See how far we've come

A corpus study of the source metaphor JOURNEY

Se hur långt vi har kommit
En korpusstudie av källmetaforen RESA

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Abstract

The present study is based on conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), which Lakoff and Johnson introduced in 1980. Data were taken from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), and three phrases (*a long road, bumpy road* and *fork in the road*) were investigated, in order to see how far the conceptual metaphor theory can be corroborated using authentic data. *Journey* was taken as the source domain of the three phrases. After analysis it was found that altogether 79% were metaphorical tokens, 18% were literal uses and 3% 'other' uses of the three phrases. In the metaphorical tokens of the three phrases six conceptual metaphors were identified and the most common conceptual metaphor was LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABOURIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS which made up 63% of all metaphorical tokens. The conceptual metaphor RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY was only found in metaphorical tokens of the phrase *a long road*. The study shows that CMT can be used to explain the majority of the tokens in the corpus. However, one conceptual metaphor often mentioned in previous accounts, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, turned out to be quite rare.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor theory, cognitive semantics, the source metaphor *journey*

Sammanfattning på svenska

Studien baseras på Lakoff och Johnsons teori om konceptuella metaforer som introducerades 1980. Materialet är hämtat från Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), där tre fraser undersöktes (*a long road, bumpy road, fork in the road*), för att se i vilken mån teorin om konceptualla metaforer kan beläggas i autentiskt material. *Journey* (dvs. *resa*)var källdomänen för de tre fraserna. Analysen visade att totalt 79 % av de undersökta fraserna var metaforiska, i 18 % användes fraserna i bokstavlig mening, och 3 % klassificerades som "annat". Sex konceptuella metaforer identifierades; den vanligaste visade sig vara LÅNGSIKTIGA MÅLINRIKTADE (ARBETSKRÄVANDE) AKTIVITETER ÄR RESOR vilket utgjorde 63 % av alla token. Den konceptuella metaforen ATT TILLFRISKNA FRÅN FYSISK SJUKDOM (ELLER SORG) ELLER FYSISKT (ELLER MENTALT) LIDANDE ÄR EN RESA påträffades bara i frasen *a long road*. Studien visar att teorin om konceptuella metaforer kan användas för att förklara majoriteten av träffarna i korpusen. Det visade sig emellertid att en konceptuell metafor som ofta nämns i tidigare beskrivningar, KÄRLEKEN ÄR EN RESA, var ovanlig i materialet.

Nyckelord: teorin om konceptuella metaforer, kognitiv lingvistik, källmetaforen *resa*

Contents

1. Introduction

Words are the key to any spoken or written communication. When we communicate, we combine words into utterances. Take for instance the following sentence: *Each human has a heart*. It contains five distinct forms: Determiner *each* + Noun *human* + Verb *have* + Article *a* + Noun *heart. Heart* in this sentence has a literal meaning: it refers to an organ in our body that is vital for our survival. However, often words take on non-literal meanings as in the following sentence: *Fahim has a broken heart*. There is nothing wrong with this sentence, but *heart* cannot be interpreted literally here. The heart is a part of the human body, and no portion of a human body, including the heart, which is made from muscle tissue, can be *broken* into pieces. Also, the heart keeps a human being alive by circulating blood throughout the body, and without a heart, it is not possible for an individual to survive. Thus, the term *broken heart* is an absurd expression if it is considered in its literal sense. However, in the above example, the term *broken heart* does not refer to any state of a human organ; rather it indicates sadness and extreme emotional stress. People often use words to convey some 'extra' meaning rather than the literal one by using linguistics tools such as metaphor, metonymy, simile and so forth. In the above example, the term *broken heart* is simply a metaphor conveying a hidden meaning. Metaphors have been used rhetorically since ancient times to the present day by politicians, writers, historians and others to explain abstract ideas and thoughts in a tangible way. As a result, metaphor has become an essential part of human language. As Deignan expresses it: "metaphor in language expresses connections at the level of thought" (Deignan 2005: 2).

The term *metaphor* is derived from the Greek word *metaphora*, which means 'carry over' or 'transfer'. *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* identifies metaphor as "the most important and widespread figure of speech, in which one thing, idea, or action is referred to by a word or expression normally denoting another thing, idea, or action, so as to suggest some common quality shared by the two. In metaphor, this resemblance is assumed as an imaginary identity rather than directly stated as a comparison" (Baldick 2008: 69). Thus, metaphor compares actually unrelated subjects. Ancient scholars used metaphor to give "a new name to a person" (Konsmo 2010: 29). Konsmo further argues that "out of such a practice, the literary device of metaphor could certainly arise" (Konsmo 2010: 29). Ancient scholars used metaphor to ornament their literary texts and prohibited the use of it in

philosophical texts. According to Konsmo (2010: 30), Plato expressed the opinion that "the eloquence of metaphor should be reserved for artistic speech, such as poetry, but should not be considered a vehicle for conveying literal truth, as in philosophical texts" (Konsmo 2010: 30). Thus, metaphor was believed to perform a peripheral role in language because ancient scholars used it either to give a new name to a person or to ornament a literary text.

A completely novel view of metaphor was introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their book *Metaphors We Live By*, where the authors reject previous ideas about metaphor. According to Lakoff and Johnson, metaphor governs our thought and plays a vital role in a language. Previously it was thought that metaphors are mere decorative elements in the language. In reaction to this, Lakoff and Johnson argue that "human thought processes are largely metaphorical" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 6), and it is a concept which not only governs our thoughts but also our everyday functioning. The sentence Y*ou're wasting my time*[1] could be taken as an illustration. Time is an abstract idea; it cannot be saved or wasted. In this sentence, *time* as such is not a metaphor – it is the way we refer to it as a valuable commodity that governs our thought. The best way to conceptualize time is to think of Western culture where people are being paid on an hourly basis. People pay hotel bills based on how many nights they spend in a hotel and interests on bank loans based on how many days they use the money from the bank. In consequence, people experience, understand and estimate that time is like money which can be invested, saved, wasted and so on. Lakoff and Johnson state that "we conceive of time that way" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 6).

Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory indicates a mental representation where two words from different domains, i.e. a source domain and a target domain, are linked through mapping. Mapping happens when the source domain is mapped onto the target domain, i.e. the source domain offers understanding about the target domain. Thus, ideas about the source domain transfer to the target domain through conceptual knowledge. Hamdi argues that "the essence of a conceptual metaphor consists in the comprehension of one concept in terms of another. It is understood in terms of the systematic set of mappings that characterize the transfer from one concept to another" (Hamdi 2010: 8). The conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY could be taken as an illustration. MONEY, the element in the source domain, maps onto the element of the target domain, TIME. As a result, "the possession of an object corresponds to the possession of time, taking an object corresponds to

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[1] Example taken from [http://www.cogsci.ucsd.edu/~coulson/Courses/101c/analogy3.pdf].

taking time, qualifying an object corresponds to qualifying time" (Hamdi 2010: 8). In addition to this, conceptual metaphors "are part of a 'conceptual system' in the mind" (Sjöblad 2009: 7). A human being's conceptual system possesses a lot of metaphors which are not only to some extent culture-dependent but also partly universal, as humans learn and acquire knowledge that is related to conceptual metaphors from their early childhood through various experiences. Thus, conceptual metaphors are cognitively valid. However, several scholars have raised questions about the theory. Lindquist points out that "Johnson and Lakoff and many other researchers in cognitive metaphor studies use examples that are all based on intuition or impressionistic observation" (Lindquist 2009: 116). As fascinating as Lakoff and Johnson's theory is, it has been criticized not only by Lindquist for being based on native-speaking intuition and armchair examples, but also for being based almost exclusively on English and the English-speaking (American) culture (see e.g. Kövecses (2005: 125); Aksan and Kantar (2008: 264)). Thus, natural language data could be taken to verify whether conceptual metaphor theory can be corroborated.

1.1 Aim

The aim of the present study was to identify and analyze authentic occurrences of metaphor based on the "Cognitive Metaphor Theory" or "Conceptual Metaphor Theory" which Lakoff and Johnson introduced in their book *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980. Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY serves as the starting point for the study. The present study is corpus based and the material was taken from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies 2008-). The main aim of the study is to investigate to what extent Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory can be corroborated using authentic material. This will be done by investigating three phrases which are used with the source metaphor *journey*, namely *a long road, bumpy road* and *fork in the road*. The phrases *fork in the road* and *bumpy road* were investigated without the definite article and *a long road* with the definite article for reasons that will be explained in section 3.2. The main research question is operationalized by the following three questions:

1. To what extent are the three phrases used metaphorically in the corpus data?
2. What are the target domains of the three phrases when they are used in a metaphorical sense?
3. What mappings can be identified between the source and the target domains?

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2. Theoretical background

Before entering into the field of cognitive semantics, to which the study of conceptual metaphor belongs, a short introduction is needed to show how metaphor theory developed. The discussion of metaphor can be traced back to ancient Greek scholars. Aristotle was the first documented person who investigated metaphor by using examples from prose and poetry, and defined as well as presented his ideas and theories about metaphor in *Poetics*. Some of his ideas on metaphor have been prevalent till now. Aristotle's definition and explanation of metaphor is presented in section 2.1. The next section presents Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory, having three sub-sections where different kinds of conceptual metaphors are discussed. The similarities and differences between them are presented at the end of section 2.2. Empirical studies by Semino, Ritchie and Deignan on the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR are presented in section 2.3. The present study is modeled on their studies. Section 2.4 is on the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY where we understand one domain of experience i.e. love, in terms of a very different domain, namely journey. The last section, 2.5, presents the hierarchical organization of conceptual metaphor, which means that certain conceptual metaphors are subsumed under others.

2.1 Aristotle and metaphor

Studying metaphor provides us with insights into not only how language works but also how the human brain works "when we struggle to make ourselves clear and communicate in a successful way with our fellow human beings" (Lindquist 2009: 129). Thus, metaphor plays an essential role in successful communication. Modern linguists, seeing the importance of metaphor in communication, have studied it more than any other rhetorical devices. However, it was Aristotle who made the first significant contribution to the theory of metaphor in his work *Poetics*.

