Motivation of Idioms in English and Russian Folk Tales

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Abstract

This master's thesis studies the motivation of idioms found in English and Russian folk tales. The main aim of the thesis is to examine the semantic characteristics of idioms and their relation to motivational mechanisms, such as conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, conventional knowledge, symbol-based motivation, gestures and textual dependence. Above all, the study relies on the cognitive linguistic claim that our mind is inherently embodied and that meaning arises from our more general knowledge of the world embodied in our conceptual system. The analysis of idioms found in folk tales tries to show how embodiment affects and shapes people's understanding of the meaning of linguistic expressions, furthermore it helps us see if real etymology is important when it comes to idiom motivation. The analysis also points out special cases of idiom motivation (gestures and textual dependence).

Key words: idioms, cognitive linguistics, idiom motivation, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, etymology

Аннотация

В дипломной работе изучается мотивация фразеологизмов английского и русского языков, которые находятся в народных сказках. Основная цель работы - изучить семантические характеристики фразеологизмов и их связь с мотивационными механизмами, такими как концептуальная метафора, концептуальная метонимия, общепринятые знания, символическая мотивация, жесты и текстовая зависимость. Исследование прежде всего опирается на утверждение когнитивной лингвистики о том, что наш разум по своей сути воплощен и что значение фразеологизмов возникает из наших общих знаний о мире, воплощенных в нашей концептуальной системе. Анализ фразеологизмов из народных сказках пытается показать, как воплощение влияет на мотивацию фразеологизмов и формирует наше понимание значения языковых выражений. Более того, помогает нам увидеть важна ли настоящая этимология, когда речь идет о мотивации фразеологизмов. Анализ тоже указывает на частные случаи мотивации фразеологизмов (жесты и текстовая зависимость).

Ключевые слова: фразеологизмы, когнитивная лингвистика, мотивация фразеологизмов, концептуальная метафора, концептуальная метонимия, этимология

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1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to analyze and interpret idioms in the specific folktale genre and in the context of language production.

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the semantic characteristics of idioms and their relation to mechanisms motivating them. In other words, idioms detected in our sample will be categorized according to their type of motivation and then analyzed. Cultural background and etymology of idioms will also be considered when analyzing our samples. We will also establish what type of motivation is the most and least productive.

A contrastive study of English and Russian languages can help us see what mechanisms are being used in the motivation of idioms, and whether these mechanisms are similar or not, the latter being the consequence of cultural differences.

The analysis of data extracted from the folk tales will try to answer the following questions: Which corpus is richer in idioms? Is real etymology important when it comes to idiom motivation? Are idioms in English and Russian similarly motivated? What type of motivation supports most of these idioms in folk tales?

The thesis has the following structure. Following the introduction, section 2 presents the theoretical framework used in this thesis. Some traditional views as well as those from cognitive linguistics will be briefly reviewed and we will determine the definition of idiom used in this thesis. In this section we will also discuss the notion of motivation, and all of its subgroups that were included in this thesis. Furthermore, some terms from cognitive linguistics such as embodiment, conceptual metaphor and metonymy and image schemata will also be discussed.

Section 3 presents the methodology of the study, followed by basic quantitative results, while the central part of the study will be comprised of the qualitative analysis of idioms and followed by a discussion and conclusion.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1. Definition of idiom

For a string of words to be considered an idiom it must possess two features – idiomaticity and stability (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2005:40). Idiomaticity is considered to be "a semantic reinterpretation and/or opacity and being closely related to the notion of

figurativeness", while stability implies "frozenness or lack of combinatorial freedom of a certain expression" (Piirainen and Dobrovolskij 2005:40). In other words, for an expression to be considered an idiom, it must be quite fixed in its lexical structure, with few limited variations and it cannot indicate directly to the target concept, i.e. it has to use a source concept, and it also has to be a semantically reinterpreted unit (ibid). For example, the idiom *when pigs fly*, 'used to say that one thinks that something will never happen', is reinterpreted on the basis of common knowledge. The shared knowledge about the animal pig and its definite inability to fly allows the reinterpretation of the idiom. We know that a pig will never fly, therefore when we say that something will happen *when pigs fly,* we are saying it will never happen at all.

These seemingly random combinations of words continue to capture the curiosity of linguists. The very thing that makes them so interesting is that that their meanings cannot be predicted from the meanings which the component words have elsewhere in the language, hence they are open to two kinds of interpretation: literal and idiomatic. An idiom is often a general term or an umbrella term for many kinds of multi-word items. Zoltán Kövecses and Péter Szabó (1996:327) listed several phrases which are often seen as being idiomatic. These phrases include metaphors (*spill the beans*), metonymies (*throw up one's hands*), pairs of words (*cats and dogs*), idioms with it (*live it up*), similes (*as easy as pie*), sayings (*A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush),* phrasal verbs (*come up*, as in "Christmas is coming up"), grammatical idioms (*let alone*), etc. Proceeding from that definition, it is quite apparent that there is no fixed borderline between idioms and other classes of idiomatic phrases, while these groups of idiomatic phrases also have to be stable and can often possess a certain degree of idiomaticity (either opacity or reinterpretation). Therefore, it becomes evident that there are no clear boundaries between idioms and other phrases that are seen as idiomatic. Borderline cases can be found in every language, and in every thematic or semantic domain (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2005:44).

According to Gibbs "people use idioms to be polite, to avoid responsibility for the import of what is communicated, to express ideas that are difficult to communicate using literal language, and to express thoughts in a compact and vivid manner" (1994:702).
Idioms are an essential part of the language that "eases social interaction, enhances textual coherence, and, quite importantly, reflect fundamental patterns of human thought" (ibid). They are often one of the most difficult parts of language for foreign learners, because their meanings cannot be easily retrieved from the meanings of their constituent parts. Numerous

studies have been conducted on how idioms are represented and processed in the human mind. It is common knowledge that human beings usually perceive and experience the world around them through their body.

Not all linguists agree on what constitutes an idiom and they offer various definitions for the term. For the purpose of this thesis I will use a definition suggested by Kövecses and Szabó which states that idioms can be defined as "linguistic expressions whose overall meaning cannot be predicted from the meanings of the constituent parts" (1996:326) and a definition by A. Langlotz, who defines an idiom as:

> an institutionalised construction that is composed of two or more lexical items and has the composite structure of a phrase or semi-clause, which may feature constructional idiosyncrasy. (...) its semantic structure is derivationally non-compositional. Moreover, it is considerably fixed and collocationally restricted. (Langlotz 2006: 5)

2. 2. The traditional and cognitive linguistic view of idioms

For many years, idioms have been viewed as a matter of language alone, a special set of the larger category of words, in other words, items of the lexicon that are independent of any conceptual system. In the traditional view idioms have certain syntactic properties and their meaning is arbitrary and cannot be recovered from the meanings of their constituent parts. Their linguistic meaning is separated from the human conceptual system and of any encyclopaedic knowledge that the speakers of a language share (Kövecses and Szabó 1996:328).

Idioms are traditionally seen as parts of fossilized language. They are considered to be fixed or frozen phrases, dead metaphors that are petrified within the linguistic system, and speakers must learn them without being aware why they mean what they do. Idioms are considered to be "fixed" and "noncompositional", their meanings must be directly "stipulated in the mental lexicon in the same way that the meanings of individual words are listed in a dictionary" (Gibbs 2010:704).

However, the view of idioms as arbitrary fixed expressions changed in the last few decades with the development of cognitive linguistics. In cognitive linguistics, "linguistic structures are seen as being related to and motivated by human conceptual knowledge, bodily experience, and the communicative functions in discourse" (Gibbs 1996:27). Cognitive

linguistics sees idioms as products of our conceptual system and not as a matter of language alone. An idiom is not just an expression that has a meaning that is somehow special in relation to the meaning of its constituent parts, but it arises from our more general knowledge of the world. "The connection between the constituents' literal meaning and the overall figurative meaning arises from motivation stemming from the unconscious conceptual structures in the language user's head" (Benczes 2002:17). These unconscious conceptual structures include conventional images (mental images which are shared by a cultural community), conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies, and they provide the "link" between the idiom and its meaning.

2.3. Motivation

The aim of this thesis is to differentiate specific types of idioms found in the corpus of twenty-six Russian and English folk tales. Many idioms are thought to belong to a particular "type" of idioms, mainly because they belong to a certain kind of motivation.

Motivation is the part of the inner form of an idiom and it is best described as "the possibility of interpreting the underlying mental image in a way that makes sense of the meaning conventionally ascribed to it. Thus the conceptual structure of a motivated lexical unit includes not only the lexicalized figurative meaning and the relevant traces of the mental image (i.e. the inner form) but also a conceptual link between them" (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2010:75).

Motivation of an idiom is very influential in the cognitive processing of the same. Furthermore, in some idioms there are still important traces of the mental image that can be found in its lexical structure, which has to be observed as a part of its literal meaning. In numerous approaches to idiom analysis (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999, Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Turner 2009, Kövecses and Szabó 1996, Kövecses 2000, 2005, 2010, 2016, Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005, 2010) it has been indicated that almost all idioms can be regarded as semantically motivated, that would mean that a given conceptual structure that has been attributed to a corresponding lexical structure is not altogether random.

The relevant motivating links between the image component and the real meaning of an idiom can be of various natures, and they can also include numerous types of knowledge.

Motivation of an idiom is important while it directly influences the cognitive processing of the same.

According to Lakoff (1987), etymologies of idioms can often be folk etymologies. What Lakoff considers as folk etymologies are motivating links for idioms between the conventional image, knowledge and metaphors that connect the idiom to its meaning. The goal of folk etymologies was to determine the real etymology and history of any given word or idiom. Even though in most cases folk etymologies cannot be taken for facts "hardly any ordinary person ever really knows for sure the real origin of an expression, the folk etymologies that people automatically – and unconsciously – come up with are real for them, not historically, but psychologically" (Lakoff 1987:451).

The motivation of an idiom plays an important role in making a certain idiom conceivable in its actual meaning and is the result of cognitive processes used for understanding of the idiom. A motivated lexical unit includes in its underlying conceptual structure not only the actual meaning and the image component but also conceptual links between them.

The motivation of an idiom can be based on various things, from everyday experience (i.e. conventional or natural knowledge) or on some knowledge that is of an educational, cultural, religious, or mythological background.

Irina Zykova (2014, 2015) argues that idioms are formed in the language system as signs capable of transmitting cultural information. She demands that the conceptual meaning of idiomatic signs and the images which underlie them is created in the conceptual sphere, which is:

> a complex system formation that is created from conceptually arranged and conceptually formed information generated or received as a result of cognition by a certain community and embodied in all existing and diverse (non-verbal) cultural signs which constitute its (culture's) different and interconnected semiotic areas. (Зыкова 2015:183)

Zykova studies the method of linguocultural reconstruction of the conceptual basis of the idiom meaning. According to her, meaning of idioms is formed in macrometaphorical conceptual models, "ideal (cognitive) substrates, which hold culturally significant information in an idiomatic sign" (Зыкова 2014: 307). These conceptual models possess eight types of cultural information: emotional-sensory, ethical and aesthetical, archetypical; mythological, religious, philosophical and scientific. The models arise from our understanding of the world and they construct tiers of information corresponding to the information in the idiomatic sign in the conceptual content of idioms.

