

Cognitive motivation of English and Russian expressions containing the words eye(s) and glaz(a): a corpus-based approach

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COGNITIVE MOTIVATION OF ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN EXPRESSIONS
CONTAINING THE WORDS *EYE(S)* AND *ГЛАЗ(A)*:
A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH

Diplomski rad

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Abstract

This master's thesis studies the motivation of English and Russian figurative expressions with the components *eye(s)* and *глаз(a)* that is based on cultural models. The main aim of the thesis is to examine the semantic characteristics of figurative expressions and their relation to cognitive mechanisms (such as conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, and conventional knowledge) motivating them. 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 figurative expressions with the component *eye(s)/глаз(a)* tries to show how embodiment affects and shapes people's understanding of the meaning of linguistic expressions, while a comparative study of languages helps us see how universal bodily experience is reflected in languages which share a similar cultural background.

Key words: eyes, figurative expressions, cognitive motivation, cultural models, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy

Аннотация

В дипломной работе изучается мотивация образных выражений английского и русского языков с компонентами *eye(s)* и *глаз(a)*, которые базируются на культурных моделях. Основная цель работы - изучить семантические характеристики образных выражений и их связь с когнитивными механизмами (такими как концептуальная метафора, концептуальная метонимия и общепринятые знания), мотивирующими их. Исследование опирается на утверждение когнитивной лингвистики о том, что наш разум по своей сути воплощен и что значение возникает из наших общих знаний о мире, воплощенных в нашей концептуальной системе. Анализ образных выражений с компонентами *eye(s)* / *глаз(a)* пытается показать, как воплощение влияет на и формирует наше понимание значения языковых выражений. Сравнительное изучение языков помогает нам увидеть, как универсальный телесный опыт отражается в языках, которые имеют сходный культурный фон.

Ключевые слова: глаза, образные выражения, когнитивная мотивация, культурные модели, концептуальная метафора, концептуальная метонимия.

Table of contents

1 Introduction	5
2 Theoretical background	6
2.1. Embodiment, conceptual metaphor and metonymy	6
2.2 Image schemas	7
2.3 Cultural models	8
3 Methodology	11
3.1 Differences and similarities between English expressions in singular and plural	12
3.2 Differences and similarities between Russian expressions in singular and plural	13
3.3 Comparison of English and Russian singular and plural	14
4 The analysis of cultural models	15
4.1 The model of seeing	15
4.1.1 Seeing	15
4.1.2 Deception	22
4.1.3 Perception	23
4.1.4 Perspective	24
4.1.5 Attention	27
4.1.6 Assessment	36
4.2 Physical model	40
4.3 Eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state model	44
4.3.1 Feelings, emotions and states reflected in the eyes	45
4.3.2 Eyes conceptualized as containers	46
4.2.3 Eyes conceptualized as light sources	47
4.4 Communication model	49
5 Discussion and conclusion	51
6 References	56

1 Introduction

Eyes, as one of the most important organs of the human body, connect our body and mind with the outside world and are perceived as the mirror of the soul. This thesis studies the motivation of English and Russian figurative expressions with the components *eye(s)* and *глаз(a)* that is based on cultural models. The eyes were chosen for our study because they are rich in metaphorical meaning in both English and Russian. A comparative study of languages that share a similar cultural background can help us see how these languages reflect universal bodily experience. A corpus-based approach is used since it reflects the language in use and enables us to detect figurative expressions which have conceptual motivation but are not mentioned in dictionaries. The main aim of this thesis is to examine the semantic characteristics of figurative expressions and their relation to cognitive mechanisms motivating them. Since the speakers of English and Russian share the knowledge about the eye, as well as bodily experience related to the eye, it is expected that expressions containing the words *eye(s)/глаз(a)* will be motivated by the same cultural models and grounded in similar conceptual metaphors and metonymies. In other words, this thesis will try to show that there is a similar conceptual organization underlying figurative expressions in both English and Russian. However, differences between these two languages are likely to occur as a reflection of cultural differences. The analysis of data extracted from the corpus will try to answer the following questions: Are cognitive mechanisms motivating eye-expressions the same in English and Russian? How do conceptual metaphors and metonymies contribute to the content of cultural models? What are the differences in conceptualization between the two languages and how can we explain them?

The thesis has the following structure. Following the introduction, section 2 is the theoretical background briefly presenting cognitive linguistic terms such as embodiment, conceptual metaphor, metonymy, image schemas and cultural models. Section 3 presents the methodology of the study, followed by quantitative results. The central part of the thesis presents the qualitative analysis, and is followed by a discussion and conclusion.

