identified as the following:

MACHINE AS PERSON, PROBLEM AS PERSON, PLACE AS PERSON CENTRE AS HEART, VITAL PART AS HEART

CENTRE OF EMOTIONS AS HEART

ESSENCE OF IDENTITY AND CHARACTER AS HEART

centre of the body, etc.) and the body (central parts constitute identity, injury to central about the source domain, specifically the heart (that it is the most vital part, at the We have seen that these follow from the more general mappings and the literal beliefs parts is serious, etc.).

Reddy 1993. Though this particular wording is not applied there, it fits in with his proposed conduit This mapping is formulated on the basis of an investigation into the metaphors of communication in

whole of the expressions analysed follow from the above mappings in interaction with other mappings not specifically to do with heart-language. These are: X AS PHYSICAL OBJECT Third, in analysing our English heart-language data, I also showed how the

INFLUENCE AS PHYSICAL CONTACT

CONTROL AS POSSESSION (CONTROL OVER CENTRE OF EMOTION AS POSSESSION OF HEART)

ABSTRACT SENSATION AS PHYSICAL SENSATION

KNOWING AS SEEING

PERCEPTION OF EMOTION AS PERCEPTION OF TEMPERATURE EMOTIONAL SENSATION AS SENSATION THROUGH TOUCH

(PERCEIVED) PHYSICAL EFFECT OF EMOTION STANDS FOR THE CENTRE OF EMOTIONS STANDS FOR EMOTIONAL SELF. Furthermore, the following metonymies have been ascertained:

It has also become apparent, however, that mappings are not always completely sufficient to account for the meaning and form of expressions. These cases have been that have fallen into disuse and are no longer evident in other parts of the language. identified as narrowly idiomatic. I suggested that these cases are fossils of mappings wording and meaning of heart-language in an exact manner. The ascertained mappings nevertheless go a remarkably long way towards explaining

## 4 Theoretical considerations

claims and premises of the CTM which, on the basis of the present study, appear While the need for hierarchies, CTM's definition of metaphor and the issue of narrow vulnerable to attack and in some instances to suggest possible alternatives without not been addressed directly so far. The following comments aim to point out particular idiomaticity have been discussed above, more fundamental theoretical questions have purpose of placing the findings of the above analysis into a context larger than that of reaching solidly argued conclusions. The discussion is also intended to serve the

# 4.1 Generation or motivation?

language expressions, the mental lexical entry for heart, for example, now only needs It would seem that having established mappings responsible for English hearspeakers of a language clearly do have access to information on conventionality, generated via mappings. The expressions so generated, however, would of course be to consist of the physical sense of 'blood-pumping organ', the other senses being meanings, on the other hand, are generated by mappings. mappings do not generate senses but rather substantiate and explain polysemy (or in lexicon (L&J 1980:52, 55). Consequently, in the case of conventionalised expressions, conventionality is captured by listing individual lexical items, phrases or idioms in the however, this information has to be registered somehow. According to the CTM both the conventional AND any number of novel expressions to do with heart. Since fact claim polysemy where otherwise homonymy would need to be postulated). Novel

a binary listed/not listed distinction appears less than fully appropriate. Second, it as polysemous senses in the lexicon, in fact such an account of conventionality matter of degree (so also for example Sadock 1993:54, Keysar et al. 2000:586) and so appears overly simplistic: First, it is generally acknowledged that conventionality is a Information on conventionality, however, does not necessarily have to be stored

> mappings. If we assume that degrees of conventionality are taken note of elsewhere (a least in our analysis, those meanings follow nicely and differentiatedly from the very hard to do but also imprecise, extremely clumsy and unnecessary, given that, at way as a physical object is affected by the physical action,' something that is not only like 'also of non-physical things to mean an action that affects the object in a similar example, we would need to add to the entries for break, pierce, tear, etc. something meanings and ranges of application of all words and phrases in the lexicon. For would be very difficult if not impossible to list all conventional mapping-created efficient way, appears more plausible. Naturally, in the case of often used mappings or efficient setup which, on the premise that the brain organises information in the most generate meanings of words and expressions. Thus we potentially arrive at a far more be one direction of future investigation into this mechanism), we can let mappings part of memory keeping track of frequencies of collocations in language input could meaning with words or phrases instead of having to deduce it in each instance of use parts of mappings it will be more efficient for the brain to list the mapping-created ones we saw above. Generally idiomatic phrases or expressions, as opposed to change, the lexicon listings for very conventional expressions might stay the same so frequently that they are likely lexicon-listed meanings of heart. When mappings fixed in the lexicon, yet correspond to a productive mapping. narrowly idiomatic ones, may be characterised as phrases that are conventional and suggest that this is what happened in cases of narrowly idiomatic expressions like the The 'centre' sense and the 'centre of emotions' sense of heart, for example, are used

