Conceptual Metaphor as a Basis of Language Change – a Case of Nouns Pertaining to Family Relationships

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Abstract

Everyday human language is a result of constant historical changes, influences of other languages, and the human mind. Language and our mind play the central role in the process of communication as a base of human life. All beings communicate on some level but it is with the human beings that this communication is most evident. We understand the concepts dually, metaphorically and literally. This paper discusses the role of cognitive mechanisms in the English language. In other words, this paper discusses the metaphorical usage of kinship terms.

The first chapter of the paper deals with the theoretical approaches to metaphor, both traditional and conceptual. The concept of metaphor is explained in comparison to simile and metonymy as two figures of speech very similar to metaphor. However, the conceptual metaphor is defined in the terms of cognitive mechanisms, source and target domains, and correspondences between the two domains.

The second chapter of the paper approaches the English language in the terms of language families and the relatedness between the languages. Furthermore, a short history of events that have influence the English language through the centuries is given.

In the third chapter of this paper, the concept of kinship metaphor is discussed theoretically based on the scholars and researchers' studies of the usage of the kinship related terms in English language on a metaphorical basis.

Lastly, the paper discusses the corpus of the kinship metaphors in the English language. This corpus was researched from the point of etymological study of the nouns of kinship terms and the usage of said terms in the modern English language. The terms were studied with the earliest meanings of the nouns related to kinship, and brought in this paper from the point of every kinship word (*mother*, *father*, etc.) and the corresponding metaphorical expressions.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, source domain, target domain, kinship metaphor

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Introduction of the Purpose

This research paper has been written as a collection of the theoretical studies of metaphor, leading to the understanding of the conceptual metaphor to finish with a study corpus of the metaphorical usage of the English language terms of kinship.

When used metaphorically, the nouns pertaining to the family relations are called kinship metaphors. However, not all of the kinship metaphorical expressions have the usual form of metaphor (x is y), but can nowadays be found as fixed phrases in everyday language use. As the crucial part of understanding an expression as metaphorical is the understanding of the connotations a phrase may send, and the reason behind their eventual commonness in the language.

Often these expressions are so ingrained in the language that people are not even aware of their metaphoricity but they still understand them in different concepts besides the literal one, depending on their usage in a context. The point was to show the appearance of the kinship metaphors in the language and the truth behind them.

1. The Theoretical Approaches to Metaphor

1.1. The Traditional Metaphor

Metaphor has been a topic of interest of different branches of human existence and science, among which rhetoric, psychology, mathematics, and linguistics prevail. Every discussion of metaphor begins with referring to Aristotle and his work *Poetics*. Metaphor is most often described on the basis of similarity. Consistent with the Aristotle's view of metaphor as "implicit comparisons" (Ortony 1993: 3) is the traditional approach to metaphor often learned in schools and connected to literature. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* gives a simple, yet consistent description of metaphor as a word or a phrase that shows that two words or phrases have similar qualities and is used to make the description more powerful. Using the example listed *She has a heart of stone* is to be understood that the person's heart has the qualities of the stone. If we understand that the stone is a hard object, cold, heavy, a piece of rock or mineral found in the ground, then we can understand that the heart of her has affiliated the same qualities. Therefore, these negative qualities are understood in the terms of negative

emotions so we connect the term *heart* with the term *stone* and understand them as a metaphorical expression based on our knowledge and understanding of the world.

As for the literary language, metaphor is considered to be a figure of speech, most frequently found in poetry, in which one thing is understood in the terms of another, meaning that a word connecting the two terms is used so as to denote a similar quality or understanding between the two terms. Metaphors may appear as nouns (*he's a pig*), verbs (*a talent may blossom*) or as an adjective (*a novice may be green*), or in longer idiomatic expressions (*to throw the baby out with bath-water*) (Baldick 2001: 153).

This is based on similarity approach to metaphor, and also means that the relevant descriptors that are shared through a metaphoric expression are already existent in our conceptual perception (Turner 2000: 18). This thesis can be reinforced by the Lakoff and Johnson's view of metaphoric expressions when they claim that the "phenomenon of conventional metaphor" (1980: 453), as they call the traditional metaphor, is constant in our everyday life, from our language to our thoughts and actions. Therefore, we can conclude that our conceptual system, the way our brain sends and perceives information is metaphorical all on its own (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 3). Since communication is based on our conceptual system, a way to look at the metaphor and understanding its basic functioning is to look at the language we produce and receive. Therefore, we can agree with Lakoff and Johnson saying that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (2003: 5).

1.2. Special Cases of Metaphor or Independent Tropes

John R. Searle, in the chapter *Metaphor*, based on many similarities between metaphor, metonymy, simile and synecdoche wonders whether to treat metonymy and synecdoche as special cases of metaphor or as independent tropes (1993: 107). The similarities between these are so enormous that it is difficult to separate one from another.

1.2.1. Metaphor and Simile

To use already mentioned example, referring to a man as *that pig*, or saying metaphorically *he's a pig*, is different than saying *he's like a pig* (Baldick 2001: 153). Baldick states that a

simile is an explicit comparison, recognizable with the use of word such as “as” and “like”, which would only mean then that a metaphor is an implicit comparison. Also, whereas metaphor is most frequently found in poetry, a simile is equally common in both poetry and prose:

You are behaving like a spoiled child.
He treats her as if she were a delicate piece of porcelain.
Pete is like a lion.
(examples taken from Cruse 2006: 165)

Cruse explains that not all expressions in the form “X is like Y” are accepted as similes by most semanticists. Expressions like *Your kitchen is like mine* would not be considered a simile because there is a difference between a “true simile” and a “literal simile”. The best way to understand this is to check if they can be transformed into metaphors: a literal simile will most likely not make any sense but a true simile will give a metaphor with a meaning close to that of a simile. Transforming a sentence like *Your kitchen is like mine* into a metaphor *Your kitchen is mine* is not possible because these two expressions have completely different meanings. On the other hand, *Pete is like a lion* and *Pete is a lion* proves that the expression is a true simile since the meanings are quite close (2006: 165).

1.2.2. Metaphor and Metonymy

Another figure of speech similar to metaphor is metonymy. Metonymy “involves a relation of association” between the figurative meaning of a term and its literal meaning (Cruse 2006: 108). Basically, the dictionaries describe metonymy as a figure of language that we use when referring to something by the name of something else that is closely connected to it. Since metonymy has been traditionally regarded as a relation between the name of one thing (the *source* or *vehicle*) and its reference to another thing (the *target*), the substitution theory of metonymy is present (Panther, Thornburg 2007: 237).

Some examples of metonymic expressions are (taken from Kövecses 2010: 171-172):
I’m reading SHAKESPEARE.
WASHINGTON is negotiating with MOSCOW.
We need a better GLOVE at third base.

In the above sentence, the words in capitals do not refer to the literal meanings of the words but instead are understood as their paraphrases:
I'm reading ONE OF SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS.
THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT is negotiating with THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.
We need a better BASEBALL PLAYER at third base.

This paraphrasing the sentences explains the substitution theory of metonymy completely. It helps a person understand that one item of language (sources: *Shakespeare*, *Washington*, *Moscow* and *glove*) is used to refer to the second item (the target: *one of Shakespeare's works, the American government, the Russian government, baseball player*) based on their close proximity to each other. Similarly, Lakoff and Johnson point out that metaphor has primarily a referential function, meaning that we can use one item of language to refer to another, but it can also serve to provide understanding (2003: 35-36). As an important kind of metonymy, Baldick describes synecdoche in which the name of a part is substituted for that of a whole (i.e. hand for worker). Also the opposite works, the name of the whole is substituted for that of a part. (2001: 153) Hence, the systematic metonymic expressions, like metaphors, can be found in representative examples in our everyday life (examples are taken from Ritchie 2013: 14, Kövecses 2010: 172-173):

PART FOR THE WHOLE /AN OBJECT USED FOR THE USER: The giants need a *stronger arm* in right field.
WHOLE FOR THE PART: *The White House* issued a statement to the controversy.
PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT: He loves *Picasso*.
THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT (ACTION) /THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION: America doesn't want another *Pearl Harbor*.
TIME FOR AN OBJECT: The *8:40* just arrived.

To conclude, there are many usages of metonymic and metaphoric expressions in our everyday lives. It is a basic distinctive of metonymically related source and target items to be relationally close so that, in certain context, they are easily understood. The characterization of metonymy as a relation between the source and the target proves that the two concepts are cognitively connected through our experience, our thoughts, attitudes and actions (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 38-39).

1.3. Conceptual Metaphor

In 1980 George Lakoff and Mark Johnson proposed a new approach to metaphor. They argued that the foundation of the metaphor is the understanding. They explained that metaphors connect underlying concepts, and that metaphoric expressions in language are the surface of these underlying conceptual relationships (Ritchie 2013: 69).

A conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in the terms of another. They are in a relationship, mostly explained as a concrete concept that facilitates an abstract one. This relationship is captured as CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B. Conceptual domain A, the domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain, is called *the source domain*. On the other hand, conceptual domain B is the domain that is understood, so it is called *the target domain*. (Kövecses 2010: 4) In short, we try to understand the target domain, usually an abstract concept, through the source domain, a concrete concept.

Since we use concrete to understand the abstract, as Lakoff and Johnson state, "to get an idea of how metaphorical expressions in everyday language can give us insight into the metaphorical nature of the concepts that structure our everyday activities" (1980: 456), we need to follow the familiar and conceptually well structured source domain and use the structures to articulate the target domain. (Cruse 2006: 31)

Notably, our everyday language serves as the perfect foundation to show how broad metaphorical expressions are. For example, by using Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (2003: 44), we understand the concept of journey as travelling somewhere, moving, staying, having its ups and downs, and by connecting it with the abstract concept of love, we get the wide picture of all the possibilities that the target domain may mean. By no means will we find examples such as LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in standard dictionaries, but "most of our [Lakoff and Johnson's] evidence has come from language – from the meanings of words and phrases and from the way humans make sense of their experiences" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 115).

Below, however, are some examples of phraseological units derived from this conceptual metaphor which may be found in standard dictionaries:

Look *how far* we've *come*.

We're *at a crossroads*.
We'll just have to go *our separate ways*.
We're *stuck*.
We've *gotten off the track*.
It's been *a long, bumpy road*.
I don't think this relationship *is going anywhere*.
This relationship is *a dead-end-street*.
We're just *spinning our wheels*.
(examples taken from Kövecses 2010: 6)

1.3.1. Source and Target Domains

Understanding conceptual metaphor means understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another, henceforth understanding the target domain in the terms of the source domain. But understanding this relationship between the two domains, means understanding a set of fixed conceptual correspondences called *mappings*, between the source and the target domain.

For instance, Kövecses (2010: 9) uses a conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY to illustrate a set of correspondences between the source and the target domain as used in the examples above:

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

Gibbs (2007: 705) explains that this conceptual metaphor involves a tight *mapping* according to which entities in the source domain of love (e.g. lovers, goals, etc) correspond systematically to the entities in the target domain of journey (e.g. traveler, destination, etc).

When we think of love as a journey, various deductions arise: the person in love is a traveler, the ultimate love is the destination, and the progress of a love relationship is the distance traveled.

From this variety of expressions to describe a relationship between the two domains, the source domain and the target domain, it was just the application of the journey domain to the love domain that provided the concept of love. The journey domain was what structured all these examples of sentences in referring to the love domain. It is not possible to understand the concept of journey through the concept of love. This explains that domains in the metaphors are not reversible. Kövecses (2010: 7-9) mentions the principle of *unidirectionality*, according to which understanding is easier going from the concrete concept to the abstract one, and not the other way around. That is because if we try to see love as a goal or progress without using the journey domain we are unable to do so. There is no goal of a love relationship without thinking of trying to reach the destination at the end of the journey domain.