For instance, the emotional-sensory experience is based on the sensory perception of objects, therefore the idiom *to give someone the rough edge of one's tongue* ('to speak angrily or harshly to someone about something that they have done wrong') is based on the fact that someone's words are seen as being said with an injurious object, that causes harm to the recipient. The archetypal type of understanding is a framework within which the initial (basic) archetypal concepts, the carriers of primary (deep = archetypal) cultural information about a particular object, are formed. It also contains information about the most basic conceptual components of an idiom: conceptual archetypal binary oppositions (such as up/down, inside/out, visible/invisible) and the conceptual archetypes formed from them (for example, location and direction).

Moreover, a mythological understanding of the world allows us to synthesize concepts into more complex (non-metaphorical and metaphorical) conceptual formations and consequently create an integrated macrometaphorical conceptual model. The surface level of the idiom contains the semantics of the idiom, while the deep level contains cultural information. For example, in the analysis of the idiom *to be carved in stone* ('to be permanent and impossible to change'), Zykova connects the deep level of the idiom with ancient fetishistic ideas about stones and their alleged magical powers, that made them objects of worship in historic times. What is more, the person who carved onto the stone belonged to the realm of priests or sorcerers, giving the stone itself a supernatural power, making it indestructible and eternal (Зыкова 2014:339).

However, all of the idioms based on some sort of macrometaphorical conceptual model include all basic types of cultural information.

According to Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij (2005:82), the differentiation between "etymological derivation" and "synchronic motivation" is not of much importance, while they are both based on comparable conceptual operations. What is more, they assert that a research on the motivation of idioms must include etymological description as a constituent part, as will be done in this thesis.

Of course, inclusion of etymological description does not mean that etymology influences actual meanings in all cases, nor that it brings about relevant usage restrictions, but one must not exclude etymology in its entirety.

From the view of cognitive linguistics, almost all idioms are thought to be motivated in some way, while it is natural for a speaker of a certain language to try to interpret an idiom in a way that makes sense to him.

Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij point out that:

There are idioms that are strongly motivated, in the sense that the conceptual links between the actual meaning and the image component are immediately comprehensible.

Furthermore, there are idioms whose motivating links are not so evident but still can be (re)constructed on a somewhat subjective basis; and at last there are idioms for which most speakers do not see any motivation. (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2005:86)

They also specify that motivation can be distinctively obvious and it can range to entirely opaque (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 20015:87).

2.3.1. Conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proved that metaphor and metonymy are not just a matter of poetic language, but are omnipresent in our everyday language, thought and action. Gibbs also states that "people readily conceptualize human events and abstract ideas via metaphor, metonymy, irony, and other tropes" (1994:701). As it was already mentioned in this thesis before, idioms can often be analyzable to varying degrees, and this enables them to be connected to certain metaphorical and metonymic conceptual structures. The fact that idioms can be analyzable suggests "that the internal semantics of idioms might be correlated in systematic ways with the concepts to which idioms refer" (ibid).

This statement can be explained on the example of the idiom *to spill the beans*, whose figurative meaning is to unintentionally reveal a secret. People can easily understand the meaning of this idiom because of the underlying conceptual metaphors. In this case those would be MIND IS A CONTAINER and IDEAS ARE ENTITIES.

People make sense of many idioms because they are able to recognize "the metaphorical mapping of information from two domains that give rise to idioms in the first place" (ibid). Therefore we can conclude that the main cognitive mechanisms that provide a link between this group of idioms and their meaning are conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, and conventional knowledge (Lakoff 1987, Kövecses and Szabó 1996).

Johnson states that:

metaphor is not merely a linguistic mode of expression; rather, it is one of the chief cognitive structures by which we are able to have coherent, ordered experiences that we can reason about and make sense of. Through metaphor, we make use of patterns that obtain in our physical experience to organize our more abstract understanding. (Johnson 1987: xv)

The main postulate asserted by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is that our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature and that conceptual metaphors are grounded in our physical experience. Nonetheless, they also put emphasis on the experience that is grounded in the culture: "all experience is cultural through and through, […] we experience our "world" in such a way that our culture is already present in the very experience itself" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 45).

Both metaphor and metonymy are based on the relation between two concepts. However, metaphors involve mapping between two conceptual domains, while metonymy happens within only one conceptual domain.

Metaphors are thought to be central to natural language semantics. In the basis of the metaphor lies cross-conceptual mapping. What is considered a conventional conceptual metaphor is mapping of one (source) conceptual domain to another (target) conceptual domain. The metaphor itself is not established on similarity between source and target concepts, rather on our ability to form one conceptual domain in terms of another. In other words, the target domain has to be formed according to the structure of the source domain. These conceptual correspondences between the two domains are mirrored by the formula TARGET IS SOURCE (hence the representation of the metaphorical mapping for the idiom *to spill the beans* is MIND IS A CONTAINER) (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2005:122).

Metonymy, on the other hand, is based on the notion of relatedness, it arises between concepts already related to each other and it allows one entity to provide mental access to another entity.

The metonymic source maps to the metonymic target so that one item in the domain can stand for the other. Metonymic concepts allow us to conceptualize one thing by means of its relation to something else (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 39).

Relationships both in metaphor and metonymy are systematically organized. They are instances of certain general concepts in terms of which we organize our thoughts and actions. The fact that many idioms arise from conceptual metaphors and metonymies proves that these phrases are not just fixed expressions whose meanings cannot be derived from the meaning of its constituent parts.

I have found in my research that conceptual metaphor and metonymy can be applied successfully in analyzing most of the idioms from my corpus of twenty-six English and Russian folk tales. However, they cannot explain the motivation process in every single idiom

I have come across, while some of the idioms simply do not correspond with either of the categories and cannot be explained on the superordinate level of conceptual metaphor or metonymy.

The analysis of idioms motivated by conceptual metaphors and metonymies in this thesis tries to show how embodiment affects and shapes people's understanding of the meaning of linguistic expressions. The analyzed figurative expressions in this group are conceptual in nature, i.e. their meaning arises from our more general knowledge of the world embodied in our conceptual system (Lakoff 1987, Kövecses and Szabó 1996).

2.3.1.1. Embodiment

According to cognitive linguistics, human cognition is fundamentally shaped by embodied experience. What that suggests is that our mind is inherently embodied, or in other words what shapes our conceptual system is the functioning of our body, neural structure of our brain and all of the other specifics of our everyday functioning in the world (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987).

Embodiment allows people to interpret their lives and the world around them and to understand the role of their body in everyday life. Gibbs claims that "Metaphor is especially important in mapping experiences of the body to help structure abstract ideas that are fundamental to how people speak and think" (2006:11). For example, people recognize that the verb *to stand* in sentence "I can't stand seeing him happy with her" has a metaphorical meaning that is related to their embodied experiences of struggling to remain physically upright when some physical force acts against them. The conceptual metaphor related to human body here is THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. According to him, image schemas, i.e. "cognitive representations that arise from people's recurring embodied experience" are likely to be universal, and their conceptual metaphors will probably be shared by many different cultures (Gibbs 2006:180).

Johnson argues that human understanding and meaning also grow out of embodied experience:

> Meaning includes patterns of embodied experience and preconceptual structures of our sensibility (i.e., our mode of perception, or orienting ourselves, and of interacting with other objects, events, or persons). These embodied patterns do not remain private or peculiar to the

person who experiences them. Our community helps us interpret and codify many of our felt patterns. They become shared cultural modes of experience and help to determine the nature of our meaningful, coherent understanding of our "world". (Johnson 1987: 14)

2.3.1.2. Image schemata

Image schema is a kind of embodiment that arises from recurring bodily experiences that build their structure through constant repetition. These extremely basic experiences are regularly used in metaphorical thought, including bodily experiences such as container, force, moving along a path, symmetry, and balance (Kövecses 2005:19).

The importance of image schemata is that they "structure our preconceptual experience as functioning beings" (ibid).

For example, people conceptualize a vast number of things and activities in terms of CONTAINERS.

The reason for this is, according to Lakoff and Johnson, because people are "physical beings, bounded and set of from the rest of the world by the surface of our skins, and we experience the rest of the world as outside us. Each of us is a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:29).

Other than conceptualizing human bodies as containers, we also experience our bodies as things in containers (e.g. house). What is more, people tend to project their in-out orientation onto other physical objects, in other words the image schemata of a container allow them to visualize abstract entities in three-dimensional spatial terms. That would suggest that people conceptualize abstract things as having an inside, a boundary and an outside (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Numerous image schemata can arise from our everyday bodily experiences. Johnson tries to explain the concept of image schemata on the example of the verticality schema, which "emerges from our tendency to employ an UP-DOWN orientation in picking out meaningful structures of our experience" (Johnson 1987: xiv).

The vertical spatial orientation is present in people's everyday lives, arising from the fact that we have bodies and they naturally function in a certain sort of way in our real environment, for example, our bodies are in the upright position when standing– "the VERTICALITY schema is the abstract structure of these VERTICALITY experiences, images, and perceptions" (Johnson 1987: xiv).

Abstract notions can also be in different spatial relations with other objects giving rise to the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema.

This particular schema consists of a source location (the starting point), an intended destination of the trajectory (the goal) and a route from the source to the goal (the path) (Lakoff 1987: 40).

Another image schema important for this thesis, is the OBJECT schema (Johnson 1987, Szwedek 2017) According to Szwedek "objects that are intrinsic to our physical reality and the ultimate domain in metaphorization, the only elements of our reality perceptible via our senses" (2017:5). He claims that many abstract notions are conceptualized as objects, we are just not aware of it. To exemplify this schema, Szwedek gives the example of air, "doubtlessly material, is also bounded – by the earth (with all objects on it) at one end and outer vacuous space at the other end, no matter how irregular (earth and objects on it) and vague/fuzzy (at the outer vacuous space) such boundaries can be" (2017:7).

2.3.2. Basic-level metaphor

Basic-level metaphors are metaphors which do not contain abstract correlations between knowledge domains with a high level of abstraction. The conceptual correspondences enclosed in the basic-level metaphors are "correspondences between concrete portions of knowledge captured in the semantic structure of concrete figurative units" (Piirainen Dobrovol'skij 2005:162). In other words, the imagery induced by the lexical structure of the expression has a similar appearance as the situation indicated by the real meaning of the expression. Figurative expressions motivated by the basic-level metaphor include various types of knowledge, knowledge that is somewhat independent of culture and knowledge based on the same. For example, the idiom *to back the wrong horse* requires a special kind of knowledge about horse racing in order to successfully interpret it. "The situation denoted by the actual meaning resembles the situation encoded in the lexical structure, *as if* someone was betting on a horse that will not win the races" (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2005:95).