### 4.2 Psychological reality

cognitive faculties other than strictly linguistic ones, is not particularly controversial style mappings are cognitive appears therefore not without wider support. According metaphor involves cognitive faculties other than strictly linguistic ones. That CTMexample Relevance Theory, Sperber and Wilson 1995) inherently propose that brave" (1993:42). Theories that treat metaphor as a pragmatic phenomenon (as for As Sadock points out, phenomena very similar to metaphorical language occur outside The CTM's claim that mappings (or, for present purposes, metaphor) involve of conventional conceptual metaphor is mostly unconscious, automatic, and is used to the CTM, language users do not necessarily perceive mappings because "the system language; for example when "a lion on a warrior's shield suggests that its bearer is only by inference. conceptual system" (Yu 1998: 33). Mappings hence cannot be verified by intuition but constantly, with no noticeable effort, just like our linguistic system and the rest of our

experiment, but other research has shown that violating orientational mappings slows accessed in the comprehension of the conventional language samples used in the inconclusive; some research (Keysar et al. 2000) has shown that mappings are not accessed for novel metaphor comprehension (Keysar et al. 2000). Our investigation of circumstances (Langston 2002). It appears fairly clear, however, that mappings are reading which suggests a connection to mappings in comprehension under certain between conventionality and novelty and the transition to novel expressions is nearly heart-language above has shown that a wide range of possible expressions are found continuum. I have argued that at the very conventional end of the spectrum (narrow dichotomy insisted upon by some may only strictly apply to the extremes of a language' in its different shades of conventionality and that the conventional/novel seamless. This suggests that mappings are needed and accessed when talking 'heart Psycholinguistic experiments on the detection of mappings have been somewhat

idiomaticity) mappings are unlikely to be present, but in the remaining expressions analysed, the interplay between the senses and nuances of heart and the mappings ability to explain them (as pointed out, for instance in the discussion of example 48) difficulty of capturing the precise figurative meaning of certain words involved which inference patterns (reasoning) apply in the two domains of a mapping, the presence of for example in the analysis of 5), the group 2 expressions to do with a transfer of the very productive (i.e. is evidenced in a large number of expressions) it naturally expressions found in language.

group of expressions. This seems inadequate in consideration of the weight attached mapping can be formulated that correctly motivates a given language expression or mappings, the CTM, at least in practice, assumes a mapping to be present whenever a result from a mapping, it would appear, do establish the presence of a plausibly speak of conceptual understanding). Not all expressions which could be construed to to proposed mappings (namely psychological reality and cognitive processes, not to reality of proposed mapping along the lines of the above arguments therefore has to be shared source that is common to both domains. ). Some support for the psychological proposed (as opposed to the possibility of there being a different source domain or a psychologically real mapping, less yet the presence of the particular mapping provided, and some argumentation as to why a particular domain should indeed be the MOVING OBJECTS," the moving objects in this special case being horses (Lakoff) get out of hand) results from a mapping "EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE prevent such peculiar claims as that the expression Whoa! (said when things start to source domain of an expression should be given wherever reasonable. This might Though giving general arguments in support of the psychological reality of

# 4.3 Fixed conceptual mappings or dynamic linguistic rules?

support to empirical observations which are borne out in the above analysis (inference building up of understanding from concrete to abstract seems logical) and points for mappings. Although the theory proposes some well-argued internal reasons (the domains; aspects or the whole of the target domain are conceptualised via these very The CTM holds that mappings are fixed correspondences between conceptual appears, as noted also by Ortony (1993:5), that the question of whether and to what investigation to be able to suggest what exactly the contribution of metaphor (and domain, at least partly, is very contentious. It would require a whole separate the legitimacy of the claim that mappings are necessary to conceptualise the target following the concrete/physical to abstract/non-physical direction), the question after patterns along mappings, mappings and their manifestations in language mostly question. Nevertheless, the following three considerations will degree metaphor creates new understanding is ultimately only partly an empirical CTM-mappings in particular) to understanding consists of, if anything. It furthermore preliminary conclusions to be drawn: allow some

