

Metaphors for Language in English, German and Croatian: Language as Mirror, Window and Path

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**Metaphors for Language in English, German and Croatian:
Language as Mirror, Window and Path**

Diplomski rad

Prof. dr. sc. Mario Brdar

Osijek, 2013.

DEDICATION

to my loving parents, whose criticism and helpfulness made me a better person,

and

to my future husband who is always there for me.

Experientia docet.

(Experience teaches.)

SUMMARY

This paper explains the definition of the conceptual metaphor in general, as well as the three traditional approaches to metaphor: the so-called substitution view of metaphor, comparison view of metaphor and cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor. Those facts are then applied to the conceptual metaphors "Language is Mirror", "Language is Window" and "Language is Path". Each metaphor's existence is shown in the English, as well as German and Croatian language with the help of ample example sentences. The example sentences show how the metaphors are actually used in those languages. The comparison between those three languages proves that the conceptual metaphors "Language is Mirror", "Language is Window" and "Language is Path" is a cross-linguistically valid conceptual metaphor. It is also presented how different cultures, to which different languages belong, also affect the way of thinking, and as a consequence of that, conceptual metaphors, as well.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, language, mirror, window, path

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1. Introduction

This paper explains the conceptual metaphors in general, including the traditional views to metaphor, as well as the mapping process. Further on, the specific conceptual metaphors, i.e. "Language is Mirror", "Language is Window" and "Language is Path", are explained and exemplified. Those metaphors are presented in three languages, English, German and Croatian, and it is proven that they are cross-linguistically valid. This was done by providing ample example sentences, which confirm that those metaphors are a part of those three languages. In the end, the effects of culture on language are described, as well. This of course suggests that culture must have an impact on metaphors, as a part of the language.

2. Traditional approaches to metaphor

2.1. The so-called Substitution View of Metaphor

Greek word metaphor means transfer, i.e. metaphor is the transfer of the meaning of one expression to another expression. I. A. Richards uses three terms to describe metaphors: vehicle, tenor and ground. Vehicle is the item used metaphorically, tenor is the metaphorical meaning of the vehicle and ground is the basis for the metaphorical extension or the common elements of meaning, which license the metaphor. In the example "sunny smile", vehicle (or the image) is "sun", tenor (or the sense) is "cheerful, warm, happy, bright" and ground is the parallel between meteorological conditions and human disposition.

2.2. Comparison View of Metaphor

Metaphor is described as the projection of the conceptual structure appropriate to a familiar field onto a different and less familiar field. Metaphor depends for its effectiveness on a sufficient resemblance between the two fields for the projection to be intelligible. Metaphors are often considered to be shortened similes, i.e. two entities are compared but there are no function words making the comparison explicit. That can be clearly seen in the following example: "Her words stabbed at my heart."

2.3. Cognitive Linguistic Approach to Metaphor

There are three principal claims that can be found in Lakoff and Johnson's book, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980):

- * metaphor is ubiquitous in ordinary language - it cannot be dismissed as a mere figure of rhetoric, confined to certain literary genres.
- * the metaphors of ordinary language display a high degree of coherence and systematicity.

* metaphor is not just a manner of speaking, it is a mode of thought; the concepts that metaphorical expressions designate are themselves structured in terms of metaphor.

In other words, "conceptual metaphor, or cognitive metaphor, refers to the understanding of one idea, or conceptual domain, in terms of another, for example, understanding quantity in terms of directionality (e.g. "prices are rising"). A conceptual domain can be any coherent organization of human experience. The regularity with which different languages employ the same metaphors, which often appears to be perceptually based, has led to the hypothesis that the mapping between conceptual domains corresponds to neural mappings in the brain." This idea, and a detailed examination of the underlying processes, was first extensively explored by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their work *Metaphors We Live By*. Other cognitive scientists study subjects similar to conceptual metaphor under the labels "analogy" and "conceptual blending".¹

2.3.1. Mappings

Metaphor involves a mapping relation (the placing of two sets and their members in correspondence with each other) between two domains (more precisely, between elements in two domains). The source domain is actually the traditional notion of the metaphorically used element (vehicle), while the target domain is equivalent to the sense of metaphorically used item (tenor). When we talk about conceptual metaphors, we can find whole sets of systematic conceptual correspondences between certain elements of the source domain and their counterparts which are elements of the target domain. These conceptual correspondences are often called mappings. E.g. for the expression of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, Lakoff and Johnson provide us with following examples:

- a. Look how far we've come.
- b. It's been a long, bumpy road.
- c. We can't turn back now.
- d. We're at a crossroads. etc.

¹ *Wikipedia*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

In those examples, we can find following mappings, where X is an element of the source domain and Y is an element of the target domain:

Table 1: Mappings, X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| Example | X | → | Y |
|---------|------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| a. | travellers | → | lovers |
| b. | vehicle | → | love relationship |
| c. | destination | → | purpose of the relationship |
| d. | distance covered | → | progress made in the relationship |

The source domain is concrete and can be experienced or perceived "directly", while the target domain is more abstract or concerns "subjective" experience. There are two hypotheses that must be mentioned. First of all, the Unidirectionality Hypothesis that suggests that the elements from the physical world are mapped onto the social and mental world. Metaphorical mappings are thus normally unidirectional, and the source and target are not reversible. The Invariance Hypothesis explains that the schematic structure of the target domain cannot be altered. That means that mappings must proceed in a certain direction. There are, however, cases in which the source and target can be reversed ("Human is animal"). Those are the cases of personification as a metaphorical device, i.e. anthropomorphisation or attributing human properties to other entities.

2.3.2. Language as Target Domain

The definition of language need not be presented here in much detail since this was one of the first things discussed in linguistic courses. Language is partially physical, concrete. "We must physically do something tangible to use it: we must make audible noises, use our hands to

form sign language words, or write the symbols corresponding to these noises and gestures."² On the other hand, there are a lot of processes that happen in the human mind while using a language. That means that "language is both concrete and abstract, just as it is both innate and cultural. We apparently have a built-in cognitive ability (or group of abilities) which allows us to acquire language naturally if exposed to it."³ As Sweetser puts it, a speech exchange is the closest we can come to a "meeting of minds". This is exactly what is happening when we talk about conceptual metaphors. We have an abstract domain that is put in words with the help of a more concrete domain.

If we think of language as target domain, there are three subgroups we have to consider. Those are: "(i) articulation and speech organs, (ii) linguistic action, and (iii) basic linguistic units."⁴ Some of the expressions denoting articulation and speech organs are "voice" and "tongue". They are often used to describe modes of speaking and language. "Expressions denoting linguistic action such as *speak* are also commonly used in reference to language. ... Expressions denoting basic linguistic units such as *word* are less frequently used in the sense of 'language.' Examples include Tagalog *salit*> 'word, language,' Japanese *kotaba* 'word, language,' and Basque *hizkuntza*, which is composed of *hitz* 'word' and the noun-forming suffix *-kuntza* and may thus be glossed as something like 'word-activity.'"⁵

In the following chapters we will see what can be the source domain for each of the metaphors: "Language is Mirror", "Language is Window" and "Language is Path" in the English, German and Croatian language.

² Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*", *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

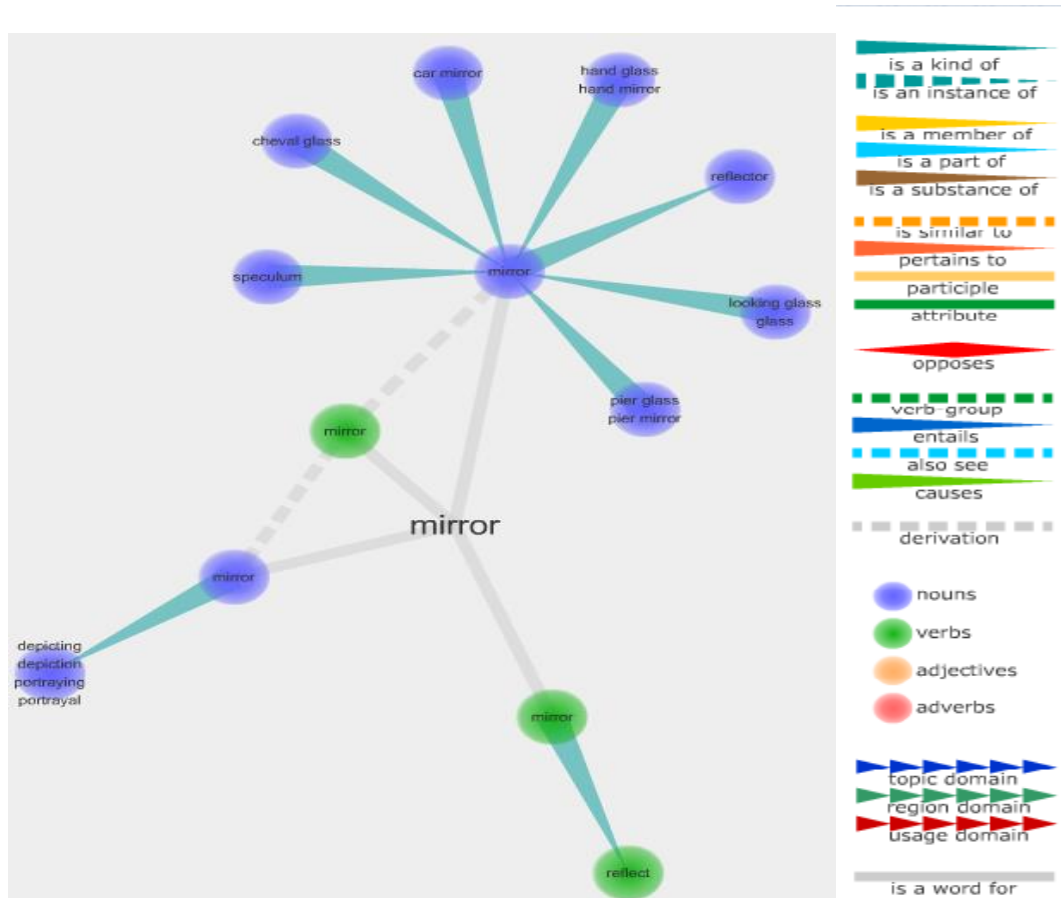
³ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*", *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

⁴ G. Radden. *The Folk Model of Language*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁵ G. Radden. *The Folk Model of Language*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

3. “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR” as Conceptual Metaphor

Etymologically, the noun “mirror” originates from Old French word “mireoir” from the early 13th century, meaning “a reflecting glass, looking glass; observation, model, example”. Figurative use is attested from the 14th century. “Used in divination since classical and biblical times; mirrors in modern England are the subject of at least 14 known superstitions, according to folklorists. Belief that breaking one brings bad luck is attested from 1777.”⁶



Picture 1: Mirror, graphical meaning and associations with other words and concepts (VISUWORDSTM Online graphical dictionary. Web. 22 Dec 2012 <<http://www.visuwords.com>>)

⁶ D. Harper. *Online Etymology Dictionary*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

When we talk about the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR”, there are numerous examples that represent the relationship between those two domains. Some of them are mentioned below. First of all, when thinking about this conceptual metaphor, some of the first questions that crossed my mind were: “What does connect a mirror and a language?”, “What can a mirror do?”, “Can a language do the same as the mirror?”. While seeking for the examples of this conceptual metaphor, the corpuses of English language were searched. First of all, I tried to find the words and phrases that appear most frequently with the word “mirror”. Some of the verbs that can be found in those examples are: to reflect, to imitate, to reverse, to revert, to show, to follow, to depict, to portray, to copy, to illustrate, to personify, to replicate, to resemble, to take after. After that, I tried to find some example sentences that connect the words found or phrases with “language” as the target domain.