Aristotle (in *Poetics*, chapter 21) explains metaphor as "the application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy, that is, proportion" (Aristotle, translation by Butcher 2000: 28). What is more, Aristotle outlines four major forms of metaphors with examples in his theory. Some

ideas of this Aristotelian metaphorical concept are still prevalent. Rapp (2010) presents Aristotle's four types of metaphors which are exemplified in Table 1.[2]

Table 1. Four types of metaphors which had been identified by Aristotle.

Types	Examples	Explanations
(a) From genus to species	*There lies my ship*	Lying at anchor is a species of the genus "lying"
(b) From species to genus	*Verily ten thousand noble deeds hath Odysseus wrought*	Ten thousand is a species of the genus "large number"
(c) From species to species	(a) *With blade of bronze drew away the life* (b) *Cleft the water with the vessel of unyielding bronze*	(a) "To draw away" is used for "to cleave" (b) "To cleave" is used for "to draw away" Both to draw away and to cleave are species of "taking away"
(d) By analogy	(a) *To call the cup "the shield of Dionysus"* (b) *To call the shield "the cup of Ares"*	(a) The cup is to Dionysus as the shield to Ares (b) The shield is to Ares as the cup to Dionysus

Among these four categories only the D category belongs to the modern metaphorical concept whereas (a) to (c) satisfy a metonymic role. However, Aristotle's metaphorical process is nothing but a process of transfer where meanings are transferred from one category to another. This account of metaphor scholars identified as the comparison theory of metaphor which "understood a metaphor to be simply a decorative way of saying something that can be equally expressed by a literal statement" (Kelle 2005: 35).

Aristotle himself extends metaphor by including simile, hyperbole and proverbs, and he "discusses at greater length the details of what makes a metaphor successful, pleasing and informative" (Mahon 1999: 75). According to Mahon, Aristotle states that his metaphors "are lucid and they can convey truths about the world" (Mahon 1999: 75). In *Poetics*, Artistotle "encourages orators and writers to work on producing better metaphors" (Mahon 1999: 75). According to Mahon, Aristotle states that "metaphors bring things vividly "before the eyes" of listeners or readers, and the pleasing mental effort required to understand them makes them memorable" (Mahon 1999: 76). As a result, metaphor occupies the neutral position between the meaning and the reader as it "says nothing new" (Ricoeur 2003: 52), but interestingly metaphors bring things, i.e. push the meaning, to come out in front of the reader's eyes.

However, Rapp (2010) presents a notion which will help a reader to understand Aristotle's metaphor by mentioning that "in order to understand a metaphor, the hearer has to find

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[2] Table taken from [http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/].

something common between the metaphor and the thing the metaphor refers to" (Rapp, 2010). *Old age is stubble to me* could be taken as an illustration. *Old age* is compared with *stubble* in this sentence, and to find out the meaning, we have to identify a common genus to which old age and stubble belong. The very sense of the metaphor here cannot be retrieved until finding a common ground for both *old age* and *stubble*, and the common thing is that both of them have lost their bloom. Rapp (2010) sums it up in the following way:

> Thus, a metaphor not only refers to a thing, but simultaneously describes the thing in a certain respect. This is why Aristotle says that the metaphor brings about learning: as soon as we understand why someone uses the metaphor "stubble" to refer to old age, we have learned at least one characteristic of old age. (Rapp 2010)

Aristotle's theory of metaphor still interests modern researchers though it has been modified and improved by scholars over time.

2.2 Conceptual metaphor

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), metaphor is a part of our everyday life. In other words, our everyday realities, how we are thinking and acting, are motivated by metaphors in some way or other because metaphors are part of a "person's conceptual system" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 6). According to Kövesces (2005), the human conceptual system is built on the body and the brain. That is, "the abstract thought is based on correlations in bodily experience that result in well-established neuronal connections in the brain" (Kövesces, 2005: 26). Thus, the conceptual system or abstract thought in conceptual metaphor basically represents human mental structure. According to Deignan,

> Using Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it can be argued that writers talk of writing in terms of cooking or gardening because they think of it like that. The mental structure of cooking or gardening that a writer holds internally underlies their mental structure for writing. It is thus natural that we find several semantically related metaphors in their talk, which is an expression of underlying thought patterns. (Deignan 2005: 04)

Metaphor performs not only a central role in relation to thought but also an essential role in language. An argument normally contains certain elements and those are "partially structured by the concept of war" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 4). Thus, based on the conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR, the concept of argument is partially structured and we understand it because it is talked about in terms of war. Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson also suggest that "if it were total, one concept would actually *be* the other, not merely be understood in terms of it" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 13). They further clarify this statement by saying that "when we say that a concept is structured by a metaphor, we mean that it is partially structured and that it can be extended in some ways but not others" (Lakoff and

Johnson 2003: 13). They conclude by saying that "the concept is metaphorically structured, the activity is metaphorically structured, and, consequently, the language is metaphorically structured" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 5).

However, according to Kövesces (2010: 04), "CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B", which is what is called a conceptual metaphor". Thus, metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, called *source domain* and *target domain*, where something is discussed in terms of something else. The source domain indicates the metaphorical expression which we need in order to understand another conceptual domain, and "the target domain is the domain that we try to understand through the use of the source domain" (Kövecses 2010: 4). The target domain in a conceptual metaphor represents the abstract concept, whereas the source domain employs a concrete or physical concept. Neither of them is reversible as the mapping is unidirectional.

However, not all metaphors are the same. Based on the cognitive functions which a metaphor performs, Lakoff and Johnson distinguish between three different kinds: structural, orientational and ontological metaphors, to be discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1 Structural metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson argue that structural metaphors are "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 5) and they are grounded in orderly correlations within our experience. They further claim that people think and talk about arguments in terms of war, about life and love in terms of journeys, and so forth. The conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR can be taken as an illustration. The rational argument in this metaphor is physical conflict. Both animals and humans fight for their own interest. That is, animals fight for their food, territorial control etc., which is also true of humans, but human fighting techniques are much more sophisticated than those of animals. Our fighting techniques have been institutionalized in a number ways and war is one of them. The source domain in structural metaphor offers a comparatively high information structure for the target concept. In other words, according to Kövesces "the cognitive function of these metaphors is to enable speakers to understand target A by means of the structure of source B" (Kövesces 2010: 37).

2.2.2 Orientational metaphor

Orientational metaphor is one which "does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 14). According to Kövesces, the orientational metaphor's "cognitive job, instead, is to make a set of target concepts coherent in our conceptual system" (Kövesces 2010: 40). That is, it arises through our experiences of spatial orientation such as up-down, in-out, deep-shallow and so forth. Metaphorical concepts of this kind generally come from the bodies we possess and through the way our bodies work in the physical situation. Kövesces states that metaphorical concepts of this kind could be conceptualized "in a uniform manner" (Kövesces 2010: 40). What is more, according to Lakoff and Johnson, "such metaphorical orientations are not arbitrary" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 14) because their basis is grounded in our physical as well as in cultural experience.

2.2.3 Ontological metaphor

The third type of metaphor that Lakoff and Johnson mention is ontological metaphor. *The Merriam-Webster dictionary* defines the word *ontological* as "relating to or based upon being or existence" (*Merriam-Webster* 2014). This metaphor is generated by basic human experiences. Lakoff and Johnson state that "our experiences with physical objects (especially our own bodies) provide the basis for an extraordinarily wide variety of ontological metaphors" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 25). They further clarify why we use ontological metaphor by stating that "we use ontological metaphors to comprehend events, actions, activities and states. Events and actions are conceptualized metaphorically as objects, activities as substances, states as containers" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 30). What is more, ontological metaphor requires experiences which are not plainly delineated, vague, or abstract. We have no idea or knowledge about the mind, i.e. what the mind is, how it works and so forth, but we conceive of it as an object having some physical existence, and this is the basic way to understand or perceive the ontological metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson assert that in ontological metaphor "the physical object is further specified as being a person" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 33). This permits us to view various nonhuman experiences in terms of human doings. Also, Lakoff and Johnson state that what they have in common is that "they are extensions of ontological metaphors and that they allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms – terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 34).

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The above mentioned three different kinds of conceptual metaphor have similarities and differences. This paragraph deals with the similarities whereas the next paragraph discusses the differences between them. The first similarity is that the three kinds of conceptual metaphor share the same principle, i.e. they "are often based on correlations we perceive in our experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 151). The second one is that all conceptual metaphors should have the connection between the source and target domains. The third one is that "conventional metaphors of the structural variety (e.g., IDEAS ARE FOOD) may be based on similarities that arise out of orientational and ontological metaphors" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 152). In the metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD, we see a structural similarity between IDEAS and FOOD which raises metaphorical similarities between them as "ideas and food can be swallowed, digested, and devoured, can provide nourishment, etc." (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 152). In addition to this, Lakoff and Johnson have further mentioned that "new metaphors are mostly structural" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 152) because "they are based on similarities that arise from ontological and orientational metaphors" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 152).

However, according to Lakoff and Johnson, in structural metaphor "one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 14), and in it, the target domain is able to expose interesting as well as important properties of the source domain through the process of metaphor which enables speakers to understand concept A by means of the structure of concept B. Moreover, sometimes metaphorical structure is partial in structural metaphor. Orientational metaphor does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead it organizes a total conceptual system. That is, this metaphor comes up in the course of our experiences of spatial orientations, and our physical and cultural experiences are the base of this metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson have stated that "ontological metaphors are among the most basic devices we have for comprehending our experience" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 219). Thus, basic human experiences are the base of ontological metaphors and we use it to realize events, actions, activities and states. Furthermore, in ontological metaphor entities are "bounded by a surface" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 25), i.e. we impose artificial boundaries to entities in it. What is more, "the most obvious ontological metaphors are those where the physical object is further s pecified as being a person" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 33). As a result, a nonhuman entity can be viewed as a human entity by this metaphor. In sum, it can be said that Lakoff and Johnson's three types of metaphor have both similarities and differences. Reasons for the similarities are discussed above and the

most notable difference between them is that they apply to three different areas. In structural metaphor we view one metaphorical concept in terms of another, orientational metaphor arranges a total conceptual system and ontological metaphor presents basic human experiences.