1.3.1.1. Common Source Domains

Kövecses noted that the source domains are usually concrete and physical, while the target domains tend to be abstract (2010: 17ff). By looking at various metaphor dictionaries and lists of conceptual metaphors, Kövecses tried to determine which sources are most commonly used to understand common targets. (The examples provided below are also from Kövecses 2010).

The human body is a very frequent source domain. The aspects most commonly used in metaphorical comprehension include the head, face, legs, hands, back, bones, heart, and shoulders. As there are well over two thousand examples that have to do with human body due to our experience with our own body, the examples for this "embodiment" of meaning are: "the *heart* of the problem", "to *shoulder* a responsibility", "the *head* of the department". Here we can interpolate also those connected to health and illness, e.g. "a *healthy* society", "a *sick* mind", "She *hurt* my feelings".

The domain of animals is understood in terms of some assumed properties and characterizations of certain animals, e.g. we can talk about someone being *a sly fox, a snake, a*

cow, a brute, etc. Also, this domain is not reserved only to the human beings as seen in "It will be a *bitch* to pull this boat out of water".

People use the concept of plants metaphorically by distinguishing their various parts, the many actions we perform in relation to plants, and we distinguish their different stages of growth, as can be seen in examples: "a *budding* beauty", "the *fruit* of her labour", and "Exports *flourished* last year".

Buildings and construction also play a role in basing expressions. When using metaphorically, people often use the act of building and the parts of the buildings as common metaphorical source domains, e.g.: "a *towering* genius" and "He's in *ruins* financially".

Machines and tools are necessary on a daily basis in people's everyday lives, for work, fight, and for pleasure. Some examples are: "She *produces* a book every year" and "the *machine* of democracy".

Games and sport have been a source of entertainment for people for millennia, so it is only understandable that they would also become part of their cognitive perception, as can be seen: "He *plays* by the rules", "to *toy* with an idea", and "He's a *heavyweight* politician".

Money and economic transaction (business) are another of productive source domains. As long as the people have lived in human societies they have engaged in various business activities and actions such as money, handing over the commodity, handling over the money, etc. Examples of such are: "*Spend* your time wisely" and "She *invested* a lot in the relationship".

We should not forget cooking and food either. Another deeply ingrained common source domain, cooking, involves an agent, a recipe, ingredients, actions and a product and the most common metaphoric expressions would include the activity of cooking with its parts and the product served. A few of the examples are: "What's your *recipe* for success?" and "He *cooked up* a story that nobody believed".

Heat and cold, as the most basic human experiences, are used to talk about human emotions and attitudes to people and things. For example: "in the *heat* of passion", "a *cold* reception", and "a *warm* welcome". Furthermore, a person can be described as "*burning* with love" or "*smoldering* with anger".

The properties of light and darkness often appear as weather conditions, as can be seen in the following examples: “a *dark* mood” and “She *brightened* up”.

Forces such as waves, wind, storm fire, and agents pulling, pushing, driving can be found in conceptualizations like: “She *swept* me of my feet!”, “You’re *driving* me nuts”, and “I was *overwhelmed*”.

Lastly, movement and direction should be mentioned. If movement involves a change of location, it is associated with direction (forward, backward, up, down) as seen: “He *went* crazy”, “Inflation is *soaring*”, and “She solved the problem *step by step*”.

1.3.1.2. Common Target Domains

To quote Kövecses, target domains are abstract and hardly perceivable, “they “cry out” for metaphorical conceptualization” (2010: 23). (Examples for most common target domains are taken from Kövecses also.)

Emotion concepts are usually conceptualized via the physical forces source domain, e.g.: “She was *moved* deeply” and “He *unleashed* his anger”.

Desire is understood in the terms of psychological forces like hunger and thirst, for instance: “she is *hungry* for knowledge” and “I am *starved* for affection”.

Morality is a hard to explain target domain. Concrete source concepts such as economic transactions, forces, straightness, light and dark, are most commonly used to express categories such as good and bad, honesty, courage, honor and sincerity. For example: “He’s a *shady* character”, and “She *resisted* the temptation”.

Thought is comprehended as work and as perception, such as seeing. To demonstrate: “I *see* your point” and “He *searched* for the memory”.

The most common way of conceptualizing society and nation is through the concept of family and person as in: “the founding *fathers* of the country” and “*neighboring* countries”. Also, source domains of machines and human body are quite often, e.g.: “the *functioning* of the society” and “the *machinery* of democracy”.

Politics is another one of the target domains. Political power is comprehended as physical force, games and sport, business and war: “The *fight* erupted over abortion” and “They *forced* the opposition out of the House”.

Target domain of economy is usually comprehended via the source domains of buildings, plants and journey (movement, direction), as shown: “Germany *built a strong* economy” and “the *growth* of the economy”.

Human relationships are a challenge to explain. Concepts such as friendship, love and marriage are often understood in the terms of building, plants and machines, e.g.: “It’s a *budding* relationship” and “They *built* a strong marriage”.

Communication involves a speaker, a hearer and the transfer of the message. Metaphorically these elements can be seen as containers, objects, and sending. For example: “You’re *putting* too many ideas *into* a single sentence” and “She *gave* me a lot of information”.

Probably one of the most difficult concepts to understand is the notion of time, so we see it in accordance with time in which an object moves. Here are some examples: “Time *flies*”, “Christmas is *coming up* soon”, and “The time will *come* when… ”.

Life and death are a part of life, so it is no wonder their abstract concepts need to be understood somehow. As life is a journey to some destination, it is often connected metaphorically to a day, light, warmth, etc., birth is seen as an arrival while death is seen as departure, something dark and cold. Instances of these are: “The baby will *arrive* soon”, “The Grandpa is *gone*” and “His father *passed away*”.

Religion is one of the most difficult aspects of human life. God, similar to the concepts of nation and society is seen as a person (Father, King, and Shepherd) and therefore the believers are viewed as God’s children, sheep or subjects. Other aspects of religion include notions such as eternity, life after and before death.

Events and actions are usually understood through source targets of movement and force, but they also include notions such as change, purpose, cause, as can be seen in: “She *turned* thirty last month”, “She has *reached* her goals in life” and “The goal *sent* crowd into a frenzy”.

1.3.2. Types of Conceptual Metaphor

There are distinct types of conceptual metaphor and it is possible to classify them in a variety of ways. According to Kövecses (2010), metaphors can be classified according to their conventionality, cognitive function, nature, and level of generality of the metaphor.

1.3.2.1. Conventionality of Metaphor

When speaking of the conventionality of the metaphor, we mean to discover how well entrenched is a metaphor in the everyday use by ordinary people for their ordinary, everyday purposes. Just as the nature of linguistic signs by Ferdinand de Saussure explains, the form and the meaning are related to each other in an arbitrary fashion, the same is applicable to the source and the target domain. The source domain, in de Saussure fashion would represent the form of the sign, while the target domain would represent the meaning. Namely, if a metaphoric expression is "highly conventionalized" (Kövecses 2010: 34), it means that it is well entrenched in the usage of a linguistic community. For instance, ARGUMENT IS WAR (I *defended* my argument.), LOVE IS A JOURNEY (We'll go *our separate ways*.), LIFE IS A JOURNEY (He had a *head start* in life.), IDEAS ARE FOOD (I can't *digest* all these facts.) and many others are that often used in real life speech that they have become well worn or even clichéd. In fact, for native speakers of English, these have become some of the most ordinary ways to talk about subject matters.

1.3.2.2. Cognitive Function of the Metaphor

Kövecses distinguishes three main types of metaphor; according to the cognitive functions they perform (2010: 37). These are structural, ontological and orientational metaphor. On the other hand, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 461) distinguish three basic domains of conceptual structure: physical, cultural and intellectual, accordingly.

1.3.2.2.1. Structural Metaphor

Conceptual metaphor entails understanding one conceptual domain of the metaphor in terms of another. To put it another way, this means that the cognitive function of the structural metaphors is to enable the speakers to understand target A by the means of the source B. ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is an instance of a structural metaphor since it involves "using a concept from one domain (WAR as a physical or cultural phenomenon) to structure a concept from another domain (ARGUMENT as primarily an intellectual concept, but with cultural content)" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 461).

1.3.2.2.2. Ontological Metaphor

In their book, *Metaphors We Live by* (2003: 25), Lakoff and Johnson state that experience of physical objects provides a further basis for understanding. Therefore, physical metaphors allow us ways of viewing ideas, events, activities, emotions, as entities for various purposes, "e.g. in order to refer to them, categorize them, group them or quantify them. For example: physical metaphor "You've got *too much hostility* in you" means quantifying; "My *fear of insects* is driving my wife crazy" means referring (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 461). Quantifying and referring are the basic purposes or ontological metaphors. Since metaphors like these are too basic for our conceptualizing they are hardly ever noticed, but they are still examples by which we understand nonphysical things as entities. Ontological metaphors are so natural and persuasive in our thought that we take statements like "He cracked under pressure" as being directly true or false (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 28).

In general, ontological metaphors allow us to understand better the explained structure. What this means is that we understand our experience in terms of objects, substances and containers as rather limited in a general level, so we cannot use these general categories to understand the target domains. They are too vague or abstract (Kövecses 2010: 38-39).

Source Domain		*Target Domain*
PHYSICAL OBJECT	→	NONPHYSICAL OR ABSTRACT ENTITIES (e.g. the mind)
PHYSICAL OBJECT	→	EVENTS (e.g. going to the race); ACTIONS (e.g. giving someone a call)

Kövecses (2010: 39) claims that cases like these are very unlikely noticed types of conceptual metaphor. If we conceptualize mind as an object, we can easily provide more structure for it by the means of a "machine metaphor" e.g. "My mind is *rusty* this morning". Also, we can conceive personification as a form of ontological metaphor. Personification is a figure of literature, denoting giving human qualities to nonhuman entities, but it can be found in everyday language, too, as in: Life has *cheated* me. The computer *went dead* on me.

On that note, the primary importance of social interaction is the foundation for many personification metaphors, in which some abstract concept or process is represented as a person (Ritchie 2013: 71). What is more, probably the most obvious ontological metaphors are personification metaphors. Viewing such an abstract concept of diverse phenomena in our world, phenomena that we can understand only on the basis of our motivations, actions, characteristics and goals, personification as a form of ontological metaphor helps make sense of these concepts (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 34).

1.3.2.2.3. Orientational Metaphor

The orientational metaphor does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organizes a whole system of concepts. Lakoff and Johnson call these conceptual metaphors orientational because of their relation to the spatial orientation: up and down, front and back, in and out, on and off, deep and shallow. They claim that orientational metaphors rise from the fact that we have bodies functioning as they do in our physical environment. Therefore, the classic example of this kind of metaphor is HAPPY IS UP. Since most of our fundamental concepts are organized like the spatialization metaphors, and there is an overall systematicity to how metaphors function, they are rooted into our cognitive and cultural experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 461-464).

MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN: Speak *up*, please. Keep your voice *down*, please.
HEALTHY IS UP; SICK IS DOWN: Lazarus *rose* from the dead. He *fell* ill.

This reasoning brings us to a conclusion that we base our positive or negative views on the world and environment around us fundamentally on the orientational metaphor. Therefore, the upward orientation tends to go together with positive evaluation, while downward orientation with a negative one (Kövecses 2010: 40). To conclude, Lakoff and Johnson also mention our

physical and cultural experience as bases for spatialization (i.e. orientational) metaphors, adding that "which ones are chosen, and which ones are major, may vary from culture to culture" (2003: 19).