In the table below (Table 2), there are shown the most frequent mappings concerning the Conceptual Metaphor "Language is Mirror".

Table 2: Mappings of the Conceptual Metaphor "LANGUAGE IS MIRROR", X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| X | → | Y |
|-------------|----------|-------------------|
| Reflection | → | Conceptualization |
| Reflection | → | Language |
| Imitation | → | |
| Reversion | → | |
| Reverting | → | |
| Indicator | → | |
| Follower | → | |
| Portrayal | → | |
| Copier | → | |
| Illustrator | → | |
| Personifier | → | |
| Replication | → | |

| | | |
|---------------|---|-------------|
| Resemblance | → | |
| Transformator | → | |
| Renderer | → | Linguistics |
| Appearance | → | Polysemy |
| Divergion | → | Words |

The examples of the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR” are mentioned below.

(1) “The ways in which language *reflects* culture are often subtle, based on anecdotal case-studies, and vary greatly from language to language.”⁷

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REFLECTION)

(2) “Language that *imitates* sounds is called onomatopoeia.”⁸

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS IMITATION)

(3) “Aymara language *reverses* future and past”⁹

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REVERSION)

(4) “Language *reverts* back to the primary language at the end of the element.”¹⁰

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REVERTING)

(5) “How to tell if someone’s body language *shows* they’re lying?”¹¹

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS INDICATOR)

(6) “Language *follows* brain penumbra dynamics”¹²

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS FOLLOWER)

(7) “The French language *depicts* more of romance and has its base from the Latin.”¹³

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REFLECTION)

⁷ Answers. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁸ ARMOREDPENGUIN.COM. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁹ kittyradio. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹⁰ Indiana University. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹¹ WonderHowTo. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹² Wiley Online Library. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹³ MAXUPDATES. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(8) “In Act 1, Scene 1, Romeo's language *portrays* Romeo's feeling that women are tormentors and love is a torment.”¹⁴

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS PORTRAYAL)

(9) “In any particular situation, you have to know whether the language *copies* the reference to an object, or makes a shallow copy of the object, or makes a deep copy.”¹⁵

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS COPIER)

(10) “Everyday language *illustrates* theological ideas.”¹⁶

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS ILLUSTRATOR)

(11) “To me, this shows how language *personifies* who we are and how we perceive the world.”¹⁷

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS PERSONIFIER)

(12) “This language *replicates* language that was added to the Truth in Lending Act by the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2010.”¹⁸

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REPLICATION)

(13) “What language *resembles* Spanish the most?”¹⁹

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS RESEMBLANCE)

(14) “Their language *takes after* Basque.”²⁰

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS RESEMBLANCE)

(15) “It will be shown that language is not so much conceived of as an object but as the speaking subject's activity and that it is predominantly metaphorized as a fluid-reflecting the underlying idea that what the speaker has in mind/heart (without being 'poured' into some kind of receptacle) *transforms* itself into language.”²¹

¹⁴ eNotes. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹⁵ University of Bristol. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹⁶ The Free Library. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹⁷ SpanishDict. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹⁸ Appraisal Institute. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹⁹ kgb answers. Web. 22 Dec 2012

²⁰ De Gruyter, M. (1996) "Language Contact in the Arctic: Northern Pidgins and Contact Languages" New York, M. de Gruyter

²¹ Ikegami, Y. (2003) "The Conceptualization of Language in Japanese", Tokyo, Showa Women's University

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS TRANSFORMATOR)

(16) “Thus, linguistics *is rendered* as *gengogaku* in Japanese...”²²

(Submetaphor: LINGUISTICS IS RENDERER)

(17) “The newly emerged synonymous words for 'saying, speech', *kotonoha* and *kotoba*, soon started to *diverge* stylistically.”²³

(Submetaphor: WORDS ARE DIVERGION)

(18) “While *koto*'s polysemy may at first sight *appear* to be puzzling to the modern mind, it is in fact a familiar one commonly observed in the early stages of human culture.”²⁴

(Submetaphor: POLYSEMY IS APPEARANCE)

(19) “It may well be expected that such a conceptualization *is reflected* in the way language is metaphorized.”²⁵

(Submetaphor: CONCEPTUALIZATION IS REFLECTION)

(20) “Language simultaneously *reflects* culture...”²⁶

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REFLECTION)

(21) “...the primary function of language is for the speaker to *express* him/herself properly rather than for the hearer to be properly communicated with.”²⁷

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS EXPRESSION)

²² Ikegami, Y. (2003) *"The Conceptualization of Language in Japanese"*, Tokyo, Showa Women's University

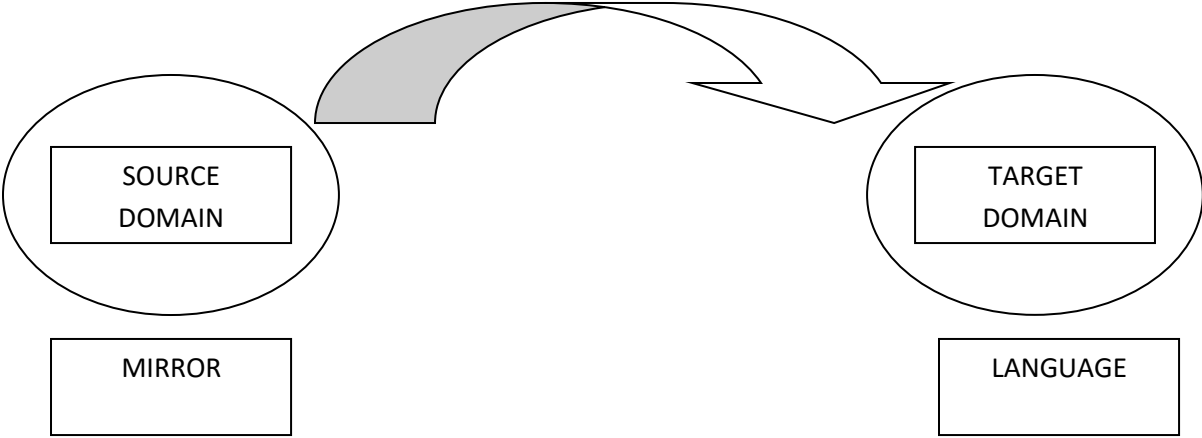
²³ Ikegami, Y. (2003) *"The Conceptualization of Language in Japanese"*, Tokyo, Showa Women's University

²⁴ Ikegami, Y. (2003) *"The Conceptualization of Language in Japanese"*, Tokyo, Showa Women's University

²⁵ Ikegami, Y. (2003) *"The Conceptualization of Language in Japanese"*, Tokyo, Showa Women's University

²⁶ Jiang, W. (2000) *"The relationship between culture and language"*, *ELT Journal* 54/4:328-334

²⁷ Ikegami, Y. (2003) *"The Conceptualization of Language in Japanese"*, Tokyo, Showa Women's University



Picture 2: Conceptual metaphor "LANGUAGE IS MIRROR", graphical representation

3.1. “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR” in German

If we look for the etymology of the German term for *mirror*, i.e. *der Spiegel*, we come across the following facts: this word originates from the Middle High German word *spiegel* and if we go further to etymology of that word, we come to Old Latin verb *specere*, meaning *to see*.

For the current linguistic theory, the mirror doesn't seem to be a particularly attractive symbol of language, but rather a historically outdated. The so-called theory of reflection (*Widerspiegelungstheorie*), i.e. the view that a reality saturated reflection of the world can be created at the level of linguistic signs and statements, makes mirrors seem to be a very effective cognitive means of objectification. Mirror images depict their objects according to fixed optical laws. We have to ask ourselves, what it actually is what we mean when we speak of a reflection of the world in thought or in the language and which role the perceiving subjects play in such processes. It is noted in all phenomenological statements about mirrors that they are connected in a constitutive way with the human sense of sight. Especially in the analysis of cognitive processes, we constantly make metaphorical reference to the sense of sight. The mirror, as well as the language in its actual use, occurs as a standalone experience phenomenon all the way back behind his medial function, i.e. to allow people to recall something else. Mirror and language are visible as separate dimensions, only then when they no longer function as expected.

The process of searching for the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR” or “SPRACHE IST SPIEGEL” in the German language was the same as the one in the English language. In the German language, some of the verbs that embody the conceptual metaphor “Language is Mirror” are: *reflektieren* (to reflect), *imitieren* (to imitate), *zeigen* (to show), *folgen* (to follow), *abbilden* (to depict), *schildern* (to illustrate), *verkörpern* (to personify), *personifizieren* (to personify), *ähneln* (to resemble), *spiegeln* (to mirror), *repräsentieren* (to represent), *abspiegeln* (to reflect), and *verdoppeln* (to double).