2.3 Empirical studies on the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR

A short introduction is needed before accounting for some empirical studies on the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR to give a brief outline of this section. Different writers have different perspectives on conceptual metaphor but it is generally held that "conceptual metaphors map the source domain onto the target domain so that the correspondences and logical relationships from the source domain are replicated in the target domain" (Deignan 2005: 162). Modern linguists such as Semino, Ritchie, and Deignan each did their empirical studies on the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR based on the theory of Lakoff and Johnson. Semino and Deignan used corpus data as their material whereas Ritchie based his study on examples from metaphor literature. They all found that Lakoff and Johnson's theory is too simple or too restricted. Semino in her research suggests the metaphor ANTAGONISTIC COMMUNICATION IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT instead of ARGUMENT IS WAR as the latter accounts only for some of the expressions. On the other hand, Ritchie shows that a single implicit metaphor such as ARGUMENT IS WAR can be interpreted in multiple ways and this metaphor has a clear experiential basis. Deignan shows that for some cases, the mapping procedure does not work properly. These three separate empirical studies by Semino, Ritchie and Deignan on the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR are presented in this section as models for the present study.

Much research has been conducted on the conceptual metaphor theory, though some modern linguists in their studies doubt "the validity of some earlier claims on particular conceptual metaphors" (Semino 2006: 37). However, as Semino points out, the accessibility of English electronic corpora in the 20th century makes it possible to examine metaphorical expressions in naturally-occurring written discourse, which Semino says is "the basis for more reliable hypotheses about possible underlying conceptual metaphors" (Semino 2006: 37). Semino used material from the Narrator's Representation of Speech Acts (henceforth NRSA) which presented speech in a written format in the corpus of Lancaster University. It (NRSA) was first introduced by Leech and Short "in order to capture those expressions which report one or more utterances by referring to their (supposed) illocutionary force or speech act value"

(Semino 2006: 38). One example (which Semino presented in her study) of the NRSA is given here for an illustration: "And he *blasted* critics in his party who want him to buy victory. (*The Daily Star*, 13/5/1996)" (Semino 2006: 39). Kenneth Clarke, former UK Chancellor of the Exchequer, said the sentence in an interview to encounter those who criticized him. Basically, the verb *blast* means to destroy a physical entity by using a bomb or other weapon. But in British English, the speech act sense of *blast* can be explicated "in term of a mapping from the domain typically associated with the basic sense of 'blast' (WAR or, more generally, (ARMED) PHYSICAL CONFLICT) to the domain of verbal communication" (Semino 2006: 40). Thus, the use of *blast* by Kenneth Clarke in his communication actually suggests a strong criticism and negative attitude. However, according to Semino, individual instances of the NRSA become

> metaphorical when: (i) one or more of the lexical items that, in context, refer to speech activity have a more basic sense that is not to do with verbal communication, and (ii) the speech activity sense of the relevant expressions can be said to be related to the more basic sense via a cross-domain mapping where the target is verbal communication and the source is a different domain that is not to do with verbal communication. (Semino 2006: 39)

She takes 985 instances of what she calls NRSA from the corpus and analyzes them and finds that 214 instances are used metaphorically, amounting to approximately 22 per cent of the total 985 instances. Among her metaphorical instances, the majority of them involve the metaphorical use of verbs. "In other cases, speech acts are referred to via the heads of noun phrases /…/ or via the combination of a metaphorically used verb with a direct object that refers to a type of text or speech act" (Semino 2006: 40).

Moreover, Semino took Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor to examine her NRSA concordance examples. After analysis she identified two groups of words and among these two groups, one group of words initially resembles Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) examples which they cite for the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. Semino's corpus words *bombarding, blast, sniping at, firing* belong to this group, and these words have some variations when they are used in the corpus. Although initially, Semino's corpus words seemed to resemble the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, a deeper study by Semino reveals a different result. Some corpus words of Semino's do resemble those which we use for arguments, but in other contexts they indicate determined and powerful communicative behavior that does not inevitably happen within an argument. According to Semino,

in their literal senses, these expressions do not relate exclusively to the domain of war in the sense of organised military conflict among countries, but rather to the wider domain of armed violence, which also includes, for example, the activities of terrorist organisations and of armed criminals generally. (Semino 2006: 42)

The second group of Semino's examples "present speech activities in terms of low-level physical aggression that does not normally involve the use of weapons" (Semino 2006: 43). Semino suggests on the basis of her analysis that "Lakoff and Johnson's formulation of argument is war is too restricted, both in terms of the source and the target domain" (Semino 2006: 44). She further said that her examples did not present the domain of war when it was about the source domain. That is, in exchange of the domain of war her metaphorical instances presented the domain of physical conflict.

Thus, Semino's examples bear witness of different forms of violence and aggression which are used during armed conflicts between nations or countries. What is more, whereas some of Semino's examples relate to arguments, other examples present critical as well as forceful communicative behavior which might not be elements of an argument. However, Semino states that in all cases the various expressions which resemble physical conflict are used "metaphorically to refer to negative, critical or forceful speech activity, whose targets are other people, their views, or the utterances or texts they have produced" (Semino 2006: 45).

According to Ritchie, linguistic metaphors are not always mappings from source domain to target domain, as linguistic metaphors may show the interaction of several associated fields. Deignan (2005: 106) sums up Ritchie's opinion briefly:

> it may be impossible to state which of these a particular speaker intends by a particular metaphor. For instance, linguistic metaphors that have been taken to lexicalize the mapping ARGUMENT IS WAR may in fact express relations between domains that include war and argument but also include chess, fencing, boxing, shouting matches and related fields, between which ideas and expressions are continually mapped. (Deignan 2005: 106)

Also, Ritchie states that "most of the metaphorical expressions Lakoff and Johnson (1980) cite as evidence for an underlying metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR are also consistent with ARGUMENT IS CHESS or ARGUMENT IS BOXING" (Ritchie 2003: 12). Thus Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR corresponds to *chess game, bridge game* and even *boxing match*. A chess game is occasionally used as a metaphor for war – "and war is sometimes used as a metaphor for chess (and other games)" (Ritchie 2003: 12). In English, chess pieces are in a way war metaphors (castle, knight) as well as political metaphors (bishop, queen). As a result, Ritchie argues that "conceptual metaphors such as ARGUMENT IS

WAR often emerge from a field of interrelated concepts, all available for metaphorical application to each other, as well as to external concepts such as business and politics" (Ritchie 2003: 3–4).

However, in many parts of the world adults do not have first-hand experience of war. In their childhood, adults most likely engaged in games and contests with parents, siblings and others. Ritchie states that sometimes "children engage in heated disputes that lead to verbal and occasionally to physical violence" (Ritchie 2003: 12–13). Thus, children have well-developed schemas for physical and verbal fighting through various games and contests which, according to Ritchie, shows that

> our experience of *both* argument and war are grounded in the common experience of
> frustrated desires and the consequent conflict of wills, a sequence of events experienced by
> children from infancy. In short, we need not look to organized adult warfare for an
> experiential basis to ground our understanding of argument; we have a rich experiential basis
> much closer to hand. (Ritchie 2003: 13)

According to Ritchie, argument and war are grounded based on our previous experiences. Thus, conceptual metaphor is conventionally mapped onto the target domain of arguments as Lakoff and Johnson suggested, and it has a clear experiential basis.

Semino (2006: 41) sums up Ritchie's position succinctly: "in the case of the metaphorical construction of arguments, Ritchie proposes that the relevant source domain is best seen as a complex conceptual field including different types of conflict, ranging from games through fisticuffs to all out war" (Semino 2006: 41). Semino stresses the fact that Ritchie questions the validity of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR that Lakoff and Johnson formulated in 1980. That is, Lakoff and Johnson viewed mapping from source to target domain in a one-to-one direction, but Ritchie shows by his examples and discussions that linguistic metaphors are not bound to follow a one-to-one direction for mapping; rather they may reflect "the interaction of several associated fields, and it may be impossible to state which of these a particular speaker intends by a particular metaphor" (Deignan 2005: 106).

Deignan, who examines some sets of words or expressions in the Bank of English corpus, argues that "source domain entities that have no correspondence in the target domain structure are dropped from the mapping" (Deignan 2006: 120). She took lexicalizations of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, and examined concordance data and her investigation at the initial level shows that "there are antonymous uses of *attack* and *defend* in the concrete domain of fighting and in the abstract domain of argument, and apparent hyponyms of *attack*,

such as *shoot down* and *fire a [warning] shot* in both domains" (Deignan 2009: 14). These sets of meanings thus recommend two domains, argument and war, and both these two domains have similar lexical relationships which Lakoff and Johnson (1980) mentioned before.

A more detailed study of the words *attack* and *defend* express a more complicated picture for the domain of war. Most of the expressions and words which Deignan examined indicate a wider range of topics than argument and war. The meanings of those fall into two types. According to Deignan, "for the simpler of these types, the range of meanings can be explained by the existence of several other war metaphors, while for the second type there is less clarity" (Deignan 2008: 157).

In Deignan's analysis the simpler type represents the nominal use of *attack*, and this type is frequently used in five domains which are war, sport, argument, illness and personal violence. In other words, when the word *attack* is examined, war, sport, argument and illness domains in the corpus data are found to be target domains structured by the source domain of war. Only personal violence does not directly act as a target domain in the corpus. Deignan suggests that "the domain of personal violence should perhaps be regarded as a sub-domain of war, sharing with war the notions of attack and defence, but not usually those of planning, strategy and competition" (Deignan 2008: 157).

Kövecses (2002) argues the same thing that Deignan found in her corpus analysis. According to Kövecses, "a single source concept can characterize many distinct target domains. As a matter of fact, most of the specific source domains appear to characterize not just one target concept but several" (Kövecses 2002: 108), i.e. a source domain can map onto a number of target domains.