1.3.2.3. Nature of the Metaphor

Human knowledge is based on conceptual metaphors, structures that are made of elements that are mapped from the source domain onto the target domain, giving a meaning and understanding to the concepts of the target domains. Because of that truth, we can acknowledge another type of conceptual metaphor called *image-schema*. In image-schema metaphors it is these conceptual elements that are mapped from the source domain onto the target domain. There are many schemas that play a role in our understanding of the world. This means that the basic physical experiences influence the image-schemas and then the image-schemas give structure to the abstract concepts. (Kövecses 2010: 42-44)

For example:

Image-Schema	*Metaphorical Extension*
in-out	I'm *out* of money.
front-back	He's an *up-front* kind of guy.
up-down	I'm feeling *low*.

Obviously, image-schemas are useful descriptions of spatial representations that we need to map onto the conceptual level. It can be concluded that these image-schemas emerge as meaningful structures that influence the understanding of bodily movements through space and manipulations of objects. In addition, they behave as the basis for organizing the knowledge and reasoning about the world (Oakley 2007: 215).

1.3.2.4. Levels of Generality of the Metaphor

Kövecses (2010) distinguishes two types of conceptual metaphor depending on how general they are. These are: specific-level metaphors and generic-level metaphors. Generic-level metaphors are structures with very little detail filled in, while the specific-level metaphors are

filled in with more detail. For example, metaphors such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY, AN ARGUMENT IS WAR, and IDEAS ARE FOOD are specific-level metaphors. They are specific-level metaphors because their source and target domain concepts are all specific-level concepts. Actually, most conceptual metaphors are specific-level in nature. On the other hand, conceptual metaphors such as EVENTS ARE ACTIONS and GENERIC IS SPECIFIC are generic-level metaphors. Given the generic-level of interpretation, a metaphor can apply to a wide range of cases, as is the case with the proverbs since conceptual metaphors can give us a generic-level interpretation of a specific-level proverb and allows us to understand the metaphor as a generalization of the world (ibid., 44-45).

2. The History of the English Language

2.1. The Language Change

As every other language of today, the English language too reflects centuries of changes and development. It is a fact that the language cannot develop out of itself, but has to have had some basis and connection with other languages. Languages sometimes die out, and that is mostly because of the influence of other languages they may or may not be related to.

However, the research of languages shows that it is possible to reconstruct some long lost languages based on their relatedness. The name of Sir William Jones is important for this particular aspect of language study. He studied the ancient Indian language of Sanskrit and recognized that it must be related to both Greek and Latin. Based on this discovery, other scholars were able to reconstruct a proto-language, which they called Indo-European to indicate that most of the languages of Europe and that of India are indeed related. (Drout 2006: 56-57)

2.2. The Indo-European Family

The term Indo-European family of languages concerns the geographical extent of the family. A more common term is Indo-Germanic “which is the most usual designation among the German philologists, but it is open to the objection of giving undue emphasis to the Germanic languages” (Baugh & Cable 2002: 20). Unfortunately, we have no written record of a

common parent tongue from which the European languages have sprung. However, by the comparison of these descendants, it is as said, possible to reconstruct this proto-language. The surviving languages, according to their geographical position, fall into eleven groups: Indian, Iranian, Armenian, Hellenic, Albanian, Italic, Balto-Slavic, Germanic, Celtic, Hittie and Tocharian (Figure 1).

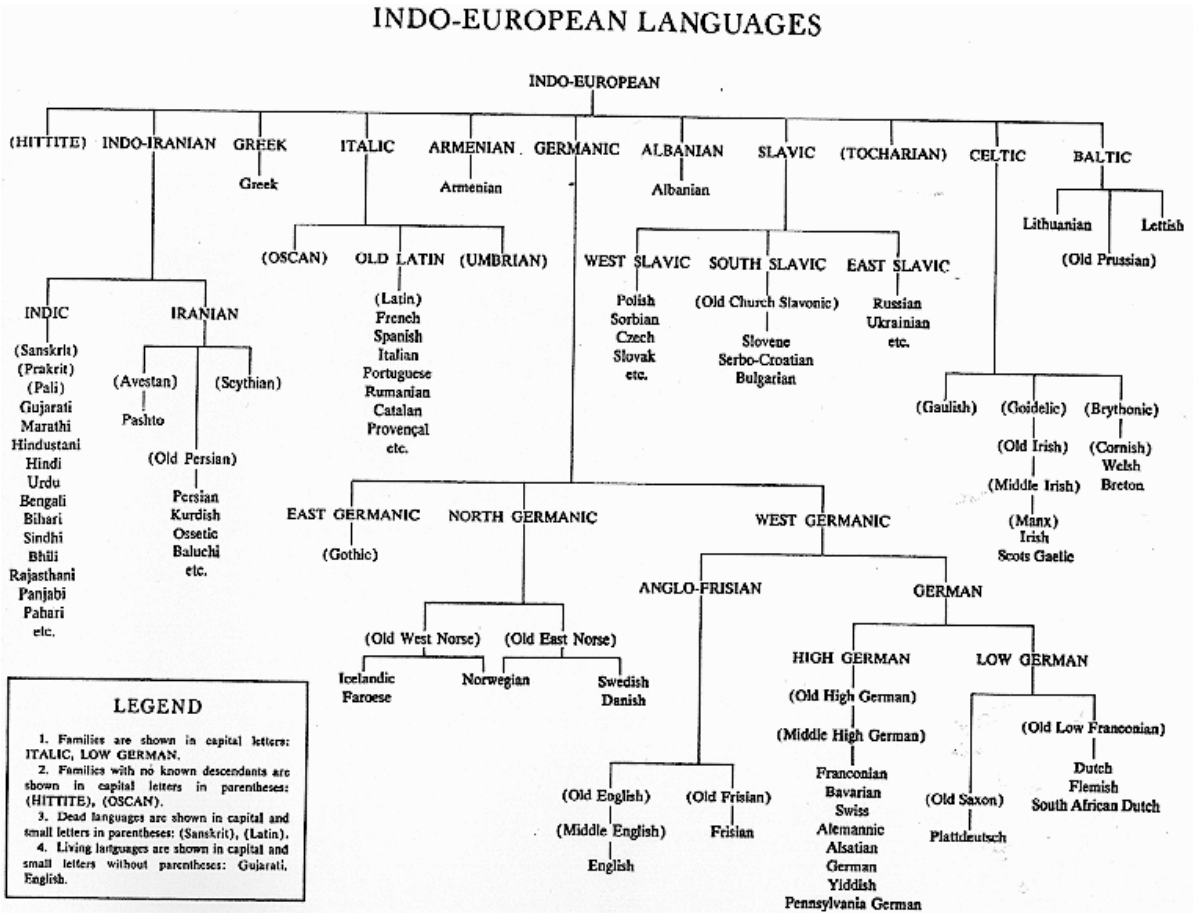

Figure 1 *Indo-European language family* (taken from Oocities.org)

2.2.1. The Germanic Languages

For the purposes of this paper, the Germanic language family is the one that matters the most since the English language belongs to it. Due to the geographical location, the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family is divided into three branches: East Germanic, West Germanic and North Germanic. In that case, "the common form that the languages of the Germanic branch had before they became differentiated is known as Germanic or Proto-Germanic" (Baugh & Cable 2002: 28).

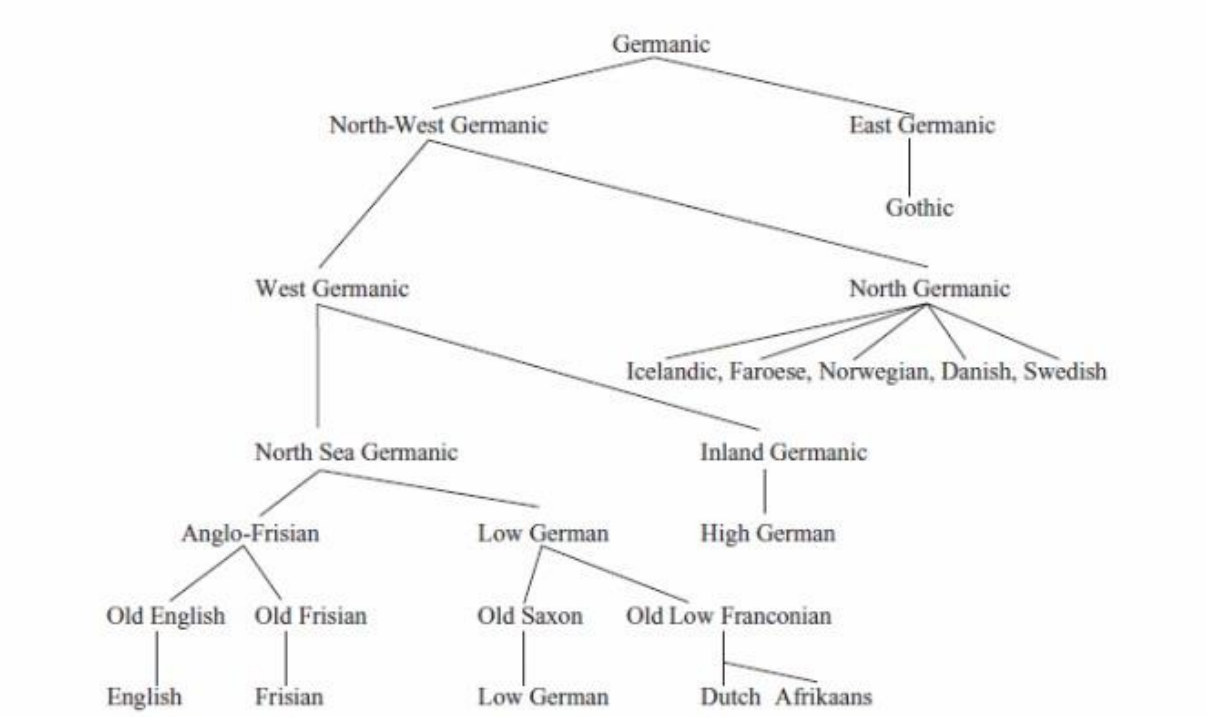

Figure 2 *The Germanic languages* (taken from Hogg & Denison 2006: 5)

From the East language family, only Gothic language is known, and that is only due to the translation of the Gospels and other parts of the New Testament made by Ulfilas. For a time, Gothic played a prominent part in the history of Europe due to the conquests of Italy by the Ostrogoths and Spain by the Visigoths, but that changed with the penetration of Latin. Burgundian and Vandalic are also mentioned as belonging to the East Germanic branch finding ground in the small number of proper names.

North Germanic is found in Scandinavia, Denmark, Iceland and the Faroe Islands. Runic inscriptions give evidence to the earliest form of Scandinavian language known of as Old Norse. From this old Scandinavian language, modern Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic have originated.

However, it is the West Germanic branch that is of most interest to us because English belongs to that group. It is divided into two branches, High (from Inland German) and Low German (from North Sea German), by the operation of a Second Sound Shift (Grimm's Law) that the old languages underwent around AD 600. High Germanic was the language of the "mountains and uplands of Germany and, after Martin Luther translated Bible (1522-1532) into this language, became the standard literary language of Germany" (Drout 2006: 60). It is

diachronically divided into Old High German (before 1100), Middle High German (1100-1500), and Modern High German (since 1500).

Next to the Old English, Low German languages are Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian and Old Frisian. Old Low Franconian with a mixture of some Frisian and Saxon elements was the basis for the modern Dutch in Netherlands and Flemish in Belgium, while the Old Frisian can be found in the Netherlands province Friesland and a small part of Schleswig. Old Saxon was the basis for the modern Low German, and Old English evolved probably in today northern Germany or southern Denmark. (Drout 2006, Baugh & Cable 2002)

2.3. Events that Shaped the History of the English Language

2.3.1. Just before the English Language

The earliest inhabitants of the British Island are the Celts (also known as Britons) who probably started to move into the area around 800 BC. Even though the modern country got its name from the Celts, their language had very little impact on the English language, and today it survives only in the Gaelic of Scotland and Ireland, Welsh and Breton. The first influences on the English came with the Romans. They found their way into the country in 55 BC under Julius Caesar, to help the Celts fight the raids of the Picts, with the more permanent occupation of Britain around 43 AD when Claudius tried to subjugate the Celts. Britain remained the part of the Roman Empire for almost 400 years, even though the Romans did not conquer the mountains of Wales and Scotland, and Latin did not replace the Celtic language. Under the attack from Visigoths, Ostrogoths and Vandals, the Romans abandoned Britain by year 436 AD, removing their cultural influence and slinging Britain into the Dark Ages.