2.3.3. Symbol-based motivation

According to Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij, only one single constituent is involved in symbolic motivation of idioms, or in other words the concept standing behind the constituent. What makes the symbol-based motivated idioms special is the fact that "their motivation is brought about by the coherence between the symbolic concept in the language and similar symbolic phenomena in other cultural codes (*cultural symbols)*" (2005:96).

The motivational link between the literal and figurative readings is established by semiotic knowledge about the cultural symbol found in the expression (ibid).

In their theory of cultural symbols in language, Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij assert that "the symbol is seen as a sign whose primary meaning serves as form for expressing another content. In the hierarchy of cultural values, the second content of the symbol is considered to be of higher value (of higher density or higher degree of abstraction) than the primary content" (2005:265).

For instance, in the idiom *заботиться о куске хлеба* (literally translated as 'to care about a piece of bread') means 'to care about how to earn the money you need in order to live'. In the idiom the word BREAD has a symbolic meaning of LIVELIHOOD and SOURCE OF EARNING (MONEY). The explanation for the symbolism behind it can be found in the important role of BREAD in Christianity "and the extensive semiotic complex with which it is surrounded", such as Eucharistic liturgies (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2005:98).

2.3.4. Special cases of motivation

2.3.4.1. Gesture-based idioms

Semiotised gestures encoded in the lexical structure of idioms also take part in the cultural foundation of phraseology. Semiotic knowledge about the conventionalised non-verbal behaviour of the given culture is required in order to interpret these particular idioms. Several idioms belong to this group merely from the viewpoint of etymology, handing down gestures that were customary in bygone times. While some of the idioms can be accompanied by gestures and thus realised on two levels simultaneously, e.g. *shake one's head* as a physical action and as an expression of rejection or disapproval. It is important that the gesture itself (regardless of whether it is actually performed) is a cultural-specific artefact with a culturally codified meaning (Piirainen 2007:216).

Given their pragmatic value, gestures are an important source of idioms. What Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij point out as distinctive about them is their ambiguity: "on the one hand, there is

a gesture, i.e. conventionalised nonverbal behaviour that can actually be performed; on the other hand, there is the linguistic encoding of the gesture. Utterances of the expressions can be accompanied by the gestures in question" (2005:99).

On the other hand, even though the actual gesture is not performed, the idioms develop their actual meanings. One only must bear in mind that "what is important is that the gesture itself, regardless of whether performed or not, is a culture-specific artefact with a culturally codified meaning" (Piirainen 2007:217).

The conventional interpretation of these idioms as metonymical expressions is not entirely satisfactory in order to explain their motivation, therefore I have separated them in a special group of motivation. These idioms are not merely names of gestures that denote a part for a whole, rather they are to be considered *as if* –expressions.

Furthermore, it is possible to refer to the actual meanings of the idioms without actually uttering them, one can only perform the gesture (Piirainen and Dobrovolskij 2005:99).

2.3.4.2. Textual dependence

Textual dependence is an important component of the cultural foundation of figurative language. What is understood by "textual dependence" is the relation between figurative expressions and other text fragments or passages of texts with an identifiable source, such as quotations or allusions (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2005:102).

Rather than being a question of motivation, textual dependence is a result of the etymology of idioms. However, in a certain amount of cases it has to be considered as a special type of motivation.

3 Methodology

Since the purpose of this thesis is to analyze idioms used in Russian and English folk tales, a random sample of thirteen English and thirteen Russian folk tales was taken from two collections. The English ones were taken from *English Fairy Tales*, a collection by Joseph Jacobs, first published in 1890. The Russian tales were taken from the collection *Народные русские сказки* published by Alexander Afanas'ev in 1873.

The collection *English Fairy Tales* was compiled by Sydney-born Joseph Jacobs in the 19th century, and it is the most substantial collection of English folk tales to this day. While Jacobs

noted that he collected approximately 140 folk tales in total, only 44 were published in this volume. In the preface, Jacobs explains how this particular collection was intentionally titled *fairy tales* (as opposed to *folk tales*) for the sole reason of enticing children to read them. Jacobs collected the stories not only in England, but also from English immigrants in America, the English Romani, from Lowland Scots and some of the folk tales he himself heard as young boy in Australia (Jacobs 1890:2).

Alexander Afanas'ev undertook the same job of collecting folk tales in The Russian Empire. His collection consists of almost 600 folk tales, divided in four volumes. Afanas'ev's collection is considerably lengthier than Jacobson's, while he included different versions of the same tales in his publication.

The following dictionaries were used for the analysis: *Cambridge Dictionary*[1], *Collins Dictionary*[2], *The Free Dictionary*[3], and *Macmillan Dictionary*[4] for English, and *Академик*[5], *Викисловарь*[6] and *Большой фразеологический словарь русского языка* (Телия 2006) for Russian.

After verifying the found seventy-eight idioms, they were classified into groups based on their type of motivation.

The reason why motivation was chosen as the criteria for classification, is that it was the most solid and coherent criteria for analysis and interpretation of found idioms. In this thesis I have distinguished between three main types of motivation, mostly relying on categorization from Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij in *Idioms: Motivation and Etymology* (2010) and their book *Figurative language: Cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspectives* (2005).

Firstly, there is the type of *metaphoric motivation.* This type of motivation is divided into two subtypes: conceptual metaphor (which will also include some motivations based on conceptual metonymy) and basic-level metaphor. Secondly, there is the type of *symbol-based motivation.* And lastly there are special cases of motivation which in this thesis consist of the groups *gesture-based idioms* and *textual dependence.*

It must also be brought to attention that when speaking of motivation of idioms, there are many blendings of different types of motivation, i.e. more than one type of motivation can underlie one idiom. In the following part we are going to analyze the basic quantitative results

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[1] .https://dictionary.cambridge.org/ Accessed 15 August 2020.
[2] https://www.collinsdictionary.com/ Accessed 15 August 2020
[3] https://www.thefreedictionary.com/ Accessed 15 August 2020
[4] https://www.macmillandictionary.com/ Accessed 15 August 2020
[5] https://dic.academic.ru/ Accessed 15 August 2020
[6] https://ru.wiktionary.org/ Accessed 15 August 2020

of the research for each language separately, and then we will make a comparison between English and Russian.

3.1. Idioms found in English folk tales

Table 1. The comparison of types of motivation in idioms detected in English folk tales

	METAPHORIC TYPE		SYMBOL-BASED MOTIVATION	SPECIAL CASES		
	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR AND METONYMY	BASIC-LEVEL METAPHOR		GESTURE-BASED IDIOMS	TEXTUAL INDEPENDENCE	TOTAL
Tom Tit Tot	3			1		4
The Rose-tree				1	1	2
Mr. Vinegar	2					2
Cap-o-Rushes	2					2
The story of the three little pigs	1				1	2
Mr. Fox	1					1
Johnny-Cake	1				1	2
The laidly worm of Spindleston Heugh	4					4
The fish and the ring					1	2
Kate Crackernuts	1				1	2
The ass, the table and the stick	3					3
The well of the world's end	1				1	2
The three heads of the well	4					4

	METAPHORIC TYPE					
TOTAL	23			2	6	31

From Table 1. we can see that 31 idioms were found in the selection of English folk tales. We can also conclude that the most productive type of motivation in the sample of English idioms is conceptual metaphor (and/or metonymy), while more than 70% of all of the idioms encountered were motivated by conceptual metaphor (and/or metonymy).

There were not any symbol-based idioms found in the sample of English folk tales.

Out of special cases of motivation, there were two gesture-based idioms (less than 7%) and six textually dependent motivations (almost 20%).

With this quantitative data taken in consideration, we can without a doubt conclude that the least productive type of motivation for idioms found in the English sample of folk tales is symbol-based motivation, followed by gesture-based idioms.

3.2. Idioms found in Russian folk tales

Table 2. The comparison of types of motivation in idioms detected in Russian folk tales

	METAPHORIC TYPE		SYMBOL-BASED MOTIVATION	SPECIAL CASES		
	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR AND METONYMY	BASIC-LEVEL METAPHOR		GESTURE-BASED MOTIVATION	TEXTUAL INDEPENDENCE	TOTAL
Золотая рыбка	3	1				4
Медведь, лиса, слепень и мужик	3					3
Морозко	1	1	1	2		5
Баба-яга и Заморышек		2			1	3
Князь Данила-Говорила	2		1			3
Купеческая дочь и служанка	3			2		5
Три царства -				1		1

медное, серебряное и золотое						
Фролка-сидень	2	1			1	4
Зорька, Вечорка и Полуночка	3	1				4
Летучий корабль	1	1			1	3
По щучьему веленью		2			6	8
Жар-птица и Василиса-царевна	3					
Дочь и падчерица	1					1
TOTAL	22	9	2	5	9	47

It can be seen from Table 2. that 47 idioms were found in the selection of Russian folk tales. Again, the most productive type of motivation is conceptual metaphor (and/or metonymy), while almost 47% of idioms were motivated by the same.

The basic-level metaphor was found in the base of slightly less than 20% of encountered idioms, while only two idioms were symbolically motivated, making the symbol-based motivation the least productive type of motivation in detected idioms with less than 5%.

While idioms motivated by intertextuality made about 20% of idioms (it also has to be pointed out that six of those idioms were one and the same idiom: *По щучьему веленью*), those motivated by some sort of gesture were the second least productive group with a bit more than 10% idioms ascribed to said motivation.

3.3. The comparison of different types of motivation detected in English and Russian

Table 3. Comparison of different types of motivation detected in English and Russian samples.

	METAPHORIC TYPE OF MOTIVATION		SYMBOL-BASED MOTIVATION	SPECIAL CASES OF MOTIVATION		TOTAL
	CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	BASIC-LEVEL		GESTURE-BASED	TEXTUAL DEPENDENCE	

	AND METONYMY	METAPHOR		MOTIVATION		
ENGLISH FOLK TALES	23	0	0	2	6	31
RUSSIAN FOLK TALES	22	9	2	5	9	47
TOTAL	45	9	2	7	15	78

Altogether there were 78 idioms (including the ones repeating themselves) detected in both Russian and English samples of folk tales.

The obvious most productive types of motivation in both samples, as it can be seen from Table 3., are conceptual metaphor and metonymy. More than half of the idioms (58%) were motivated by some sort of conceptual metaphor or metonymy.

The other type of metaphoric motivation, the basic-level metaphor, accounts for almost 12% of motivated idioms. Gestures were found to be the motivation of less than 9% of the total number of idioms, while textual dependence was underlying almost 20% of them.

The indisputably least productive type of motivation in both samples is the symbol-based motivation, found in the basis of less than 3% of the total number of idioms.

Since the predominant number of idioms was motivated by cognitive metaphor and metonymy, the accent of the analysis will be on the same.