The second group in Deignan's analysis represents a messier picture. Deignan says that these "relations are even less straightforward for less central lexis" (Deignan 2009: 14). According to Deignan, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) mention "*strategy* as another realization of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, but the corpus citations for this word show that it is used in a wide range of contexts, including business, medicine and the environment" (Deignan 2009: 14). That is, *war* as a source domain is weak in the case of *strategy* which Deignan sums up as follows:

there is not a strong case for claiming that war is the source domain. Further, it is not easy to identify possible target domains clearly because each group of uses tends to merge into the next. The concordance for wipe out shows similar characteristics, and the case for war being the source domain is weak. (Deignan 2008: 158-159)

At the end of this section, it can be said that Lakoff and Johnson's view is partially preserved for the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. They argued that the source domain maps onto the target domain in a one-to-one direction having logical relationships between them where the source domain is copied in the target domain. Such a scenario is very rare in the above mentioned empirical studies by Semino, Ritchie and Deignan. Semino, in her research, finds that metaphorical verbal movements are raised in terms of actions and positions within a physical and concrete scenario. She suggests the metaphor ANTAGONISTIC COMMUNICATION IS PHYSICAL CONFLICT instead of ARGUMENT IS WAR due to its limited use. Ritchie claims that in the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR the conceptual field is conventionally mapped onto the target domain of arguments and has a more physical experiential basis which Lakoff and Johnson do not mention in their analysis. In addition to this, Deignan's work demonstrates that a corpus analysis of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR shows a far wider range of topics than argument and war.

2.4 The conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY

According to Lakoff and Johnson we view love in terms of journey in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The sentence *We aren't going anywhere*[3] could be taken as an illustration of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The expression *anywhere* indicates a traveling destination, in the example sentence, a journey which has no fixed destination. The travelers are referred to by the word *we.* Thus, the above mentioned sentence produces three elements of a journey: the destination, the travelers and the journey or the travel. Instead of a physical destination at the end of the journey the goal will be a love relationship. Kövecses (2010) further illustrates the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY: "*The relationship is foundering* suggests that somehow relationships are conceptually equated with the vehicles used in journeys" (Kövecses 2010: 8). Another of Kövecses's examples, *It's been a bumpy road,* represents the difficulties that the lovers face generally in their relationship. The next example, *We've made a lot of headway,* shows how much progress has been made in a relationship by the travelers. And the last of Kövecses' example, *We're at a*

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[3] Example taken from [http://www.ndtv.com/article/india/we-are-not-going-anywhere-said-uber-sms-then-it-was-banned-631485]

crossroads, represents the choice that has to be made in a love relationship (Kövecses 2010: 8). *Crossroads* can be used in other contexts, too, which will be discussed below.

Based on the interpretations of the above examples, it is possible to draw a systematic set of correspondences between essential elements of the source domain and those of the target domain. Kövecses states that "in giving the correspondences, or mappings, we reverse the target-source order of the conceptual metaphors to yield source-target. We adopt this convention to emphasize the point that understanding typically goes from the more concrete to the more abstract concept" (Kövecses 2010: 9). The mapping between source and target domain is presented in the Table 2.

Table: 2. The mapping formula of source and target domain (from Kövecses 2010: 9).

Source:	⇒	Target:
the travelers	⇒	the lovers
the vehicle	⇒	the love relationship itself
the journey	⇒	events in the relationship
the distance covered	⇒	the progress made
the obstacles encountered	⇒	the difficulties experienced
decisions about which way to go	⇒	choices about what to do
the destination of the journey	⇒	the goal(s) of the relationship

The idea that Lakoff and Johnson presented about the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is not suitable for every culture because metaphorical meaning in one culture might not bear the same meaning in another culture. According to Aksan and Kantar (2008: 264), "while the English LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor follows the typical active, goal-oriented, and success-oriented pattern, Turkish conceptualization of it is informed by the passive, non-goal-oriented, and introverted bent of the Sufi search for God in one's innermost being". Thus, metaphorical meaning might vary from culture to culture. That is, in one culture, love may be viewed in terms of journey, whereas in another culture love is not viewed as a journey at all.

2.5 The hierarchical organization of conceptual metaphor

The source domain of the study is JOURNEY. Due to this reason, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY was discussed in the previous section (2.4) but there are other conceptual metaphors which are related to JOURNEY and those conceptual metaphors such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY, A CAREER IS A JOURNEY etc. are discussed in this section.

In the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY the source domain of a journey is needed to understand the target domain of life. According to Kövecses, in English there are lot of expressions that represent the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, *for instance He's without direction in life; I'm where I want to be in life; I'm at a crossroads in my life; She'll go places in life; He's never let anyone get in his way; She's gone through a lot in life* (Kövecses 2005: 123). The mapping between the source and the target domains for these metaphorical expressions is presented in Table 3.

Table: 3. How source and target domain work for the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY i.e. the mapping process (from Kövecses 2005: 123).

Source:	$\Rightarrow$	*Target*:
travelers	$\Rightarrow$	people leading a life
motion along the way	$\Rightarrow$	leading a life
destination(s) of the journey	$\Rightarrow$	purpose(s) of life
obstacles along the way	$\Rightarrow$	difficulties in life
different paths to one's destination(s)	$\Rightarrow$	different means of achieving one's purpose(s)
distance covered along the way	$\Rightarrow$	progress made in life
locations along the way	$\Rightarrow$	stages in life
guides along the way	$\Rightarrow$	helpers or counselors in life

This metaphor is especially widespread in the Western world. People in the Western world think of life in terms of a journey with certain destinations. People try to reach a destination (or sometimes several destinations) along the way, and evaluate their progress in terms of the distance covered relative to a destination (or destinations). There might be barriers, i.e. difficulties, that people face along the way but they can overcome those as they try to achieve or reach their objectives or goals. These mappings are widely accepted in the western world though "they are not universal across all languages and varieties of languages" (Kövecses 2005: 124).

The mapping procedure of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY sometimes forms a hierarchical structure. According to Lakoff, "metaphorical mappings do not occur isolated from one another. They are sometimes organized in hierarchical structures, in which "lower" mappings in the hierarchy inherit the structures of the "higher" mappings" (2006: 207). Lakoff calls this 'metaphor inheritance hierarchies'. An example of such a hierarchy is presented below:

Level 1 The Event Structure Metaphor
Level 2 LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Level 3 LOVE IS A JOURNEY; A CAREER IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff 2006: 207)

Thus, the two types of metaphor at Level 3 – LOVE IS A JOURNEY and A CAREER IS A JOURNEY – take over the structure of the higher mapping at Level 2 – LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Being a more general metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY contains two metaphors at Level 3 as its explicit manifestations. As love is an essential side of human life, the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, therefore, inherits the structure of the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. That is, in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY there are two lovers (travelers), and their love relationship is the vehicle while the rest of the mapping is known as the outcome of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Another aspect of life is a career. Thus, the conceptual metaphor A CAREER IS A JOURNEY takes over the structure of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY just as the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY does. One feature of the conceptual metaphor A CAREER IS A JOURNEY is that a successful career is a journey upward, in line with the ontological metaphor STATUS IS UP.

Besides LOVE IS A JOURNEY and A CAREER IS A JOURNEY, there are other conceptual metaphors which also inherit the mapping of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. One of them is the conceptual metaphor A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY. According to Dancygier and Sweetser (2014: 40), it "involves shared life goals". Thus, this metaphor also adopts the structure of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY just like the other sub-metaphors. Another level 3 conceptual metaphor is LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS (Johnson 1993: 167).

Moreover, this inheritance hierarchy can be generalized. That is, the meaning of the words can be extended when they are used metaphorically. In the sentence *I'm at a crossroads in my life, crossroads* is understood via the sub-metaphor LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS. Lakoff argues that "all its other uses are automatically generated via the inheritance hierarchy. Thus, separate senses for each level of the hierarchy are not needed" (Lakoff 2006: 209). According to Lakoff, "such hierarchy organization is a very prominent feature of the metaphor system of English and other languages. So far we have found that the metaphors higher up in the hierarchy tend to be more widespread than those mappings at lower levels" (2006: 209–210).

3. Methods and material

A short introduction is needed before starting the methods and material section to give the overall picture of this section. Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is taken as a starting point (see section 2.5 above). Section 3.1 presents the corpus which provided the data and section 3.2 presents the phrases which were investigated. In section 3.3, the procedure for categorizing the material is outlined. The last section 3.4 presents those tokens which were excluded as they were not relevant to the study.

3.1 Material

The primary material for this study is the Corpus of Contemporary American English, COCA (Davies 2008-) and the abbreviation COCA will be used henceforth for the corpus. The COCA corpus contains more than 450 million words and is divided into five categories: spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts. The phrases investigated in this study are on the whole rare in English. As a result, it is essential to make use of the corpus as a whole, as otherwise each of the categories would contain too few hits for any quantification to be possible. The interface of the corpus is constructed in order to search for exact words or phrases, lemmas, parts of speech, wildcards or any combinations of these. It is also possible to see the context of the search word or words.

This corpus was selected because it is an electronic corpus, containing naturally occurring discourse which allows researchers to study linguistic patterns on a large scale. As a result it can therefore provide the basis for more dependable hypotheses about frequency of metaphorical use, as compared to literal use. Section 3.2 explains how the phrases that were investigated were selected.

3.2 Selection of phrases to be investigated

The present study is not only quantitative but also qualitative. The distinction between qualitative and quantitative research is that qualitative research refers to the concepts, definitions, descriptions and meanings of things whereas quantitative research refers to measures and counts. As a result, it is important that the phrases investigated in this study should have a high enough frequency in the corpus so that the results can be quantified or measured.

Modern linguistics like Semino, Deignan and many others used corpus data as their material to investigate metaphors (see section 2.3). For instance, Deignan (2006) used 461 instances for the word *fox* (discounting citations of the common English surname Fox)*,* 529 instances for the singular use of *flame* and 642 instances for the plural form of *flame(s)* in the Bank of English corpus to investigate metaphorical use of those words. On the whole, to find out metaphorical usage from any corpus there should be a good number of instances and Deignan's model of selecting corpus data for her research might be considered in this regard.