2.3.2. Old English (circa 500 – 1100)

More permanent development of the English started with the arrival of the Germanic tribes: Angles, Saxons and Jutes who began populating the British Isles in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. The Jutes settled in the southern areas of Kent, Hampshire and the Isle of Wright, on the east coast where they provided a wall against the sea raids of the Picts, and the Angels settled on the east coast of Britain, in the North and East Anglia. The warlike Saxons

gradually inhabited the southeastern part of the British mainland. They all spoke variations of a West Germanic tongue similar to modern Frisian. Four different dialects of Old English language emerged: Northumbrian in the north of England, Mercian in the Midlands, West-Saxon in the west and south, and Kentish in the southeast. The Germanic tribes pushed out the Celtic inhabitants into the regions of today's Wales, Scotland and Ireland, Cornwall and even the Brittany region of the northern France. The evidence of the Anglo-Saxon invasion can be found in a number of place names throughout England. Also, the new nation, in antiquity known as Albion, Britannia during the times of Romans, was now named Anglaland or Englaland (the land of the Angles, later shortened into England) with its language Englisc (Old English or Anglo-Saxon).

The Celts and the early Anglo-Saxons used the alphabet of runes, and with the Christianization by St Augustine's (who became the Archbishop of Canterbury) and conversion of the king of Kent in 597 AD, the more rounded Roman alphabet was accepted because it was better suited for writing on parchment. The Latin language was used only by the more educated and the ruling classes, but it still influenced a lot of Old English words. The literature bloomed, especially in the Northumbria which provided the greatest historian, Venerable Bede (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 7th-8th centuries).

The Vikings arrived in the 8th century from Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The Danes were the strongest in their raids and under the influence of Alfred the Great, by the 10th century West Saxon had become more dominant and therefore the official *koine*. He also settled the truce with the Vikings and signed "Danelaw" which gave the northeast half of England to the Danes, whose influence can nowadays be seen in the names of places.

The oldest surviving text of the Old English literature is *Caedmon's Hymn*, and the longest is *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. By the far best known is the epic *Beowulf*, probably written in the 8th century and then revised in the 10th and 11th.

2.3.3. Middle English (circa 1100 – 1500)

The Middle English period began with the Norman invasion of 1066 AD. After Edward the Confessor's death, William, the Duke of Normandy, invaded England and crowned himself king after the Battle of Hastings where he killed the king Harold. The result of his actions was

the influx of French words into the upper class. Many of the words that were related to government, law, social life and learning were borrowed from French into English, primarily the Parisian French and not Norman French. However, by the middle 13th century, French began to lose its prestige. King Edward I came to power and he only spoke English. The upper class tried to learn English but they still used some French words. The Hundred Years War (1337-1453) and the Black Death played a role in the emergence of the English speaking middle class. The Statue of Pleading (1362) had an enormous role in the adaptation of English language since it proclaimed English the official language of the courts and Parliament. This split between the Romanic words used by the aristocracy and the Germanic words used by the Anglo-Saxon common people was around the 13th century which eventually changed into a mixture that became known as Middle English. The most important work of literature of that time is Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* in which he used this reformed English and introduced a number of new words from the French roots.

2.3.4. Early Modern English (circa 1500-1800)

The new changes upon the English language came with the Renaissance and with it many Latin and Greek words were brought into English language. Shakespeare was the most prominent author of the Elizabethan time with him coining many words and phrases that are familiar in the modern English. Two other things influenced the language and helped the differentiation of Middle English and Modern English. The first was the Great Vowel Shift, a change that as a result had the shortening of the long vowels. The second was the printing press. English language can be grateful to William Caxton for the introduction of the printing press in England in 1476, and in 1582, Richard Mulcaster published his *Elementarie* proposing a change of the spelling system. Printing for masses became a profitable business which also brought the standardization of the English language and the standard was found in the London dialect since most of the publication houses were situated there. Also, the first dictionary was published in 1604, *A Table Alphabetical* by Robert Cawdrey. However, it was not until Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English language* in 1755 that a dictionary was considered reliable.

2.3.5. Late Modern English (1800-present)

The Industrial Revolution of the late 18th and early 19th century gave rise to a vocabulary expansion due to the new technologies that had not existed before. The British Empire and the rise of the global trade (that expanded enormously since the 16th and 17th century) also played an important role in the expansion of the English vocabulary with its bringing of foreign words from all the British colonies (18th – 20th century) all around the world (Australia, America, and India). Finally, two world wars brought a lot of military slang that became fixed in the modern English expressions.
(Chapter 2.3, Web: <http://thehistoryofenglish.com/index.html>)

3. Theoretical Approach to the Kinship Metaphor

3.1. Defining the Kinship Metaphor

It is a fact that we try to understand abstract concepts (the target domain) by the means of the physical world and our own experiences (the source domain). Among a variety of everyday aspects and phenomena in our lives, the role of kinship and family is probably the most essential one. By definition, *family* is a group or people consisting of two parents, children and close relations. Also, an old fashioned of formal way when speaking about family is to use the term *kin*. (OALD)

The term *kin* (n.) derives circa 1200 from Old English word *cynn* meaning family; race; sort, kind, rank; nature; gender, sex, which originated from the Proto-Germanic **kunjam* which means family. The word comes from a Proto-Indoeuropean root **gen(e)*- which means to produce, and is shared by Greek word *genos* and Latin *genus* denoting race. (OED) *Webster's New World Dictionary* also brings the Middle English form *kyn* as similar to the modern form.

By this etymology of the word *kin*, the term *kinship* is of slightly modern coining and can by derivation using the suffix *-ship* be used to define the fact of being related in a family and the feeling of closeness because of similar origins and attitudes.

Since we may understand the notions of *relation* and *resemblance* in the terms of *kin relation* and *family resemblance*, a way of understanding abstract concepts that are related in any way

is by using the terms of kinship metaphorically. In short, we can explain metaphors to ourselves in the terms of what we understand about family. “Kinship metaphor also leads us to the study of the human mind along other paths. It is not surprising when we consider that we often place things into the same category on the basis of what has been called family resemblance. Family resemblances are perhaps the similarities that from infancy we notice the most” (Turner 2000: 15).

3.2. Conventionalized Kinship Metaphors

Proverbs like “Necessity is the mother of invention” and “A proverb is the child of experience” and popular songs as Randy Newman’s “Rider in the Rain” where he sings “I’m the son of the prairie and the wind that sweeps the plain” are examples of kinship metaphors in everyday language and culture (Turner 2000: 17). Such metaphorical expressions are not arbitrary; they are motivated by our experience and our personal knowledge of kinship relations. As the traditional definition of metaphor suggests, metaphors provide us with a way of seeing one conceptual domain (the target domain) by the means of another conceptual domain (the source domain). That is we understand two concepts based on their shared properties and as Kövecses’ (2010) research into the most common source and target domains has shown, family domain is certainly a diverse basis for understanding the relations and resemblance between things.

On account of the view of the metaphor as based on similarities, we understand a basic conceptual metaphor expressed as A THING IS WHAT IT HAS SALIENT PROPERTIES OF. Supposing an English person says “England is my mother”, there is another underlying basic metaphor: A NATION IS A PERSON. As metonymy is usually understood as the act of referring to one person or a thing using the name of the other, by association we get a PROPERTIES ARE PERSONS metaphor. If the person sees his/her country as having the same salient functionality as the mother, and our knowledge of the world tells us that a nation is not a human thing, giving it a human property means that a personification metaphor AN ABSTRACT PROPERTY IS A PERSON WHOSE SALIENT CHARACTERISTIC IS THAT PROPERTY is at work here (Turner 2000: 18-22).

3.3. Basic Kinship Metaphors

Children inherit basic characteristic from their parents, so having the knowledge and experience of that we may say “Well, she’s her mother’s daughter” or “Like mother, like daughter”. Even though the personification of properties is a general metaphor, explains Turner (2000; also Lakoff – Espenson – Schwartz 1991), it can combine with this inheritance principle and form the first basic kinship metaphor: (1.) AN ABSTRACT PROPERTY IS THE PARENT OF SOMETHING HAVING THAT PROPERTY (e.g. child of evil).

On the other hand, as parents transfer their properties onto their children, at one point in the child’s gestation process, it was a part of the mother, meaning it was a part of the whole: (2.) THE WHOLE IS THE MOTHER OF THE PARTS (e.g. mother node, daughter node).

Since children spring from the mother, hence they are called offspring: (3.) WHAT SPRINGS FROM SOMETHING IS ITS OFFSPRING (e.g. Italian is the offspring of Latin).

This third basic kinship theory has three special cases. Since effects spring from causes, we have (3a) CAUSES ARE PARENTS AND EFFECTS ARE CHILDREN (e.g. age is the mother of sickness).

The traditional causation metaphor “*conditions are causes and results are effects”* interacts with (3a) and yields another basic kinship metaphor: (4) CONDITIONS ARE PARENTS AND RESULTS ARE OFFSPRING (e.g. filth is the mother of stench). According to this metaphor, one understands the filth as a condition of which the stench is the result.

“The subsequent thing springs from the initial thing” metaphor combines with (3) forming basic kinship metaphor: (5) THE SUBSEQUENT THING IS THE OFFSPRING OF THE INTIAL THING (e.g. May is the mother of monthes glades). In England, May is the first full month of good weather after a hard winter which means that other months are subsequent.

Since siblings usually have the salient properties of their parents and they usually share those properties among each other, we have another basic kinship metaphor: (6) MEMBERS OF A NATURAL GROUP ARE SIBLINGS (e.g. Death is the brother of sleep).

Lastly, we know that the first sibling is the oldest, so that means that: (7) A PRIOR RELATED THING IS AN OLDER SIBLING (e.g. light’s elder brother).

4. Corpus Study

4.1. Design of the Corpus Study

The corpus study for this research paper includes the diachronic change of each noun pertaining to family relationship and the semantic change of the appointed word. This was done manually researching dictionaries, with a *One Look Dictionary Search* (http://www.onelook.com/) as the main source used to direct to other online dictionaries, considering the semantic meanings of the nouns pertaining to family relationship, and the computer edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary*, 7th edition. From there, depending on the number of dictionaries found containing the searched noun, a summary of the particular noun was given. This summary included giving the most acceptable definitions of the noun, its usages and examples.

Online Etymology Dictionary (http://www.etymonline.com/) was used for the diachronic change aspect of research. The noun of kinship in question is looked at from the point of both the Proto-Germanic root and the Proto-Indoeuropean root, with its cognates in related languages. *Webster's New World Dictionary* proves to coordinate both of these aspects, the etymological changes of the nouns researched and their appointed meanings.

The core part of the research is a look into the phrases and metaphorical expressions that are customary in the modern English language and communication. A retrospective look is given according to the usages of these expressions through history, with concurrent example sentences provided.

As the concluding chapter of this research, a common table is given with historical dates of semantic references (expressions, in the *Table 2*) of the nouns pertaining to family relationships (source domains) with their attributed meanings (target domain).

However, it is to remember that not every semantic reference is possible to track through their diachronic changes, due to the lack of available resources, but only the source domains can be studied that way. Semantic references are, more often than not, products of historical events or other factors, sometimes unknown. Therefore, a table of diachronic development of each noun referring to family relationships is also given in a diachronic sequence (*Table 1*).