Table 3: Mappings of the Conceptual Metaphor "Sprache ist Spiegel", X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| X | → | Y |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| Widerspiegelung (Reflection) | → | Ausdruck (Expression) |
| Spiegel (Reflection) | → | Grammatische Zeichen (Grammatical characters) |
| Darstellung (Representation) | → | Satz (Sentence) |
| Modell (Model) | → | |
| Reflexion (Reflection) | → | |
| Widerspiegelung (Reflection) | → | |
| Reflexion (Reflection) | → | |
| Imitation (Imitation) | → | |
| Indikator (Indicator) | → | Sprache (Language) |
| Folger (Follower) | → | |
| Abbildung (Depiction) | → | |
| Schilder (Illustrator) | → | |
| Verkörperung (Personifier) | → | |
| Personifikation (Personification) | → | |
| Ähnlichkeit (Resemblance) | → | |
| Abbildung (Reflection) | → | |
| Widerspiegelung (Mirror) | → | |

The example sentences are given below:

(22) „Sprache *reflektiert* nicht nur soziale Beziehungen, sondern konstruiert diese auch mit.“²⁸

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST REFLEXION)

(Language does not only *reflect* the social relationships, but it also creates them.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REFLECTION)

(23) „Die Sprache *imitiert* bewusst den Schulaufsatz-Stil eines Zwölfjährigen und ist gespickt mit Helvetismen.“²⁹

²⁸ www.migrazine.at. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST IMITATION)

(The language consciously *imitates* the school essay-style of a twelve year old and is full of Helvetisms.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS IMITATION)

(24) “Die spanische Sprache *zeigt* weltweit mehr und mehr Präsenz.”³⁰

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST INDIKATOR)

(The Spanish language *shows* its presence on the global level more and more.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS INDICATOR)

(25) „Die Sprache *folgt* der Geisteshaltung.“³¹

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST FOLGER)

(The language *follows* the mentality.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS FOLLOWER)

(26) “Die Sprache *bildet* nicht etwa eine schon vorher vorhandene Wirklichkeit *ab*, sondern gliedert sie in einer ganz bestimmten Weise.”³²

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST ABBILDUNG)

(The language does not *depict* a pre-existing reality, but the language divides it in a very specific way.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS DEPICTION)

(27) “Mit bildhafter Sprache *schildert* sie, wie sie die Zeit empfunden hat.”³³

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST SCHILDER)

(By using the figurative language, she *illustrates* how she sensed the time.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS ILLUSTRATOR)

(28) “Jede Sprache *verkörpert* eine ganz spezifische Sicht der Dinge.”³⁴

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST VERKÖRPERUNG)

(Every language *personifies* a very specific point of view.)

²⁹ Wikipedia. Web. 22 Dec 2012

³⁰ Spanish in Tour. Web. 22 Dec 2012

³¹ OÖNachrichten. Web. 22 Dec 2012

³² Bollnow, O. F. (1969) "Sprache und Erziehung", Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer

³³ TRIGA - Der Verlag Gerlinde Heß. Web. 22 Dec 2012

³⁴ Pfister Group International. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS PERSONIFIER)

(29) „Die dichterische Sprache *personifiziert* die Dinge und Ereignisse.“³⁵

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST PERSONIFIKATION)

(The poetic language *personifies* the things and events.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS PERSONIFICATION)

(30) “Welche Sprache *ähnel*t dem Spanisch am meisten?”³⁶

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST ÄHNLICHKEIT)

(What language *resembles* Spanish the most?)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS RESEMBLANCE)

(31) “Sprache *spiegelt* die faktisch gegebene Welt ab.“³⁷

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST SPIEGEL)

(Language *mirrors* the world made of facts.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS MIRROR)

(32) „Sprache könnte als *Spiegel* für die adäquate Abspiegelung der Realität verstanden werden.“³⁸

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST REFLEXION)

(Language could be interpreted as *the mirror* for the adequate *reflection* of the reality.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REFLECTION)

(33) „Der Satz ist *ein Bild der Wirklichkeit*.“³⁹

(Submetaphor: SATZ IST DARSTELLUNG)

(The sentence is *a picture of reality*.)

(Submetaphor: SENTENCE IS REPRESENTATION)

(34) „Der Satz ist *ein Modell der Wirklichkeit*, so wie wir sie uns denken.“⁴⁰

(Submetaphor: SATZ IST MODELL)

(The sentence is *a model of reality* as we think it is.)

³⁵ Gerber, R. (2002) "*Metaphysik des Begriffs*", BoD GmbH

³⁶ *gutefrage.net*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

³⁷ Koller, W. (2012) "*Sinnbilder für Sprache*", Berlin, De Gruyter

³⁸ Koller, W. (2012) "*Sinnbilder für Sprache*", Berlin, De Gruyter

³⁹ Koller, W. (2012) "*Sinnbilder für Sprache*", Berlin, De Gruyter

⁴⁰ Koller, W. (2012) "*Sinnbilder für Sprache*", Berlin, De Gruyter

(Submetaphor: SENTENCE IS MODEL)

(35) „Der Satz kann die logische Form nicht *darstellen*, sie *spiegelt sich* in ihm.“⁴¹

(Submetaphors: SATZ IST DARSTELLUNG, SATZ IST SPIEGEL)

(The sentence cannot *represent* the logical form, it is *reflected* in it.)

(Submetaphors: SENTENCE IS REPRESENTATION, SENTENCE IS REFLECTION)

(36) “Aber schon bei komplexen Sätzen mit Attributen und Adverbialen oder gar bei Satzgefügen, bei den Einzelaussagen durch bestimmte Konjunktionen auf metainformative Weise miteinander verknüpft werden, wird die Auffassung höchst problematisch, dass sprachliche Ordnungsstrukturen ontische symmetrisch *widerspiegeln* könnten.“⁴²

(Submetaphor: SATZ IST WIDERSPIEGELUNG)

(But already in compound sentences with attributes and adverbials, or even in complex sentences, in which the individual statements are linked by certain conjunctions in metainformative manner, it is considered to be highly problematic that linguistic order structures could symmetrically *reflect* the ontological ones.)

(Submetaphor: SENTENCE IS REFLECTION)

(37) „Die attributive syntaktische Kombination *grünes Blatt spiegelt* ontisch nicht etwas *Grünes* und ein *Blatt wider*, sondern allenfalls eine Gesamtvorstellung, die wir im Denken nachträglich analytisch in bestimmte Komponenten zerlegen können aber nicht zerlegen müssen.“⁴³

(Submetaphor: AUSDRUCK IST WIDERSPIEGELUNG)

(The attributive syntactic combination *green leaf* ontologically doesn't reflect something *green* and *a leaf*, but it *reflects* at best a general idea that we can analytically dissect later in some components during the thinking process, but we don't have to disassemble it.)

(Submetaphor: EXPRESSION IS REFLECTION)

(38) „Grammatische Zeichen *spiegeln* wohl kaum Elemente in der Welt wider, sondern allenfalls kulturelle Denkmuster bzw. individuelle Denkopoperationen...“⁴⁴

(Submetaphor: GRAMMATISCHE ZEICHEN SIND SPIEGEL)

⁴¹ Koller, W. (2012) *"Sinnbilder für Sprache"*, Berlin, De Gruyter

⁴² Koller, W. (2012) *"Sinnbilder für Sprache"*, Berlin, De Gruyter

⁴³ Koller, W. (2012) *"Sinnbilder für Sprache"*, Berlin, De Gruyter

⁴⁴ Koller, W. (2012) *"Sinnbilder für Sprache"*, Berlin, De Gruyter

(Grammatical characters hardly *reflect* the elements in the world, but they do *reflect* at best the cultural thought patterns. i.e. individual thought processes...)

(Submetaphor: GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERS ARE REFLECTION)

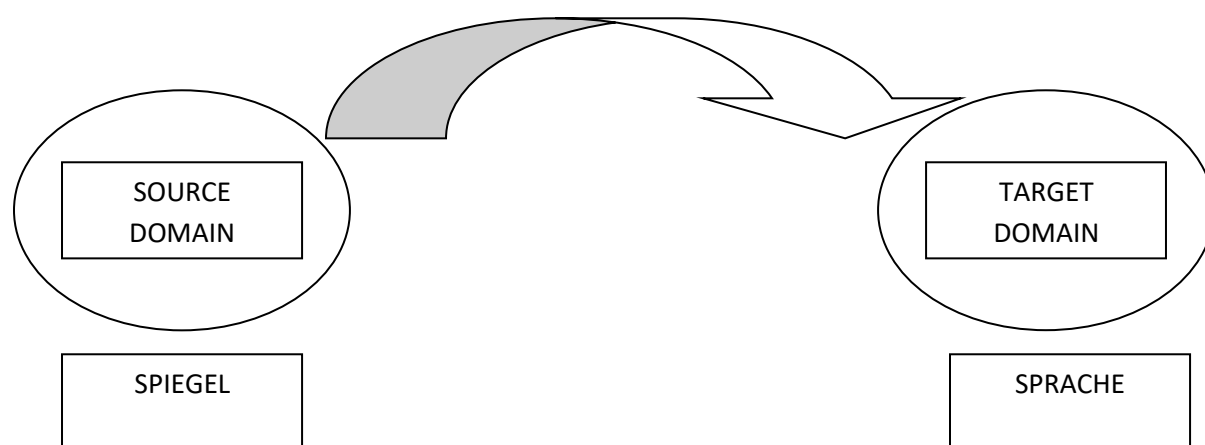
(39) „...dadurch eine Wissenschaftssprache entstehen könne, mit der sich die faktisch gegebene Welt verlässlich *abbilden* bzw. *widerspiegeln* lasse.“⁴⁵

(Submetaphors: SPRACHE IST ABBILDUNG, SPRACHE IST WIDERSPIEGELUNG)

(...through which could emerge a scientific language, by which the world made of facts can be *reflected*, i.e. *mirrored* trustworthy.)

(Submetaphors: LANGUAGE IS REFLECTION, LANGUAGE IS MIRROR)

In these examples it is shown that the Anglo-American and the German culture are quite similar. The verbs used in both languages have the same meaning and exemplify the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR”. When we compare the English literal translations of those German sentences, we can also see that the syntactic structure of the opposed sentences is very similar. It will be spoken more about the relationship of languages and culture in Section 6.



Picture 3: Conceptual metaphor "SPRACHE IST SPIEGEL", graphical representation

⁴⁵ Koller, W. (2012) "Sinnbilder für Sprache", Berlin, De Gruyter

3.2. “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR” in Croatian

As in the English and German sections for the conceptual metaphor "LANGUAGE IS MIRROR", the etymology of the word will be presented in the beginning. The Croatian term for *mirror*, *zrcalo* has the following etymology: prasl. *zьrcadlo (rus. zérkalo, češ. zrcadlo) ≈ v. *zrijeti*. There is one more term, namely *ogledalo*. This word originates from the verb *ogledati se*.