For the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (a sub-metaphor of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY) the literature lists several phrases and words that are used which show that love is viewed in terms of journey. Some examples from Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 44–45) are the following: It's been *a long, bumpy road,* We're *at a crossroads,* We'll just have to *go our separate ways*. Initially five phrases were identified for the study, namely *go our separate ways*, *on the rocks*, *long road, a fork in the road* and *a bumpy road.* All these phrases are not suitable to use in a study like this, because some of them are mainly used in a literal sense or yield too many or too few hits. After doing a pilot study, it was decided to exclude two phrases: *go our separate ways,* and *on the rocks*. The phrase *go our separate ways* was excluded because most of the instances bear a literal meaning. One example from the COCA corpus is given in (1).

> (1) From there we walk to the parking lot of a scenic tram, call a taxi, and motor down to Engelberg. Then we <u>go our separate ways</u>. At a random station, the train Lee and I ride passes Dan's. (COCA, MAG, 2011)

Another reason is that the phrase *go our separate ways* did not yield sufficient data (only 29 hits) for the present study. The phrase *on the rocks* yielded too many hits (679). One example of the phrase *on the rocks* is given in (2).

> (2) One of the bartenders greeted me professionally, pleasantly. Not bad. The place had some potential. I ordered a brown liquor <u>on the rocks</u>. (COCA, MAG, 2010)

The phrase *on the rocks* usually referred to drinks as in example (2). The phrase *on the rocks* was excluded because it yielded very many hits and also because it mainly referred to alcoholic drinks. The three phrases *long road, a fork in the road,* and *a bumpy road* were consequently chosen for the study.

The phrase *long road* turned up a very large number of hits (546), most of which were not metaphorical. As a result, a little modification was made to the phrase; the indefinite article

(*a*) was added and *a long road* was used as the search phrase. In total, there were 261 hits for the phrase *a long road* which is an adequate number for a study like this. An instance of metaphorical use of *a long road* is presented in (3).

> (3) PAWLENTY: Well, there's <u>a long road ahead</u> of us yet. Tonight's states were important, but one night does not a nomination make. (COCA, SPOK, 2012)

The phrase *a long road* is used metaphorically in example (3). The phrase represents long-term purposeful activities of an election and such activities are linked to a journey. In example 4, on the other hand, *long road* is not used metaphorically.

> (4) He was soon leaving the shoreline behind, walking up the <u>long road </u>called Halk Caddesi. The post office was at the top… (COCA, FIC, 2012)

In this example, it refers to a road which is identified by name, namely Halk Caddesi.

The second phrase investigated was *a fork in the road*. A pilot search yielded a low number of hits (78) and therefore, a little modification was made to the phrase as well. This time the indefinite article was omitted from the phrase and *fork in the road* was used as the search string. It was found that this phrase had a sufficient number of hits (145) for the present study. In example (5), the phrase *fork in the road* indicates the moment of decision of a legal procedure, which is presented as a journey.

> (5) Mr-YOUNG: When I heard that, that made the decision in my mind. At the <u>fork in the road</u>, we knew which road to go down. (COCA, SPOK, 2010)
> (6) The plan that we had for that was that he had a bunch of the children's clothing and a pair of scissors and he was going to cut strips out of brightly colored clothing, and he was gon na mark the trees whenever there was <u>a fork in the road</u> so that he would be able to find his way back. (COCA, SPOK, 2011)

In example (6), the phrase *a fork in the road* is used in a literal sense because and indicates the place where a road divides in two.

The phrase *a bumpy road* was trickier, as there were only 22 hits in the whole corpus. Again, by omitting the indefinite article from the phrase, the number of hits increased to 73, which was deemed sufficient for the present study. One example where the phrase is metaphorical is presented in (7).

> (7) ROBERT-SIEGEL: From the classroom to the hospital. Jenny Gold, of our partner Kaiser Health News, reports that the transition to tablet technology is <u>a bumpy road </u>for the U.S. health care industry. Here's her story. (COCA, SPOK, 2011)

The plural forms of the three phrases (*a long road*, *bumpy road* and *fork in the road*) were also checked. It turned out that there were very few hits for the three phrases *long roads, bumpy roads* and *forks in the road*. The plural form *long roads* yielded 9 instances, *bumpy roads* presented 24 instances and 13 instances were found for *forks in the road*. Due to the low number, these phrases were excluded. In comparison, the singular form of the three phrases (*a long road*, *bumpy road* and *fork in the road*) is ten times higher than the plural form. In conclusion, only the singular form of the three phrases was used in the present study.

3.3 Categorization

In order to determine to what extent the three phrases were used in a metaphorical sense, the data had to be tagged manually. The following three categories were used.

 A. Literal use
 B. Metaphorical use (conceptual metaphors)
 C. Other. This category includes those tokens which do not fit into categories A and B

Literal use means the non-figurative meaning of a phrase. One example each of the literal use of the three phrases is presented in (8) to (10).

 (8) KAHN: This hotel - I think it's because it's in a safe neighborhood.
  There's <u>a long road</u> that you get up to it. (COCA, SPOK, 2010)
 (9) After one harrowing drive over a stretch of narrow, <u>bumpy road</u> in the Cascade range, the two men noticed their cooking utensils had jiggled out. (COCA, NEWS, 2003)
 (10) At a <u>fork in the road</u>, James fails to see a sign for Gold Beach. (COCA, SPOK, 2011)

In the above three sentences, the phrases are not metaphorical. They simply represent the literal meaning of those phrases. Such instances of the three phrases are put in category A.

The next category is metaphorical use. In addition to being categorized as metaphorical, all tokens were characterized in terms of what conceptual metaphor they represented. In previous studies, the two conceptual metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and LOVE IS A JOURNEY were described, where LOVE IS A JOURNEY can be seen as a subcategory of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. As love is an inseparable part of human life, it easily inherits the structure of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The journey is the source domain having life and love as its target domain in these conceptual metaphors. Examples of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor are provided in (11)–(13).

(11) but they also knew that it was silly, that it was meant to be fun, that it was an adventurous journey down <u>a long road</u> of time to an unknown destination in a far and wondrous place. (COCA, FIC, 1991)

(12) SHRIVER: (Voiceover) She describes it as the story of her painful journey to self-acceptance down a very <u>bumpy road</u>. (COCA, SPOK, 1998)

(13) You can't go where the wild friend is going, and he can't go where you are headed and you both know it from the very beginning. There comes the <u>fork in the road</u> and you go straight and they go where the wild guys go. (COCA, News, 2004)

In examples (11)–(13), the source domain *journey* has its target domain *life*. One instance of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is provided in (14).

(14) Let's just keep things the way they were and have the wedding in December as planned." "It's going to be such <u>a long road</u> for him. I worry for you. "She had both of her arms around his waist and she hugged him and put her face in his chest. (COCA, FIC, 1999)

The source domain *journey* is present in the above sentence having *love* as its target domain. Many instances in the corpus data did not fit into either of the two categories described above. After going over these instances carefully, it was determined to include four additional conceptual metaphors, namely LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABORIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS, RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY, A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY and A CAREER IS A JOURNEY. One example of each metaphor where the phrase *a long road* is used is presented in (15)–(18).

LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABORIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

(15) I see some improvement, but it's going to be <u>a long road</u> ahead. (END-VIDEOTAPE) MASON: A 2 percent growth rate will keep the recovery going, but growth would have to be roughly 4 percent for a full year to bring down the unemployment rate by a full percentage point. (COCA, SPOK, 2012).

RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY

(16) She's got <u>a long road</u>, though. I think she needs to pull away. I mean, you know, a couple weeks ago, we were in San Diego doing "Idol" auditions, and the judges said, Britney, come to us. We'll help you.' (COCA, SPOK, 2007).

A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY

(17) We draw on a long and interesting relationship with Tom Cruise. BEN-STILLER-1ACTO# Yeah. It's <u>a long road</u> with Tom. (COCA, SPOK, 2008).

A CAREER IS A JOURNEY

(18) Some three decades later, Van Morrison is on stage in a London club called Ronnie Scott's. Been <u>a long road</u> -- thirty records made, some three hundred songs composed, a brief marriage… (COCA, ACAD, 2001).

Apparently, the two conceptual metaphors LOVE IS A JOURNEY and A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY overlap. Some tokens clearly refer to a love relationship whereas it was not entirely clear that love was part of the relationship in other tokens. In some cases the context seems to indicate that it was a matter of friendship or relationship between states or simply a relationship rather than love.

Category C, 'other', includes those examples which cannot easily fit into categories A and B. It contains tricky examples where the meaning is ambiguous between a literal and a metaphorical meaning as well as examples which are unclear. This category contains tokens of metaphorical uses other than those which form part of conceptual metaphors as well as tokens where it is unclear what the phrase refers to. Moreover, metaphorical instances which contained more than one of the investigated phrases are also categorized as 'other'. Some examples of category C are presented in (19)–(20).

(19) Mr-POVICH: I've done 200. It feels like 1,000. Your 1,000 must feel like 5,000. RIVERA: It does. It does. It's been a long road, but it's been fun. Mr-POVICH: Congratulations to you. (COCA, SPOK, 1992)

In example (19), the phrase *a long road* represents a tricky example where the context is scanty and it is not really possible to determine the meaning of the phrase.

(20) So, with two children currently entering grades 2 and 4, I see a long road of morning lunch-box packing ahead of me. Yet, I must admit, I'm glad my young vegetarian sons have opted for homemade meals... (COCA, MAG, 1998)

In example (20), the phrase *a long road* is metaphorical, but here it refers to an activity that is repeated every morning; it cannot really be taken to represent any of the conceptual metaphors included in category B.