4 The analysis of idioms found in text samples

4.1. The analysis of metaphorically motivated idioms

Metaphorically motivated expressions are divided into two subgroups (relying on the division of Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen in their article *Idioms: Motivation and Etymology)*; ones that can be explained on the superordinate level of the conceptual metaphor (which in this thesis will also contain the category of metonymy), and the ones that can be explained on the basic-level metaphor, i.e. rich imagery.

4.1.1. The analysis of idioms motivated by conceptual metaphor and metonymy

The following examples (1-10) are all based on everyday experiences in terms of the CONTAINER image schema:

 (1) Взяла купеческая дочь это письмо на руки, **залилась слезами** и стала убираться, и служанка с нею; и никто эту служанку не разгадает с купеческой дочерью: потому не разгадает, что обе на одно лицо**.**

'The merchant's daughter took the letter in her hands, **flood herself with tears** and began packing, her servant with her; and noone could tell them apart: because they looked the same'.

In the analyzed Russian folk tales, idiom *залиться слезами,* literally translated as 'to flood oneself with tears' (i.e. to burst into tears), appears in several places. According to Kövecses (1990), one of the most general metaphors for the domain of emotion is the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER. In the expression *залиться слезами,* the container is the person themselves, while the fluid inside it is great sadness. Kövecses points out that when people imagine a container with liquid inside it, they can imagine it with more or less substance in it, therefore "the container defines an intensity scale for the emotions, which has two end-points (a threshold and a limit). The lower endpoint corresponds to the bottom of the container and the upper endpoint to the brim of the container" (Kövecses 1990:147).

With that in mind, we can conclude that when one imagines more fluid in a container, one automatically envisions more emotional intensity. As the emotion of sadness gets more intense, it reaches the top of the container and pours out of it, therefore when someone bursts into tears, they lose control over their emotions.

(2) ...старик — как бы дочерей пристроить, а старуха — как бы старшую **с рук сбыть**.

'...the old man thought about where to place his daughters, and the old woman – how **to sell** the oldest **from her hands**.'

The motivation for the idiom *с рук сбыть* кого, что ('to sell old stock, to get rid of something') in the example (2) is also captured in the metaphors THE HAND IS A

CONTAINER and SOMETHING IN THE HAND IS ENTITY, while the metonymic chain leads to the HOLDING IN THE HAND IS POSSESSION metaphor.

In the example (2), the old woman wants to get rid of her possession, her eldest daughter, i.e. she no longer wants her in her hands because she is invaluable to her.

Another somatic component in idioms that are often seen as containers are eyes:

> (3) У бабы от жадности аж **глаза горят**.
> 'The old woman's **eyes burned** with greed.'

The idiom *глаза горят у кого на что* 'one's eyes are burning' denotes 'a great desire to own something, or get something'. In the example (3), the eyes are conceived as containers for greed, therefore the general conceptual metaphor motivating this is expression is EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS and EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE EYES (Ciprianová and Kováčová 2018:12).

In the idiom, the burning is connected with an emotional reaction to a particular situation, in this case the said burning connected with greed. As Kövecses (2000:77) states, the intensity of emotions is oftentimes conceptualized as heat, in this example the heat (the burning) is the source domain that is metaphorically mapped onto the feeling of greed – the target domain, which leads us to another conceptual metaphor INTENSE STATE IS FIRE.

> (4) Great was the joy at Court amongst all, with the exception of the queen and her club-footed daughter, who were ready to **burst with envy.**

Kövecses (2000:65) writes about the PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor. According to him, the person feeling the emotion is the container with the substance, while the intensity of emotion is the heat or pressure of the substance. In the example above the forceful substance in the container is envy and trying to control the envy is mapped onto trying to keep the forceful substance inside the container. Lastly, the substance which goes out of the container is mapped onto the involuntary expression of the emotion, in this case envy. These mappings lead us to the conceptual metaphor THE PERSON IN AN INTENSE EMOTIONAL STATE IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER.

Kövecses further explains the metaphor as a:

> causal relationship between the emotion and the action response, emotions are seen as motivations relative to the action response. That is, in this scheme the emotion is seen as an internal motivation for action (i.e., to respond). The motivation is conceptualized as an internal force, while the action produced is viewed as the external effect of this internal force. The greater the intensity of internal pressure, the greater is the degree of motivation to respond emotionally. (Kövecses 2000:67)

In the example (4), the queen and her daughter are containers with the substance of envy inside them. As the emotion gets more intense, pressure builds up in the container and the substance is forcefully trying to get out, like and if the emotion is hindered, it will be expressed against our will with high intensity, which is in the above sentence exemplified by the verb *to burst*.

This particular verb also denotes the degree of "violence" of the felt emotion. As Kövecses (2000:67) points out "''milder,'' or romantic, emotions (like affection and sadness) are conceptualized as ''overflowing'' the container, whereas the more ''violent'' emotions are viewed as ''exploding'' out of the body container". Therefore, the verb *to burst* is used with envy, in order to let us on the violence and negativity of said emotion.

The verb *to burst* also leads us to the conceptualization of envy as a fluid in the body container. We think of envy as a hot fluid, and as the envy arises, the fluid starts to fume, ending in bursting with envy (if one does not succeed in letting off steam). In other words, if one does not lower the pressure caused by the emotion, the body container will burst in an uncontrolled way.

(5) "Would you like to have some?"

"Yes," said he, "**with all my heart**."

The image schema which underlies the idiom *with all one's heart,* is THE HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. The idiom in the example (5) means that the person is feeling complete desire to have what is being offered to them, which leads us to the metaphor THE HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR DESIRE. When we imagine the heart as a container, it gives us the opportunity to conceptualize the quantity of emotions inside a container, i.e. it enables us to measure the intensity of someone's emotions, in this case desire. If we desire something

with all our hearts, it means that the container, i.e. heart, is completely filled to the top and therefore the quantity of desire is at its highest.

(6) She tried and she tried again, but every time it was the same; and at last she sat down and cried as if her **heart would break.**

The image schema of the heart is once again – HEART IS CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. The figurative expression *to break someone's heart* originates from a mix of two conceptual metaphors. According to L. David Ritchie (2012:75) the heart's central location in a human body and its task of circulating blood, closely associates the organ with emotions, love in particular, in many cultures throughout history. From that linkage stems the conceptual metaphor HEART IS DESIRE. Furthermore, Ritchie asserts how "a different set of experiences links failure and disappointment with physical damage and breakage; giving rise to the conceptual metaphor, FAILING or BEING DISAPPOINTED IS BEING BROKEN or SPOILED" (Ritchie 2012:76). When combined, these two metaphors birth a new one- DISAPPOINTED DESIRE IS HEARTBREAK. Ritchie also argues that this conceptual mapping arose from the "physiological reactions to disappointment and grief, which can include acute physical pain" and he adds the conceptual metaphor HEART IS A FRAGILE OBJECT (2012:78). The metonymical link HEART FOR FEELINGS is also noticed by Susanne Niemeier

in Western cultures the heart was taken as metonymy for the whole body and thus it stands for the whole person experiencing an specific emotion. It is on the basis of this archetypal metonymy that the other understandings could arise and flourish. This thought was further developed and commonplace experiences strengthened the idea that the heart must be a very valuable and important organ (Niemeier 2003:210).

In the example (6), the woman desire to achieve something with all her might, but constantly fails, leaving her disappointed and desolate.

All of the idioms that have been analyzed and which contain the heart component, conceptualize the heart as a container with the substance of emotions in it, just like in the example below:

(7) Старик было отнекиваться; куда тебе! коли не пойдёшь — голова долой! **Скрепя сердце** пошёл старик нá море, пришёл и говорит:

'The old man denied; what do you mean! If you do not go – off with your head! **Sealing his heart,** the old man went to the sea, approached it and said:'

The idiom *скрепя сердце* in the example (7) carries the meaning 'to do something unwillingly'. One closes one's heart by the act of sealing it in order to shut off their feeling of unwillingness. The heart may be seen as a container that may be opened or closed, as Niemeier states: "When opened, there is free access to the speaker's emotions. When the heart is conceptualized as closed, there is no entry to the speaker's emotional world" (2003:207). In this idiom it also has to be stressed how the heart is seen as a MANIPULABLE CONTAINER, something that a person can control and deal with at one's own will (ibid).

In the idiom *скрепя сердце,* one chooses to seal their heart and is in charge of the container's content providing us with the conceptual metaphor SEALING THE HEART IS CONTROLLING EMOTIONS. By sealing his heart in the example (7), the old man controlled his emotion of unwillingness and did what he had to do regardless of his disinclination.

(8) But when the time was getting over, she began to think about the skeins and to wonder if he **had 'em in mind**.

From the idiom in example (8), *to have something in mind*, one gets a picture of the mind as an enclosed space which has a thought inside it. This image schema leads us to the MIND IS A CONTAINER metaphor (Lakoff 1987:450). What we are thinking is entrapped in a closed space, which is our mind. In the example, the subject of the sentence is merely thinking a thought, but if she were to express it, she would have to take her thought out of the mind, i.e. put them into words and give them to recipients.

Up till now, we have come across idioms whose components include a body (part) constituent envisioned as a container. However, the human mind can conceptualize abstract notions as containers as well:

(9) Meanwhile his brother had seen Annie and **had fallen in love with her**, as everybody did who saw her sweet pretty face.

The idiom *to fall in love* is another example of the container metaphor. According to Lakoff and Johnson "understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances allows us to

pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind. Once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them – and, by this means, reason about them" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:25).

They reason that people are extremely physical beings, and as such we are confined by our skin and separated from the rest of the world by it. Consequently, we perceive many other things as "containers with an inside and an outside". In this particular example the state of love is being conceptualized as a container.

In the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A CONTAINER the person feeling the emotion of love is IN the emotion (the container). In the example (9) the brother saw Annie and unintentionally fell in the emotion of love.

> (10) Рыскал, рыскал медведь по́ лесу, **из силы выбился**, хочет лечь — нельзя; все брюхо и бока выжжены; как заревёт, заревёт!
>
> 'The bear wandered and wandered through the woods, he **broke out of power**, wanted to lie down – but he couldn't; all of his belly and sides were scorched; how he cried and cried!'

Another example of an abstract notion conceptualized as a container is the idiom *выбиться / выбываться из сил* from example (10) above. The meaning of the idiom is 'to become exhausted', while the conceptual metaphor that underlies this expression is PHYSICAL POWER IS A CONTAINER. In the example (10), the bear did so much physical exertion that it literally left the place of power which resulted in it being worn down and tired.

> (11) It was soon known through the town that Jack had returned rolling in wealth, and accordingly all the girls in the place **set their caps at him**.