List of abbreviations used in the corpus:

OED – Online Etymology Dictionary

FD – Free Dictionary

MW – Merriam Webster

CD – Collins Dictionaries

OD – Oxford Dictionaries

Voc – Vocabulary.com

OL – One Look

UD – Urban Dictionary

WS – wordsmyth.net

WOD – Webster's Online Dictionary

Dict – Dictionary.com

Mac – Macmillan Dictionary

CDO – Cambridge Dictionaries Online

WNWD – Webster's New World Dictionary

4.2. Family

According to *The Free Dictionary*, the term *family* was first related to the servants of a household and then to both the servant and the descendants of a common ancestor for which it started being used only in 1667. It comes from Latin *familia* "household, household servants", which came from another Latin term, *famulus* meaning "servant". (FD) The Indo-European form **dhe-mo-* denoted "house" while the Sanskrit form *dhāman* meant "household". (WNWD)

The term family, Middle English form *familie*, has replaced Old English term *hiwscipe* and is known in English language from about 1400 and it can be regarded in terms of several meanings. The ancestral sense of the word denotes to early 15th century and the word is recorded in English in the sense of a household from 1540s. The main modern sense is that of

"those connected by blood" (no matter whether they are living together or not) is first attested in the 1660s.

There are several expressions that are still in use such as: *family values* (first recorded in 1966), *in a family way* denotes "pregnant" (1796), *family circle* (1809), *family man* denoting "a man devoted to wife and children" (1856, while earlier it meant "thief", *family* in a slang sense of "the fraternity of thieves" 1788). (OED)

The dictionary inventory provides us with examples of phrases and collocations containing the noun *family*. Some of these include: *language families, family tree, family name, family room, family doctor (or family practitioner), family values, royal family, the First Family,* and so on. All of these expressions are in a way metaphorical because none are used in the language as the concrete examples of families but as something that is connected or in relation to *family*.

4.2.1. Language family

When referring to a group of related things, it is easy and useful to use the term *family* to express their relatedness. In linguistics, for example languages are connected due to the historical circumstances so we can talk about *language families*, i.e. *the Germanic language family* (OALD). What is more, the term *family* here is used as a metaphor comparing languages to people of a biological family tree in a subsequent arrangement. Supposing that we know the branching of the Indo-European group of languages, we talk about the Slavic, Roman and Germanic language families as sisters in the Indo-European language family, or as daughters of the Indo-European language family. The same is applicable to the single languages.

4.2.2. Family Tree

The term *family tree* denotes the genealogical diagram picturing the blood relations between people in several generations of a family. The first known use of the word is circa 1770.

How far back can you trace your *family tree*? (OALD)
A framed *family tree* hung on the wall.

His *family tree* includes writers, musical composers, and other notables in the arts. (MW)

4.2.3. Family Name

This term denotes that the people of the same family share the same *family name* (also called surname and last name). The first known use of the word is 1699.

Her *family name* is Smith.
Many women today do not change their *family name* when they marry. (MW)

4.2.4. Family Room

According to the OALD, there are two main distinctions of the term *family room*. In American English, it usually means a room in a house where the family can spend their time together. On the other hand, in Britain, it may mean a room in a pub where children are allowed to sit. *Merriam-Webster online dictionary* claims that the first known use of the term family room is in 1810.

Downstairs, in what would have been the family room, she kept the Collection.
A lower-level family room opens on to a private courtyard.
(Examples taken from CD)

4.2.5. Family Doctor (or Family Practitioner)

The expression *family doctor* or *family practitioner* is informal name, usually in Britain, for a general practitioner, denoting a physician who does not specialize but has a medical practice.

Experts believe that family doctors are now better equipped to spot the signs of dementia.
The challenge will be convincing the sick to give up their trusted family doctors. (Voc)

4.2.6. Royal Family and the First Family

Both terms basically denote the same meaning, that of belonging to a powerful family that in some way rules a country and has the most influence when making decisions. This means that when talking about the family of the president of i.e. United States we would use the term *First Family*, but when talking about the British aristocracy i.e., we would use the term *Royal Family*. These expressions are metaphorical because they do not mean that the members of these families are first in the literal sense of the word that they were born first. The expressions are used metaphorically to denote that the members of these families are a priority when it comes to protecting them, caring for them, or such; they are figures of the nation in a way. (OL)

On the other hand, these terms can be used in a pejorative or degrading way, as can be seen from the following examples:
a) *Alabama's a bit royal family. Now I think about it, so is most of America.* (“parasites“)
b) Turmoil broke out in the royal family when Steven got jealous of his boyfriend's tiara. (Slang for a homosexual couple) (UD)

4.2.7. Family Values

Family values, such as honesty, loyalty, industry and faith are literally seen as traditionally the basis of a family. Therefore, it does not surprise that this view on the family values extends metaphorically into politics, being defined as a political and social view of high moral standards as typical as a traditional family unit. (CD)

According to the *Online Etymology Dictionary*, *family values* as a term is first recorded in 1966, whereas *Merriam-Webster* places the term about half a century earlier, in 1916. On the other hand, *Urban Dictionary* attributes the term as the catchphrase used mostly by politicians. It says that the phrase was first used by Dan Quayle in the 1992 US election. (UD)

4.3. Father

According to the modern usage of the word, *father* denotes a male parent of a child or an animal, genetically connected. This can be understood better through examples: “Ben’s a wonderful father” and “Our new boss is a father of three”. (OALD)

The first known use of the word father (n.) is before the 12th century. The word derives from an Old English word *fæder* meaning “male ancestor”, originated from the Proto-Germanic **fader*. The relatedness can be found in some other languages, namely, Old Saxon *fadar*, Old Frisian *feder*, Dutch form of the word is *vader*, Old Norse *faðir*, Old High German form *fater* resulted in the modern German word *Vater*. Proto-Indoeuropean form is reconstructed as **pəter* and is similar to the Sanskrit *pitar-*, Greek *pater* and Latin *pater*, not to forget Old Persian word *pita* and Old Irish *athir* “father”. (OED) The Middle English form *fader* (WNWD) is the springboard between the Modern and Old English.

The word’s cognates are the classic illustration of the First Germanic Sound Shift, also known as the Grimm’s Law, where the Proto-Indoeuropean sound “p” transformed into the Germanic “f”. The change can be represented as: *p → f [ɸ].

Today, there are examples of the usage of the word *father* quite often and not necessarily in the traditional ancestor meaning: idioms and proverbs such as *like father, like son* and *from father to son* (OALD) are quite common in everyday language.

4.3.1. Holy Father / Father / Our Father

There is a variety of terms that can be associated with the word *father* as the source conceptual domain for metaphorical usage, targeting the domain of the religion. As Kövecses has found (2010), religion is one of the main conceptual target domains where we can apply the kinship metaphor (26). Since the key aspect of the religion domain involves our view of God as the creator deity of the world just like genetically the father figure is the parent that decides on various aspects of the child in his/her conception, we view God as our father, and we, as the believers and his followers, are his children. Therefore, if we spring from God, we are his offspring (WHAT SPRINGS FROM SOMETHING IS ITS OFFSPRING metaphor). Also, when referring to God by the means of the word father, in writing we use capital letter, also *Our Father*. A very small difference is presented with the term *Holy Father*, since the

term can mean two things: a God in various Christian religions and the title of the Pope of the Catholic Church. (OL) *Webster's New World Dictionary* also brings the term as referring to a priest who hears confessions, or as a person to whom one habitually tells private matters. However, the mystery remains as to when was the term used in the religion concept, but we can assume fairly early since it corresponds with the Latin prayer *Pater Noster*. Also, its usage can be found in the *Middle English Dictionary*.

Our father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. (Wiki)

4.3.2. Father Time

Time is an abstract concept that is really hard to understand without some connotative meaning. Lakoff and Johnson determined that time in English language is structured in the terms of the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT metaphor, with the future moving towards us. The proverb "Time flies" is an example of that metaphor (1980: 468).

However, OALD contains and defines this specific collocation as an imaginary figure which represents time and looks like an old man carrying a scythe and an hourglass, so we can apply the AN ABSTRACT ITEM IS A PERSON metaphor. That is why, the term father, since it "can connote stateliness and abstraction" (Turner 2000: 51), is used to as a source domain concept to metaphorically imply the target domain concept, time as a general idea not based on any particular real person, thing or situation.

As time really is a moving object, it is only understandable that the abstract concept of time would be represented as an old man. Several dictionaries also mention white beard as the symbol of ageneses. The term seems to be in active use since 1590. (MW)

Having spent the previous decade looking and feeling younger than my years, I went overnight from Peter Pan to Father Time.
Well, a good way to stall Father Time is by watching what you eat. (Examples from CD)

4.3.3. Father Christmas

Another similar collocation is *Father Christmas*. *Merriam Webster* defines the word as a British expression, meaning Santa Claus, with the first known usage of the word dating back

to 1658. However, the term was first attested in a carol attributed to Richard Smart, Rector of Plymtree (Devon) from 1435 till 1477 (OED).

Therefore, it is difficult to determine the age of the term. OALD only states that the collocation is of the obscure origin. To be more precise, the conventionalized image of *Father Christmas* is comparatively recent: in late medieval Europe he became identified with St Nicholas (Santa Claus). This confirms that in England *Father Christmas* was a personification of Christmas, an old man who appeared in many 16th century masques. There was also a great revival of the celebration of Christmas in the 19th century and *Father Christmas* acquired from St Nicholas the association of present-bringing.

Because Christmas is not literally a father, but by the means of a concrete concept of the father domain we understand the abstract concept of a holiday figure, an imaginary one (OALD), the term is considered metaphorical.

His cousin Daphne reminisces how their grandfather used to dress up as Father Christmas.
Some are addressed to Father Christmas in the North Pole, others to Mr Santa in Lapland. (Voc)

4.3.4. Metaphorical Expression *the father of* / Founding Father

Henry Moore is considered to be the father of modern British sculpture. (OALD)
*George Washington was the father of his country. (*Turner 2000: 120)

Very often examples such as above can be found in everyday language and communication. It is effortless to use the concepts from our concrete life experiences and situations when in need of describing a concept that has arisen from another concept. Because traditionally, the father is usually considered to be the creator of things, when we need to denote that a concept was invented by or made by someone, we usually prefer to use the masculine parent, i.e. the father.

Understanding notions of society and nation has proven complex. Because of that, common ways of understanding these abstract concepts as target concepts include understanding them through the source concept of family that is ever-present in one's life. Turner (2000: 24) gives following examples: *the founding fathers of the country, neighboring countries, a friendly nation,* and similar.

Instances like the above are used to express "a specific instance of causation" (Turner 2000: 125). The conceptual metaphor we need to fully interpret these statements is CAUSATION IS PROGENERATION. In the conceptual mapping of this conceptual metaphor, cause corresponds with a parent (usually mother and father) and effects correspond to a child (son, daughter). In these cases, specific instances of causation are expressed using the specific parent and child. So, saying a sentence like *George Washington is the father of his country* we are referring to his work and efforts to form the institution of the United States as it is. To conclude this metaphorical expression, sentences with the expression "the father of" "vaguely suggest that the action of a human being causes a physical event" (Turner 2000: 137). Such an example suggests that human action, human vision, ideas, and judgment form the cause, but the result is both the physical event and a shapeless state.

Lakoff claims that part of our conceptual system is a common metaphorical concept, NATION IS A FAMILY, with the government or the head of the country seen as an older male authority figure. "George Washington was called "the father of his country", partly because he was the metaphorical "progenitor" who brought it into being and partly because he was seen as the ultimate head of the state, which according to this metaphor is the head of the family, the father" (Lakoff 2002: 153).

A similar case can be found in the phrase *founding father* where two basic understandings are found. It comprises the person who starts or develops a new movement, institution or an idea. But when written in capital letters (*Founding Father*), it describes a member of the group of people who wrote the Constitution of the United States in 1787 (OALD). According to the *Online Etymology Dictionary*, the term denoting the Founding Fathers of the United States is attested from 1916.

