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Metaphoric Expressions on Vertical Axis Revisited: An Empirical Study of Russian and French Material

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The purpose of this article is to study the use of “UP–DOWN” metaphors in Russian and French material. A list of 10 conceptual metaphors expressing up–down movement was proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and this list has been reproduced many times since. However, this analysis shows that the list is not fully accurate. In addition to the conceptual metaphors proposed by Lakoff and Johnson, the authors find it important to include 5 more metaphorical models expressing vertical movement. On the other hand, 5 of the conceptual metaphors in Lakoff and Johnson’s list turned out not to be relevant to this analysis. The authors also attempt to describe the connections between different metaphoric models and observe that not all metaphoric models are equally important in their evidential and conceptual power.

Expressions of vertical movement—the notion of going up and down—are often used in language, and mostly not in concrete and literal meanings. We talk about rising rates, prices going up, and falling expectations. One of the first studies to pay attention to these metaphoric expressions was that by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). In their book *Metaphors We Live By*, the researchers provide a list of 10 conceptual metaphors related to vertical movement. The examples provided in the book come, however, only from English. Nevertheless, even on the basis of that same book we get a first hint of the differences in how vertical movement is conceptualized in English and French. In the French translation of Lakoff and Johnson’s book (Lakoff & Johnson, 1985), the translator found no examples of the conceptual metaphor “FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)”. When it comes to the Russian translations of the same book, the three existing translations (Lakoff & Johnson, 2004) differ slightly from each other based on what each translator saw as the best translation for each example given by Lakoff and Johnson, but they agree on what can be found in Russian. As a matter of fact, the Russian translations of the expressions discussed as realizations of the “FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)” metaphor represent the version in which the future is ahead, not up. These observations highlight the importance of studying the types of vertical metaphors not only in English but also in other languages.

In Lakoff and Johnson (1980), “UP–DOWN” metaphors are dealt with in the chapter on orientational metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 14–24). This early version assumed that orientational metaphors (which in addition to “UP–DOWN” metaphors included metaphors

with horizontal orientation such as “*IN FRONT OF–BACK OF*”) were one basic type of conceptual metaphor. Ontological and structural metaphors were seen as other types. Later on, the possibility of differentiating between these types of metaphor was rejected since it was noticed that these different sides of how conceptual metaphors are built work together in many conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 264).

The orientational metaphors listed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are the following: “*HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN*,” “*CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN*,” “*HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN*,” “*HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN*,” “*MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN*,” “*FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)*,” “*HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN*,” “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*,” “*VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN*,” and “*RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN*”.¹ Lakoff and Johnson deal with these 10 conceptual metaphors by explicating (in one sentence) the physical basis of each of these metaphors and giving examples from English. Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson claim that the aforementioned “*UP–DOWN*” metaphors are coherent with the metaphor “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*.” Besides these metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson mention “*UNKNOWN IS UP; KNOWN IS DOWN*” and “*FINISHED IS UP; UNFINISHED IS DOWN*.” From the context it becomes clear that these are not, according to the authors, orientational metaphors, although they contain the “*UP–DOWN*” differentiation. The reason for this interpretation does not become clear.

Several studies have also made use of the vertical metaphors in either testing the validity of cognitive metaphor theory in general (Gattis, 1996; Kemmerer, 2005; Li & Gleitman, 2002), or testing the vertical metaphors’ applicability for practical purposes like language teaching (Boers, 2000), affect studies (Meier & Robinson, 2005), the relationship between depression and vertical selective attention (Meier & Robinson, 2006), the way that we conceptualize the divine (Meier, Hauser, Robinson, Friesen, & Schjeldahl, 2007), and the relationship between vertical attention and dominant personality traits (Moeller, Robinson, & Zabelina, 2008). In these studies, the classification of vertical metaphors comes from Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and has not been questioned.

In this article we introduce an empirical study of how vertical movement appears in conceptualization on the basis of French and Russian. We have come to the conclusion that the list of “*UP–DOWN*” metaphors given by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and repeated many times since then, is not fully accurate. As stated by the authors themselves (p. 14), the lists of metaphors given in this early work were meant to be preliminary. Nevertheless, they have been repeated in the original form ever since. The list is intuitively acceptable, and the examples given seem to illustrate the phenomenon nicely. However, the list lacks accuracy in naming the metaphors and discussing the relationship between them. To arrive at a more precise account of the “*UP–DOWN*” metaphors, we saw a need for an empirically based study that aims at explaining the use of nonliteral “*UP–DOWN*” concepts in French and Russian and thus also challenges the research that bases its conclusions mostly on English material. We aim to make clarifications to what has previously been written on “*UP–DOWN*” metaphors and to give a new, empirically

¹This list is presumably based on the PhD dissertation of William Nagy from 1974, but because this work is inaccessible to us we are unable to check what kind of data this list is based on.

based categorization of such metaphors. We also try to provide some suggestions as to how the relationship between the metaphors could be seen.

METHOD

The data for this study were collected primarily from the dictionaries *Bol'šoj tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka* (1998) and *Le Petit Robert* (1996). From these dictionaries, the entries for a number of words were studied and the examples found in them were saved in an Access database. The Russian words were: *верх, вверх, наверх, вверху, наверху, кверху, низ, вниз, внизу, книзу, высоко, высоко-, низко, выше, выше-, ниже, ниже-, высокий, низкий, низший, невысокий, невысоко, под, под-, подо-, подъ-, над, поднять, поднятие, поднимание, подымание, подъём, подъёмка, опустить, подняться, спуститься, спуск, карабкаться, снижать-снизить, повысить, повышаться-повыситься, понижаться-понизиться, снижаться-снизиться, падать-упасть, нырять-нырнуть, в-, во-, вь-, вз-, взо-, взъ-, вс-, с-, со-, съ-*. The French words were: *abattre, l'ascendant, l'ascension, au-dessous, au-dessus, baisser, bas, la chute, chuter, le déclin, décliner, le déprime, déprimer, descendre, dessous, dessus, effondre, l'élévation, élevé, élever, émerger, grimper, hausser, haut, inférieur, lever, la montée, monter, plonger, rabaisser, remonter, retomber, s'écrouler, s'effondre, s'élever, se lever, soulever, sous, supérieur, sur, la tombée, tomber*. The inflected forms of the words are naturally included. All the examples of these words given by the dictionaries were saved at the first stage of the work. Later on, the examples that were found to be fully literal, that is, concrete cases of upward and downward movement (seen as rising or lowering as compared to a certain level measured from the ground level) or metonymical² were excluded. The material was enriched with examples found by Google. These examples, marked with G in this article, further illustrate how the aforementioned words and the concepts they represent work in these languages.