The meaning of the idiom from the example (11), *to set caps at someone* is 'to try to make someone fall in love with you'. It is believed by some that the idiom's "true" etymology lies in an old custom of setting "caps" (course) for a naval journey. Given that is true, the idiom is an example of LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:276). When you set caps at someone, you set course for someone, i.e. in the example (11) the navigational term of reaching a goal is used as a metaphor for a woman reaching her goal in a form of gaining a husband. The purpose of the woman in the example (11), is to be in a

specific location (where the object of her adoration is in love with her), and in order to achieve that goal, she has to move from one point to another (Lakoff 1987:277).

In nautical terms one sets course at the beginning of a voyage and the goal is the destination, while in the phrase *to set caps at someone* the beginning of the journey is taking a fancy on someone, then of course follows setting a course for that person and the end goal of the journey is making them fall in love with you, marrying them. In the example (11), Jack has returned from his adventures as a rich man, which made him an eligible bachelor and naturally making him the *goal* of every girl in the place.

Another schema that structures our concept of space is the BACK-FRONT schema, through which people understand the foreground-background structure (Lakoff 1987:283).

The most common things in our minds that have a back-front orientation are moving objects. We see objects to be moving with their front in the direction of motion. Similarly, people conceptualize time as a moving object, with the future moving towards us (Lakoff and Johnson 1987:42):

> (12) But when the **time was getting over**, she began to think about the skeins and to wonder if he had 'em in mind.

The idiom in the example (12) means that 'the time for something is coming'. The time in the example (12) is envisioned as a moving object, and from that concept arises the TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT conceptual metaphor. In the example (12), the time for a certain event is coming, hence the future is moving towards the subject of the sentence and she is beginning to think about what will happen when it reaches her.

> (13) But the moment Childe Wynd had landed, the witch-queen's power over the Laidly Worm had gone, and she went back to her bower all alone, not an imp, nor a man-at-arms to help her, for she knew **her hour was come**.

Death is one of the primal human fears which makes it a topic which is often not openly discussed. When talking about death. people often feel uncomfortable and do not know whether something is appropriate or not. Beth Ralston (2016:79) poses the question of how do we navigate death linguistically. She argues that, in order to conform to conventionally accepted boundaries when talking about death, people ought to find linguistic tools for dealing with such a delicate topic. One of such tools used in English language is metaphor,

which allows "for the discussion of topics we do not want to talk about in direct, concrete terms, by using terminology from a different conceptual domain". What is more, metaphor also allows us to discuss abstract concepts, such as life after death, "when we imagine the process of dying as being part of a journey, where the destination is final" (ibid).

The idiom *the hour is come* in example (13) is motivated by the image in our head that time is an entity. C. Flores Moreno argues that "we can conceptualize time as the agent that provokes the effects of the event "time passing". It belongs to our cultural knowledge that, as time passes, the world, including ourselves, changes" (1998:295).

Lakoff and Turner draw attention to the fact how "our understanding of life and death is very much bound up with our understanding of time. This is because death is inevitable and because the mere passage of time can be seen as bringing about inevitable events" (2009:34).

In the idiom *the hour is come* there are two underlying conceptual metaphors – TIME IS A CHANGER and TIME MOVES. Moreno states that in the metaphor TIME MOVES one can find that the object moves with respect to fixed times, or the time is the entity with respect to the object that is fixed (Moreno 1998:296). In the example (13) the person is the fixed object, while time (the hour) is moving and will turn the person dead.

First of all of the sensory systems there are the eyes and the sight, which is connected with them. Sight is our prominent sense; it plays a crucial role in our acquisition of knowledge and this coordination between vision and knowledge is evident from the fact that we can see in spite of closed eyes because information is stored in our minds.

> (14) Старик воротился назад, смотрит и **глазам не верит**: дворца как не бывало, а на его месте стоит небольшая ветхая избушка, а в избушке сидит старуха в изодранном сарафане.
>
> 'The old man went back, and **couldn't believe his eyes**: the castle wasn't there, and in its place was a small, old cottage, and in the cottage was the old woman in a tattered sarafan.'

In the example (14) we can see the idiom *не верить своим глазам,* which is motivated by the KNOWING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). The metaphor stems from the conceptual knowledge about eyes as organs of vision and their role and contribution to formation of the image inside our brains. The conceptual metonymy that arises from this knowledge is EYES STAND FOR SEEING, which naturally arises from the metonymic link

between the perceptual organ, i.e. eyes and the perception, i.e. seeing. What underlies the conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING is the unequivocal relationship between what one sees and what one knows. Mateusz Stanojević states that we are capable of identifying a physical thing when we see it, but we are also able to understand its purpose in a particular context – the fact that we see something plays a crucial role in how we construct our knowledge (2013: 191). In other words, the perceptual experience of seeing is metaphorically mapped onto the mental functions of knowing. In the example the old man is seeing something and refuses to believe his own eyes even though he saw it happening. The things we see are true, but when they are unexpected and we are surprised by them we think our mind is playing tricks on us.

> (15) "Why, the beautifullest lady you ever see, dressed right gay and ga'. The young master, he never **took his eyes off her**."

The idiom in the example (15), *to take one's eyes off someone* has the meaning 'to stop looking at someone' and is also motivated by the metonymic link between the eyes and the experience of seeing. The cognitive mechanism used in this expression is the conceptual metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:50), i.e. when the seen object comes into physical contact with one's eyes, the experience of seeing is achieved. If one's eyes are in a direct physical contact with the object that is being observed, the eyes are described as being *on* the object, while the actual vision is accomplished in the moment the eyes touch the object. Consequently, if one takes their eyes *off* the observed object, the vision and the physical contact are no more. The expression indicates the unwillingness to end physical contact between the perceiver's eyes and the body of the person being watched. Elena Ciprianová and Zuzana Kováčová add that the expression *take eyes off someone* is interpreted as a manifestation of the metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING, but is actually motivated by the metonymy THE EYE FOR THE WAY OF LOOKING "constructed on the bodily experience of directing a shorter or prolonged look towards a person we find attractive" (2018:19). In the example above the young master finds the lady so beautiful he looks at her the entire night.

Veronika Nikolaevna Teliya (2006) asserts that expressions like these are built on the relation between eyes and sight, and sight and a particular feeling (in this particular example, the expressions stems from the relation between eyes and attraction, i.e. interest towards

someone). Eyes symbolize appropriation which is more typical for another part of our body – the hand (Телия 2006: 552).

(16) However, the last day of the last month he takes her to a room she'd never **set eyes on** before.

As we have already established in the example (16), there is a metonymic link between eyes and the sense of seeing. In the expression *set eyes on something* the eyes are imagined as being *on* the observed object, again leading us to the underlying conceptual metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING, i.e. the vision is achieved when the object we are watching comes into physical contact with our eyes. In the example, the expression denotes that the person has never seen the room before.

(17) Медведь заревел что есть мочи, понатужился, перервал все верёвки и вожжи и ударился бежать по́ лесу **без оглядки** — только лес трещит.
'The bear cried out with all his might, tried with all his power, teared all the ropes and reins and started running through the woods **a look back** – only the forest was cracking.'

In the example (17) we can see the idiom *без оглядки,* which means 'to run from something very fast without looking back'. The expression stems from old Russian beliefs, while its original meaning was 'to run from an unholy force' (Бирих, Мокиенко, Степанова 2001:414). The idiom was motivated by their belief that a look was a sort of a physical contact, which created a magical bond between a person and supernatural forces. A look was a way of crossing the line between this world and the otherworld. In other words, if you would look back, you would see the unholy force and become a part of the underworld. Whether we take the real etymology in consideration or not, the motivation of the idioms lies in the conceptual metonymy SEEING IS TOUCHING.

Some of the analyzed idioms with the eye(s) constituent were also motivated by measurable characteristics of physical actions performed by eyes:

(18) "You can, can you?" yelped the fox, and he snapped up the Johnny-cake in his sharp teeth **in the twinkling of an eye**.

The idiom *in the twinkling of an eye* from the example (18) consists of the source domain THE TWINKLING OF THE EYE, or in other words it is motivated by the brisk movement

(twinkling) of the eye. The target domain of the metaphor is TIME, i.e. the speedy passing of the same, leading us to the conceptual metaphor PASSING OF TIME IS THE TWINKLING OF THE EYE. In the example (18) the fox grabbed Johnny-Cake in the twinkling of an eye, which denotes that the action of grabbing him was very swift and quick. The expression is based in the fact that the twinkling of an eye has a very short duration, therefore we can conclude that the time component found in the basis of this act in real life motivates the meaning of the idiom describing it.

> (19) She would have avoided him, but the king, **having caught a sight of her**, approached, and what with her beauty and sweet voice, fell desperately in love with her, and soon induced her to marry him.

In the example (19), the idiom *to catch a sight of someone* means 'to see something for a moment'. In this case the eyes are visualized as containers that catch the sight of the object one is looking at. The observed object or person falls into the eye container, which leads to visualization of the object. Given that the object of one's attention is active, the seeing of the object is imagined as something that is difficult to obtain. The verb *to catch* is used in the expression, in order to depict the briefness of the action and because it has a connotation of effort, given that the observing of the object is hard to achieve.

In the next three examples (20-22) we have idioms that are based on the object schemata. In all three cases the object is seen as something worthwhile for the speaker.

> (20) He was too much **out of breath** to beg pardon, but the woman was good-natured, and she said he seemed to be a likely lad, so she would take him to be her servant, and would pay him well.

The experience of breathing is the basis of many figurative expressions. According to Gibbs and Wilson the air one breathes is characterized as something valuable, in other words we know that breathing is "essential to proper bodily functioning" and also, breathing is a very important part of speaking as well (2002:526).
The conceptual metaphor underlying the idiom in example (20) is BREATH IS A VALUABLE OBJECT. The idiom holds the meaning 'to gasp for air after exertion', i.e. one is not able to breathe or speak properly because one is lacking breath (=air).

(21) Король **берёг** их **пуще глаза своего**, устроил подземные палаты и посадил их туда, словно птичек в клетку, чтобы ни буйные ветры на них не повеяли, ни красно солнышко лучом не опалило.

'The king **kept them safer than his own eye**, he built underground palaces and put them there, like birds in a cage, so that winds could not blow on them, nor the sun could burn them with its light.'

The idiom *беречь пуще глаза своего* кого, что in the example (21) stems from the metaphor THE EYES ARE PRECIOUS OBJECTS (Ciprianová and Kováčová 2018:27). Eyes are very important organs for people and if we value something more than our own eyes, it must be of outmost importance to us. In the example, the king valued his daughters more than his ability to see, suggesting that he would rather lose his organ of sight than his object of affection – his daughters.

(22) The young princess having lost her father's love, grew weary of the Court, and one day, meeting with her father in the garden, she begged him, with tears in her eyes, to let her go and **seek her fortune**; to which the king consented, and ordered her mother-in-law to give her what she pleased.

To seek one's fortune is an idiom that was structured from the WEALTH/HAPPINESS IS A HIDDEN OBJECT conceptual metaphor. Wealth along with happiness is one of the primary goals in life, and while they are one of the most essential commodities to people, they share THE HIDDEN OBJECT source domain in which "people search for it, it is difficult to obtain, people nevertheless put effort into finding it, it takes a long time to obtain it, and once found, it can be kept for a long time" (Kövecses 2016:165).