In the Croatian language, some of the verbs that embody the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR” or "JEZIK JE ZRCALO" are: *reflektirati* (to reflect), *odražavati* (to reflect), *oponašati* (to imitate), *pokazati* (to show), *oslikavati* (to depict), *portretirati* (to portray), *ilustrirati* (to illustrate), *zrcaliti* (to mirror).

Table 4: Mappings of the Conceptual Metaphor "Jezik je zrcalo", X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| X | → | Y |
|--------------------------|---|---|
| Odraz (Reflection) | → | Jezik (Language) |
| Oponašatelj (Imitator) | → | |
| Pokazatelj (Indicator) | → | |
| Oslikavanje (Depiction) | → | |
| Portret (Portrayal) | → | |
| Ilustrator (Illustrator) | → | |
| Zrcalo (Mirror) | → | Jezične funkcije (Linguistic functions) |

The example sentences are given below:

(40) „Jezik *reflektira* kulturu koja konstruira određeni jezik.“⁴⁶

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE ODRAZ)

(The language *reflects* the culture that constructs the certain language.)

⁴⁶ YPGD. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REFLECTION)

(41) “Predmet se također bavi i pitanjem kako jezik *odražava* način na koji ljudski um konceptualizira stvarnost.”⁴⁷

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE ODRAZ)

(The subject is also concerned with the question how the language *reflects* the way the human mind conceptualizes the reality.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS REFLECTION)

(42) “Jezik *oponaša* zvukove tako da ih prilagođuje svom fonemskom sustavu.”⁴⁸

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE OPONAŠATELJ)

(The language *imitates* the sounds in the way that it adjusts them to its phonemic system.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS IMITATOR)

(43) “Svaki jezik *pokazuje* mnoge različite dimenzije.”⁴⁹

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE POKAZATELJ)

(Every language *shows* many different dimensions.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS INDICATOR)

(44) “Jezik *oslikava* ličnost pojedinca i kulturu njegovog društva.”⁵⁰

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE OSLIKAVANJE)

(The language *depicts* the personality of the individual and the culture of their society.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS DEPICTION)

(45) “Sam se jezik *portretira* u riječima koje izgovaramo.”⁵¹

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE PORTRET)

(The language itself is *portrayed* in words we pronounce.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS PORTRAYAL)

(46) “Na tom putu smo još daleko, što i sam naš jezik *ilustrira*.”⁵²

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE ILUSTRATOR)

⁴⁷ Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku Filozofski fakultet. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁴⁸ Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku Filozofski fakultet. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁴⁹ Goethe Verlag. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁵⁰ antimobbing advisory network. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁵¹ Srednja škola Pakrac. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁵² FORUM.HR. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(We are still far away on that road, what our language itself can *illustrate*.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS ILLUSTRATOR)

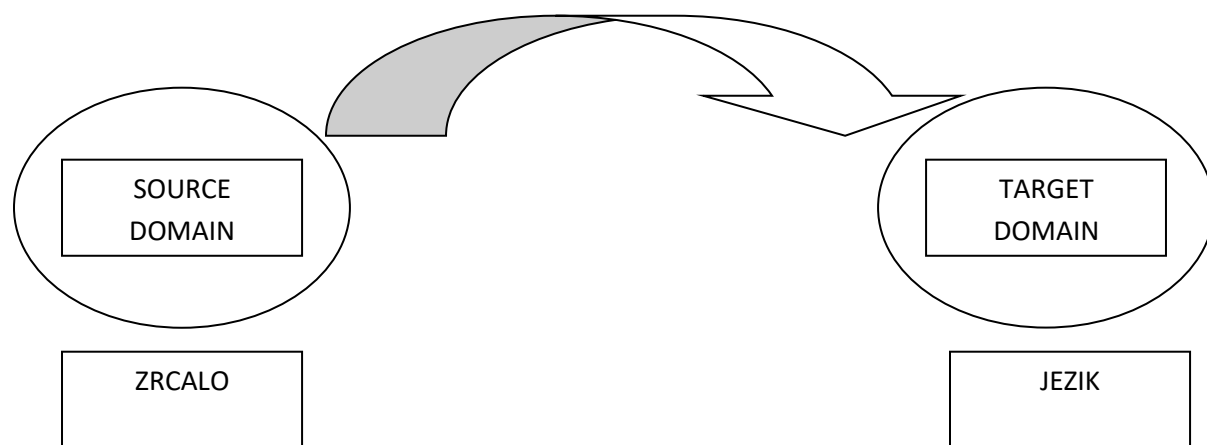
(47) "...jezične funkcije *zrcalo* to značenje."⁵³

(Submetaphor: JEZIČNE FUNKCIJE SU ZRCALO)

(...the linguistic functions *mirror* that meaning.)

(Submetaphor: LINGUISTIC FUNCTIONS ARE MIRROR)

These examples demonstrate that the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR” is also present in the Croatian language. When we compare the English literal translations of the Croatian example sentences, we can conclude that the syntactic structures of the opposed sentences are different. That can be connected to the fact that English is a Germanic language, and Croatian belongs to the group of the Slavic languages.



Picture 4: Conceptual metaphor "JEZIK JE ZRCALO", graphical representation

⁵³ *sajt.com.hr*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

3.3. “LANGUAGE IS MIRROR” as a Cross-linguistically Valid Conceptual metaphor

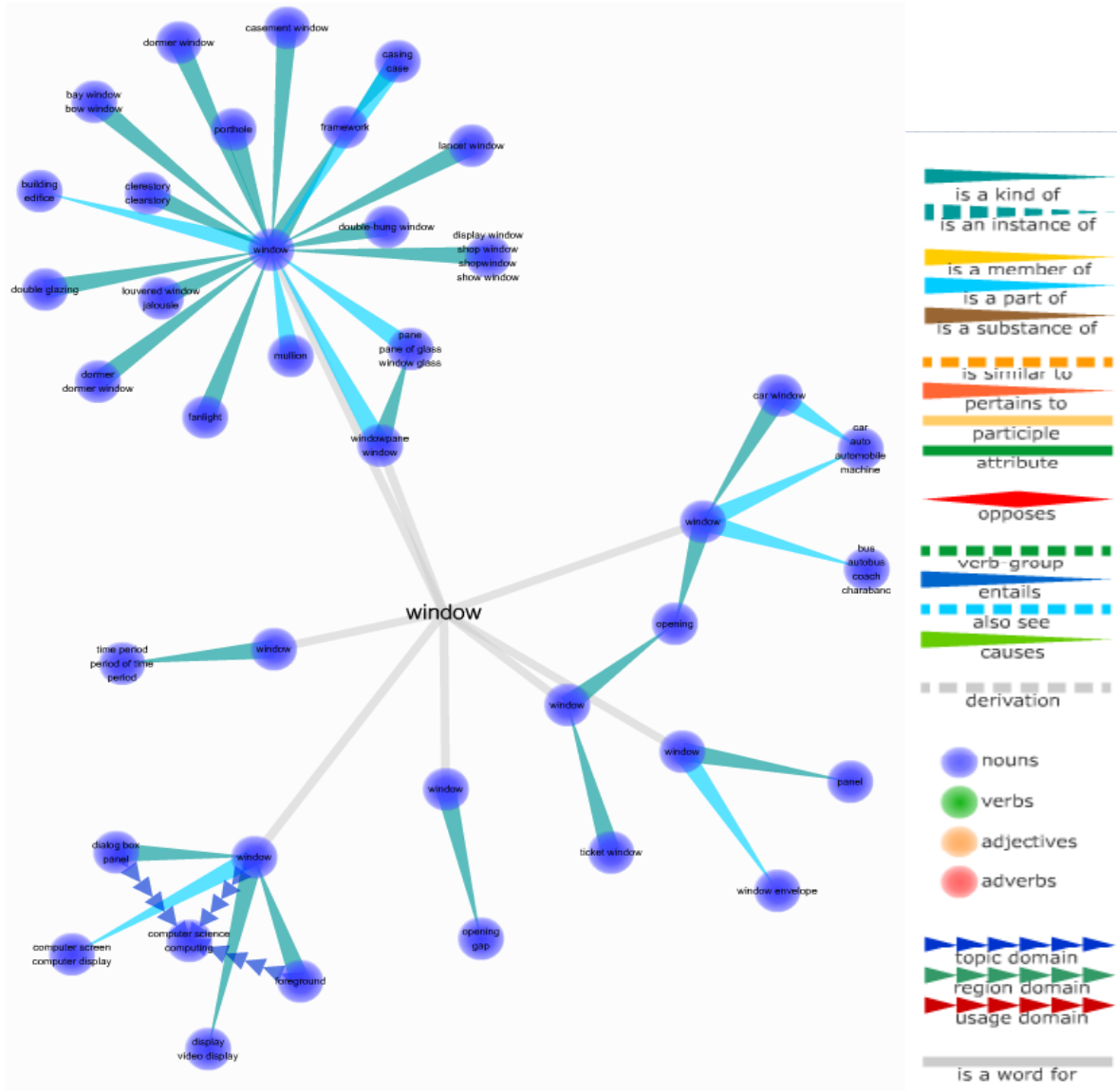
The comparison of the English, German and Croatian expressions related to the conceptual metaphor "Language is Mirror" clearly shows that this metaphor is a cross-linguistically valid conceptual metaphor. These three languages indicate that language, the same as a mirror, can reflect, imitate, reverse, revert, show, depict, portray, copy, illustrate, personify, etc.

4. “LANGUAGE IS WINDOW” as Conceptual Metaphor

The word *window* dates back to the early 13th century, and its literal meaning was "wind eye", derived from Old Norse. But when were the windows used for the first time? " Plate glass was first produced at St. Gobain, France, in 1668, by the 'broad glass' method. But even then window glass was a luxury. Only the rich could afford to glaze their windows. In 1871, William Pilkington invented a machine which allowed ever larger pieces of glass to be made. This followed the great Victorian extravaganza in glass, the Crystal Palace of the World Exhibition 1851."⁵⁴ If we talk about the meaning of it, "glass, plate glass, colored glass for centuries had been associated with the high and mighty".⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Krysmanski, H. J. (1999/2002) "*Windows*"

⁵⁵ Krysmanski, H. J. (1999/2002) "*Windows*"



Picture 5: Window, graphical meaning and associations with other words and concepts (*VISUWORDS™ Online graphical dictionary*. Web. 22 Dec 2012 <<http://www.visuwords.com>>)

In his work, *The Stuff of Thought: Language as a Window into Human Nature*, Steven Pinker explains that many concepts are integrated into our mother tongues. He says that human model of reality differs in major ways from the objective understanding of reality eked out by our best science and logic. In some way, this confirms Deutscher's theory about how culture can influence language and vice versa. In this section, window and language are connected as a source and a target domain. The link between those two domains is found by searching many

corpuses, which resulted in the examples mentioned below. Some of the expressions that can be found in those examples are: to be broken, to be closed, to look through, to be glanced, to gaze at, to reflect, to display, to observe, to slide. It can be clearly seen that those expressions are often used when talking about windows.