Dictionary data were used because they are, first, easily accessible. Second, the way a large authoritative dictionary deals with such units of language gives a valid interpretation of how they are traditionally classified and interpreted. This kind of classification gives us an opportunity to look at the whole of the field without a preconceived image of metaphoricality in it.

The data come from two languages, French and Russian. These languages, although related to English (the language on which most metaphor studies have been done), differ from it in both structure and vocabulary. French and Russian also have a historical connection. The influence of French language and culture was especially significant in Russia from the mid-18th century to

²The relationship between metaphor and metonymy has been widely discussed in cognitive linguistics in the past 15 years (e.g., Barcelona, 2000; Dirven & Pörrings, 2002; Goossens, 1995; Panther & Thornburg, 2003). In this article we adopt the traditional cognitive linguistic approach, which defines metaphor as a phenomenon that sees similarities between two separate conceptual domains, whereas metonymy is understood as connecting two conceptual entities that belong to a single conceptual domain (Kövecses, 2002, p. 145). In our opinion, the fact that the metaphorical conceptualizations are based on bodily experience, as was pointed out already by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, pp. 19–20) does not make them metonymies, as has sometimes been suggested. The metaphors proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and the ones that we have added to their list (see Results) are, in our opinion, metaphors rather than metonymies because in all of them the experiential domain of vertical movement and the experiential domain of what is described in terms of vertical movement are separate.

the October revolution. At the time, French was considered a fashionable language and was used at the Russian court, as well as in many aristocratic families, for everyday communication. Russian therefore has many loanwords of French origin, and the French literary tradition has influenced its Russian counterpart. Because of this historical connection, we find it possible that French metaphoric expressions may have had an impact on the Russian expressions.

Our material consists of 603 expressions. The data were analyzed as follows. The expressions, dealt with as entries in an Access database, were classified according to the cognitive metaphors they represent. Dual classifications were permitted, which means that a single metaphorical expression can be seen as representing more than one conceptual metaphor. This not only gives a fuller picture of the richness of metaphoricity but also gives information on the ways in which these metaphors are combined and how the limits between different metaphorical models are seen. When an expression that we use as an example is given a dual classification, we point this out.

RESULTS

In analyzing the data it became evident that not all the expressions in our material can be explained in terms of the “UP–DOWN” metaphors provided by Lakoff and Johnson. This is why we came up with five additional metaphor classes, while finding five of Lakoff and Johnson’s categories irrelevant for the purpose of our analysis. Naming new metaphor classes is not unproblematic, however. We often face the question of what would be the ideal level of elaborateness in defining conceptual metaphors. On the one hand, the general tendency of giving names to highly detailed metaphors without even trying to determine the relations between them is, in our opinion, not very fruitful. At the same time it is also problematic if the classification of metaphors is left on as general a level as possible: although the possibility of explaining the conceptualization with the help of just a few conceptual metaphors is tempting, this kind of approach does not give much information. The ideal level of generality would enable accurate information to be provided on the hierarchical and other relations between the conceptual metaphors and the different concepts involved.

In what follows, we will comment on the vertical metaphors suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) with illustrative examples from our own material.

“HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN”

The first metaphor Lakoff and Johnson mention in their list of “UP–DOWN” metaphors is “HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN.” They base this conceptual metaphor on expressions like “*I’m feeling up*,” “*My spirits rose*,” “*I’m depressed*,” and “*He’s really low these days*” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 15). Some of these metaphoric expressions can also be found in Russian and French, for example, “*être déprimé*” [“*to be depressed*”]. However, these cases are not numerous and they tend to be connected to certain words such as *дух* [spirit] (“*поднять дух*” [“*raise the spirit*”]) and *настроение* [mood] (“*Настроение падает*” [his/her spirits are sinking], lit. [“*the feeling drops*”]). These expressions in our material are given a dual classification as also representing the “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN” metaphor. Our society sees happy as a good thing and sad as a bad thing, and expressions of this kind could therefore be classified simply as representing the conceptualization “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN.”

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), this metaphor is based on physical experience that connects the erect posture with positive emotions and the stooping posture with negative emotions. We find this statement a bit too generalizing because not all positive emotions are connected with an upright posture and not all negative emotions with a drooping posture. For example, a relaxed person may be sitting round-shouldered and a nervous person may walk around in a stiff posture. This is also illustrated by English expression “*to be keyed up*”. In many cases, the metaphor “*HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN*” can be more accurately described by the metaphor “*ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN*,” which we will discuss later in this article. An excited person is typically active, whereas a depressed person remains passive. Since happy (or active) is generally considered to be something positive, this category of metaphors is ultimately related to the metaphor “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*.” Thus, we do not find the metaphorical model “*HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN*” very important. In our opinion it is related to only certain words, and even in these cases it is a subclass of “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*”.

“*CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN*”

The metaphor “*CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN*” also figures in the list of vertical metaphors by Lakoff and Johnson. Their formulation of the metaphor is based on examples like “*Wake up*,” “*He fell asleep*,” “*He’s under hypnosis*,” and “*He sank into a coma*” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 15). This metaphor can also be detected in our material, from which the following examples are drawn: “*se lever tôt*” [“*to get up early*”], “*надать в обморок*” [“*to faint*”], lit. [“*to fall into a faint*”]. The first example is also classified as an instance of the conceptual metaphor “*ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN*” because getting up in the morning is clearly related to becoming active again after a night of sleep.