First, though the mapping direction is remarkably consistent, it often appears only to be sustained because of the vague description of what can serve as a concrete source-domain (concepts grounded in embodiedness). Even then it is not sustainable in 100% of cases (X AS PERSON applied to hand as in when you give to the needy, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing [Matt. 6:3, NIV] for example, is an exception). Furthermore one can think of cases where a target domain becomes a source domain for a further mapping: ARGUMENT AS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:4) is a mapping but also WAR AS PERSON as in Eugene S. Jones' A Face of War is a feature-length documentary shot in 1966, but not released at the cinema until 1968[BNC EE1 114].

Second, given the emphasis, in practice, on the partial conceptualisation of the target domain in terms of source domain, the claims that only source domains are directly understood and target domains are understood via source domains (the building up of understanding) remains largely unsubstantiated. We may add that a complete conceptualisation via mapping would be hard to claim for the data in our analysis and therefore it appears that complete conceptualisation via mapping is extremely rare if it does occur at all. Thus, even clearly abstract, not directly understood concepts (according to the CTM) like CENTRE OF EMOTIONS are actually partly (possibly fully) understood in their own terms.

Third, even if the building-up-of-understanding claim is dropped, logical inference patterns can be explained if we allow the source domain to play any

understanding-enhancing role.

In view of these considerations, the CTM-position concerning grounding and building up of understanding appears difficult to sustain. If we allow for the source domain to have some sort of understanding-enhancing influence on the target domain (the details of which would need to be worked out in greater detail), we would be treading on more defensible ground. Additionally, mapping rules, such as we found useful above (X AS PERSON, etc.), could be posited because mappings are no longer needed for the very conceptualisation of the target domain.

Finally, the usefulness of hierarchies, (general and specific level mappings) and interaction between mappings in accounting for the data under investigation above, lets it appear plausible that mappings are not isolated and spontaneous but form a permanent system of rules (likely including mapping rules) held in long-term memory. That mappings often produce, motivate and interact with conventionalised meanings and expressions further supports a fixed rather than completely dynamic nature of mappings; a process in which even a conventionalised abstract meaning, for example, would be available only after literal concepts in the context are compared and a suitable isolated mapping established (which would be discarded again shortly after) seems not only complicated and inefficient but the observed consistency of the result would be somewhat surprising.

A possibility pointed out by Jackendoff and Aaron (1991:328).

- 1) But to be honest it has broken my heart to leave Bangor. [BNC K2U 719]
- 2) Why do I tear my heart by recalling our words then? [BNC HGS 1603]
- 3) He smiled at her, his heart breaking. [BNC CR6 22]
- save you a lot of aggravation and heartache. [BNC B10 1772] 4) Bearing in mind, the style of communication you adopt with your youngster could
- 5) My child you used and pierced my heart a hundred times and deep. [BNC CEM
- The new awareness of her love for him stabbed again at her heart. [BNC H9H 2358]
- events in Russia went straight to my heart' [BNC G1R 311] 7) Eudocio Ravines, the former Peruvian Communist, describes how in 1917 all the
- 8) Luzenzo's chest rose and fell as if he was identifying with the loss of the Corosini family, and that touched her heart. [BNC H94 3456]
- 9) She accepted his warning without comment, but she took it to heart. [BNC EVC2394
- 10) They understand children and they have the children's best interests at heart [BNC
- reason non-violence and cowardice go ill together because the coward is fearful at heart. [BNC C9B 440] 11) It is impossible to be truly non-violent without being utterly fearless, and for that
- 12) The place was close to his heart. [BNC CH2 10017]
- 13) Marje wept as she opened her heart during interviews for the biography. [BNC
- 14) I'd phone him up and pour out my heart in a way I couldn't to anyone else. [BoE]