(21) News Hour, an update on General Motors, Israeli loan guarantees, and Attorney General William Barr. UPDATE - BUMPY ROAD MR-LEHRER: Another shoe dropping by General Motors is our lead story tonight. (COCA, SPOK, 1992)
(22) When Ms. Lee was younger and living in Newark, Irvington was where families wanted to move, she said. Grove Street" was so pretty,' she said." Now, every other house is abandoned or burned down. It went straight downhill. Not a bumpy road -- straight down.' (COCA, NEWS, 2009)

In example (21) there is too little context to determine the meaning (this is a news headline), while example (22) represents another metaphorical use that does not fit into any of the conceptual metaphor categories in the present study.

(23) And when I came to that <u>fork in the road</u>, between the nose and the tongue, I chose the tongue. So, here's to the tongue. They toast. (COCA, FIC, 1990)

(24) Bushnell talked the talk familiar to other metaphysicians and also walked their walk, especially, as we will see, in terms of the mystical side to his character. But in the end, there was a <u>fork in the road</u> in which many walked away from Christianity. (COCA, ACAD, 2010).

The way *fork in the road* is used in examples (23) and (24) defies any straightforward categorization, and they have therefore been categorized as 'other'.

(25) RATHER: (Voiceover)… making it big makes for a perfect ending. Of course, in real life, success can be elusive. And if it does come, it's often at the end of a long and <u>bumpy road</u>. Good evening. You're about to meet ….(COCA. SPOK, 1998)

In example (25) the phrase *bumpy road* is used metaphorically, where the actor's life and career are projected in terms of journey. This metaphor was also classified as 'other' because this token subsumes two of the conceptual metaphors.

3.4 Exclusions

Some instances were excluded from the study. After analyzing all the material, it was decided to exclude those tokens where the phrase represents a proper name (i.e. titles of songs, novels etc.) as well as tokens where *road* was part of the compound *road trip*. Some examples where *fork in the road* is a proper name are shown in (26)–(28). In (29)–(31) the phrase is used jokingly.

(26) The result is one of Young's weirdest studio records - and that's saying something in a decade that includes the eco-opera Greendale and the chunky-rock songs about alternative fuel on <u>Fork in the Road</u>. Le Noise is also the most intimate and natural-sounding album Young has made in a long time… (COCA, MAG, 2010)

(27) Sidebar # <u>FORK IN THE ROAD</u> Lunch at the Mariscos Jalisco truck In Boyle Heights. Sidebar # ON THE WEB # For 20 of America's best food trucks, go to Smithsonian.com/trucks… (COCA, MAG, 2012)

(28) MercyMe. INO/Columbia/Sony Music. # 19. " <u>Fork in the Road</u>, " Neil Young. Reprise/Warner Bros. # 20. " UGK 4 Life, " UGK. Trill/UGK/Jive/JLG. # Copyright 2009, Nielsen SoundScan, Inc… (COCA, NEWS, 2009)

(29) He remembered Hendricks's little joke: "When you come to <u>a fork in the road</u>, take it. "(COCA, FIC, 2011)

(30) GEORGE-W-BUSH-PRE: Yogi Berra once said when you come to <u>a fork in the road</u>, take it. ! (COCA, SPOK, 2002)

(31) "You got any forks?" he asks the waitress. "While ago, I was driving, saw <u>a fork in the road</u>." Soon after that, his head starts falling… (COCA, MAG, 1998)

Examples of exclusions of tokens of the phrase *a long road* are provided in (32)–(33).

(32) See Theodore McMillian, The Civil Rights Act of 1991 -- One Step Forward on <u>a Long Road</u>, 22 STETSON L. REV. 69, 69 (1992). (n10.) See, e.g., Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio, 490 U.S. 642, 671-72 (1989)… (COCA, ACAD, 2010)

(33) Find yourself perfectly dressed no matter what life throws your way -- all with one this-minute piece. START WITH: a slouchy boyfriend blazer 1 Pile on the layers for <u>a long road</u> trip, since your hubby will (as always) blast every air vent he can get his hands on. (COCA, MAG, 2009)

The phrase *a long road* in example (32) is the subtitle of a book. In (33) *road* is the first part of the compound *road trip*. All such instances were excluded from the frequency count.

Some instances where the phrase *bumpy road* occurs were also excluded from the results. Two instances are presented in (34)–(35).

(34) These four options are. # 1 FISHPOND <u>BUMPY ROAD</u> CARGO DUFFEL # ($159) fishpondusa.com # * THE LOWDOWN Redesigned for 2011, the 351/2 x 16 x 12-inch <u>Bumpy Road</u> is stylish and durable. Having flown with Fishpond luggage as far as the tip of South America..(COCA, MAG, 2011)

(35) 12/28/90 214 The Media and the Message 12/31/90 215 The Year of Living Dangerously - 1990 1/1/91 216 Caution - <u>Bumpy Road</u> Ahead 1/2/91 217 Congress and the Gulf 1/3/91 218 Time's Running Out 1/4/91 219 (COCA, SPOK, 1991)

The phrase *bumpy road* in (34) represents the brand name of a sports bag whereas in (35) it is a newspaper headline.

To sum up, it can be said that for all three phrases there were some tokens which were actually not related to the study. There were in total 23 instances of *fork in the road,* 19 of *a long road* and 4 of *bumpy road* which were excluded for the reasons stated above.

4. Data analysis and results

The data on which this study is based is made up of altogether 432 instances. A survey of the data is presented in section 4.1. Sections 4.2-4.4 present the results for the three phrases *a long road, bumpy road* and *fork in the road*, respectively. The last section, 4.5, presents a comparison of the frequencies with which conceptual metaphors were found for the three phrases (*a long road*, *bumpy road* and *fork in the road*).

4.1 Survey of results

Altogether, 478 instances were retrieved in the corpus for three phrases, and after excluding irrelevant instances (see section 3.4) 432 instances remained. Of these, 339 were found to be metaphorical, 81 were found to be literal and 12 were categorized as 'other'.
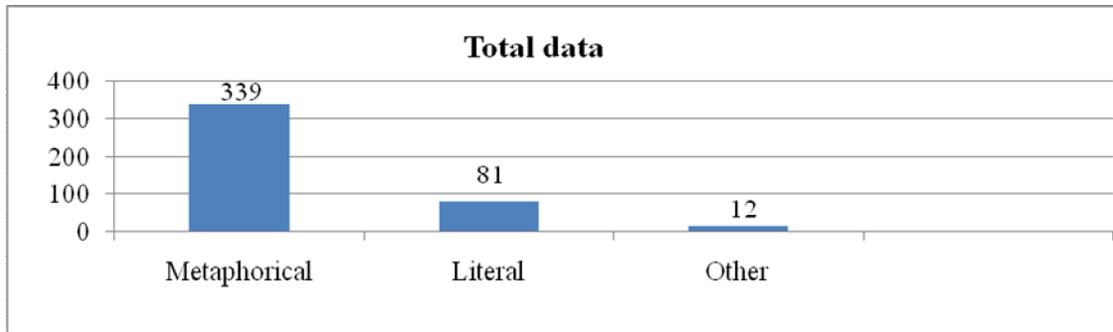
Figure 1. Frequency of metaphorical, literal and 'other' tokens.

The overall results are presented in Figure 1. In the total data, metaphorical uses stand for 78% (more than three quarters), whereas literal uses occupy 19% (less than one quarter) and the 'other' category only makes up 3% (11 instances only). Individual frequency results for the three phrases are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Ratio of metaphorical, literal and 'other' category instances

Phrases	Metaphorical		Literal		'Other'		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
A long road	218	90	19	8	5	2	242
Bumpy road	41	60	23	34	4	6	68
Fork in the road	80	66	39	32	3	2	122
Totals	339		81		12		432

There are, in total, 242 instances of the phrase *a long road,* and out of these, 218 instances (90%) were to be found metaphorical, 19 instances (8%) were literal and 5 instances (2%) were considered as 'other'. The phrase *bumpy road* contains a total of 68 instances, and among them 41 instances were metaphorical (60%), 23 instances were considered literal (34%) and 4 instances (6%) were put in the 'other' category. Out of the 122 instances of *fork in the road,* 66% (80 instances) were metaphorical, 32% (39 instances) literal and 2% (3 instances) 'other'. From Table 4 it can be seen that the phrase *a long road* is used mainly metaphorically, having less literal use than the other two phrases. One interesting factor that can be observed from Table 4 is that the ratio of metaphorical and literal uses of the two phrases *bumpy road* and *fork in the road* are almost the same, viz. c. 60% metaphorical and 30% literal.

The qualitative part of the study revealed that many of the tokens could be taken to represent conceptual metaphors that are confirmed from previous studies (see section 2.5). That is, they have *journey* as their source domain (henceforth SD) and *life, love, career, relationship* and

purposeful activities as their target domains (henceforth TD). In addition, one further (common) conceptual metaphor was prevalent, namely RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY. Examples of these for the phrase *a long road* are presented in (36)–(41) followed by a discussion.

LIFE IS A JOURNEY

(36) They've taken me and Lita in like family, God bless them. I think it's because I've traveled such <u>a long road</u>. (COCA, FIC, 1998)

LOVE IS A JOURNEY

(37) I always would suggest some type of therapy, between the two of you and individually, [...] -- it's <u>a long road</u>, but if it's something in your heart and your soul, you'll manage it, you'll maintain and attain it. (COCA, SPOK, 1995)

A CAREER IS A JOURNEY

(38) she stands at the edge, gloved hand ready for any wayward pitch. I point to the E-M-I-L and a darker space across the narrow back of her jersey. Anna smiles and says, " She's got <u>a long road</u> ahead, " and I smile too. (COCA, FIC, 2000)

A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY

(39) the notion of marriage as the end result of something is ludicrous; it's the beginning of <u>a long road</u>. Marriage doesn't rescue you from life. (COCA, NEWS, 2005)

LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABOURIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

(40) Brother, it's been <u>a long road</u>. It doesn't matter how many hits you write, every record is a battle. (COCA, MAG, 2012)

RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY

(41) Her brain needs to be retrained or reminded, perhaps, to handle information. Once again, it's going to be <u>a long road</u> for her. (COCA, SPOK, 2008)

The phrase a *long road* in example (36) represents the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, i.e. the speaker's life is presented in terms of journey. The conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is represented in example (37).The travelers are lovers who face difficulties in their relationship and they take precautions following suggestions from their parents to continue their relationship. The development and future career of a soccer player has been portrayed by the phrase in example (38), where the player's career is viewed in terms of journey. The reason why example (39) is categorized under the heading 'relationship' rather than love is because the focus is not on their feelings for each other but rather on their conjugal

relationship. In example (40) a song writer's purposeful efforts are mentioned, i.e. his strive to become a renowned song writer; something which has taken a long time. In other words, a purposeful long-term activity can be viewed as a journey. In example (41), the seriously ill person is metaphorically regarded as undertaking a journey, and ideally, the destination at the end of the journey will be physical recovery from the illness. Consequently, illness is viewed in terms of journey.