However, we do not find this class to be very important either. First, we did not find many of these cases in our data. Second, these examples could have alternative classifications, such as “*ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN*” or “*DETECTABLE IS UP; UNDETECTABLE IS DOWN*” (see following). When you are asleep you are generally more or less passive, and when you wake up you became active again. We find the metaphor “*CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN*” too restrictive and applicable only to certain cases such as being asleep, in a coma, or under hypnosis. The metaphor “*ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN*” can easily cover these special cases and provides a more comprehensive category for a larger set of metaphoric expressions.

“*HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN*”

The third class proposed by Lakoff and Johnson assembles metaphoric expressions that are related to health and sickness. For the metaphor “*HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN*”, Lakoff and Johnson offer examples such as “*He’s at the peak of health*,” “*He fell ill*,” “*He came down with the flu*,” and “*He dropped dead*” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 15). Similar expressions exist in Russian and French, for example, “*подняться после болезни*” [“*to get up after sickness*”], “*tomber malade*” [“*to fall ill*”], and “*le malade a des hauts et des bas*” [“*the sick person has better and worse periods*”], lit. [“*the sick person has ups and downs*”]. Because being sick means that you are forced to stay in bed and are unable to carry on with your everyday routines, we noted that these examples could

often actually be explained by the metaphor “ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN.” This is the case with the examples “*подняться после болезни*” and “*tomber malade*,” which were marked with dual classification.

The metaphor “HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN” is also clearly related to the metaphor “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN” because it is generally more desirable to be healthy than sick. This can be seen in the example “*le malade a des hauts et des bas*,” where better periods in sickness are described as ups and worse periods as downs. Since many of the metaphorical expressions related to health and sickness have dual classification in our material, this metaphorical model does not seem to be a very important one. However, in connection with certain words (sickness, fever) the metaphor “HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN” may be justified, because in these cases being up or down really has a meaning related to sickness and health.

“HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN”

The metaphor “HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN” proposed by Lakoff and Johnson is based on examples such as “*I have control over her*,” “*He’s at the height of his power*,” “*He is under my control*,” and “*He is my social inferior*” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 15). This metaphor is a significant category in our material as well. Typical examples in our data include “*взять под контроль*” [“take under control”], “*власть над людьми*” [“power over people”], “*régner sur*” [to rule], lit. [“to reign over”]. This metaphorical model is based on the physical experience where the more powerful person may press the weaker person to the ground. Thus, the more powerful person remains up and the weaker one is down, which is systematically reflected in the expressions. Being under means in this case being subjected to some kind of power, influence, or force. For example, a child can be “*под присмотром матери*” [“under the mother’s surveillance”].

In some cases, the entity having control is not an animate object, but it is the circumstances that have an impact on those in a lower position. The English expression “*under the circumstances*” is an example of this conceptualization. Similarly, in Russian being *под* [“under”] is a significant way of expressing different kinds of circumstances that a person can be subjected to. One can, for example, “*петь под аккомпанемент*” [sing accompanied], lit. [“sing to-under accompaniment”], “*отпустить под честное слово*” [release on his/her word of honour], lit. [“release to-under word of honour”]. On the other hand, a person can have the circumstances under control: “*être au-dessus de quelque chose*” [dominate a situation] or “*взять верх над*” [“gain the upper hand over”], lit. [“take the upside on”].

In many cases, control is linked to hierarchy. A powerful person is high in a hierarchy, whereas a person who has less power is situated lower in a hierarchy. Besides, control is also related to status because those who have political, economic, or social power typically have a high status as well. For example, “*hauts fonctionnaires*” [“high functionaries”] (classified also as “HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN”) are civil servants who have a lot of power and who typically have a high status too.

In both French and Russian this metaphor seems to be quite important, which can be seen in its high frequency in our material. The metaphor “HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN” is related to the metaphor “GOOD IS

UP: BAD IS DOWN,” because it is generally considered more desirable to have control or force than to be subject to control or force.

“MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN”

Lakoff and Johnson base their metaphor “*MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN*” on the following kinds of examples: “*The number of books printed each year keeps going up,*” “*My income rose last year,*” “*The number of errors he made is incredibly low,*” and “*He is underage*” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 15–16). This metaphorical model is important in our material as well: “*высокий урожай*” [“*high yield*”], “*мужчина лет под сорок*” [“*a man in his late thirties*”], lit. [“*a man under the age of forty*”], “*снизить расходы*” [“*lower the expenses*”], and “*les prix ont baissé*” [“*prices have gone down*”].

The metaphor “*MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN*” is based on the physical experience where growth in number is linked to growth in height. For example, a pile of books becomes higher with the number of books added. The metaphorical model “*MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN*” not only sees the growth and lessening as going up and down; in many cases there is an additional conceptualization involved, that of the rate of something to be valued as a level that can go up and down. The way that charts are written suggests that the tendencies of rates going up and down are not only related to previous developments but are also individual actors. When we talk about prices, currency exchange rates, or stock rates going up and down, we conceptualize these abstract things—the change in value compared to other things—as chart markers going up and down. When there is more of the relative value, the level is higher than when there is less of it. In addition, the way that charts change is often conceptualized as the actions of a human-like actor that possesses a will of its own. For example, in “*le dollar est haut*” [“*the dollar is high*”] or “*Когда же поднимется наш рубль?*” [“*When will our rouble rise?*”], the dollar or the rouble is seen as something able and willing to be up. The metaphor “*MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN*” is also related to slowness (having less speed) being down and fastness (having more speed) being up, for example “*высокие темпы*” [“*high speeds*”], “*снизить скорость*” [“*lower the speed*”], “*повысить темпы работы*” [“*raise the pace of work*”], and “*Пульс больного падает*” [“*the pulse of the patient is dropping*”].

The metaphor “*MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN*” is related to the metaphor “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*” because it is generally considered better to have more than less. In all, the metaphor “*MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN*” is one of the central metaphorical models of vertical movement. Together with “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*” it is in close relation to the whole domain of vertical movement.

“FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (AND AHEAD)”

Lakoff and Johnson mention in their list of “*UP–DOWN*” metaphors the metaphor “*FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)*.” To illustrate this metaphor they give the following examples: “*All upcoming events are listed in the paper.*” “*What’s coming up this week?*” “*I’m afraid of what’s ahead of us.*” “*What’s up?*” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 16). This “*UP–DOWN*” metaphor seems to us to be specific to the English language. We have not found pure instances of in either French or Russian (and neither did the translators of the book into French or Russian, as was mentioned earlier). One construction in Russian that comes quite close is the

use of the preposition *pod* [*under*] + accusative case in temporal meanings indicating the time period close to an event that is indicated in the accusative case.³ Typical examples of such use are “*под воскресенье*” [“*right before Sunday*”], lit. [“*to under Sunday*”] and “*под праздник*” [“*just before the feast*”], lit. [“*to under feast*”] (in our classification also seen as “*REMOTE-NESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN*”) (see following). One has to note, however, that it is not self-evident that the future events were up in these expressions. In the examples given by Lakoff and Johnson, the direction was only up. In these Russian examples this is partly true, since going under something is seen as preceding the future event or time period. On the other hand, if future events are up, why is the speaker going under the event (as if digging in a garden)? If being right before an event is seen as going under it (marked with accusative), what is the relationship between this movement and the event?

Because of these unclear issues, we do not see the necessity to interpret the aforementioned Russian construction as a case of the “*FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)*” metaphor (although we do admit that it is somewhat similar to the English examples given), but rather classify it under another more elaborate cognitive metaphor “*REMOTENESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN*,” dealt with later in this article. We find that this classification can also explain examples that could be classified as “*FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)*,” such as “*Christmas is coming up*,” because this expression is clearly related to the proximity of the event. Christmas or any event to be seen is coming closer and at the same time becoming detectable. This means that there is also a link with the metaphorical model “*DETECTABLE IS UP; UNDETECTABLE IS DOWN*.”

Closer to the examples given by Lakoff and Johnson is the Russian use of the present participle *грядущий* [*rising*], usually used when talking about sunrise and daylight, in the meaning of future events, literally [“*upcoming (rising) events*”]. This participle, somewhat archaic in style, is used with such nouns as *события* [*events*], *последствия* [*consequences*], and *мороз* [*frost*].

The time-related “*UP-DOWN*” metaphor is studied by Lera Boroditsky (2000, 2001). In her psycholinguistic studies, she has looked at whether time gets its relational structure from the domain of space, whether these correspondences are regular, and whether the native language of a person affects the way he or she responds to spatio-temporal stimuli. The answer to all of these questions is, according to her studies, yes. It is worth noticing that in her studies the “*FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)*” metaphor and its counterparts more suitable for Mandarin Chinese are seen as the conceptual metaphor that exemplifies the whole metaphorical structuring of time. The results of Boroditsky, as well as her methods, have, however, been criticized in two separate studies, neither of which was able to replicate the tests that Boroditsky used as the basis for her argument (Chen, 2007; January & Kako, 2007).

As for future being ahead, previous research shows that in Russian this is not necessarily the case: future events can be both ahead and behind (see Arutjunova, 1997; Viimmaranta, 2006). The fact that Russian is different from English in this respect confirms the assumption, also stated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 14), that orientational metaphors are not only experimentally but also culturally based. The orientation in time metaphors constitute the only case in which Lakoff and Johnson mention the seemingly controversial possibility that orientation can go in both directions. This is the only case where they mention the possibility that not all concepts are coherent in the way they are based on our culturally and biologically determined experience. (pp. 41–45.)

³On this construction see also Kreidlin (1997, pp. 148–149).

Thus, although the metaphor “*FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)*” may be useful for describing certain English expressions related to future events, this metaphor is not adequate in our French and Russian material. Furthermore, the more general metaphors “*RE MOTENESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN*” and “*DETECTABLE IS UP; UNDETECTABLE IS DOWN*” that have proven to be relevant to our material, are also able to explain the examples provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

“*HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN*”

The metaphor that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) call “*HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN*” is based on the correlation of social status and power that is seen as being up. Lakoff and Johnson give the following expressions: “*He has a lofty position,*” “*She’ll rise to the top,*” “*He is at the peak of his career,*” “*He’s climbing the ladder,*” “*He has little upward mobility,*” “*He is at the bottom of the social hierarchy,*” and “*She fell in status*” (p. 16.)

This metaphor is related to hierarchical relations in which being at the upper end of the hierarchy means having more power and other symbols of hierarchy. For example, “*un poste élevé*” [“*high position*”] is related to both status and control and thus represents also the metaphor “*HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN*.” A person in a high position is generally highly regarded and this person also has a certain power in his or her hands. Those with high status are hierarchically above these with low status. Status is connected to certain kinds of things—esteem, certain benefits (such as a good income, luxurious living, or acceptance). Talking about status using vertical orientation is so pervasive in (English) language that it is difficult to refer to “good” or “bad” status without using the “*UP-DOWN*” metaphor. This is seen in the formulation of the metaphor “*HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN*,” where vertical adjectives (high and low status) are used in explaining the vertical metaphor (what is going up and down).

Status can have different degrees, and these are shown with the help of the “*UP-DOWN*” metaphor. In this way, not only is high status up and low status down, but also different levels or degrees of status can be described in terms of their being either upper or lower. In our material, we found many examples of this type: “*высокоразвитый*” [“*highly developed*”], “*низшие организмы*” [“*lower organisms*”], “*les organismes supérieurs*” [“*higher organisms*”]. Usually, more developed organisms such as mammals are more appreciated than less developed organisms such as bacteria. Therefore, the status of higher organisms is higher than the status of lower organisms. All of these examples also represent the conceptualization “*COMPLEX IS UP; SIMPLE IS DOWN*” that characterizes more developed organisms as being more complex than less developed organisms that tend to be simpler in structure. This explication is also a statement of status. In much the same way the Russians talk about “*подкласс*” [“*subclass*”] and the French about “*sous-classe*,” both lit. [“*underclass*”]. This “*underclass*” is under the main class in a hierarchy and is generally lower in status.