- says she stole his heart the instant he saw her. [BNC K52 7253] 15) ... the man who went on to become world-famous singing star Frankie Vaughan
- She took my heart and squashed the sucker flat. [BNC A0L 2144]
- 17) ... gave his heart to the building of Westminster Abbey, .. [BNC BMV 922]
- knew for certain that at last, at very last, without doubt or question, he had fallen in love. [BNC ECU 2606] 18) In this most strange place and in this short moment Nicholas lost his heart and
- Andrew Julian. [BNC H7H 1815] Tossie broke into her moneybox to endow the marriage of Nicandra Constance with 19) Four years after that Hunt Ball, where Nicandra lost her heart for ever, Aunt
- through local authority planning procedures, has ripped 20) This new wave of anonymous buildings, designed to slip as quickly as possible Hammersmith. [BNC A24 33] the heart out of
- 21) My heart was in my mouth when I walked into her office. [BoE]
- 22) My heart sank when I saw the hill. [BNC C9R 400]
- 23) When she stepped into the helicopter in front of me, I had no alternative but to follow her with my heart in my boots. [BNC FPN 371]
- 24) Take heart! [BNC C9R 2591]
- 25) James and his besiegers lost heart and abandoned the siege. [BNC A07 537]
- 26) The blonde teenager, who had set her heart on becoming a hairdresser, was also upset at failing to find a job. [BNC CBF 11893]
  27) I tried to learn some lines but my heart wasn't really in it. [BoE]

28) Neil's heart is in the right place. [BNC AK2 1144]
29) She could still hear the sound of Rose Trivet crying her heart out in another part of

heart on their sleeve. [BNC HWX 2157] 30) You will only able to infer their Celtic roots -- they're not a band that wear their

- 31) But Maggie had a warm heart and she looked for the best in people. [BNC BP
- 32) Gabriel and his cold-hearted darling, Bathsheba Everdene, stared at each other
- venue, style, speakers and programme. [BNC ADK 542] 34) A good organiser is totally objective, even downright hard-hearted in choosing 33) He probably thought I had a soft heart. [BNC HU0 2791]
- I am convinced that you have a heart of stone. [BNC J103392]
- quite enough to render them light-hearted and care-free. [BNC AR8 1100] 37) She walked away, her heart heavy. [BNC JYB 3655] 36) The men were going to see some action, or 'have fun' as they put it, and that was
- 38) At once Bathsheba's heart felt lighter. [BNC FRE 1805]
- 39) Normally he was a model husband and father, kind-hearted and always laughing
- thousand tiny splinters after Trev Proby sat on it. [BNC FR9 781] 40) I did not have the heart to tell her that Ken's beloved instrument was now a
- enabled him to come this far. [BNC AK2 1146] 41) That heart is Welsh, and it is his Welshness which gave him an inner security that
- Green has never spared herself. [BNC AL8 825] 42) In her largeness of heart and her sincere desire to help all who needed it, Miss

- 43) It's so heartless and unfair after all you've done. [BNC AC2 1714]
- 44) But in that case I must warn you that I have no heart. [BNC FPU 1312]
- every modern radar. [BNC B7M 1733 45) ... a radically new and immensely powerful device which remains the heart of
- of Britain's current problems. [BNC J57 1703] 46) Indeed, the conditions created by the electoral system were seen as being the heart
- 48) Daimler-Benz, for example, has bought a large site on Potsdamer Platz, in the retreat from the busy streets outside. [BNC, BPF2030] 47) The feeling is very much that of a country house hotel in the heart of London, a
- heart of the new Berlin. [BNC ABE 2574] I know every word of it by heart. [BNC AAV 747]
- 50) Yet, in his heart, Cranston knew he was a hypocrite. [BNC K95 2704]
- eventually she would accept him. [BNC GW8 1389] 51) She was keeping her promise to herself, but in her heart of hearts Tess knew that
- 52) This plant has heart-shaped leaves with long stalks, which are olive green and slightly corrugated. [BNC CBL 977]
- this one sounded very interesting, something after my own heart. [BNC G3B 1822] They had been thinking of a job in Parma to which I would commute daily; but
- Oh, Mary of my heart's delight. [BNC ADM 2197]
- 55) A hearty vote of thanks for the chairman [BNC A73 144]
- 56) 'Oh, good!' said Francis from the heart. [BNC AOL 65]

victim from the bottom of my heart,' she said savagely, lashing out in her pain like a 57) If you ever find enough human emotion to fall in love then I can only pity the wounded animal. [BNC JY5 2669]

Right from the heart. [BNC CFV 582]

supposedly made by him about me in the press, more particularly in the Sun. [BNC 59) He and I had had a heart to heart in the hotel following some comments

60) My own family I loved with all my heart. [BoE]

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