4.2 Results for *a long road*

The overall results of the quantitative investigation of the phrase *a long road* are presented in Figure 2.
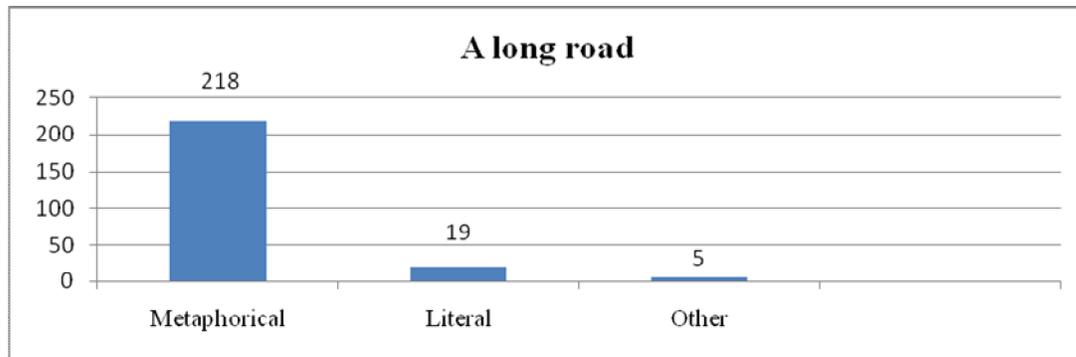

Figure 2. Survey of the frequency of metaphorical, literal and 'other' uses of the phrase *a long road.*

Examples (42)–(43) demonstrate the use of literal and 'other' categories of the phrase *a long road*.

> (42) Why that hotel? Why has that become a focal point? KAHN: This hotel - I think it's because it's in a safe neighborhood. There's a long road that you get up to it. I think the word has gotten out that there are doctors here. (COCA, SPOK, 2010)
> (43) Most military appraisals of Iraq foresee a long road of violence and instability ahead, as well as a substantial U.S. troop presence... (COCA, NEWS, 2005)

In example (42), the phrase *a long road* is not metaphorical at all, as it indicates a road which exists. This is hence a literal use of the phrase, whereas in example (43), the phrase *a long road* belongs to the 'other' category. It has the source domain journey but the target domain does not match one of the six conceptual metaphors; rather, it represents repeated action. The interesting thing is that in example (43), the modification of the metaphor is done by means of the phrase *of violence and instability ahead.*

A further quantification of the results is presented in Table 5, where it is shown how often the six conceptual metaphors occur in the material for the phrase *a long road*.

Table 5. The number and ratio of conceptual metaphors of the phrase *a long road*.

N	Conceptual metaphors	N	%
1.	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	22	10
2.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	2	1
3.	A CAREER IS A JOURNEY	7	3
4.	A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY	5	2
5.	LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABORIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS	145	67
6.	RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY	37	17
	Totals	218	100

The most common conceptual metaphor is LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABOURIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS, which made up 67% (145 instances) of the metaphorical tokens of the phrase *a long road*. The use of the conceptual metaphor RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY was more frequent (17%; 37 instances) than the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY 10% (22 instances) for the phrase *a long road*. The other three conceptual metaphors, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, A CAREER IS A JOURNEY and A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY account for the rest (1%, 3% and 2% i.e. in total 6%). One example of each conceptual metaphor is provided below for an illustration.

LIFE IS A JOURNEY

   (44) Her grandmother lived to be 97. As Donna approached her 50th birthday, she figured she had a long road ahead of her and wasn't exactly sure how to travel it. Describing herself as "a typical stay-at-home Mom,"..(COCA, MAG, 1997)

A CAREER IS A JOURNEY

   (45) Why were Whitney and Mariah Carey born? God put that light on them, and He put a light on me. There was a long road getting here, but He's looked over it the whole way. (COCA, MAG, 1996)

A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY

   (46) Michelle and Andrew admit that in the first few weeks after becoming parents they felt like they were waving to each other from opposite ends of a long road. They established a routine that allowed Andrew to care for Michelle (COCA, MAG, 2002)

LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABOURIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

   (47) Rich Mauro was in New York to start making some damn money. He knew it would be a long road, but he'd never been scared of hard work. His father had worked his ass off. (COCA, FIC, 2012)

(48) Harry still had <u>a long road</u> ahead of him -- at least a half-dozen more surgeries to go. But Harry had made his peace with the pace of his recovery, knew that the passing of the seasons meant he was getting better, if slowly. (COCA, SPOK, 2004)

In example (44), Donna's or the speaker's life is portrayed in terms of a journey through the phrase *a long road* which hence represents the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Example (45) presents the present position of a singer by the expression 'getting here' which is a destination. The singer's career is compared to a journey in this sentence. In example (46), Michelle and Andrew have relationship problems when their first child is born. They are not in the same location but within sight of each other on the road of their relationship. This means that there is a certain distance between them. In this example, their relationship is thus presented in terms of journey. Example (47) is about a person who would like to become successful in life by earning a lot of money. Here the phrase *a long road* is used for the source domain *journey*, which can be viewed in terms of the target domain *purposeful activities*. In example (48), the traveler is a seriously ill person who is seen as being on a journey, and his recovery from illness is his final destination. His obstacles are several surgeries. As a result, illness is here depicted in terms of journey.

4.3 Results for *bumpy road*

A survey of the frequency of each of the three categories of the phrase *bumpy road* is shown in Figure 3.
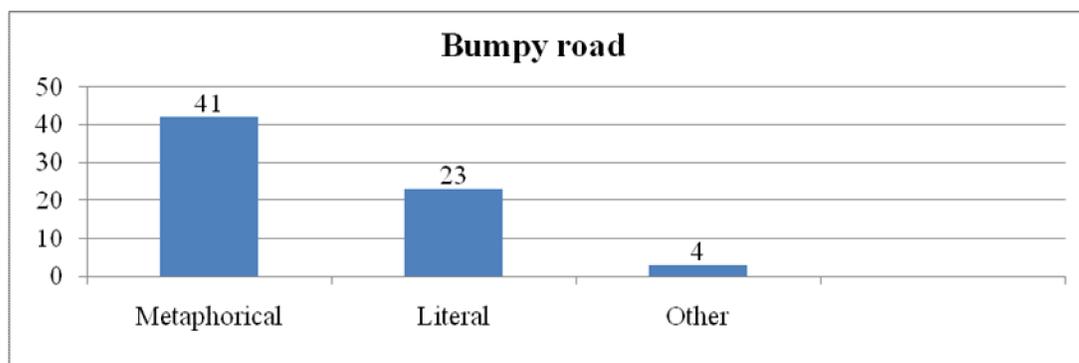

Figure 3. Survey of the frequency of metaphorical, literal and 'other' uses of the phrase *bumpy road*.

Figure 3 shows that metaphorical uses are almost twice as common as the literal uses of the phrase *bumpy road*. Examples of literal and 'other' uses are presented in (49)–(50).

(49) If you had nothing to burn, you had to send word to Mr. Hammonds, and he had to fetch a load of coal or wood over three miles of <u>bumpy road</u> -- if his truck would run. In this snow, it probably would not. (COCA, MAG, 2002)

(50) Sidebar ON YOUR SIDE Sidebar <u>Bumpy Road</u> With ISP Takeover Sidebar I'VE BEEN UNABLE to access my e-mail since EarthLink bought my ISP, OneMain.com… (COCA, MAG, 2002)

In example (49) the phrase *bumpy road* has a literal meaning as it describes a road, whereas in (50), the phrase seems to be metaphorical but does not match those conceptual metaphors which were identified in the study.

The number of tokens and the ratio of each of the six conceptual metaphors are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. The number and ratio of conceptual metaphors of the phrase *bumpy road*.

N	Conceptual metaphors	N	%
1.	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	5	12
2.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	1	2
3.	A CAREER IS A JOURNEY	–	–
4.	A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY	5	12
5.	LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABORIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS	30	73
6.	RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY	–	–
	Totals	41	99

The conceptual metaphor LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABOURIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS is the most common metaphor for the phrase *bumpy road* (73%). It made up more than two thirds of the total number. The conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY and A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY had the same ratio (i.e. 12% each). The conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY makes up only 2%. Finally, the conceptual metaphors A CAREER IS A JOURNEY and RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY were not represented at all for the phrase *bumpy road*. One instance of each of the four conceptual metaphors is presented in (51)–(54).

LIFE IS A JOURNEY

(51) SHRIVER: (Voiceover) She describes it as the story of her painful journey to self-acceptance down a very <u>bumpy road</u>. (Burke's-book- " Delt SHRIVER: What do you think your image is?….(COCA. SPOK, 1998)

LOVE IS A JOURNEY

(52) Prince Charles and his love, Camilla Parker-Bowles, set to tie the knot on Saturday. We'll take a look at the <u>bumpy road</u> to their marriage. (COCA, SPOK, 2005)

(53) I think the relationship is sound, strong and solid. We are facing-facing at this very moment a somewhat <u>bumpy road</u>. I think there are a number of issues which require to be addressed and as soon as an Israeli government… (COCA, SPOK, 1990)

LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABOURIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

(54) Now back in front of the camera after four years, Raven goes for the funny bone as an aspiring actress on the <u>bumpy road</u> to fame in ABC Family's new comedy State of Georgia. Of her character, she says, " Georgia is not perfect, so she gets rejected more than she gets accepted. (COCA, MAG, 2011)

In example (51) the phrase *bumpy road* is used to highlight the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY where a person's life is projected in terms of journey. Example (52) presents Prince Charles and his beloved as travelers who are finally at the end of their journey, getting married. The 'travelers' are two countries in example (53) and their ultimate goal is to go ahead with the peace process. The phrase *bumpy road* signifies the problems in their relationship. Raven is the traveler in example (54) and her purpose is to become a successful actress. She was rejected many times in her acting life, which was the obstacle for her. In other words, here a long-term purposeful activity is seen as a journey.