The status that is talked about can either be real or imagined by the speaker. Imagined status is seen in such expressions as “*ходить с высоко поднятой головой*” [“*walk with one’s head held high*”], lit. [“*walk with one’s head raised high*”], or “*быть высокого мнения о себе*” [“*think highly of oneself*”], lit. [“*be of high opinion on oneself*”]. The latter expression is also classified as “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*,” because positive opinion is classified as being high.

Within the range of status it is also possible to move upward and downward. This vertical movement is consistent with the “*HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN*” metaphor.

For example, in “*подняться в чьих-л. глазах*” [“rise in someone’s eyes”], the movement upward is related to getting more respect from someone. Because the more positive assessment is seen as being higher, this expression is also classified as representing the metaphor “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*.” The same upward movement in status is also seen in “*il était désireux de grimper aux sommets glacés de la société*” [“he desired to climb up to the icy heights of the society”]. In the expression “*снизить в должности*” [“demote”], lit. [“lower in appointment”], the downward movement indicates lowering status. The assignments related to lower status often correlate with less power, and therefore this expression is also classified as “*HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN*.”

In all, having high status is something desirable, and because good is up, desirable status is also up. The centrality of the vertical metaphor in our conceptualization of status is easy to notice when looking at the naming of these metaphors—even there we seem not to manage without the vertical metaphor, as it seems impossible to call status anything other than high or low (e.g., good or bad). The large number of vertical expressions related to status in our material also shows the importance of this conceptualization in Russian and French.

“GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN”

For Lakoff and Johnson the metaphor “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*” is a metaphor for comparing performances and circumstances. They give these examples: “*Things are looking up,*” “*We hit a peak last year, but it has been downhill ever since,*” “*Things are at an all-time low,*” and “*He does high-quality work*” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 16.)

In our analysis we saw it as problematic to interpret what actually is going or goes up or down in the linguistic expressions representing this metaphor. When dealing with metaphoric expressions, this movement is of course fictive (as opposed to factive, to use Talmy’s [2001] terminology). Often the conceptualization includes a level of something that is being compared to another level. When something is made higher or lower than the original level, it is understood to be made better or worse. Expressions that work this way include “*высокие оценки*” [“high grades”], “*нижесредний*” [“lower than average”], “*снизить качество*” [“to lower the quality”], “*produits de qualité inférieure*” [“products of inferior quality”], “*les symphonies de Rameau sont supérieures à celles de Lulli*” [“Rameau’s symphonies are superior to Lulli’s”]. In these expressions the desired is up and the less desired down, and what is desired is seen as good and what is not is seen as bad.

As we have seen, this cognitive metaphor is the most basic one among the “*UP–DOWN*” metaphors. The assumption that what is up is supposed to be positively valued is either directly or indirectly (through other metaphors) included in many other metaphors analyzed in this article. This is discussed in connection with each individual metaphor and when commenting on the relations between different metaphorical models.

“VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN”

Lakoff and Johnson address this metaphor with the assumption that its physical basis is that “*GOOD IS UP*” for a person and its social basis is “*SOCIETY IS A PERSON*”; in this way “*VIRTUE IS UP*” because “*virtuous actions correlate with social well-being from the society/person’s point of view*” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 17). They give the following examples: “*He is high-minded,*” “*She has high standards,*” “*She is upright,*” “*She is an upstanding*

citizen,” “That was a low trick,” “Don’t be underhanded,” “I wouldn’t stoop to that,” “That would be beneath me,” “He fell into the abyss of depravity,” and “That was a low-down thing to do.”

We agree that virtue and being up are connected. “VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN” is actually a subclass of the “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN” metaphor because being virtuous is seen as a good thing and being deprived is seen as bad. The expressions in Russian and French that can be seen as representing the “VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN” metaphor have certain words that bind them to this metaphor, the words that have to do with moral values. For example: “высоконравственный” [“highly moral”], “низко лгать” [“lie lowly”], “высокое предназначение” [“high aim”], “низкая клевета” [“low slander”], “âme haute” [“noble soul”], lit. [“high soul”]. Such words can be, and often are, described as being high or low, and indeed virtue is up in them and depravity down. It is worth noticing, however, that we do not have examples without such words. The point of view given is, indeed, that of the society that has certain standards for virtue. The fact that these standards are estimated on the scale of up and down is clearly also related to the Christian tradition and its standards, and among others the ideas of the locations of heaven and hell. A clear example is found in our French material: “C’est par Jésus que tous nous pouvons ascendre vers l’Esprit pur” (G) [“It is through Jesus that we all can ascend toward the pure Spirit”]. Even when assessing the examples given by Lakoff and Johnson, one can notice that this applies to most of them as well. Furthermore, even in the cases where such a word does not exist, as in “She is upright,” the way she is characterized does include a kind of ellipsis: the way that she is seen as “upright” includes comparison with other people, as if saying “She is an upright person.” In this way, it is indeed the society’s point of view as setting the standards for being virtuous, and society is really seen as a kind of human-like actor with one will and one set of norms and standards.

“RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL/NONRATIONAL IS DOWN”

The 10th “UP–DOWN” metaphor suggested by Lakoff and Johnson is “RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 17). The same metaphor is called “RATIONAL IS UP; NONRATIONAL IS DOWN” by Zoltán Kövecses (2002, p. 36), and we find this a more appropriate name because nonrational is not always emotional. The examples given by Lakoff and Johnson are “The discussion fell to the emotional level, but I raised it back up to the rational plane,” “We put our feelings aside and had a high-level intellectual discussion of the matter,” and “He couldn’t rise above his emotions” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 17.) These examples evoke immediate protest. Talking about emotional and rational levels is a clear case in which rational can be seen as being up and emotional down. Nevertheless, why should falling and rising and the levels involved not be interpreted simply as “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN”? Thinking about different levels of conversation, is it really meaningful in these cases to assume that rationality and emotionality (or nonrationality) are present in them rather than assuming that higher levels of conversation are simply better? Lakoff and Johnson explain the physical and cultural basis of this metaphor as having to do with the control that humans as rational beings have over nonrational beings such as animals (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 17).