In all five of the idioms that were found in English folk tales, the protagonists left their homes in the quest for happiness and wealth, no matter how difficult the circumstances were.

(23) At last the cock crew, and the prince **made all haste** to get on horseback; Kate jumped up behind, and home they rode.

The expression *to make all haste* is an example of the entity metaphor (HASTE IS ENTITY) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The idiom means 'to move, act, or go quickly, hurry', and in order to do so one has to *make*, in other words produce haste. We are imagining haste as something which has physical matter and can be generated, created by the person

in hurry. By doing so, we are able to refer to it, quantify it, act with respect to it etc. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:26)

The following idiom in the example (24) is motivated by personification. By personifying physical objects or abstract notions we are able to "comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:33).

(24) — Смилуйся, сильномогучий богатырь! Не **предавай меня смерти**, отпусти душу на покаяние.

'– Have mercy, allmighty bogatyr**! Do not surrender me to death**, let my soul have penance.'

Throughout history, death has been personified by people of all cultures and nations. One of the most famous personifications of death would probably be grim reaper, who "exists by virtue PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor, in which people are plants which are harvested by the reaper" (Lakoff and Turner 2009:16).

In the example (24), death is conceptualized as a person, someone who effects death. The person is asking the bogatyr[7] for mercy and not to be surrendered to death who will act as his executioner.

The following two idioms in the examples (25-26) are based on the VERTICALITY schema, i.e. their motivation lies in the opposites up and down and how they are conceptualized and perceived by the human mind.

(25) Mrs. Vinegar got down as fast as she could, and when she saw the money she **jumped for joy**. (Mr. Vinegar)

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) write about metaphors that are based on the image schema of verticality and they call them *orientational metaphors*.

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[7] A bogatyr is one of the legendary medieval heroes of Russia, a hero, athlete, warrior, from Old Russian *bogatyrĭ*, of Turkic origin; akin to Turkish *batur* brave. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bogatyr. Accessed 17 August 2020.

The metaphorical concept of orientational metaphors does not structure one concept in terms of another, but rather organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another.

These spatial orientations arise from our consciousness of our bodies and their ways of functioning in our physical environment. Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation; for example, HAPPY IS UP (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:14).

According to Lakoff and Johnson these metaphorical orientations are not at all random, instead they rest on our physical and cultural experience. In the example (25) the feeling of overwhelming happiness experienced by Mrs. Vinegar is described by the idiom *to jump for joy.* It is an example of an expression that is based on physical experience, while people often jump, hop or bounce when they are overcome with great happiness.

> (28) That same night the queen, who was a noted witch, stole down to a lonely dungeon wherein she did her magic and with spells three times three, and with passes nine times nine she **cast** Princess Margaret **under her spell**.

The idiom *to cast someone under a spell* is an example of another orientational metaphor. The word spell is generally used for magical procedures which cause harm, or force people to do something against their will*,* hence the spatial orientation of the idiom *to cast someone under a spell* is BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL/FORCE IS DOWN (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:16), the spell being the means of control. In the example (26), the queen put Princess Margaret under her control by casting a spell.

Many figurative expressions are conceptually based on ancient sets of ideas which were later discredited as a result of scientific developments. However, even though these expressions differ greatly from modern scientific knowledge, those archaic worldviews are nonetheless part of our memory and therefore underlie many conceptual metaphors.

One of such beliefs that affected many figurative expressions is "humoral pathology" (Piirainen 2007, Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2005).

Piirainen elaborates how the theory of humoral pathology "stated that combinations of the four fluid humours of the body, yellow bile, black bile, blood, and phlegm, determined the four prototypical temperaments, namely the choleric, the melancholic, the sanguine, and the phlegmatic temperament. This doctrine was effective from antiquity and medieval times up to the 18th century before it became outdated as a result of modern medical science" (2007: 211).

Even though the average speaker is not familiar with the humoral pathology theory, the idioms which still contain remains of the theory in their lexical structure are without a doubt recognizable to him.

(27) BE BOLD, BE BOLD, BUT NOT TOO BOLD, LEST THAT YOUR HEART'S **BLOOD SHOULD RUN COLD**.

Under the scheme of humoral pathology, blood is perceived to be hot and moist. When we imagine blood solidifying as a consequence of horror, we picture it as unable to supply the body with energy and warmth, resulting in one's death. In other words, when one's blood turns from hot to cold, one is frightened to death. In the example above one has to be bold, but not too bold, because excessive bravery might just lead one to death.

The meaning of the idiom (27) 'to be extremely frightened' is motivated by the conceptual metonymy DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE STANDS FOR FEAR (Kövecses 2000:24).

(28) **Не по нутру** они были злой ведьме: «как бы их извести да до худа довести?»
'They **did not go well with the** evil witch's **gut**: "how will she torture them, make them skinny?"

The meaning of the idiom *не по нутру* кто, что кому быть in the example (28) is 'to not like someone or something'. Teliya claims that the idiom originated in the ancient animistic mythology according to which human physiology is animate, brought to life. The component *нутро* is related to the somatic, physical cultural code, and it represents the naive conception about human internal organs, illustrating the innate sense, the gut instinct, which is the foundation of a person's inner peace. What also underlies the motivation of this expression is a case of metonymy, synecdoche, where the part stands for the whole. If you do not go well with someone's gut, that means that the person does not like you. One entity, the gut, is being used to refer to the whole person, making the idiom an etalon, a measuring standard for internal emotional disharmony in the relations with other people, as well as a qualitative measuring of emotional and moral qualities of a person, in other words, measuring of how they correspond to another person's point of view (Телия 2006:420).

The idioms found in the examples (29-30) are motivated by conceptual metonymy and metaphor, while the idioms seen in examples (31-34) are all exclusively metonymically motivated:

(29) — Ну, только **попадись** мне мужик **в лапы**, уж будет меня помнить!

'- Just you **fall into my paws**, man, and you will remember me!'

The idiom from the example (29) *попасть в лапы* к кому arose from the fact that animals use paws when hunting their prey. We see paws as tools that help animals in order to capture their prey, i.e. something they want. Here the bear's paws are seen as instruments used in the activity of catching prey, which leads us to metonymy PAWS STAND FOR THE ACTIVITY. The idiom from the example (29) means 'to find yourself as somebody's prey', in their paws, which suggests the CONTROL IS HOLDING (SOMETHING IN PAWS) conceptual metaphor. The basis for this metaphor is the fact that "if we hold an object in the hand, we can do whatever we wish to do with it. Thus, the ability or possibility of directly manipulating an object as we wish" (Kövecses 2010:245).

(30) — Ах ты, старый чёрт! **Попалось тебе в руки** большое счастье, а ты и владать не сумел.

'– Oh you old devil! Great luck **fell into your hands**, and you cannot even rule.'

A hand is a part of our body that is often used by people in order to manipulate objects. This natural knowledge that all people possess of the hand is what underlies the conceptual metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR CONTROL. Naturally, if we envision our hands as means of control, we also conceptualize the objects (or in this case abstract notions) as entities being possessed in our hand. In the example (30), the great luck that fell into one's hands is seen as an entity that became possessed by our hands. The person is now in possession of good fortune, so one might argue the existence of the metaphor, HOLDING IN THE HAND IS POSSESSION (Kövecses 2010:243).

(31) Взяла купеческая дочь это письмо на руки, залилась слезами и стала убираться, и служанка с нею; и никто эту служанку не разгадает с купеческой дочерью: потому не разгадает, что обе **на одно лицо.**

'The merchant's daughter took the letter in her hands, started crying and collecting her things, her servant with her; and nobody will tell them apart, because they are **on one face**.'

The idiom *на одно лицо* in the example (31) is motivated in our conceptual systems by the metonymy PART FOR THE WHOLE, i.e. FACE STANDS FOR PERSON (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:37).

We are all aware of the fact that the face is the most distinctive part of a person. The majority of people identify or memorize people above all by their faces. Even picture identity documents show people's faces. This brings us to the conclusion that the metonymy FACE FOR THE PERSON is not an arbitrary choice of language, while "we function in terms of a metonymy when we perceive the person in terms of his face and act on those perceptions" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:37). In the example (31) above, no one could tell apart the servant and the merchant's daughter, while they were *on one face*, i.e. they shared the same face as if they were the same person.

(32) "O, quit your sword, unbend your bow,
 And give me kisses three;
 For though I am a poisonous worm,
No harm I'll do to thee."
Childe Wynd **stayed his hand**, but he did not know what to think if some witchery   were not in it.

The idiom *to stay one's hand* (32) is motivated by the metonymical link HAND STANDS FOR ACTIVITY. Underlying the conceptual metonymy is the fact that many human activities are done using hands (Kövecses and Szabó 1996:340). The semantic meaning of the idiom 'to stop yourself/someone from doing something' stems from the knowledge we associate with the staying one's hand, while when we stop the movement of our hands we have halted an activity. The idiom is thus motivated by the conceptual metonymy THE HAND STANDS FOR THE ACTIVITY and some further conventional knowledge (ibid).

(33) That looked **out of the corner of that's eyes,** and that said: "I'll give you three guesses every night to guess my name, and if you haven't guessed it before the month's up you shall be mine."

So far, we have already encountered idioms that referred to the experience of seeing. The idiom from the above sentence (33) is also motivated by the EYES STAND FOR SEEING conceptual metonymy, but the eyes stand for a certain *type* of seeing. In the expression *out of the corner of one's eye* the emphasis is on looking at something or seeing something with just a part of the eye and not the whole eye.

The meaning of this expression is to see something from the brink of one's eyes, to see something partially and/or briefly.

The expression is based on the human experience of seeing a complete image only when using your whole scope of the eyes, naturally if one uses only a part of the eyes (the corners), one will consequentially see just a partial image. The conceptual metonymy EYES STAND FOR SEEING can be in this case defined as THE CORNERS OF THE EYES STAND FOR SEEING PARTIALLY. Furthermore, this expression may also indicate the duration of the seeing, i.e. when one sees something out of the corners of one's eyes, one sees it quickly.

This indication is related to the fact when we want to see something briefly, we do not turn our gaze and eyes completely to the observed object, but we look at it out of the corners of our eyes.

> (34) — Я знаю, зачем! — отвечал Фролка, сразился с змием и **с одного маху** сшиб ему все семь глав, положил их под камень, а туловище зарыл в землю.
>
> '– I know why! – answered Frolka, as he clashed with the dragon and cut off all of his seven heads **with one swing**, put them under a rock, and plunged its body in the ground.'

The meaning of the idiom *с одного маху* from example (34) is 'to do something very quickly'. The idiom is motivated by conventional knowledge we have about the motion of a swing. We all know that to make a swing with your hand it takes a very short amount of time, i.e. it is done in an instant. The hand motion is metonymically linked to the notion of a very brief period of time.