4.4 Results for *fork in the road*

Metaphorical instances are more than twice as common as literal instances of the phrase *fork in the road*. A survey of the frequency of metaphorical, literal, and 'other' uses of the phrase *fork in the road* is presented in Figure 4.
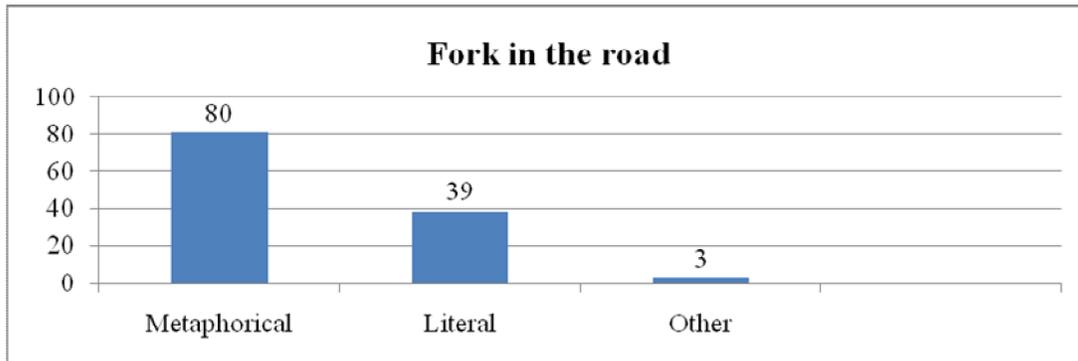

Figure 4. Survey of the frequency of metaphorical, literal and 'other' uses of the phrase *fork in the road*

Two instances of the literal and 'other' category are presented in (55)–(56).

(55) 3. <u>FORK IN THE ROAD</u> To get back to the Polar Peak chair, crank a hard right and cut out of the fall line near the trees. (COCA, MAG, 2012)

(56) COKIE ROBERTS: Mr. Berger, though, that fundamental question, will we invade? SAMUEL BERGER: As I said, Cokie, that is not- that's not a <u>fork in the road</u> that we've reached at this point. We have not ruled it out, as the President said. We have just, three days ago, imposed- voted- the U.N. voted to impose tough economic sanctions. (COCA, SPOK, 1994)

In example (55), the phrase *fork in the road* is used in its literal sense as it indicates a physical place. Example (56) represents a metaphorical instance, which does not match to any of the conceptual metaphors in the study (see section 3.3). Here, *fork in the road* simply stands for the crucial point where a decision has to be made.

How often each of the six conceptual metaphors is used when it comes to the phrase *fork in the road* is shown by a quantification of the results in Table 7.

Table 7. The number and ratio of conceptual metaphors for the phrase *fork in the road*.

N	Conceptual metaphors	N	%
1.	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	36	45
2.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	–	–
3.	A CAREER IS A JOURNEY	2	3
4.	A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY	1	1
5.	LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABORIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS	41	51
6.	RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY	–	–
	Totals	80	100

The two conceptual metaphors LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABORIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS and LIFE IS A JOURNEY are the most common for the phrase *bumpy road* and together they make up 96% of all conceptual metaphors. This can be compared with the two conceptual metaphors A CAREER IS A JOURNEY and A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY which make up only 4%. The conceptual metaphors LOVE IS A JOURNEY and RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY were not found at all. Examples of conceptual metaphors of the phrase *fork in the road* are presented in (57)–(60).

LIFE IS A JOURNEY

(57) Leave your work mind behind. Find a visual marker on the commute home and use it to shift gears. " When I see a certain <u>fork in the road</u>, I imagine I'm leaving a concrete jungle and entering an idyllic setting with a path, and that my family's waiting for me at the end,….. (COCA, MAG, 2002)

(58) Wylie describes his job as bringing partners to a "<u>fork in the road</u>": either repairing the relationship or, if its continuation no longer makes sense, ending it amicably. It's a fork partners have difficulty navigating … (COCA, MAG, 1999)

A CAREER IS A JOURNEY

(59) Yeah, but I don't -- I don't think you got it answered. I think there was a strict evasion. I think he saw the <u>fork in the road</u> and he went to the left. Mr-FLEMING: We -- we had a -- we -- we... (Laughter)… (COCA, SPOK, 1993)

LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABOURIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

(60) Every time there was a <u>fork in the road</u>, we said,' In 1985, we would have done this.' " One song illustrates Hetfield's lyric hook " Hunt you down all nightmare long " (COCA, MAG, 2008)

In example (57), a person's life is viewed in terms of journey. In example (58), Wylie works as a counselor and his goal is help people repair their relationships. The point where they make a decision is linked to a fork in the road on their metaphorical journey. In example (59), the phrase is used to present a person's career in terms of journey. Purposeful activities of a band are presented in example (60). Hence, this metaphor belongs to the conceptual metaphor LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABORIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS.

4.5 Survey of conceptual metaphors for the three phrases (*a long road, bumpy road* and *fork in the road*)

Uses of six conceptual metaphors of the three phrases (*a long road, bumpy road* and *fork in the road*) are shown by a quantification of the results in Table 8.

Table 8. The number and ratio of conceptual metaphors for three phrases (*a long road, bumpy road* and *fork in the road*).

N	Conceptual metaphors	A long road	Bumpy road	Fork in the road	N	%
1.	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	22	5	36	63	19
2.	LOVE IS A JOURNEY	2	1	–	3	1
3.	A CAREER IS A JOURNEY	7	–	2	9	3
4.	A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY	5	5	1	11	3
5.	LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABORIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS	145	30	41	216	64
6.	RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY	37	–	–	37	11
	Totals metaphorical tokens	218	41	80	339	101

The most common conceptual metaphor for the three phrases overall is LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABOURIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS which makes up 64% (216 instances) out of 339 tokens, whereas the two most well known conceptual metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and LOVE IS A JOURNEY make up only 19% and 1% respectively of the metaphorical tokens. The ratio for the two conceptual metaphors A CAREER IS A JOURNEY and A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY was 3% (each); it needs to be pointed out that there was no token found for the conceptual metaphor A CAREER IS A JOURNEY in the phrase *bumpy road*. The conceptual metaphor RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY is a sub-metaphor of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. It makes up 11% (37 instances) of the total, which is actually quite a large number, considering that it is not mentioned in any of the secondary sources used for the present paper. However, it was found only in the phrase *a long road* and there were no instances found at all in other two phrases.

5. Conclusion

The main aim of the study was to see in how far Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory could be corroborated using authentic data. Three phrases were selected for the study, namely *a long road, bumpy road* and *fork in the road*. The three phrases were selected because they were mentioned in the literature, and the number of occurrences in the data was deemed to be suitable for a study this size.

The three phrases *a long road, bumpy road* and *fork in the road* were mainly used metaphorically (79%; 341 instances). Literal and 'other' uses of the three phrases make up the rest, altogether 21% (18% literal uses and 3% 'other').

Six conceptual metaphors were identified for the three phrases *a long road, bumpy road* and *fork in the road*. The phrase *a long road* only had all these six conceptual metaphors uses, whereas the other two phrases, *bumpy road* and *fork in the road* only made use of four conceptual metaphors. The conceptual metaphor RECOVERING FROM PHYSICAL ILLNESS (OR GRIEF) OR PHYSICAL (OR MENTAL) SUFFERING IS A JOURNEY only existed in metaphorical tokens of the phrase a *long road*. The most common conceptual metaphor, however, turned out to be LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL (LABOURIOUS) ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS which makes up 63% of all conceptual metaphors. The conceptual metaphor A RELATIONSHIP IS A SHARED JOURNEY stands for only 3% in all metaphorical tokens. The conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY accounts

for only 1% (3 instances) in all metaphorical tokens, which is surprising, since it is often used in illustrations of conceptual metaphor.

Journey was the source domain of the three phrases and the mapping method presented in section 2.4 was applied to carry out the mapping procedure. After data analysis it was found that the target domains of the three phrases vary when they are used metaphorically. Altogether, six target domains were identified in the data when the source domain is journey, namely life, love, career, relationship, purposeful activity and recovering from illness or grief. Thus, it can be said that one source domain can be used for many different target domains. This is something Lakoff and Johnson do not elaborate on.

In conclusion, it can be said that we are surrounded by metaphors. Corpus data corroborate the fact that metaphor is pervasive in everyday language and this indicates that our thinking is often metaphorical. Based on the above analysis, it can be said that the conceptual metaphor theory which Lakoff and Johnson proposed has certain limitations. According to Lakoff and Johnson, the conceptual metaphor theory says that two domains (source domain and target domain) are connected via mapping. When three phrases from the source domain JOURNEY were investigated, it was found that one source domain might have several target domains. Another factor is that mapping theory sometimes does not work properly on corpus data because people do not use metaphor as prescribed. However, the present study is based on a very limited set of data, and more extensive studies might present a different picture.

In the field of metaphor, much research remains to be done. Lakoff and Johnson mentioned many conceptual metaphors in their work *Metaphors we live by* and some of them have still not been investigated by researchers. Much research has been done for the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR but there are still ways to investigate this conceptual metaphor. One way, suggested by Lindquist (2009), is to start from the target domain and see how it is characterized in a corpus. Hence, the target TIME can be investigated using the search phrase "time is _____" which may reveal that time is not only conceptualized as money, but also in a number of other ways. Considering the results of the present study, it might be interesting to find out more about how illnesses are conceptualized, using a search phrase like "illness/disease is a ____".

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