In our material, the expressions that can be seen to represent this metaphor have the image of falling from the rational plane to a nonrational level. For example: “впадать в панику” [“fall

into a panic”, “*падать в объятия*” [“*fall into someone’s arms*”], “*tomber amoureux*” [“*to fall in love*”] (the last two conceptualized also as “*HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN*” because when you fall in love or into a hug you lose some of the control and become subject to being hugged or the emotional state of love). In these cases the rational human being falls into the nonrational states of panic, intensive hugging, or love. Even in these cases it is not, in our opinion, necessary to see the conceptualization exactly as “*RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN*”; if any clarifications are needed to the “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*” metaphor, the special nature of these cases is better explained by assuming the submetaphor to be “*HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN.*” The states (seen as containers) that are fallen into put the human being into a position over which he or she does not have control. Contradictory to the metaphor “*RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN*” is the expression “*спуститься с облаков*” [start thinking rationally], lit. [“*get down from the clouds*”]. This is in correlation with English expressions such as “*in seventh heaven,*” and this time it is nonrational that is up and rational down (on the ground level). Quite interestingly, in the French example “*le chef est drôlement remonté*” [the boss is in a really foul mood], lit. [“*the boss funnily went up*”], it is the emotional level that is actually up.

So, the metaphor “*RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN*” does not seem to be an important one in our material and can often be replaced by other, more significant metaphors. In a more fine-grained metaphor analysis this category can, however, prove to be useful.

After analyzing the 10 vertical metaphors proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), it is worth noting that their categories were not sufficient for the classification of all the metaphorical expressions in our material. On closer examination, certain patterns started to emerge. The following five classes are based on these observations.

“*COMPLEX IS UP; SIMPLE IS DOWN*”

The metaphor “*COMPLEX IS UP; SIMPLE IS DOWN*” is the first addition we suggest to the list of “*UP-DOWN*” metaphors proposed by Lakoff and Johnson. In our material, we noticed that complex things are often described as being high (or up) and simple things are described as being low (or down). Typical examples are related to the level of knowledge, competence, education, or development. We argue that the adjective “*высокообразованный*” [“*highly educated*”] illustrates a conceptualization according to which the level of education is considered as complex. It could be said that this is an example of the metaphor “*MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN,*” and “*highly educated*” would refer to a person who has studied a lot. However we find this implausible because even if someone studied for many diplomas in lower-level institutions, he or she would not be called highly educated. In our opinion, higher education specifically refers to the complexity of knowledge acquired at the institution. Examples of this type are also closely related to the metaphor “*HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN*” (and were doubly classified as such in our study) because higher education is typically highly regarded.

The examples “*нижний тип животных,*” [“*lower type of animals*”] and “*нижние растения,*” [“*lower type of plants*”], lit. [“*lower plants*”] demonstrate a conceptualization of more complex organisms as being higher organisms and simpler organisms as being lower

organisms. According to *Le Petit Robert* (1996), “*terme inférieur*” is a philosophical or mathematical concept that means [a less complex term/inferior term], which is a direct example of the conceptualization “SIMPLE IS DOWN.”

As so many of the metaphorical models presented so far, the metaphor “COMPLEX IS UP; SIMPLE IS DOWN” is a subclass of a more general metaphor, “GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN.” Usually, complex things are regarded more highly than simple ones and they have a better status.

“REMOTENESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN”

The metaphor “REMOTENESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN”⁴ represents a construal according to which things that are far away are up and those that are close to us are down. The physical basis for this conceptualization is that we cannot reach very high up but we are usually able to grasp things that are in a lower position. Examples in our material show how being down is understood as physical proximity: “*нод Москвой*” [near Moscow], lit. [“under Moscow”]; “*Il triche sous le nez du professeur*” [“He cheats under the nose of the professor”]; “*нод рукаму*” [close to hand], lit. [“under hands”]. These expressions are also classified as representing the conceptual metaphor “HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN,” which shows the close connection between being reachable and being under control.

In this metaphorical model, proximity is not restricted to physical proximity: our material shows that the vertical axis can be used in relation to time as well, for example, “*нод воскресенье*” [before Sunday], lit. [“to under Sunday”]; “*нод праздник*” [before the feast], lit. [“to under the feast”]. These examples were given earlier in this article when we were discussing the “FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)” metaphor. The reason why we do not see them as giving evidence of such conceptualization as suggested by Lakoff and Johnson should be clear now. Not only is the direction given in them the opposite, but also the dominant factor in seeing these as being under something is the fact of the events being close.

This metaphorical model is, however, not totally consistent. In some cases, proximity can also be characterized as being up, especially with the Russian preposition *над* [over]: “*Дом стоял над озером*,” [“the house stood over the lake”]. In this example the use of the preposition *над* requires that the house be both higher than the lake—for example, standing on a slope—and situated close to the lake.

The metaphor “REMOTENESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN” is one of the rare metaphors detected in the material that does not seem to be consistent with the metaphor “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN”. Being close or far away has no systematic mappings with positive and negative evaluations. Whether proximity is considered a good or a bad thing always depends on the situation.

⁴The metaphor of being close has a wider connection to different kinds of similarity—in space (being physically close), in time, and in characteristics. This “SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS” metaphor, discussed in research literature (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 51), has as one of its subclassifications the metaphorical model “REMOTENESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN.”

“ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN”

In *“ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN,”* when something comes up or is raised, it becomes active. For example, *“поднять восстание”* [*“to rise in rebellion”*], lit. [*“to raise a rebellion”*]; *“поднять сына в школу”* [*“wake up the son for school”*], lit. [*“to raise the son to school”*]; *“se lever tôt”* [*“to wake up early”*]; *“подняться после болезни”* [*“get up after the illness”*]; *“поднять сельское хозяйство”* [*“get the agriculture up on its feet again”*], lit. [*“raise the agriculture”*].