Table 5: Mappings of the Conceptual Metaphor "LANGUAGE IS WINDOW", X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| X | → | Y |
|------------|---|---------------------|
| Breakage | → | Language |
| Analyser | → | |
| Arbiter | → | |
| Observer | → | |
| Indicator | → | |
| Closure | → | Meaning of the word |
| Observer | → | Rule |
| Closure | → | Speaker |
| Reflection | → | Speech |
| Display | → | |
| | | |

(48) “The language *is broken* into two primary forms.”⁵⁶

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS BREAKAGE)

(49) “...this rule *is closed* to any consideration of those people.”⁵⁷

(Submetaphor: RULE IS CLOSURE)

(50) “Finally the speech *is closed* with possible future solutions.”⁵⁸

(Submetaphor: SPEECH IS CLOSURE)

(51) “...in the next chapter we examine the statistical properties of language more closely, in order to better understand how language *looks through* a statistical lens...”⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *Languapedia*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁵⁷ *United States of America Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 106th Congress* (2000)

⁵⁸ O'Donnel, S. (2012) "*Impromptu Speeches*"

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS ANALYSER)

(52) “WS-BPEL language *is glanced*, together with techniques to analyze properties of WS-BPEL programs.”

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS ANALYSER)

(53) “...a mode in and by which a literary language *gazes* at the visual as a lens upon the beauty of its own performance.”⁶⁰

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS ANALYZER)

(54) “I’ve always felt the speech *reflected* the idyllic nature of the island before the arrival of the colonial invaders.”⁶¹

(Submetaphor: SPEECH IS REFLECTION)

(55) “This speech *displays* that I can take a topic I am passionate about and refrain from using my personal thoughts”⁶²

(Submetaphor: SPEECH IS DISPLAY)

(56) “...the language *slides* dangerously between the stuff of high drama and pulp romance.”⁶³

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS ARBITER)

(57) “processing English is even more of a challenge because the language *observes* a rule more in the exception.”⁶⁴

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS OBSERVER)

(58) “The statistics seems *to show*, if anything, that the primary meaning of the word *kolo* was 'happening, event' rather than 'saying, speech'.”⁶⁵

(Submetaphor: MEANING OF THE WORD IS INDICATOR)

(59) “Characteristics of the Japanese speaker’s *view* of language”⁶⁶

(Submetaphor: SPEAKER IS OBSERVER)

⁵⁹ Yarlett, D.G. (2008) “*Similarity-based Generalization in Language*”, Stanford, Stanford University

⁶⁰ Valenzuela, S. K. (2007): “*Mnemosyne’s Son: Chaucer, Translation, and the Creation of English Textual Memory*”

⁶¹ *Bardfilm: The Shakespeare and Film Microblog*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

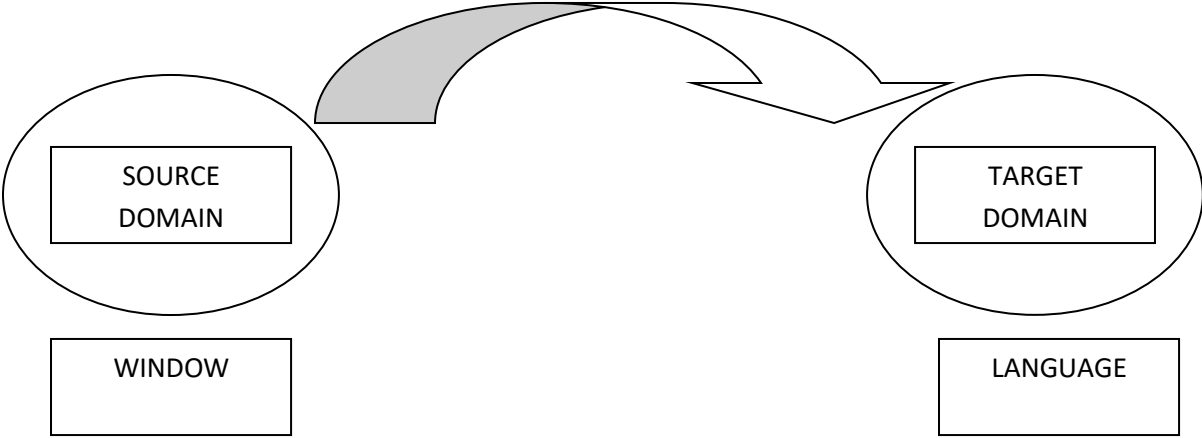
⁶² *Penn State Personal Web Server*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁶³ *Publisher’s Weekly*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁶⁴ *Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁶⁵ Ikegami, Y. (2003) “*The Conceptualization of Language in Japanese*”, Tokyo, Showa Women’s University

⁶⁶ Ikegami, Y. (2003) “*The Conceptualization of Language in Japanese*”, Tokyo, Showa Women’s University



Picture 6: Conceptual metaphor "LANGUAGE IS WINDOW", graphical representation

4.1. "LANGUAGE IS WINDOW" in German

The German term for window is *das Fenster*. Etymologically, this word comes from the Latin word *fenestra*. That indicated a notch in the masonry of houses, through which the fresh air and light can come in on one side, and on the other side the used air and smoke can go out.

Comparing a mirror to a window, we come to the following conclusion: while the mirror makes something visible, that doesn't lie in the natural visual field, the window makes something visible, that is already in our natural visual field, but can actually be blocked by walls. That is why windows are considered to be "the border phenomena" between the inner and the outer world. In contrast to the door, the windows don't invite to enter the inner or the outer world, they only serve to look at it from the certain distance. That is why windows are more similar to the contemplation processes, than they are to action processes. This is where the similarity between the window and linguistic functions arises. That is why we can compare the perception functions to the language. As well as windows, the language is also always being connected to the soul, i.e. to the spirit, because both of the terms are understood as transitional places for the soul, i.e. the spirit.

A microscope and a telescope can also be studied as special auxiliary means of the eye. They also could have symbolic functions for the language. Finally, the problematic nature of light can also be examined, because it contains important relations to problems of windows and languages. Because of that, the main interest of the study should be the genesis, the structure and the function of the house windows, compared to the genesis, the structure and the function of the "language windows".

In the German language, some of the expressions that can be found, when talking about the conceptual metaphor "LANGUAGE IS WINDOW" or "SPRACHE IST FENSTER" are: *zerbrochen sein* (to be broken), *zerbrechlich sein* (to be able to be broken), *aussehen* (to look).

Table 6: Mappings of the Conceptual Metaphor "SPRACHE IST FENSTER", X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| X | → | Y |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Aussehen (Appearance) | → | Gespräch (Conversation) |
| Zerbrechlichkeit (Breakage) | → | Sprache (Language) |

The examples are mentioned below.

(60) “Die Sprache *ist zerbrochen*.”⁶⁷

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST ZERBRECHLICHKEIT)

(The language *is broken*.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS BREAKAGE)

(61) “Die Sprache *ist zerbrechlich*”⁶⁸

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST ZERBRECHLICHKEIT)

(The language *can be broken*.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS BREAKAGE)

(62) “Das Gespräch *sieht sehr interessant aus*.”

(Submetaphor: GESPRÄCH IST AUSSEHEN)

(This conversation *looks* very interesting.)

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS APPEARANCE)

In the German language, this metaphor is not as much present as in the English language. However, since we know that the language is the system that changes over time, maybe we can expect that the English language will influence German in this field, too. When we compare the sentences in German and their literal translations into the English language, we can see that the syntactic structures are very similar.

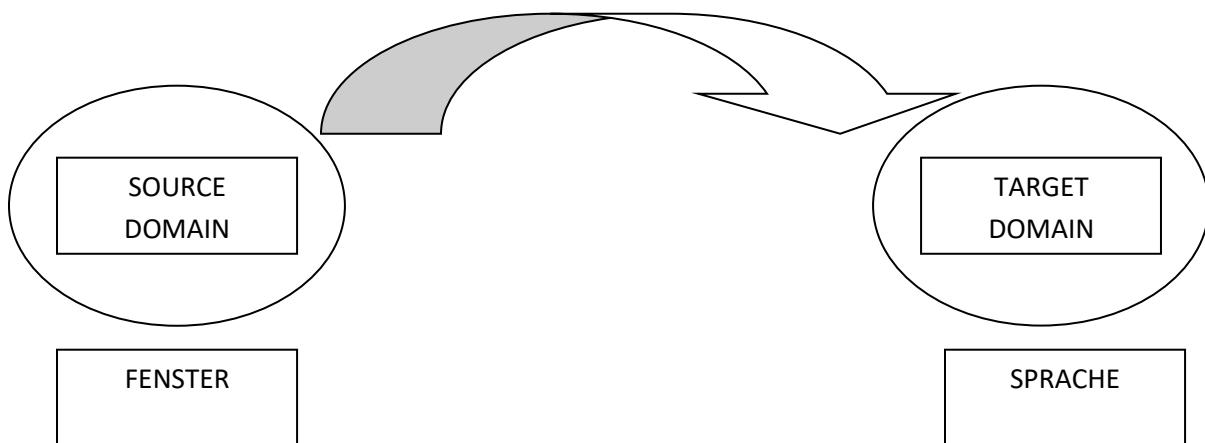
While doing the research, I came across an interesting poem that connects metaphors and windows, i.e. glass.

⁶⁷ *Schauspiel Zentrum*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁶⁸ *Pester Lloyd: Tageszeitung für Ungarn und Osteuropa*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

Glasklar⁶⁹

Die Metapher ist
ein Fernrohr.
Sie bewaffnet
das Auge.
Erfasst.
Vergrößert.
Verschärft.
Deutlich nahe
Kommt uns
die Wahrheit.
Scheinbar.