4.1.2. The analysis of idioms motivated by basic-level metaphor

The first example (35) of an idiom motivated by the basic-level metaphor consists of a very culture-specific knowledge.

(35) Вот поутру рано старуха деток своих накормила и как следует **под венец** нарядила и в путь отпустила.

'Early in the morning the old woman fed her children and dressed them accordingly to go **under the wreath** and sent them away.'

The idiom *идти под венец* is literally translated to English as 'to go under the wreath' and it means 'to marry someone'. A *венец* is a head piece, usually in the shape of a crown that is held over the bride's and groom's heads during an Orthodox Catholic wedding ceremony, in other words the parties are married by the literal act of going under the wreath.

The act of going under the wreath is a big, if not the most important part of an Orthodox wedding, but if we are not familiar with the tradition, no imagery will be evoked by the lexical structure. In other words, in order to process the expression appropriately, one must have some knowledge of the traditional Orthodox wedding and activate it.
In the example (35) the old woman dressed her children up to go under the wreath, i.e. for the act of getting married.

The next idiom (36) also requires a very particular cultural knowledge so that one may process it adequately.

(36) Кто моё царство разорил? Ужель в свете есть мне противники? Есть у

меня один противник, да его и **костей сюда ворон не занесёт**!

'Who ruined my empire? Do I have enemies in this world? I have one enemy, **where a crow will not carry bones**!'

The idiom *куда ворон костей не заносит* directly translates to English 'where a crow will not carry bones' and it refers to a very faraway place, somewhere remote and at a great distance, also it is often meant of a place that is far-off and unknown. According to Svetlana Fedorovskaya, crows are (other than being widely accepted as symbols of misfortune) closely linked to the otherworld in Russian mythology, one can even say they serve as a sort of mediators between the two worlds, the worlds of life and death (2015:28).

If one is familiar with this knowledge, one will successfully notice the similarity between the figurative meaning of the expression and its inner form, i.e. the imagery produced in our minds by the lexical structure of the idiom.

With all of this in mind, one may conclude that the idiom *куда ворон костей не заносит* originally conveyed not only a far-flung place, but the realm of the dead, a place so beyond everything, where not even a crow is able to carry your bones after you die. In the example (36) the person emphasizes how he does not have any enemies in this world, but only one in the otherworld.

Another example of idioms that requires a specific knowledge background in order to be processed appropriately are the idioms in (37-38):

(37) Царь с царицею его полюбили, а царевна в нем **души не чаяла**.

'The king and the queen grew fond of him, and the princess **didn't hear his soul'**.

According to Teliya, the idiom *души не чаять* кто в ком presumably originates in the mythological, animistic perception of the world and it means 'to love somebody unconditionally'. It stems from the understanding of the world in which one man can not know another man's soul, while in accordance with Christian beliefs, only God has the capacity to do so. Teliya makes further comment how the expression is an example of the archetypal dichotomy *secret-known*. The first component of the idiom, *душа*, represents the religious and spiritual (something that cannot be perceived by any area of human knowledge and is therefore secret), while the *не чаять* represents the cultural, anthropic component.

In the idiom, the word *душа (soul)* is metonymically related to the person's character, their total self, while given the divine power to see a person in their entirety, you do not "hear" everything, you are so infatuated you "hear" only the positive sides of a person's character.

If one is to understand this expression appropriately, one must possess the knowledge of Christian belief that a soul is regarded to be a person's total self, a person's character, emotions and experiences which will lead them to the metaphor 'not hearing one's soul is loving someone unconditionally'.

(38) — Смилуйся, сильномогучий богатырь! Не предавай меня смерти**, отпусти душу на покаяние.**

'– Have mercy, almighty bogatyr! Do not hand me to death, **let my soul repent**.'

The idiom *отпустить душу на покаяние* from the example (38) means 'to have mercy on someone, to leave someone in peace'. The phrase most likely stems from the religious ritual of repentance (admitting and asking God for forgiveness for your sins), in other words one expresses sincere regret and remorse for one's wrongdoings and asks mercy and to be left alone. The soul in the expression stands metonymically for the person asking for forgiveness.

The situation of asking someone to have mercy on you, which is denoted by the actual meaning of the expression, actually resembles the situation encoded in the lexical structure – asking someone permission to repent yourself. In order to comprehend the metaphor 'repenting one's soul is having mercy on someone' properly, one must activate the knowledge of the ritual of repentance in Christian religion.

Following four (39- 42) idioms do not require any culture-specific knowledge in order to be understood. All are based on natural experience:

(39) — Можешь ли сковать мне такую цепь, чтоб хватило **с ног до головы** обвить человека?

'– Could you make me such a chain, so I could wrap a man **from feet to head**?'

In the example (39) the person wants such a chain (*цепь)* that would wrap (*обвить)* a person *с ног до головы* (*from feet to head)*. In order to understand the idiom *from feet to head*, no particular cultural knowledge needs to be activated. The knowledge underlying the expression is of natural experience. We all know that on the top of a body there is head and on the bottom there are feet. The antonymic relationship between the somatic components feet and head evokes the imagery in our heads of the complete coverage of a human body (head=top of a body, feet=bottom) and leading us to the meaning of the expression 'all over one's body'.

(40) Озлилась старуха, ругает старика **с утра до вечера**, не даёт ему спокоя:

'The old woman turned mean, she pestered the old man **from morning to evening**, never letting him rest:'

Another example of an idiom that requires no cultural knowledge in order to be processed is *с утра до вечера* the idiom found in the example (40). Everyone is familiar with the fact that a day starts with the morning and ends with the evening, hence the idiom is used to emphasize that someone is doing something all the time (the whole day, or all of the days). The stylistical function of antonyms here is not just to express polarities, but to underline the width of time limits, since it is conventional knowledge that a day starts in the morning and ends in the evening.

(41) Поутру встала баба-яга, глянула в окошечко — кругом стены́ торчат на спицах дочерние головы; страшно она озлобилась, приказала подать свой огненный щит, поскакала в погоню и начала палить щитом **на все четыре стороны**.

'In the morning Baba yaga stood up, look out the window – around the wall were her daughters' heads on knitting needles; she grew very angry, commanded her fiery shield and went chasing after them and started burning with her shield **on all four sides**.'

The idiom from the example (41), *на все четыре стороны* (*on all four sides*), is motivated by the conventional knowledge of four cardinal directions – north, south, east and west. In the example (41) Baba yaga started burning *on all four sides*, i.e. the image activated in our brain is that she started burning everything around her.

(42) ...а вот сосед мой всю свою жизнь **на боку лежит**, и что же?

'...and my neighbour is **laying on his side** his whole life, and what of it?'

In the example (42) we can see the idiom *лежать на боку*. This particular idiom is used to express one's laziness and is motivated by the image of a person literally lying on their side and not doing anything. There is no superior conceptual metaphor underlying this idiom, rather it is based in the conventional knowledge that we all share about lazy people, the fact that they do not anything but lie around all day avoiding work – this knowledge creates the image in our heads, which in turn motivates the idiom.

4.2. The analysis of symbol-based idioms

As it has been already mentioned, in order for an idiom to be considered symbol-based motivated, the primary content of its symbolic constituent has to be used to denote a second content, which has to be considered more significant from a cultural perspective.

> (43) — Тепло ли вам, девицы? Тепло ли вам, красные?
>
> — **Поди ты к чёрту**! Разве слеп, вишь, у нас руки и ноги отмёрзли.
>
> – Are you warm, ladies? Are you warm, lovelies?
> – **Go to the devil**! Are you blind, can you not see our hands and legs are frozen.

We know that the devil in Christian religion is a fallen angel who rebelled against god, causing him to fall to the underground, as well as the fall of mankind and its banishment from heaven. But also, in many cultures DEVIL contains numerous symbolic functions, such as 'evil', 'malice', 'danger', or 'horror'. As well as being recognized in various cultures as a symbol of evil, DEVIL can also be semantically independent of the given context. If we isolate the word devil from the word string *поди ты к чёрту,* i.e. if the concept of the devil is separated from the idiom, we would still get the connotation of evil, malice, or danger. The phrase is oftentimes used as a curse, in order to show one's anger, annoyance and the wish to get rid of the other person, hence it is said to go to the devil, i.e. to go to the most dangerous and horrible place imaginable. In the example (43), the woman is angry at the person asking her whether she is warm, while she is more than obviously freezing, hence she tells him to go to the devil for annoying her.

The following idiom in the example (44) does not actually have its symbolic component, rather it is believed that the symbolism of the said component was so terrifying in historic times, that people stopped pronouncing it altogether.

> (44) Не успели переглянуться, перешепнуться, а она к ним в двери, **легка на помине,** запопала врасплох:
>
> — Дочь моя хорошая, дочь моя пригожая!
> 'They didn't even get the chance to look at each other, to whisper something to each other, and already she ran to him at the door, **light in memory**, embraced him suddenly:
> - My good daughter, my lovely daughter!'

The idiom *легок на помине* is thought to have originated from the saying *легок волк на помине* (the wolf is light in memory), an expression connected to an ancient superstition, which prohibited from saying out loud the name of the beast (the wolf, which was then associated with unnatural forces and therefore had special powers), because it was bound to show up upon hearing its name. This superstition agrees with the symbolic functions of WOLF that can be found in numerous cultural codes, "from fairy tales and folk tales of the dangerous, people-devouring wolf to folk beliefs about werewolves, and throughout Western history from antiquity to Christian exegesis up to present-day nursery rhymes, cartoons or film animations" (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2010:78).

The idiom may have lost its *wolf* component, while the people were too scared to say it even as an expression and it is today used when someone arrives very shortly after their name was mentioned, as if some sort of magic was in question. If we take this theory of the lost wolf component to be true, we can conclude that the motivation of the idiom indubitably lies in the cultural symbolism of the wolf component.

4.3. The analysis of special cases of motivation

4.3.1. The analysis of gesture-based idioms

All of the conventional figurative units that were found in text samples and which originated in gestures include a somatic compound, which helps creating an image of a certain gesture that in turn leads us to the figurative meaning.

According to R. Volos, idioms that are motivated by gestures can be subdivided in three groups (1995:139):

> 1.) Idioms that completely and utterly imitate the gesture, owe their information exclusively to the gesture, and their phraseological meaning is conditioned by the knowledge of the gesture itself
>
> 2.) Idioms that are based on gestures, but can be used in a figurative sense not only by imitating the gesture, but by expressing its symbolism and imagery
>
> 3.) Idioms based on gestures that are no longer used nowadays

In the following section idioms from the corpus pertaining to above mentioned groups will be closely analyzed.

> 1.) No idioms pertaining to this group were found in the corpus.

2.) In the examples below the idioms were used in such a context, that one may conclude the actual gesture was performed, but with the intention to transfer specific information in communication. Hrnjak asserts that in the deep structure of the idiom one can find the image component of the specific gesture which leads us to the new figurative meaning of the group of words as whole, as an idiom. She adds that it is of outmost importance to know the dichotomy between gestures as such, and gestures that carry additional information in communication (2005:31).