The experiential basis of the metaphor *“ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN”* is rooted in our bodily experience of the law of gravity. We all know that getting up requires some effort, whereas lying down does not. Therefore, one needs to be active to stay up, and active functioning happens in the upright position, whereas lying down one easily falls asleep. In many studies (Fillmore, 1982; Heine, 1997; Levinson, 2003; Vandeloise, 2004; to name but a few), expressions of location on a vertical axis have been found to be anthropocentric. A vertical posture is typically perceived through the canonical human erect posture. This can be seen in many languages that use body parts to denote *up* and *down*. According to Heine (1997, pp. 40–41), many African and Oceanic languages use *“head”* for *up* and *“foot,” “leg,”* or *“buttock”* for *down*.

The metaphor *“ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN”* is one of the basic vertical metaphors. Many of the vertical metaphors discussed in this article are related to this category. In Lakoff and Johnson (1980), illness and recovering from it were treated as cases of the *“HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN”* metaphor (see earlier in this article). On the basis of our material we thought it fitter to call this conceptualization by the more general name *“ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN”*. In our opinion, being ill and recovering from illness is just one case of differentiating between an active state that is up and a passive state that is down. Furthermore, the metaphor *“HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN”* could be replaced by the metaphor *“ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN.”* Positive emotions are not always up and negative down, but rather it is the activeness of the person in question that matters. Often positive emotions such as joy are related to physical activity (bouncing, running around, laughing), and negative emotions such as being depressed are related to passive behaviour. As we have seen with the example *“to be keyed up,”* this is not always the case. Being nervous is not considered a good thing, yet it is conceptualized as being up. This expression may thus be classified more accurately as representing the category *“ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN.”*

“DETECTABLE IS UP; UNDETECTABLE IS DOWN”

The metaphor *“DETECTABLE IS UP; UNDETECTABLE IS DOWN”* is in our opinion an important addition to the *“UP–DOWN”* metaphors mentioned by Lakoff and Johnson. They do mention (1980, p. 20) the metaphor *“UNKNOWN IS UP; KNOWN IS DOWN,”* which, at first sight, seems to be contradictory to the model we have found. The examples they give are *“That’s up in the air”* and *“The matter is settled.”* We assume that this conceptualization suggested by Lakoff and Johnson could also be verified with such notions as *“writing down”*. In these examples the vertical movement goes in the opposite direction compared to the metaphorical model found here.

According to our material, the things that can be seen or noticed are up, and the ones that cannot be seen are down. Examples of this kind of conceptualization are, first, *“поднять*

вопрос о чем-л“ [“raise the question”], “поднять архивы” [“bring up the archives”], “la vérité finissait par émerger” [“the truth finally emerged”], “опустить подробности” [“leave out the details”], lit. [“let down the details”], “Тропинка ныряла под уклон” [“the path went down the slope (so that it could no longer be seen)”], lit. [“the path dived to under the slope”]. In all these examples the things that are up or are taken up are active and can be seen and the ones that are down cannot be seen. Furthermore, undetectable things can be made detectable by raising them. Somewhat different examples are some Russian verbs with the prefix *pod-* [under], like “подбросить” [“throw out secretly”], lit. [“throw under”], or “подкопаться под врагом” [“conspire against the enemy”], lit. [“dig under the enemy”]. In these expressions the things done in secret are down somewhere and out of sight.

The metaphor “DETECTABLE IS UP; UNDETECTABLE IS DOWN” is a subclass of ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN”. When something comes up or is raised, it not only becomes noticeable but also becomes active. For example, in “Флот поднялся за зиму” [“the navy was raised in one winter”], the formerly non-existent navy becomes noticeable, but it also becomes active in the sense that it is capable of joining battle.

“NONDELIBERATE CHOICE IS FALLING ON SOMETHING”

The metaphor “NON-DELIBERATE CHOICE IS FALLING ON SOMETHING” explains some cases of falling that cannot be explained otherwise. This is the case when “falling on” something means that this thing is selected, and the implication is that the selection is made without much accuracy. For example, “взгляд падает на входящего” [“the gaze falls on the incoming person”], “выбор падает на спортсмена-перворазрядника” [“the first-rank sportsman is selected”], lit. [“the selection falls on the first-rank sportsman”]. The same metaphor can be found in the French “ça tombe bien,” which is used when someone coincidentally runs into something positive. This metaphorical model is fully dependent on one verb, namely *fall* (or *tomber/падать*).

DISCUSSION

On the basis of this research, the relationship between different vertical metaphors can be represented in the form of Figure 1.

The hierarchical relationships provided in Figure 1 were tested expression by expression. The size of each box roughly depicts the importance and frequency of the particular metaphor in our material. The broad black outline of a box is used to denote the metaphorical models of high importance. The thin black outline is used for the metaphors of medium importance, and the gray color for the metaphors that could be replaced by other, more central metaphors. When a metaphor is placed inside a box representing another metaphor, the former represents a subcategory of the latter one. The submetaphors are consistent with the metaphors above them in the hierarchy. If one conceptual metaphor has several submetaphors, these submetaphors are consistent only with the higher metaphor, not necessarily among themselves. Partial overlapping of the boxes is used in cases where we have expressions with dual classifications belonging to both metaphorical models. We believe that there is a conceptual connection between the overlapping categories, but this should be further tested in future research.