Picture 7: Conceptual metaphor "Sprache ist Fenster", graphical representation

⁶⁹ Koller, W. (2012) *"Sinnbilder für Sprache"*, Berlin, De Gruyter

4.2. “LANGUAGE IS WINDOW” in Croatian

The Croatian term for *window* is *prozor* and its etymology looks like this: pro- + v. zrijeti. The etymology of the word *zrijeti* is following: Pre-Slavic and Old Slavic зрѣти (rus. zret', pol. źrzcć), lit. žèrėti.

When we talk about the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS WINDOW” or “JEZIK JE PROZOR”, in the Croatian language we can find the following expressions: *biti razbijen* (to be broken), *biti otvoren* (to be open), *gledati kroz* (to look through), *vidjeti* (to see), *promatrati* (to observe).

Table 7: Mappings of the Conceptual Metaphor “JEZIK JE PROZOR”, X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| X | → | Y |
|-------------------------------|---|------------------|
| Izgled (Appearance) | → | Govor (Speech) |
| Krhkost (Breakage) | → | Jezik (Language) |
| Posrednik (Analyzer) | → | |
| Promatranje (Observation) | → | |
| Pristupačnost (Accessibility) | → | Pravilo (Rule) |

The examples of the Croatian sentence, together with their literal translations are mentioned below:

(63) “...jezik *je razbijen* do tog nivoa da imamo 'dvije škole pod jednim krovom'...”⁷⁰

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE KRHKOST)

(...the language *is broken down* to that point that we have ‘two schools under the same roof’...)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS BREAKAGE)

⁷⁰ DW. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(64) “Tako općenito postavljeno pravilo *je otvoreno* širokoj interpretaciji odnosno zloupotrebi...”⁷¹

(Submetaphor: PRAVILO JE PRISTUPAČNOST)

(Such a generally set rule *is open* to wide interpretation and abuse...)

(Submetaphor: RULE IS ACCESSIBILITY)

(65) “...na h-alteru *se* jezik *gleda kroz* politiku i ideologiju, a ne znanost ili lingvistiku.”⁷²

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE POSREDNIK)

(...on h-alter the language *is looked through* politics and ideology, rather than through science or linguistics.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS ANALYZER)

(66) “U ovom govoru *se vidi* da ovaj pojam koriste mnogi ljudi...”⁷³

(Submetaphor: GOVOR JE IZGLED)

(In this speech it *can be seen* that this term is used by many people...)

(Submetaphor: SPEECH IS APPEARANCE)

(67) “...jezik *se promatra* u društvenome kontekstu...”⁷⁴

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE PROMATRANJE)

(...the language *is observed* in the social context...)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS OBSERVATION)

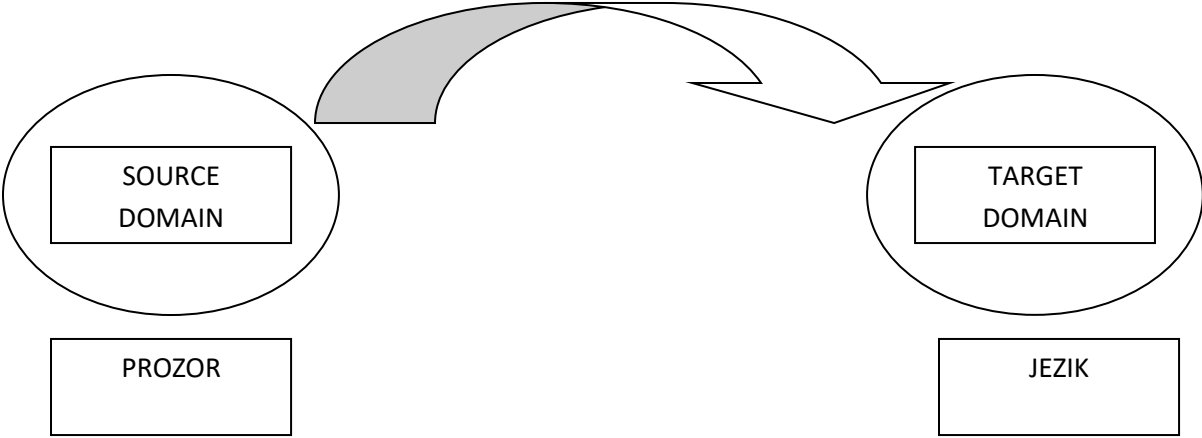
The above mentioned examples (63 – 67) prove that this conceptual metaphor is also present in the Croatian language, however not at the same extent as in English. If the Croatian example sentences are compared to their English literal translations, it can be concluded that the sentences are similar on the syntactic level.

⁷¹ *POLLITIKA*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁷² *H-ALTER*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁷³ *Scribd*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁷⁴ *Hrvatski+*. Web. 22 Dec 2012



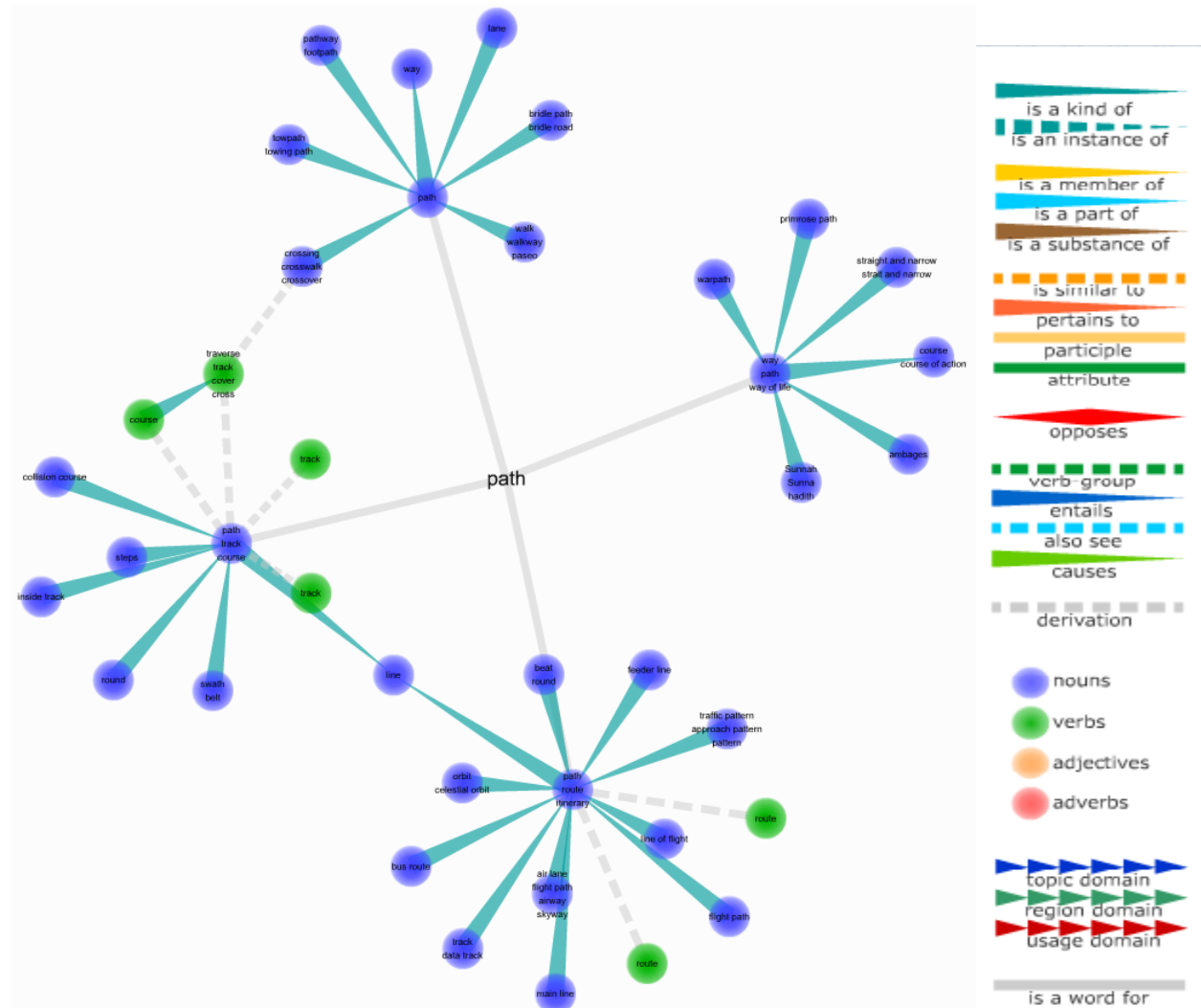
Picture 8: Conceptual metaphor "JEZIK JE PROZOR", graphical representation

4.3. “LANGUAGE IS WINDOW” as a Cross-linguistically Valid Conceptual Metaphor

By comparing the English, German and Croatian expressions related to the conceptual metaphor "Language is Window", we come to the following conclusion: this metaphor is a cross-linguistically valid conceptual metaphor. These three languages show that both language and mirror can be broken, closed, we can look through it, they can display something, they can show us something, etc.

5. “LANGUAGE IS PATH” as Conceptual Metaphor

The noun path comes from Old English words *paþ* or *pæþ*, meaning "path, track". It was commonly used as a steep ascent of a hill or in a road.



Picture 9: Path, graphical meaning and associations with other words and concepts
 (VISUWORDS™ Online graphical dictionary. Web. 22 Dec 2012
 <<http://www.visuwords.com>>)

The thinking processes follow the already cleared out ways, they are searching for some new paths , they can be on the wrong path, they can search for another ways or be without the way or path to do something. The same is with the language processes. Ways or paths can

connect two different places, i.e. they can create spheres that bind those two different worlds together. That is exactly what this conceptual metaphor is about. Two different domains are connected in the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS PATH”.

First of all, we can consider the term “path” as hyperonym to a group of other terms, as e.g. “way”, “street”, “alley”, “track”, etc. If we talk about compound words, we can expand this word field even more. That all means there are numerous possibilities to look for when we talk about the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS PATH”.

One thing that language and path have in common is that languages are constantly changing, as well as paths. That is something those two domains have in common. A lot of research has been done on the topic of “Path” as a source domain. However, if we talk about the target domain “Language” in general, there are very few researches provided. The examples below (68 – 86) show how this conceptual metaphor is used in the English language. The verbs or expressions that can be found in those sentences are: lead to, to be blocked, to be accessed, to go, to be chosen, to follow, to cross, to take someone back to.