The Founding Fathers grappled with the issues of the balance of power among the branches of the new government.
Her great grandfather was the founding father of the company. (WS)

4.3.5. Fatherland

Dictionary entries define the term *fatherland* as the land of one's ancestors. (OL) The term comes from the 1620s, from interaction of the word *father* (n.) and the word *land* (n.). This modern use is a translation of the German word *Vaterland* which itself was a translation of the

Latin word *patria* (*terra*), a word literally meaning “father’s land”. Late Old English or Middle English word *fæderland* (around 1100) denoted the meaning of “parental land, inheritance”. (OED) *Middle English Dictionary* confirms that with examples.

No force on earth can separate the Jews from the fatherland, from this land to which they are bound by ancient links.
“If anyone were to come here and to try to seize the fatherland from us, we would make him bite the dust," he said. (Examples taken from CD)

Modern usage of the term is also found in slang when referring to Germany during the World War II as the Fatherland (capitalized in writing), for example: *Germany, my true Fatherland!*. However, there is also the usage of the expression referring to a country inflicting war upon another nation, i.e. *Is fighting for your Fatherland really glorious?*. (UD)

4.3.6. Father figure

He's been a father figure to me.
He became a father figure to the whole company. (from CD)

Father figure is someone who is thought of as taking the place of a father and being the person you can turn to for advice, support, guidance, or help. That is, a *father figure* is an older man that somebody respects because he will advise them and help them like a father. (OALD; OL)

Supposing *Merriam Webster* is right, the first known usage of the term was around 1934.

4.4. Mother

The word *mother* originates from the Middle English *moder* and Old English term *mōdor* referring to a “female parent”. As the word is of Germanic origin, it is related to the Old Saxon word *modar*, Old Frisian *moder*, Old Norse *moðir*, Danish word *moder* and Dutch *moeder*, Old High German word *muoter* and modern German *Mutter*. Furthermore, a look into the language history brings us to the Proto-Germanic reconstructed term **mothær* which originated from the Proto-Indoeuropean root **mater*-, shared by Latin *mater*, Old Irish *mathir*, Sanskrit *meter* and Old Church Slavonic *mati*. (OED, WNWD)

Merriam Webster online dictionary dates the word to even before the 12th century, while *Online Etymology Dictionary* dates the spelling with *–th-* to the early 16th century, though that pronunciation is probably even older.

She was a wonderful mother to both her natural and adopted children.
I want to buy a present for my mother and father. (OALD)

Mother as a member of one's family plays a great role in one's experience and life. For that reason only, there is no doubt that many language expressions have a word *mother* in them. Most of them have become so ingrained into our cognitive system that it is almost impossible to differentiate all the possible meanings. Its relevance provides the English language with a number of expressions, idioms and proverbs such as: *like mother, like daughter, the mother of (all) something, mother country, motherland, mother tongue, motherboard, mother ship, mother node, mother-of-pearl, mother hen, mother figure, Mother Nature, Mother Earth, Mother Superior, Reverend Mother*, and so on. (OALD)

As a matter of fact, because of these expressions we can agree with Lakoff that "mother is a concept that is based on a complex model in which a number of individual cognitive models combine, forming a cluster model" (1987: 74). As the models that form this cluster model, Lakoff entertains the birth model (gives birth), the genetic model (contributes the genetic material), the nurturance model (nurtures and raises a child), the marital model (the wife of the father), and the genealogical model (the closest female ancestor). On top of that, the results of the dictionary search prove that there is no only one, generally accepted meaning for such a common concept as that of a mother. Furthermore, these models are a basis for different metaphorical senses expressed with the word *mother*.

4.4.1. Mother Country / Motherland, and Mother Tongue

Contrary to the term *fatherland,* the term *motherland* attested from 1711. (OED) The term *mother country* is in use from about 1587, while *mother tongue* is known since the 14th century, according to *Merriam Webster*.

Both terms, *mother country* and *motherland,* are used to denote the meaning of the land of one's ancestor and the country where one is born and has a strong emotional connection to, a

place of origin. However, the term *mother country* can also mean the country that controls or used to control the government of another country. (OALD)

Just as the term *Fatherland* has been used to denote Germany, the term *Motherland* can be used to refer to Russia. Henceforth, according to the *Urban Dictionary*, the popular usage of the saying *Mother Russia* in urban culture is often found when referring to a nation or culture symbolizing collectivity and union.

It's a sort of prayer for peace in my motherland.
I was born in this country, but I'm not a Ugandan, it's not my motherland.
(Examples taken from CD)

The instances like these can be considered metaphorical expressions only in terms of the fact that they are not mothers in the literal sense; a country is not a mother, and a tongue is not a mother. This we deduce on the basis of our previous knowledge of the world. If we use metaphorical expressions to comprehend one conceptual domain in terms of another, we can use the concrete domain of the term mother to understand something that is abstract. As is the case with these examples, we use collocations to refer to the target domain as something that we have inherited from our mothers, i.e. the language which we speak and the country where we were born. The usage of the terms like these is due mostly to the fact we can acknowledge that some things are inherited from our parent, i.e. mother here. Since we cannot comprehend such notions as the meaning of the *mother country* or *mother tongue*, by using the basic kinship metaphor AN ABSTRACT PROPERTY IS THE PARENT OF SOMETHING HAVING THAT PROPERTY, we understand that the country and the language are properties we have received from our mother, so therefore, they are also ours. What is more, WNWD confirms that with the definition of the word in the adjectival sense as a concept that is of, like, or like that of a mother, as derived or learned from one's mother.

4.4.2. Mother Nature / Mother Earth

A mother is a nurturing and giving woman. The whole concept of mother is expressed with the traditional view of a mother as caring for and protecting her children or other people. On the basis of that our cognitive system portrays nature and earth as a mother.

We understand metaphors as based on similarities, expressed through a basic conceptual metaphor A THING IS WHAT IT HAS SALIENT PROPERTIES OF. It is those similarities that we base our knowledge on and unconsciously use the metaphors. Just as a mother would care for a child, nature and Earth care for the animals and plants providing them with food, water and shelter, etc.

"Natural world is what gives us life, what makes all of life possible, and what sustains us. Nature has provided and continues to provide" (Lakoff 2002: 215). On that note, there are two conceptual metaphors that we can apply to our situation here: NATURE IS A MOTHER and NATURE IS A HOME. The first metaphor sees mother as a nurturer and provider, just as a relationship between a mother and a child is a nurturing one, which gives meaning to life. Moreover, a mother provides a home for her children, as already mentioned; the nature provides its inhabitants with a home too.

From the diachronic view, the term *Mother Nature* was first attested circa 1600 while the term *mother earth* comes from 1580s. (OED)

4.4.3. Mother Superior / Reverend Mother / Mother

As previously stated, Kövecses (2010) placed the concept of religion among the most common target domains. Once again, based on our knowledge and experience with the source concept of mother, we form metaphorical concepts using the term mother metaphorically based on the principle of similarity. This means that the understanding of the properties and qualities we find in the source domain of mother transfers them into the target domain of religion. Therefore, A THING IS WHAT IT HAS SALIENT PROPERTIES OF metaphor is applicable.

In Christian religious belief God is the father of all and Virgin Mary is the mother of Jesus and all other, therefore the term *Mother* (capitalized) is metaphorically often used to refer to Her. The term mother referring to Virgin Mary and an abbess can be found exemplified in the *Middle English Dictionary*. The term *Mother of God* is brought as a title of Virgin Mary (WNWD). Similarly, the term has been a metaphorical expression of the old pagan beliefs. The mother is the archetypical feminine, a symbol of life, birth, nurturance and caring, "there is no culture that has not employed some maternal symbolism in depicting its deities".

(*Encyclopaedia Brittanica*) That distribution of symbolic meaning was very popular and active during the Stone Ages and the old Pagan views of the old Celts. (*The Goddess in Avalon*) As far as belief mythologies go, there is also the term *Earth Mother*, which refers again to the goddesses of the earth, and they are usually mothers of other deities in the mythology. This is because people are used to seeing the mother from which all life sprang. (WOD)

However, *Mother Superior* and the *Reverend Mother* are terms used to refer as a title of a woman who is the head of a covenant in the Christian Church, and Anglican and Episcopal usage. (OL) The phrase *Mother Superior* is thought to originate 1905-10 (Dict), but no dating is found concerning the phrase *Reverend Mother*.

Example sentences:
She sat on an unpadded chair and slept on a board-like bed like the mother superior of a strict-regime convent.
Her case was brought to our notice and Reverend Mother sent Soeur Monique and myself to bring her to the convent. (CD)

4.4.4. Metaphorical Expressions Meaning *the mother of*

There is a wide range of "x is kin of y" metaphors in English language, as we have already seen with the "the father of" examples. The same is applicable to the *mother*, i.e. *Necessity is the mother of invention*. A whole lot of mother metaphors derive from the basic kinship metaphor: THE WHOLE IS THE MOTHER OF THE PARTS (Turner 2000). Therefore we are assaulted with collocations such as *mother node* and *mother ship* in our language and communication. A certain mother-child relationship is visible from these examples.

The word *node* comes from the Latin word *nodus* which meant "knot", and was borrowed into English language in the late Middle English, around 1400 denoting "a lump in the flesh". However, the meaning of "point of intersection" was first adopted in 1660s. (OED) Furthermore, OALD defines *node* in the technical terms, linked to the computing business, as a point in which two systems intercross.

In conclusion, adding the term *mother* to the term *node* to make a collocation is a metaphorical principle. This means that, just as *mother* is the vital part of a household and the

symbol of birth, the term *mother node* denotes that the *mother node* is the main part of the node system. To say it by means of the kinship conceptual metaphor, the *mother node* is the mother of parts, in this case, the mother to the *daughter nodes*. That is how Turner sees the term also, as a "hierarchical structure of sentences, conceived as a part-whole schema: the mother node is the whole, and the daughters are the parts" (2000: 263). This is the perfect example of the subsequence basic kinship metaphor: THE SUBSEQUENT THING SPRINGS FROM THE INITIAL THING.

In addition, the explanation for the term *mother lode* is found in the dictionaries; usually it refers to a very rich source of gold, silver, etc. in a mine, or an abundant and rich source; as the term is used mainly in the North American English (also marked as Americanism in WNWD). For example:

He scratched again and apparently hit the mother lode by the look of his nails.
"It could be the mother lode of information that leads to the inner workings of al Qaeda," one official said. (CD)

It is the same principle of subsequence metaphor that we understand the term *mother ship*. Supposing we have a fleet of ships or that we are explorers of the universe, having our own fleet of spaceships. It is that *mother ship* one that serves the purpose of being the base or a center of command. As a matter of fact, the term dates back to the nineteenth century whaling trade, when small, fast ships were used to chase and kill whales. After that, the *mother ship* concept was used in the moon landings performed in the 1960s. (Wiki) Along with that meaning, comes the fact that the term was first used around 1890 (OED).

The three passengers - Newman, Karlov and Sarin - were transferred to the motorboat which returned to its mother ship.
When one exploded, the sea became covered with slurry that made return to the mother ship difficult. (CD)

4.5. Daughter

The word *daughter* is a derivation of the Middle English word *doughter* from Old English word *dohtor* which originated from the Proto-Germanic **dochter* and the earlier version **dhukter*. It is similar to the Old Saxon *dohtar*, Old Norse *dottir*, Old Frisian and Dutch

dochter, the Gothic word *dauhtar* and the German word *Tochter*. These forms have developed from the Proto-Indoeuropean word **dhugheter* which were shared to the Sanskrit *duhitar-*, Armenian *dustr*, Old Church Slavonic *dušti*, Lithuanian *dukte*, and Greek *thygater*. This common Indo-European root was lost in the Celtic and Latin (*filia, filius*). *Merriam Webster* places the usage of the word before the 12th century, but the modern spelling of the word developed in the 16th century in the southern England. (OED)

As the dictionary entries show, the term denotes a female offspring of the human parents. Such examples are found in OALD: *Her daughter was a continual source of delight to her*., and *Her estate was left to her daughter*.