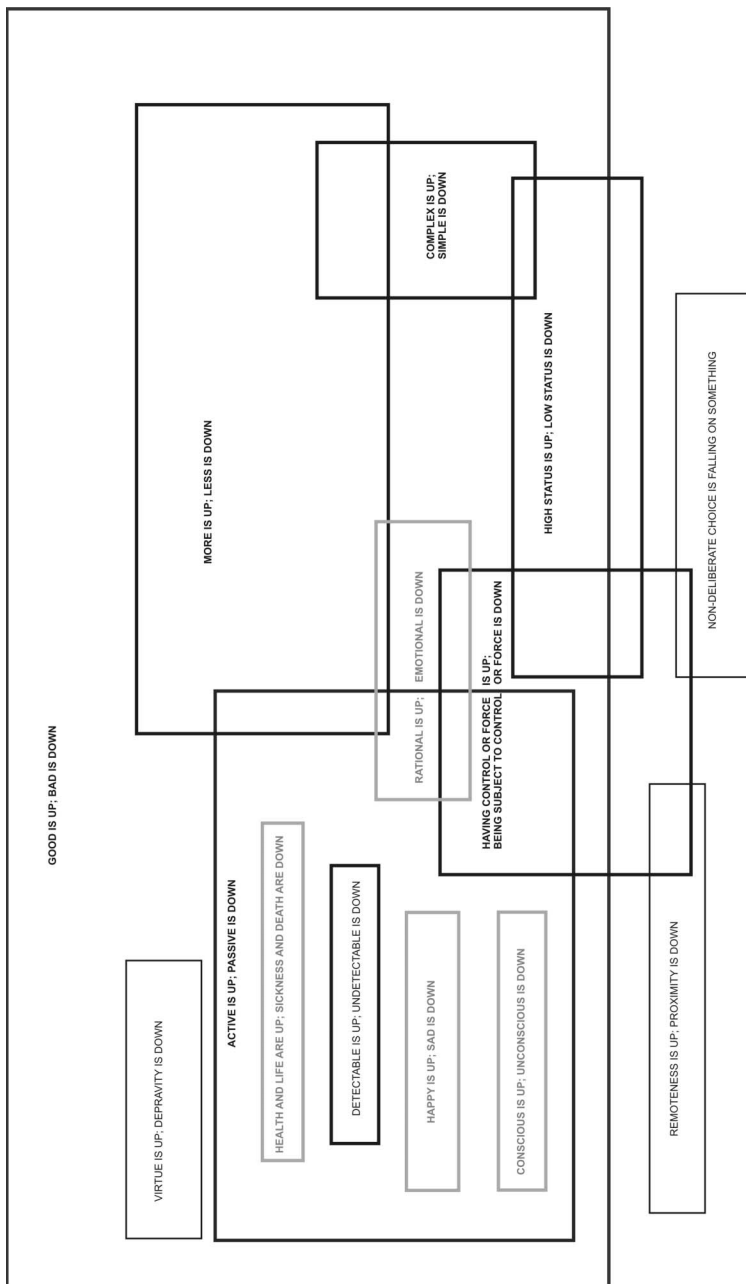


FIGURE 1 Hierarchical relationships between vertical metaphors.

The first thing we can say about the metaphorical models dealt with in this article is that they are far from being equal. They are not equal in number and may not be equal in their evidential power, but even more important, they are not equal in how independent the conceptualizations they represent are from one another. The relationships between them presented in Figure 1 suggest that the way various things are conceptualized in Russian and French with the help of notions of vertical movement is for the most part built with the help of the conceptual metaphor “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN.” Inside it there are important subcategories of vertical metaphors, namely “MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN,” “ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN,” “HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN,” “HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN,” and “COMPLEX IS UP; SIMPLE IS DOWN”. These subcategories permit a more detailed analysis of metaphorical expressions than their upper level category “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN” alone would. Even though the metaphors “VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN,” “REMOTENESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN,” and “NONDELIBERATE CHOICE IS FALLING ON SOMETHING” do not seem to be as important as the aforementioned metaphors, they proved to be useful in the analysis of our material. However, the metaphors “HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN,” “HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN,” “CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN,” and “RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN” were not so well represented in our material as to justify treating them as central models of conceptualization. We would rather describe them as subcategories of subcategories of vertical metaphors in Russian and French.

Not all vertical expressions were classified as belonging to subclasses of the metaphor “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN.” The metaphors “REMOTENESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN” and “NONDELIBERATE CHOICE IS FALLING ON SOMETHING” are not coherent with it. In addition to this, some expressions representing the metaphors “HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN” and “HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN” are not readily classifiable under the category of “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN” (although most of them are). This is illustrated in Figure 1 by the fact that the outlines of the boxes of these metaphors partially extend over the borders of “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN.”

CONCLUSION

In this article we have studied Russian and French metaphoric expressions on a vertical axis. On the basis of empirical material drawn from dictionary entries, enriched by examples found by Google, we hope to have shown that there is no reason to assume that the list of “UP–DOWN” metaphors provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is conclusive. We have proposed five additional conceptual metaphors to be better able to classify different vertical movement expressions in Russian and French material. These conceptual metaphors include “COMPLEX IS UP; SIMPLE IS DOWN,” “REMOTENESS IS UP; PROXIMITY IS DOWN,” “DETECTABLE IS UP; UNDETECTABLE IS DOWN,” “ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN,” and “NONDELIBERATE CHOICE IS FALLING ON SOMETHING.”

We have also discussed the relations between different vertical metaphors and concluded that not all of them are equally important. Most of the metaphoric models seem to be consistent with the conceptual metaphor “GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN,” which suggests that this conceptual-

ization is especially important. Other important metaphors are “*HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN*” and “*MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN*.” However, the metaphors “*HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN*,” “*CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN*,” “*HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN*,” and “*RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL/NONRATIONAL IS DOWN*” could be replaced by other metaphoric models, namely “*ACTIVE IS UP; PASSIVE IS DOWN*,” “*HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN*,” and “*GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN*.” Furthermore, we did not find any pure examples of the metaphor “*FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)*” in our material. It seems that this conceptual metaphor is English specific. A hierarchical chart is proposed to illustrate the relationships between different “*UP-DOWN*” metaphors in a more detailed manner. In many cases the boundaries between metaphors are not clear cut, but rather fuzzy and partially overlapping. Therefore, permitting dual classifications is sometimes more fruitful than trying to “force” metaphoric expressions into neat categories. The tendency for overlapping metaphorical models may be connected with the way we use the vertical axis in our conceptualization. This hypothesis should be further tested in future research.

Our study has reinforced some of the metaphorical categories proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) almost 30 years ago. We have been able to clarify the connections between the metaphorical models suggested by them, and also to comment on metaphors they have mentioned only in passing. On the basis of our empirical analysis of Russian and French material, we have proposed some changes that complete the list given by Lakoff and Johnson, including the replacement of five categories of vertical metaphors with new ones.

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