Table 8: Mappings of the Conceptual Metaphor "LANGUAGE IS PATH", X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| X | → | Y |
|---------------|----------|---------------|
| Direction | → | Comment |
| Leadership | → | Communication |
| Path | → | Conversation |
| Maze | → | |
| Company | → | |
| Journey | → | |
| Accessibility | → | |
| Follower | → | |

| | | |
|--------------|---|---------------|
| Descendant | → | Example |
| Availability | → | Language |
| Traveller | → | |
| Choice | → | |
| Leaders | → | |
| Follower | → | Pronunciation |
| Leader | → | Rule |
| Predecessor | → | |
| Journey | → | Speech |
| Limitation | → | Verb |

(68) This grammar rule *leads to ambiguity*.⁷⁵

(Submetaphor: RULE IS LEADER)

(69) The main verb *is 'blocked'*, and the thing that's doing the blocking and therefore the sentence's subject is 'a memorial archway'.⁷⁶

(Submetaphor: VERB IS LIMITATION)

(70) It is currently unknown if aphasia causes the complete loss of language structure, or if it causes difficulties in how language *is accessed* and used.⁷⁷

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS AVAILABILITY)

(71) The language *goes* where it will and is what its users make of it.⁷⁸

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS TRAVELLER)

(72) In public conversations, the language *is chosen* by the person who speaks first.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Northern Kentucky University. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁷⁶ Oxford Dictionaries. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁷⁷ University of Rochester. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁷⁸ The Baltimore Sun. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁷⁹ Lebendige Traditionen. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS CHOICE)

(73) Italian uses the Roman alphabet and the pronunciation of the language *follows* the spelling very closely.⁸⁰

(Submetaphor: PRONUNCIATION IS FOLLOWER)

(74) The language doesn't use words, the language *crosses* all borders and boundaries.⁸¹

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS TRAVELLER)

(75) I guess this rule *takes us back* to square one.⁸²

(Submetaphor: RULE IS PREDECESSOR)

(76) "There is a natural division of interests between linguists and literary analysts, which *leads* them to focus on different aspects of metaphor as central."⁸³

(Submetaphor: LINGUISTICS AND LITERATURE ARE LEADERS)

(77) "Another example of a metaphor whose universal status *comes* from an experiential correlation is the metaphorical use of spatial words."⁸⁴

(Submetaphor: EXAMPLE IS DESCENDANT)

(78) "*How far had we gotten* when we were interrupted?"⁸⁵

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS PATH)

(79) "*I'll be getting to* that point in a moment."⁸⁶

(Submetaphor: SPEECH IS JOURNEY)

⁸⁰ *Simon & Schuster's Pimsleur*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁸¹ *CRAVEONLINE*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁸² *iCompositions*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁸³ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

⁸⁴ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

⁸⁵ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

⁸⁶ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

(80) "One can even *direct* a comment at some-one by including it in a book or an article, imagining that someday the person in question will read it or hear about it."⁸⁷

(Submetaphor: COMMENT IS DIRECTION)

(81) "Do you *follow* me?"⁸⁸

(Submetaphor: COMMUNICATION IS LEADERSHIP)

(82) "*Have I lost you?*"⁸⁹

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS MAZE)

(83) "*I'm right with you.*"⁹⁰

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS COMPANY)

(84) "Would you *take me back* over that point?"⁹¹

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS JOURNEY)

(85) "I can't *get through* to him."⁹²

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS ACCESSIBILITY)

(86) "Conversation *is led*..."⁹³

⁸⁷ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

⁸⁸ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

⁸⁹ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

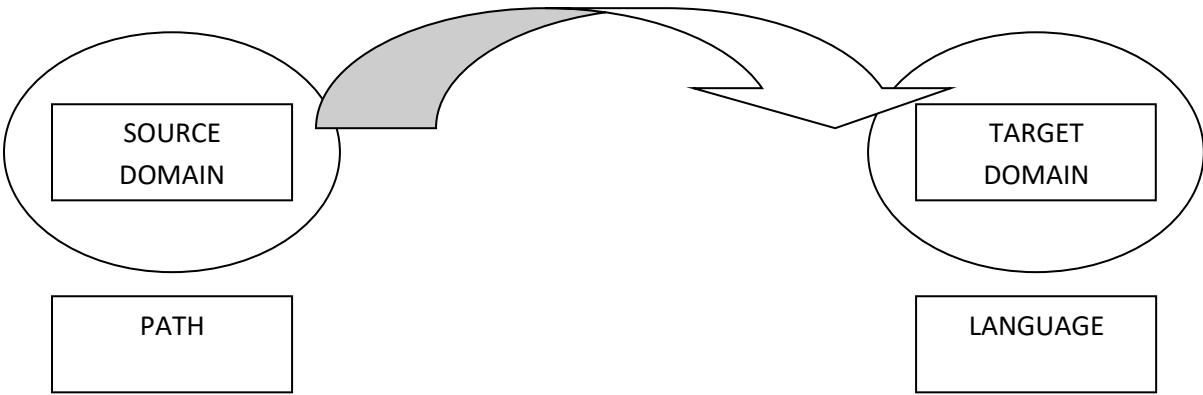
⁹⁰ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

⁹¹ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

⁹² Sweetser, E. E. (1992) "*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*" *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

⁹³ G. Radden. *The Folk Model of Language*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS FOLLOWER)



Picture 10: Conceptual metaphor "LANGUAGE IS PATH", graphical representation

5.1. “LANGUAGE IS PATH” in German

The German word for *path*, *der Weg*, comes from the Old High German word *weg*, meaning "path, street, way, journey", originating in the 8th century.

There are certain way and path conceptions that have been substantiated through metaphorical and phraseological idioms. They have shaped our factual and metaphorical understanding of the terms way and path. Some of them are: *rechter Weg* (the right way), *den Weg ebnen* (to pave the way for something), *krumme Wege gehen* (to take the crooked ways), *den Weg verlieren* (to lose your way), *jemandem nicht über den Weg trauen* (to not trust somebody an inch), *den Weg alles Fleisches gehen* (to die), *der Weg ist das Ziel* (the journey is the reward), etc.

There are many documented compound words, in which the basic concept of way or path is determined more closely, witnesses how much our way and path conceptions are pragmatically marked. The examples are: *Fußweg* (walkway), *Privatweg* (private road), *Seeweg* (seaway), etc. The same applies to the adjectival attributes that are conventionally related to the word or phrase way or path. This can qualify both for the physical conditions of roads (e.g. *ebener Weg* flat trail, *steiniger Weg* winding road, *gerader Weg* straight path), as well as for the social functions of ways or paths (e.g. *freier Weg* free way, *verbotener Weg* forbidden path, *öffentlicher Weg* public way). Also in phraseological expressions with symbolic implications, it is very often referred to the functional aspects of path or way (e.g. *seinen Weg gehen* go his way, *sich auf den Weg machen* start your journey, *sich auf halbem Wege treffen*, to meet each other halfway, *aus dem Weg räumen* to move out of the way, *im Wege stehen* to be in someone's way, etc.).

Since there are so many ways to use the word way or path in the German language, that must mean for sure, that there are numerous conceptual metaphors present as well. The spectrum of linguistic paths can go from simple lexical and grammatical patterns over complex sentence and text patterns extended to text and communication patterns. Therefore, Cassirer insists that our understanding of the world is profoundly influenced by the objectification forms that we use.

Table 9: Mappings of the Conceptual Metaphor "SPRACHE IST WEG", X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| X | → | Y |
|------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Führer (Leader) | → | Adjektive (Adjectives) |
| Anhänger (Follower) | → | Gespräch (Conversation) |
| Weg (Path) | → | |
| Gänger (Continuer) | → | |
| Führer (Leader) | → | Sprache (Language) |
| Vermittler (Arbiter) | → | |
| Gänger (Continuer) | → | |
| Fortsetzer (Continuer) | → | |

The examples of the conceptual metaphor "LANGUAGE IS PATH" or "SPRACHE IST WEG" are mentioned below:

(87) "Die Sprache *bringt uns dazu*, Namen für gar nicht existierende Gegenstände zu erfinden und diesen Objekten dann Realität zuzuschreiben."

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST FÜHRER)

(The language *leads* us to invent names for nonexistent objects and then to ascribe reality to these objects.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS LEADER)

(88) "Auf eine seltsame Weise stimmen Titel und Untertitel dieses Buches nicht ganz – jeweils die Adjektive *führen* etwas in die Irre." ⁹⁴

(Submetaphor: ADJEKTIVE SIND FÜHRER)

(In a strange way the title and subtitle of this book not quite right - each of the adjectives *leads to* somewhat misleading.)

⁹⁴ Yahoo Groups Deutschland. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(Submetaphor: ADJECTIVES ARE LEADERS)

(89) "Anna Kims Sprache *geht* dicht an die Figuren *heran*"⁹⁵

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST VERMITTLER)

(Anna Kim's language *goes up* close to the characters)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS ARBITER)

(90) "...die Sprache *führt* mich an Orte, die ich nicht kenne..."⁹⁶

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST FÜHRER)

(...the language *leads* me to places that I don't know...)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS LEADER)

(91) "Das Gespräch *wird geführt*, d.h. *es nimmt die Richtung*, die wir ihm geben wollen."⁹⁷

(Submetaphors: GESPRÄCH IST ANHÄNGER, GESPRÄCH IST WEG)

(The conversation *is led*, i.e. *it takes the direction* that we want to give to it.)

(Submetaphors: CONVERSATION IS FOLLOWER, CONVERSATION IS PATH)

(92) "Die Sprache *läuft* immer schon – und der Künstler kann nur mitlaufen."⁹⁸

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST GÄNGER)

(The language always *goes on* - and the artist can only run along.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS CONTINUER)

(93) "Das Gespräch *ist gelaufen*."⁹⁹

(Submetaphor: GESPRÄCH IST GÄNGER)

(The conversation *went on*.)