However, there are examples that show the metaphorical usage by the means of relation.

4.5.1. Metaphorical Expression *the daughter of*

The United States is the daughter of Great Britain. (MW)
She spoke as the true daughter of the city. (Macmillan)

These specific examples are metaphoric in nature because the first sentence does not say that Great Britain is the mother of the United States but that in a lot of aspects of their functioning and government they are almost the same. This is the instance of the personification metaphor where the two nations are represented as mother and daughter based on their similarities with each other. In the case of the other example, our experience tells us that the phrase is metaphoric because we know that a town cannot have children, so therefore this phrase refers to the young female population that lives in that particular town. These are the examples of the AN ABSTRACT PROPERTY IS PARENT OF SOMETHING HAVING THAT PROPERTY metaphor.

Also, as THE SUBSEQUENT THING SPRINGS FROM THE INITIAL THING we understand that the usage of the term daughter is referring metaphorically to the properties in these exact instances that are shared to those of the initial thing, as is the example with *mother nodes* and *daughter nodes*. Daughter nodes are the target domain here that springs from the source domain, the mother node. According to this subsequence metaphor, considering the two examples above, it is metaphorically said that the United States looked up on the Great Britain when forming its government and functioning organizations.

To conclude, the word *daughter* denotes the meaning of a female person thought of as if in the relation of a child to her parents (*a daughter of France*) or as anything thought of as like a daughter in relation to its source or origin (i.e. the colonies are the daughters of the mother country). The term *daughter cell* is therefore in biology used to refer to either of the two cells that result from the division of a cell in a process of mitosis. (WNWD)

4.6. Son

The word *son* is derivation of the Old English form *sunu* which means "son" (Middle English *sone*). The word is of the Proto-Germanic origin **sunuz* and is therefore related to the Old Saxon and Old Frisian *sunu*, Old Norse *sonr*, Danish word *søn*, Swedish *son*, Middle Dutch *sone* and Dutch *zoon*, but also to the Old High German *sunu*, Gothic *sunus* and modern German *Sohn*. Furthermore, these Germanic words were attested from the Proto-Indoeuropean roots **sunu-/*sunyu-* because of which the word is related to the Sanskrit *sunus*, Greek *huios*, Lithuanian *sunus*, Old Church Slavic *synu*, and Russian and Polish word *syn*. All of this came from the root **su-* in the meaning of "to give birth", based on Sanskrit *sauti* "gives birth" and Old Irish *suth* "birth, offspring". (OED)

The most common dictionary definition of the word son is that of male child, or human male offspring (OL). For example, *We have two sons and a daughter*, and *He's the son of an Oxford professor*. However, the word can be used in a number of other meanings. The word can be used as s form of address from an older man to a younger one, e.g. *Well, son, how can I help you?*; or even as a reference to a man who belongs to a certain place or country, e.g. *one of France's most famous sons,* etc. (OALD)

4.6.1. the Son

As we have already determined, God is the Father, Mary is the Mother, so that can only mean that we can refer to Jesus Christ as the second member of the Trinity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (OALD, WNDW). The term is in writing capitalized on the initial letter, while in the oral speech it is understood from the context of the speech to whom the speaker is referring. To restate the already mentioned fact, religion is a target conceptual domain, once again finding its source concept in a noun referring to kinship relationship.

4.6.2. the Sons of Liberty

The Sons of Liberty is actually an organization formed in the American colonies in the 18th century. The term denotes to an actual number of secret organizations formed in the American colonies in 1765 to protest against the Stamp Act. They were strongest in Boston and New York, where a group of them attacked British soldiers in 1770, one of the first serious actions that led to the American Revolution. (OALD)

One is free to conclude then that the term does not denote the literal sons since the concept of liberty is an abstract one but, on the other hand, the term is used to refer to a group of individuals who share the same interests, and therefore we understand CONDITIONS ARE PARENTS AND RESULTS ARE OFFSPRING metaphor based on the fact that their goal and need for freedom (conditions as parent) has connected people into an organization (result as offspring).

4.7. Sister

The word comes from the Old English in the form of *sweostor*, *swuster*, or is a Scandinavian cognate and because of that is related to Old Norse *systir*, Swedish *syster*, and Danish *søster*. Anyhow, it is not disputable that the word is of the Proto-Germanic origin from the root **swestr* and similar to the Old Saxon *swestar*, Old Frisian *swester*, Middle Dutch *suster* and Dutch *zuster*. Old High German *swester* and modern German *Schwester*, along with Gothic form *swistar*, are not to be forgotten either.

The Proto-Indoeuropean root **swesor* is consistent in many Indo-European languages such as Sanskrit *svasar-*, Latin *soror*, Old Church Slavonic and Russian *sestra*, Lithuanian *sesuo*, Old Irish *siur*, Welsh *chwaer* and Greek *eor*. (OED)

Dictionary entries have proven that the word can be used in several concepts and contexts: most often (a) as a referent to female members of a religious group such as nuns in a covenant; (b) it may also refer to a senior female nurse working in a hospital, or (c) it can be even be used among the Afro-American female population as a form of address. (OALD) As a colloquial term, the word is used to relate to any woman also, often used as a familiar term of address (WNWD). The usage of the term sister when referring to nuns is of Old English

origin whereas as the slang usage to denote an Afro-American woman it is used from circa 1926, according to *Online Etymology Dictionary*.

We must continue the fight, sisters! (Afro-American female population, feminism movement)
The sister told us that visiting hours were over. (nurse, British English)
God bless you, Sister. (nun)
(Examples from CDO)

4.7.1. *Members of a Natural Group Are Siblings* metaphor

The dictionary search has provided us with the usage of the term sister as a constituent of expressions such as: *sister languages, sister country, and sister city*. (OL)

All of these expressions are instances of the MEMBERS OF A NATURAL GROUP ARE SIBLINGS conceptual kinship metaphor (Turner 2000). Sisters and brothers in a family are siblings. Languages that are connected through history changes and similar properties and salient qualities are *sister languages* and parts of a larger language family.

The same is with *sister country* and *sister city*. Although, the terms are based on political nature, the mapping between the domains of two countries or cities is based on the basis of their similarities of views, thinking or ideas.

Also, as the *mother ship* was already mentioned, it is only fair to mention the *sister ship*, in the command of the mother ship.

4.8. Brother

Old English ancestor of the modern form, *broþor* (spelled *brothor* WNWD), is originated of Proto-Germanic **brothar* and therefore is the cognate of Old Norse word *broðir,* Danish *broder*, Old Frisian *brother*, Dutch *broeder*, Gothic *bróþar* and German *Bruder*. However, since the word's Proto-Indoeuropean root is **bhrater*, the word is related to the Sanskrit *bhrátár-*, Old Persian *brata*, Greek *phratér,* Latin *frater*, Old Irish *brathir*, Welsh *brawd*, Lithuanian *broterelis*, Old Prussian *brati*, and Old Church Slavonic *bratru* and Czech *bratr*.

All of these are cognates of the same meaning, today's' meaning "brother" as the male child of a parent. (OED)

The noun *brother* is defined as a person having the same parents as another person or having one parent in common with another. The term is, however applicable to the child of male gender, and the opposite to the term sister. (OL)

4.8.1. *Members of a Natural Group Are Siblings* metaphor

The term *blood brother* denotes two concepts. First refers to the brothers by birth and the second refers to the oath of fidelity and trust between two individuals in a ceremony of mingling their blood. Blood brotherhoods, highly ritualized and subjected to a strong code of fidelity and honor, can be used as a reference toward some form of brotherhood and alliance. (*Encyclopaedia Brittanica*) According to the *Merriam Webster* the term is in usage since 1824.

He would never betray me, he's my blood brother. (MW)

The form of the word with the initial capital letter (i.e. *Brother*) is used to metaphorically deduce a person to remember the organization of priests in Christian Church. Addressing someone as a Brother is metaphorical because one does not mean to say that the person is his brother but is only addressing a man who devotes himself to the duties of a religious order who has or has not already taken the holy order. Also, the archaic form, *brethren*, is often in usage, i.e. *The brethren will meet at the church*. (Dict)

The term *brother* may also be used as an example of slang language within a group or a gang of people that shares the same ideas, especially in the Afro-American population. Similarly to that, members of the army are often referring to each other as *brothers* or *brothers-in-arms*. The term is obviously metaphorical because the term *arms* here denotes the concept of weapon and the term *brothers* denotes the concept of the soldiers that share the same views, opportunities and destinies while at war or in a duty.

In the light of the above, the word *brother* as a familiar term of address from one man to another has been attested from the 1912 in the United States slang, but the specific use among the African-Americans is recorded from 1973, according to the *Online Etymology Dictionary*.

In conclusion, brothers are any male relatives, kinsmen; close friends who are like brothers; fellow members of the same race, organization, profession or creed. (WNWD)

4.9. Child

Old English word ***cild*** was used in the meaning of "fetus, infant, unborn or newly born person" of Germanic origin. Proto-Germanic **kiltham* brings the modern English word child in close relation to the Gothic words *kilþei* meaning "womb" and *inkilþo* meaning "pregnant", Danish *kuld* "children of the same marriage" and the Old Swedish *kulder* meaning "litter".

However, the Old English form ***cildhama*** was used to mean "womb", literal translation "child-home". Outside of the Germanic branch of languages, there are no certain cognates.

Also, in late Old English, the cognate was used to mean "a youth of gentle birth" (archaic) and then it was usually written ***childe***. On the account of that, during the 16th and 17th century the form was used to mean "girl child". A broader meaning "young person before the puberty" was developed in late Old English. (*Online Etymology Dictionary*)

The word is a great example of the language change in the case of the plural. In Old English the nominative plural was first *cild*, identical with the singular, but then around 975 year, the plural form *cildru* (genitive *cildra*) arose, only to change once again in the late 12th century as *children*. (OED) The Middle English plural *childer* or *childre* eventually became *childeren* or *children* by association with plurals ending in -en, such as *brethren*. (OALD)

There is information that some modern phrases are a result of the Middle English language diachronic and cultural change. The modern phrase *with child*, denoting pregnancy in the adjectival sense ("pregnant") retains its original sense which it acquired in the late 12th century. *Child's play*, a figurative term for something easy is in active usage since the late 14th century (works of Chaucer). (OALD, OED)

From Indo-European root **gelt-* meaning "a swelling up" which originated from the base **gel-* meaning "rounded", through the changes of the word we can follow its sense as a development from swelling, womb, to fetus and finally offspring. (WNWD)

4.9.1. Metaphorical Expression *the child of*

A number of examples during dictionary search have proved with two categories of metaphorical usage of the term child. Both of these are formed as “x is/are the child(ren) of y” metaphor. Based on these examples, we can then conclude that two basic kinship metaphors can be found: THE SUBSEQUNET THING SPRINGS FROM THE INITIAL THING and THE SUBSEQUENT THING IS THE OFFSPRING OF THE INITIAL THING. (Turner 2000, Lakoff – Espenson – Schwartz 1991)

First of all, when speaking metaphorically, we can refer to a child as a member of a family, or a tribe or a clan, a descendant, i.e. *a child of Israel, children of Abraham*. Also, examples like these are often in plural form. As already noted, our cognitive system separates the figurative meaning from the literal one, as our experience shows that we know that a country is a nonhuman abstract concept that cannot have children. However, it can be used metaphorically. *Webster’s New World Dictionary* goes to its extreme noting a special entry *children of Israel* with its meaning the Jews; Hebrews. Furthermore, Abraham the religious icon of Christianism did have children, but as we know that the time of his reign is long gone, the term is nowadays used metaphorically.