> (45) Старик **вытаращил глаза,** разинул рот и перестал хлебать, а девка завыла.
> 'The old man **opened** his **eyes wide**, opened his mouth wide and stopped eating, and the girl started crying.'

In the example (45) we have the idiom *вытаращить глаза,* with the meaning 'to look at someone in fear, anger, or surprise with eyes wide open'. The idiom is based on the metonymy EYE BEHAVIOUR FOR THE EMOTION. The old man is making a gesture of surprise by opening his eyes widely. According to Kövecses (2000:33), "surprise is not a socially very complex phenomenon", ergo the metonymic motivation derives from the wide-eyed facial expression which is associated with surprise. When we are surprised, we instinctively open our eyes, and the more we open them, the greater is the intensity of our emotions (the level of surprise). In the example above, the idiom *вытаращить глаза* serves to give us the information of outmost surprise felt by the old man, not just to transfer the information that the old man opened his eyes wide, in other words, the actual fact whether he really opened his mouth or not becomes irrelevant.

> (46) Старик вытаращил глаза, **разинул рот** и перестал хлебать, а девка завыла.
> 'The old man opened his eyes wide, **opened his mouth wide** and stopped eating, and the girl started crying.'

The idiom *разинуть рот* found in the example (46) means 'to express one's utter surprise, state of amazement or shock, to begin talking or to be completely absentminded' and it derives from the metonymical link MOUTH BEHAVIOUR FOR EMOTION. In the example (46) the old man is entirely shocked, therefore the explanation is the same as for *вытаращить глаза,* i.e. our intrinsic reaction to open our mouth when shocked or surprised

is the image that motivated the expression. Again, when one is surprised, one oftentimes opens one's mouth, and of course, the more it is opened, the bigger the magnitude of surprise. Again, the idiom *разинуть рот* provides us not only with the information about the gesture made by the old man, but with the additional knowledge about the level of surprise he experienced, again making the actual performance of the gesture insignificant.

(47) That was **grinning from ear to ear**, and Oo! that's tail was twirling round so fast.

Another example of the metonymy MOUTH BEHAVIOUR FOR EMOTION can be found in the idiom *to grin from ear to ear* found in the example (47). The idiom means 'to look extremely happy', and it is motivated by the image of the facial gesture one makes in state of utmost happiness –smiling so widely that it looks as if your lips are reaching your ears on both ends.

(48) The husband tasted them and **shook his head**. He said they tasted very strangely.

In the example (48) we can see the idiom *to shake one's head*, which is used in order 'to express disagreement or refusal or to say "no"'. The idiom stems from the gesture of literally shaking one's head from side to side when we want to disagree with something or to convey our dissatisfaction, which is widely spread throughout western cultures.
The idiom is based on the metonymical link SHAKING ONE'S HEAD STANDS FOR NEGATION.
The expression was founded on a gesture, but can be used figuratively without imitating the gesture, while at the same time expressing her symbolism and imagery. When one shakes one's head it is an expression of rejection or disapproval, therefore in the example the husband disagrees with the taste of food and consequently shakes his head.

3.) The idioms in the examples below are all examples of idioms that contain an image of a gesture that was once used throughout history and which provides us with the figurative meaning of the idiom

(49) Вот и приехали они во дворец. Царица **упала ей в ноги**:

— Прости меня!

'And so they arrived at the castle. The queen **fell at her feet**: - Forgive me!'

In the example (49) we have the idiom *упасть в ноги* кто кому originates from the old Russian gesture of getting on one's knees and bowing down to the ground (to someone's feet) while requesting something or making a complaint to dignitaries. The gesture itself is no longer made, but it exists in our consciousness, therefore the recipient has no problem in understanding its meaning, 'to desperately ask for something'.

(50) Помолился он богу и **бил челом**:

— Здорово, красная девица!

'He said his prayer and **hit with his forehead**:

– Good day, beautiful lady!'

Just like in the example (49), the idiom from example (50) arose from an age-old gesture as well. The idiom *бить челом* means 'to respectfully greet someone by taking a bow, to ask for mercy while taking a bow, to politely ask about something, to thank someone for something or to complain about someone'. It arose from the pagan tradition in the ancient Rus' where the ground was worshiped as sacred, in other words, in order to show one's respect, one had to bow down so low, that one's forehead would hit the ground. Along came Christianity to the ancient Rus', and emanated rituals of bowing (all the way and halfway to the ground) as a sign of outmost respect for church altars and other sanctities. The God- fearing believers oftentimes bowed down so vigorously they actually touched the ground with their foreheads.

After a while, the expression left the religious realm and went on to be used as an articulation of deep respect and humbleness, usually during greetings, when one simply lowers one's forehead as in a bow-like gesture, i.e. the expression encodes a linguistically nonverbal action that was once performed regularly, but is done no longer in modern times.

4.3.2. The analysis of textually dependent idioms

Piirainen (2007) writes about the extensive research that has been conducted on "biblicisms" in numerous languages, in other words on figurative expressions that can be

directly or indirectly traced back to verses or chapters of the Bible. Piirainen asserts the fact that the Bible was the only book in most families, even for a long period of time after the invention of letterpress printing. Another matter that adds to the importance of its content is the fact that whole passages were oftentimes learnt by heart by the family members. "Many biblical idioms are widespread in European languages and in fact so familiar that they are used without context, such as *built on sand* (Matthew 7,26), *swim against the tide* (Sirach 4,31) or *take someone under one's wing* (Psalm 91,4)" (2007:210).

Piirainen adds that the motivational link does not necessarily has to come from exact quotations of biblical verses, but it can also come from relatively vague familiarity with biblical stories.

(51) Пришло время сенокосное; братья траву косили, стога ставили, поработали с неделю и вернулись на деревню; поели, **что бог послал**, и легли спать.

The time to harvest had come; the brothers harvested hay, made haystacks, worked for a week and came back to the village; ate, **what god has sent** and went to bed.

The idiom *что (чем) бог послал (дал)* found in the example (51), means '(with) what is available' and is always used in a sense of eating, for example *to feed someone what God has sent, to eat what god has sent* etc.

The idiom most likely originated from the Bible, while God had saved Moses and the rest of the Israelites when they roamed the desert after fleeing Egypt. After they had eaten everything they had taken with them, God sent them *manna* every day for them to eat (except Saturday) and consequentially saved their lives. The phrase means that you will eat (or give someone to eat) what is available, no variety of choices is available, just like the Israelites had nothing to eat except *manna* that God gave them.

(52) **Once upon a time**, and a very good time it was, though it wasn't in my time, nor in your time, nor any one else's time, there was a girl whose mother had died, and her father had married again.

In the example (52) we can find the idiom *once upon a time*, which is probably the most famous traditional opening line in Anglophone fairy and folk tales. Today, the idiom from the example (52) carries the same meaning it had in all those numerous tales, 'some time in the

past'. Even though we might not know which fairy tale was the first to have it as an opening, it can be categorized as a form of textually dependant motivation, while the idiom owes its origin exclusively to textual sources.

The following idiom in the example (53) is the perfect example of an idiom motivated by textual dependence:

> (53) Только скажи: **по щучьему веленью**, по божьему благословенью явись то-то и то-то — сейчас явится!

> 'Just say: **by pike's command**, by god's blessing let there be this and that and it will be there!'

The idiom *по щучьему веленью* from example (53)*,* carries the meaning 'as if by magic, to do something or to get something without any effort, in an instant' and it originated from the allusion to an entire text, and was at the same time used for the first time in its present form in the folk tale *По щучьему веленью*. In the tale a man catches a pike which tells him that it shall grant him any wish, as long as he lets it go. The fish, pike, is culturally not associated with magic powers in Russian culture, nor is a symbol of nothing of sort, which leads us to the conclusion that the idiom stems exclusively from the folk tale itself. A semantic motivation can be excluded in this case, in other words the idiom is motivated by knowledge that there is a story behind it, even though the story itself may not be "mentally present with all its details to every speaker" (Piirainen and Dobrovol'skij 2010:80).

5 Discussion and conclusion

The analysis of English and Russian idioms from the sample of twenty-six folk tales has shown that the Russian sample of texts contained more idioms than the English one. From this data it can be concluded that Russian folk tales are richer in idioms, although it has to be noted that the samples were composed of only thirteen folk tales from each language. It has also been established that conceptual metaphor and metonymy are absolutely predominant motivators of idioms in both corpora. This can be attributed to the phenomenon of embodiment, because evidently a large proportion of metaphorical meaning derives from our experience of our own body, and that of course both English and Russian speakers have in

common. In the category of conceptual metaphor and metonymy, real etymology of idioms was absolutely insignificant. Even though it was most likely correctly established, it was just not important for the motivation of idioms, i.e. for their appropriate processing. All of the idioms were simply based on embodied experience, the functioning of human bodies and their everyday functioning in the world. Since embodied experience is shared by many different cultures, therefore it is shared by English and Russian cultures, it is no wonder that many of the idioms shared various image schemata, such as the CONTAINER image schema, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema, and OBJECT image schema. Furthermore, it is of no surprise that most of those idioms contained a somatic component in them, since body (and parts of it) are something English and Russian speakers share and relate to significantly.

The same conclusion can be made concerning gesture-based idioms, with regard to real etymology. Even though some of them stem from age-old gestures and traditions, and are no longer performed, it is a part of our memory and still exists in our consciousness, whether we are aware of it or not. In only three instances would the real etymology be considered important in order to process an idiom appropriately, and those three would be: *куда ворон костей не заносит, идти под венец* and *по щучьему веленью.* Firstly, from the idiom *куда ворон костей не заносит* motivation could not be detected without knowing the mythological background, just like the idiom *идти под венец* could be hard to process for anyone who does not possess any knowledge of Orthodox weddings. Lastly, in order to understand motivation of the idiom *по щучьему веленью,* the only option is to read the folk tale, which is of no surprise, considering the idiom is motivated by textual dependence. From this limited sample of texts, it can be concluded that idioms found in the Russian language are more culturally coded than those in English language.

The study of idioms in Russian and English folk tales supports and provides evidence for the cognitive linguistic view according to which conceptual mechanisms such as conceptual metaphor, metonymy, and conventional knowledge play a crucial role in motivating English and Russian idioms. Metaphor is seen as being grounded in shared human experience regarding our emotions, perception and various cognitive processes. After analyzing motivated idioms for this thesis, we have presented data confirming that embodiment is the central concept underlying the conceptualization of human experience. Therefore it is justified to conclude that the human body and embodied experience is a significant, if not the most important source domain for idioms, because it is something that is the closest to any human being, both physically and metaphorically.

However, not only physical experience shapes our understanding of idioms, but also our cultural environment. That is best reflected in the idioms whose motivation can be understood only with help of specific cultural knowledge.

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