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS CONTINUER)

(94) "Die Sprache *setzt fort*, sich als ältere Wörter wie Almosen zu entwickeln..."¹⁰⁰

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST FORTSETZER)

(The language *continues* to evolve as older words like alms...)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS CONTINUER)

⁹⁵ *Zeit Online*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁹⁶ *dradio.de*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁹⁷ *ZfU International Business School*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁹⁸ *Lettre INTERNATIONAL*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

⁹⁹ *monster*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

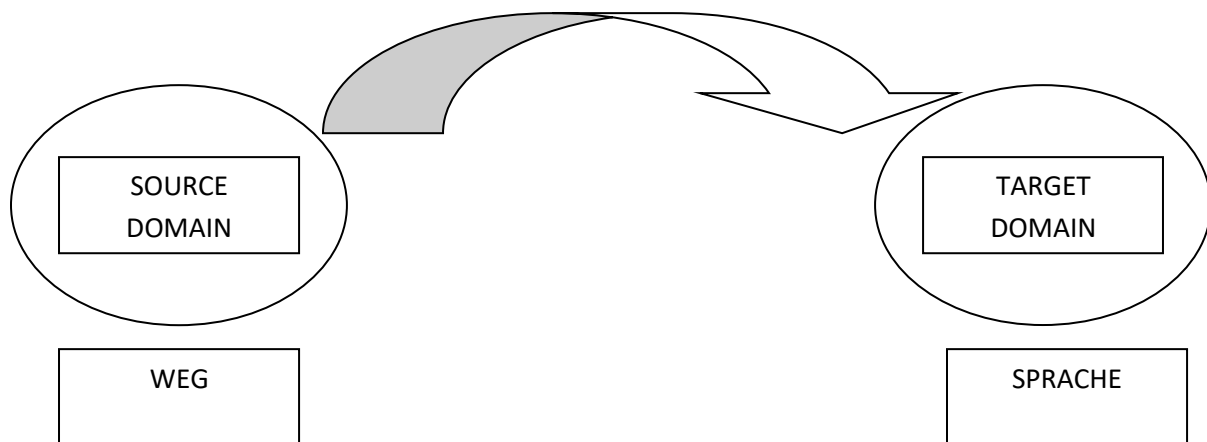
¹⁰⁰ *knowledgr.de*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(95) "Die Sprache geht weiter"¹⁰¹

(Submetaphor: SPRACHE IST GÄNGER)

(The language *goes on*)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS CONTINUER)



Picture 11: Conceptual metaphor "SPRACHE IST WEG", graphical representation

¹⁰¹ DasGelbeForum Börse & Wissenschaft&. Web. 22 Dec 2012

5.2. “LANGUAGE IS PATH” in Croatian

The Croatian term for path is *staza*. Etymologically, it comes from the Old Slavic word *stъza*.

When we talk about the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS PATH” or “JEZIK JE STAZA”, in the Croatian language we can find the following expressions: *voditi* (to lead), *biti zatvoren* (to be closed), *slijediti*, *pratiti* (to follow), *prelaziti* (to cross), *doći* (to come) .

Table 10: Mappings of the Conceptual Metaphor “JEZIK JE STAZA”, X (source domain), Y (target domain)

| X | → | Y |
|-----------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Voditelj (Leader) | → | Prilika (Chance) |
| Nepristupačnost (Inaccessibility) | → | Jezik (Language) |
| Sljedbenik (Follower) | → | Jezik (Language) |
| Putnik (Traveller) | → | Jezik (Language) |
| Voditelj (Path) | → | Jezik (Language) |
| Put (Path) | → | Razgovor (Conversation) |
| Put (Path) | → | Tekst (Text) |

The examples of the Croatian sentences, together with their literal translations are mentioned below:

(96) “Propuštanje prilike da se stvori standardni jezik, *vodi* likvidaciji ili jezika ili nacije, a najčešće i jednog i drugog.”¹⁰²

(Submetaphor: PRILIKA JE VODITELJ)

(Missing the chance to create a standard language *leads to* liquidation of either the language or the nation, and in most cases both of the mentioned.)

¹⁰²*Bosnacitat.com*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(Submetaphor: CHANCE IS LEADER)

(97) “Ideološki jezik *je zatvoren*.”¹⁰³

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE NEPRISTUPAČNOST)

(The ideological language *is closed*.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS INACCESSIBILITY)

(98) “Svijet danas nije isti kao prije stotina godina i jezik *slijedi* taj razvoj.”¹⁰⁴

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE SLJEDBENIK)

(The world today is not the same as a hundred years ago and the language *follows* that development.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS FOLLOWER)

(99) “Vaš jezik *prelazi granice* novinarske etike.”¹⁰⁵

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE PUTNIK)

(Your language *crosses the boundaries* of journalistic ethics.)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS TRAVELLER)

(100) “...i sam jezik nas *vodi* do tog smisla...”¹⁰⁶

(Submetaphor: JEZIK JE VODITELJ)

(...and the language itself *brings* us to that point...)

(Submetaphor: LANGUAGE IS PATH)

(101) “*Dokle smo došli* kada su nas prekinuli?”

(Submetaphor: RAZGOVOR JE PUT)

(*How far had we gotten* when we were interrupted?)

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS PATH)

(102) “Pratiš li što ti govorim?”

(Submetaphor: RAZGOVOR JE PUT)

(“Do you *follow* me?”)

(Submetaphor: CONVERSATION IS PATH)

(103) “Doći ćemo do toga u *sljedećem odlomku*.”

¹⁰³ *Zavod za proučavanje kulturnog razvitka*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹⁰⁴ *Girija.info*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

¹⁰⁵ *Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Online Newsletter of the National Congress of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

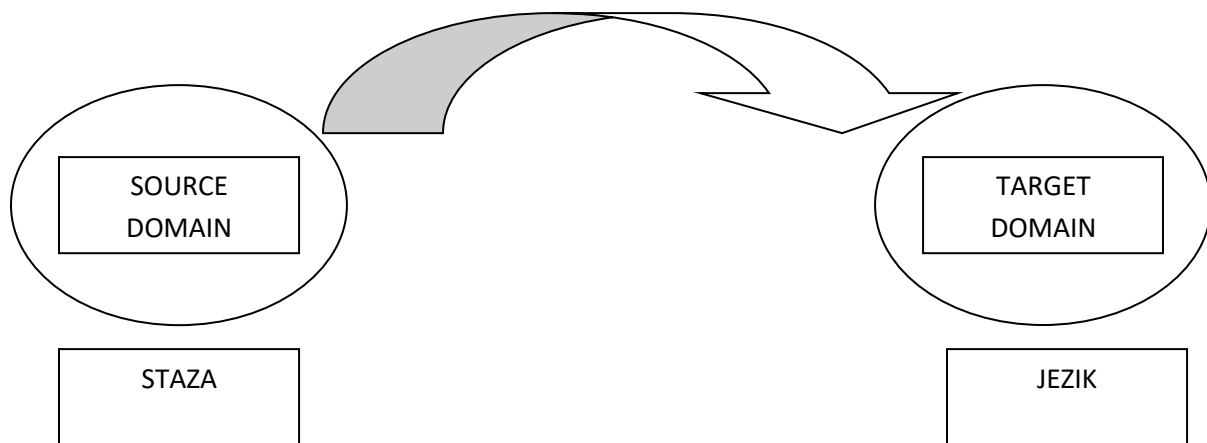
¹⁰⁶ *blog*. Web. 22 Dec 2012

(Submetaphor: TEKST JE PUT)

("We'll *come* to that in the next paragraph.")

(Submetaphor: TEXT IS PATH)

The above mentioned examples (97 – 103) prove that this conceptual metaphor is also present in the Croatian language, however not at that extent as in English. If the Croatian example sentences are compared to their English literal translations, it can be concluded that the sentences are similar on the syntactic level.



Picture 12: Conceptual metaphor "Jezik je staza", graphical representation

5.3. “LANGUAGE IS PATH” as a Cross-linguistically Valid Conceptual Metaphor

The comparison of the English, German and Croatian expressions related to the conceptual metaphor “LANGUAGE IS PATH” clearly shows that this metaphor is a cross-linguistically valid conceptual metaphor. These languages indicate that language, the same as path, can lead to something, they can be blocked, they can go somewhere, they can be chosen, they can follow something, etc.

6. Language, Metaphors and Culture

“Many linguists explore the relationship between language and culture. Nida (1998: 29) holds the view that ‘Language and culture are two symbolic systems. Everything we say in language has meanings, designative or sociative, denotative or connotative. Every language form we use has meanings, carries meanings that are not in the same sense because it is associated with culture and culture is more extensive than language.’ People of different cultures can refer to different things while using the same language forms. For example, when one says *lunch*, an Englishman may be referring to hamburger or pizza, but a Chinese man will most probably be referring to steamed bread or rice. Being culturally loaded, English words and their Chinese translations (or vice versa) are seldom equivalents, and often give rise to different associations or images.”¹⁰⁷ The culture obviously affects the way people think, which is also reflected in the language. “Certain aspects of our cognition, and hence of our linguistic structure, seem to be universally built into our bodies; other aspects obviously vary from person to person and from culture to culture.”¹⁰⁸ “One culture opts for one cognitive alternative and the other for another possible alternative, both alternatives, however, being well-motivated in terms of human cognition (and, therefore, fully understandable by a member of a culture who conventionally opts for a different alternative).”¹⁰⁹ For example, “color systems varied cross-linguistically: while many languages have only one basic word covering the blue/green/gray color range, English (for example) has three basic terms for this range”¹¹⁰ A lot of research on the topic of Conceptual Metaphors was done by Guy Deutscher. In his book “Through the Language Glass: Why the World Looks Different in Other Languages”, the author explains the link between languages and the culture of its speakers. He writes about how culture can influence language and vice versa.

¹⁰⁷ Jiang, W. (2000) “*The relationship between culture and language*”, *ELT Journal* 54/4:328-334

¹⁰⁸ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) “*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*” *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

¹⁰⁹ Ikegami, Y. (2003) “*The Conceptualization of Language in Japanese*”, Tokyo, Showa Women's University

¹¹⁰ Sweetser, E. E. (1992) “*English Metaphors for Language: Motivations, Conventions, and Creativity*” *Poetics Today*, 13:705-724

He comes to the conclusion that different languages lead their speakers to different thoughts.
This sentence can in a simple way explain what conceptual metaphors are.

7. Conclusion

This paper has explored the conceptual metaphors "LANGUAGE IS MIRROR", "LANGUAGE IS WINDOW" and "LANGUAGE IS PATH", and has also shown how these metaphors are used in the English, German and Croatian language. Communication is one of the most important things in our lives, and the spoken and written language is what makes people different from all the other living species. Language is full of metaphors, even though their users are very much unaware of this. This paper shows that mirror, window and path, the things we usually don't contemplate about, are a source for numerous conceptual metaphors. If it weren't for metaphors, language would be much poorer.

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