Second, we can use the word child metaphorically to refer to a concept (person or a thing) strongly affected by a time, place or a circumstance, as is the case with the following samples: *a child of nature; a child of the Sixties; a child of the Renaissance.*

Thirdly, a person or a thing can be regarded as identified with a certain place, time or a thing that springs from a specified source or product, e.g.: *a child of one's imagination; “Times Square is a child of the 20th century”* (Richard F. Shepard).
(All examples are taken from Dict.)

4.10. Uncle

From the genetics point of view, *uncle* is the brother of one’s mother or father. Also, one of the meanings that are numbered of the word is its usage by children as a form of address to an acquaintance along with the person’s first name. Furthermore, the term may sometimes be used in reference to a pawnbroker (marked Old Slang by WNWD). (OL)

To start with the historical development of the word, it should be mentioned that the word originates from the 13th century (Middle English), based on the Old French word *oncle*, originating from Latin *avunculus* meaning "mother's brother" or literally "little grandfather" which is a diminutive form of the word *avus*, denoting "grandfather".

Because it shares the Proto-Indoeuropean root **awo*- in the sense of "grandfather, adult male relative other than one's father", it is related to Armenian *hav* "grandfather", Lithuanian *avynas* "maternal uncle", Old Church Slavonic *uji* "uncle" and Welsh *ewythr* "uncle".

However, the Old English word was different, it was *eam* denoting usual maternal side of the family (paternal uncle was *fædera*), originating from the Germanic root, and is similar to Dutch *oom*, Old High German *oheim* "maternal uncle" and German *Ohm* "uncle".

In the light of this, Fischer (2006: 68) states that these two terms (*faedera* as the father's brother and *eam* as the mother's brother) may or may not mean that these relatives play different roles in the extended family (as was the case that the "mother's brother" was the expected protector of his sister and her children were anything to happen to her husband) since the both terms have been used equally often.

On the other hand, the German, Danish and Swedish *onkel* are also derived from French. (OED)

Nowadays, the word *uncle* appears quite often in everyday language and communication in terms such as: *Bob's your uncle* to express that something is easy and quick to do, or when someone *cries uncle*, it means that that person surrenders. (OALD) According to the *Online Etymology Dictionary*, to *cry uncle* as a sign of submission in a fight is North American in nature, and is verified from 1909 but of no certain significance.

4.10.1. Uncle Sam

Among a vast number of texts on the political and educational issues that illustrate ideological division, there are few examples of the family metaphors and those are mostly fixed idiomatic expressions. One of such is most definitely the phrase *Uncle Sam* (Musolff 2001: 120, Lakoff 2002: 154).

Uncle Sam is a term used for referring to the United States of America or the United States government, in examples such as: *He owed $20 000 in tax to Uncle Sam*. Uncle Sam is usually portrayed as a tall man with a white beard and a tall hat. This imaginary person became an official symbol in 1961, and was probably named after 'Uncle' Sam Wilson who supplied the army with meat packages during the War of 1812. The packages were labeled with an "U.S." and through a joke instead of the United States the people understood the label as "Uncle Sam". The first known usage of the word is therefore around that time. (OALD, Wiki, MW, OED) *Webster's New World Dictionary* marks the term as an Americanism and the abbreviation of the United States.

Even Palestinians who work on U. S. aid projects admit privately they're embarrassed that Uncle Sam pays part of their wages.
It was one of those aerial gunships the Soviets field-tested in Afghanistan and now supply to anyone who thumbs his nose at Uncle Sam.
(Examples taken from the Collins Dictionaries)

4.11. Conclusions of the Corpus Study

Table 1 *Diachronic development of kinship terms*

Noun (Modern English)	**Proto-Indoeuropean**	**Proto-Germanic**	**Old English**	**Middle English**
Father	**pəter*	**fader*	*fæder* "male ancestor"	*fāder,* also *feder, vader, veder,* (late) *father*
Mother	root **mater-*	**mothær*	*mōdor* "female parent"	*mo͝der* **;** also *mod(e)re***,** *modi(e)r***,** *m odur***,** *modder***,** (N) *muder***,** (errors) *modern***,** *mader* & *mother(e***,** *mothir***,** (N) *muther***,** *muthi*
Daughter	**dhugheter*	**dochter;* earlier **dhukter*	*dohtor*	*doughter* Also *doghter, dogheter, do(u)chter, do(u)3ter, do(u)hte r, dohtre, douter, douther, dughter, doster (?dofter), þ ou3tur*

Son	roots **sunu-/*sunyu-*, from root **su-* "to give birth"	**sunuz*	*sunu* "son"	*sone*
Sister	**swesor*	**swestr*	*sweostor, swuster*	*suster* Also *sustere, -ir, -ur, sustre, souster, soster, sister, -ir, -ur, sistre, cister, -ir*
Brother	**bhrater*	**brothar*	*broþor,*	*brō̊ther* Also *broder, broyer*; W *breoðer*; N *broiþer, bruther*
Child		**kiltham*	*cild* "fetus, infant, unborn or newly born person" *cildhama* "child-home lit., womb"	*chīld* Also (early) ***cild, chil, shild, shel***
Uncle	**awo-* "grandfather, adult male relative other than one's father",		fædera " paternal uncle" *eam* "maternal uncle"	*uncle* Also *uncul, unkle, unkel(e, unkil, oncle, oncil, ounkil, hunkil, hunckil*

There is no point in adding Early Modern English forms since it can be seen that the late Middle English nouns have accustomed to the form of the Modern English with little or no spelling changes. Furthermore, the same is applicable to the connotations and meanings of nouns pertaining to family relationships, relating to the meanings other than their genetic ones. This means that *Middle English Dictionary* provides with examples of the nouns' usages already described in extent in this chapter of the paper. (http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/lookup.html)

Table 2 *Historical stages of semantic reference of nouns pertaining to family relationship*

Source Domain	**Target Domain**	**Metaphorical Expression**	**Meaning**	**Date**
Father	religion	Holy/ Our Father	God, priest	-
	symbol	Father Time	Abstract concept of time	1590
	symbol	Father Christmas	St Nicholas	1435-1477

	nationality	Founding Father	creator	1916
	nationality	fatherland	parental land / land of one's ancestors	1100 /1620s
	model / ideal	father figure	advisor	1934
Mother	nationality	motherland	land of one's ancestors	1711
	nationality	mother country	-II-	1587
	nationality	mother tongue	native language	14th c.
	abstract concept	Mother Nature	Earth	1600
	abstract concept	Mother Earth	Earth	1580s
	religion	Mother Superior	head of the covenant	1905-10
	religion	Reverend Mother	-II-	-
	religion	Mother Goddess	creator	Stone Ages
	the mother of	mother node	point of intersection	1660s
	the mother of	mother ship	center of command	1890
Daughter	nationality, origin	"the daughter of"	belonging, similarity	Modern Age
Son	religion	the Son	Jesus	-
	nationality	the Sons of Liberty	American patriots	18th c.
Sister	religion	sister	nun	Old English
	medicine	sister	nurse	-
	slang	sister	Afro-American woman	1926
Brother	brotherhood	blood brother	code of honor	1824
	gang	brother	acquaintance	1973
	religion	brother	priest	? before 12th c.
	form of address	brother, brother in arms	acquaintance	1912
Child	offspring	"the child of"	belonging to, originating from	-
Uncle	nationality	Uncle Sam	the United States	1812

Conclusion

Based on personal knowledge and experience with the English language, and the study of the dictionary corpus, one can conclude that when referring to a term that is related to another term, or when one expresses that something has originated from something else, one can use the terms of kinship relation in order to express sentences. That is mostly due to the fact that everyday life plays a great role in human language.

It would seem appropriate to state that the most common usage of kinship terms includes: a) *father* and *mother* for the usage that something originates from something else; b) *brother* and *sister* for the usage that something is related to something else. On that note, from the set of kinship terms *daughter* and *child* metaphors are also quite widespread in the common English language. However, the term that includes all of these, *family* is used to refer to a group of people, things or ideas.

Another conclusion can be added yet. The kinship metaphors are mostly formed as collocations and fixed expressions, but there are also examples in the form of "the x of" where "x" denotes a particular noun of family relationship. However, the most common concepts including the kinship metaphors include those of religion, nation and politics as the target conceptual domains.

What is more, the terms and expressions with the kinship terms have become significantly fixed and ingrained in everyday language. The terms were probably used in a more concrete understanding in the past, usually in their literal genetic sense, but as the language changes, so does the usage of the kinship terms into a more abstract concepts.

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Figures

Figure 1 *Indo-European language family*; taken from: "Indo-European Languages". *Oocities.org*. Web 24 May 2013 <http://www.oocities.org/geenath_2000/indeur1.html>.

Figure 2 *The Germanic languages*; taken from: Hogg, Richard, and Denison, David (ed). *A History of the English Language*. New York: Cambridge University Press (2006).

Internet Dictionary Sources

OED – Online Etymology Dictionary <http://www.etymonline.com/>.

FD – Free Dictionary <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/>.

MW – Merriam Webster <http://www.merriam-webster.com/>.

CD – Collins Dictionaries <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/>.

OD – Oxford Dictionaries <http://oxforddictionaries.com/>.

Voc – Vocabulary.com <https://www.vocabulary.com/>.

OL – One Look <http://www.onelook.com/>.

UD – Urban Dictionary <http://www.urbandictionary.com/>.

WS – Wordsmyth.net <http://www.wordsmyth.net/>.

WOD – Webster's Online Dictionary <http://www.websters-online-dictionary.org/>.

Dict – Dictionary.com <http://dictionary.reference.com/>.

Mac – Macmillan Dictionary <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/>.

CDO – Cambridge Dictionaries Online <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>.

Konceptualna metafora kao temelj jezičnoj promjeni

– slučaj imenica vezanih uz obiteljske odnose

Zaključak

Na temelju znanja i osobnog iskustva engleskoga jezika, ali i istraživanjem rječničke građe, može se zaključiti da se koriste imenice vezane uz obiteljske odnose kako bi nastale rečenice koje izražavaju srodstvo među pojmovima ili je jedan pojam potekao od drugoga. Upravo je razlog tomu činjenica da svakodnevni život igra veliku ulogu u jeziku.

Najčešća upotreba pojmova vezanih uz obiteljske odnose u engleskome jeziku uključuje: a) pojmovi *otac* i *majka* (*father* and *mother*) za izražavanje značenja koje potječe od drugoga značenja, b) pojmovi *brat* i *sestra* (*brother* and *sister*) za izražavanje značenja koji su u određenom srodstvu. Nadalje, iz skupa pojmova vezanih za obiteljske odnose mogu se izdvojiti pojmovi *kćer* i *dijete* (*daughter* and *child*) kao također jedne od najčešće upotrijebljenih u engleskome jeziku. Međutim, pojam *obitelj* (*family*) uključuje sve navedene pojmove i odnosi se na skup ljudi, stvari ili ideja.

Također, metafore su srodstva („kinship metaphors“) u engleskome jeziku većinom izvedenice i nepromjenjivi izrazi, ali također postoje i izrazi oblikovani kao „x od y“ („the x of“) gdje „x“ označava određenu imenicu vezanu uz obiteljske odnose. Osim toga, najčešća značenja ovakvih konceptualnih metafora u engleskome jeziku podrazumijevaju religiju, nacionalnost i politiku kao cilj upotrebe takvih izraza.

Štoviše, pojmovi i izrazi obiteljskih odnosa postali su stalni i duboko usađeni u svakodnevnoj uporabi u engleskome jeziku. Vjerojatno su takvi izrazi u prošlosti bili shvaćeni kao stvarni i zbiljski, obično u njihovom doslovnom genetskom smislu, ali kao rezultat jezičnih promjena njihova upotreba se razvila i za izražavanje apstraktnih značenja.

Ključne riječi: konceptualna metafora, izvorna domena, ciljna domena, metafora srodstva