2 Theoretical background

2.1. Embodiment, conceptual metaphor and metonymy

One of the main claims of cognitive linguistics, and especially cognitive semantics, is that our mind is inherently embodied – our conceptual system is shaped by the functioning of our body, neural structure of our brain and the specifics of our everyday functioning in the world (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987, Gibbs 2003). 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)

The analysis of figurative expressions (the majority of which are idioms) with the component *eye(s)/глаз(a)* tries to show how embodiment affects and shapes people's understanding of the meaning of linguistic expressions. The analyzed figurative expressions are conceptual in nature – their meaning arises from our more general knowledge of the world embodied in our conceptual system (Lakoff 1987, Kövecses and Szabó 1996). The main cognitive mechanisms which provide a link between a figurative expression and its meaning are conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, and conventional knowledge (Lakoff 1987, Kövecses and Szabó 1996). In metaphor, conceptual mappings take place across different domains and the target domain is understood in terms of the source domain. 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)

In our case, the perceptual experience of seeing as a source domain is metaphorically mapped onto the mental function of thinking, knowing, and understanding – the target domain. Another prominent metaphor motivating eye-expressions is SEEING IS TOUCHING where the experience of physically touching something is metaphorically linked with the act of seeing – vision is achieved when the eye touches the seen object. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature and that conceptual metaphors are grounded in our physical and cultural experience. Besides stressing the importance of direct physical experience, 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). On the other hand, in metonymy, there is only one domain – 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). Therefore, conceptual metonymy enables the word *eye* to stand for seeing, sight, attention, person, etc.

2.2 Image schemas

There are also certain recurring bodily experiences such as container, force, moving along a path, symmetry, and balance that get a structure through constant repetitions and are commonly used in metaphorical thought – Kövecses calls them image schematas or image schemas (2005: 19). According to Quinn and Holland, source domains of metaphors drawn from domains of the physical world provide the material for image-schemas – metaphor enables image-schematic thought and is thus important for understanding (1987: 28). Johnson explains this concept 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 structure is present in our everyday perceptions and activities, starting from the upright position of our own body to the activity of climbing stairs and the rising level of water in a glass – “the VERTICALITY schema is the abstract structure of these VERTICALITY experiences, images, and perceptions” (Johnson 1987: xiv). Moreover, we conceptualize an enormous number of things and activities in terms of CONTAINERS. One of those things is also our body – we constantly experience our bodies not just as containers, but also as things in containers (e.g. room). The container schema allows us to visualize abstract entities in three-dimensional spatial terms, that is, as having an

inside, a boundary and an outside (Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987, Peña 2003). This image schema plays an important role in the conceptualization of expressions with the component *eye(s)/глаз(a)* since eyes are often conceptualized as containers for different emotions, feelings, light and tears. Eyes can also be in different spatial relations with other objects and this relation motivates the meaning of various expressions that are based on the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema. This image schema contains a trajectory that moves, 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).

2.3 Cultural models

The third cognitive mechanism which often appears along with conceptual metaphor and metonymy as motivating figurative expressions is conventional knowledge – “the shared information that people in a given culture have concerning a conceptual domain” (Kövecses and Szabó 1996: 338). The shared knowledge about the human eye contains standard information about its parts, shape, use, and function, as well as the larger hierarchy of which it forms a part (eye as a part of the body, eye as a part of the face, etc.) and it is largely shared by speakers around the world. Scholars use different names to refer to this conventional knowledge, for example, Lakoff (1987) calls it “idealized cognitive model”, while Holland and Quinn (1987) use the terms “cultural model” or “folk theory”. Holland and Quinn discuss the cognitive anthropology’s view of culture as “shared knowledge - not as people’s customs and artifacts and oral traditions, but what they must know in order to act as they do, make the things they make, and interpret their experience in the distinctive way they do” (1987: 4). They maintain that cultural knowledge is organized into cultural models – “presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other, alternative models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it” (Holland and Quinn 1987: 4). Lakoff (1987) introduces the term idealized cognitive model or ICM and claims that cognitive models organize our knowledge, structure our thought and are used in forming categories and in reasoning (1987: 13). He explains ICMs on the example of the English word *Tuesday*:

Tuesday can be defined only relative to an idealized model that includes the natural cycle defined by the movement of the sun, the standard means of characterizing the

end of one and the beginning of the next, and a larger seven-day cycle – the week. [...] Our model of a week is idealized. Seven-day weeks do not exist objectively in nature. They are created by human beings. In fact, not all cultures have the same kinds of week. (Lakoff 1987: 68–69)

In their book, Bennardo and de Munck offer a theoretical framework for articulating a theory of cultural models into a larger theory of culture. They define cultural models in the following way:

Cultural models are mental representations shared by members of a culture. These mental representations function both to make sense of and interpret sensory input and also to produce and shape purposive and communicative behaviors. Cultural models are used to read signaled intentions, attitudes, emotions, and social context, including the social status of those one is encountering. (Bennardo and de Munck 2013: 3)

Cultural models play a central role in meaning-making – we constantly activate them in a chain of micro-contexts, however, this activation happens without our full awareness of the cognitive operations involved in decoding cultural models (Bennardo and de Munck 2013: 4). Bennardo and de Munck distinguish between different types of cultural models. They claim that some cultural models are universal due to their relation to innate faculties of the mind (for example, properties of the visual system). Some are idiosyncratic because they are related to personal experiences of individuals; for example, ways to celebrate an event. Others are collective/cultural – “they are shared within a community but not directly related to innateness or individual experiences” (for example, rules for behaving appropriately in specific events) (Bennardo and de Munck 2013: 52). Since this thesis deals with figurative expressions whose source domain is the eye, it is expected that the majority of cultural models will be universal.

Moreover, Kövecses (1999, 2005) claims that cultural models are used in different cognitive processes, such as reasoning, and discusses the relationship between metaphor, which structures much of our thought, and cultural models. Kövecses defines cultural models as “any coherent organizations of human experience shared by people” and claims that we can explain the emergence of cultural models by taking into account “the possibly universal experiential basis of most of our abstract concepts, the conceptualization of this experiential basis by means of conceptual metonymies, the conceptual metaphors that often derive from these metonymies, and the broader cultural context” (Kövecses 2005: 193-200). Cultural

models exist for both concrete and abstract concepts and for those that are somewhere in between on the scale of abstraction. However, the relationship between conceptual metaphor and cultural models can be discussed only for the concepts that are at the abstract end of the scale or close to it since our concepts of physical things such as chair or a table usually do not call for metaphorical understanding. Conceptual metaphors and metonymies contribute actively to the structure and content of the prototypical cultural models (Kövecses 2005: 199). Quinn (1991), on the basis of her analysis of cultural model of American marriage, states that metaphor simply reflects cultural models. On the other hand, Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) claim that metaphors largely constitute the cultural models – this claim is supported by their study of American English cultural model or naïve understanding of anger. Kövecses further supports this claim with his own research on cultural models of marriage and anger (1999, 2005).

Irina Zykova (2014, 2015), a Russian scholar, argues that idioms (phraseologisms) are formed in the language system as signs capable of transmitting cultural information. She claims that the conceptual meaning of idiomatic signs and the images which underlie them is created in the conceptual sphere. The conceptual sphere 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 analyzes the method of linguocultural reconstruction of the deep (conceptual) basis of the meaning of an idiom – a method which also relies on Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphor. This meaning is formed in macrometaphorical conceptual models, "ideal (cognitive) substrates, which hold culturally significant information in an idiomatic sign" (ЗЫКОВА 2014: 307). Due to their conceptual nature, macrometaphorical conceptual models are carriers of eight types of cultural information: emotional-sensory, ethical and aesthetical, archetypal; mythological, religious, philosophical and scientific. They are formed as a result of our understanding of the world and they organize the information in the idiomatic signs by forming corresponding information layers in the idiom's conceptual content. For example, emotional-sensory experience, which is based on the sensory

perception of objects, makes the “empirical” basis for different forms of understanding, primarily for the archetypal type of understanding. 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 enables us to synthesize archetypal concepts into more complex (non-metaphorical and metaphorical) conceptual formations, eventually creating an integrated macrometaphorical conceptual model. Here, on the basis of conceptual archetypal binary oppositions and archetypes, more and more complex conceptual structures are formed that can reflect and store new information about the objects and relations between them. Cultural information has a hierarchical organization: semantics is on the surface level followed by a deep level containing macrometaphorical conceptual models that contain cultural information. All expressions based on a particular macrometaphorical conceptual model possess all basic types of cultural information.

This thesis will analyze figurative expressions in different cultural models (relying on Kövecses’ (1999, 2005) definition of cultural models). The data obtained from the corpora will be used to see which cultural models appear in Russian and English figurative expressions containing the word *eye* and which cognitive mechanisms motivate their meaning in each model.

3 Methodology

Since the purpose of this thesis is to analyze language in use, a corpus-based approach was used to conduct a qualitative study of English and Russian figurative expressions containing the word *eye(s)/глаз(a)*. Sketch Engine, a corpus tool which contains more than 90 languages, was used to search and create text corpora. Two corpora were used: English Web 2015 (enTenTen15), which contains around 15.6 billion words and Russian Web 2011 (ruTenTen11) with around 14.6 billion words. Using Sketch Engine four random samples were extracted, each containing 300 tokens. The first random sample contains 300 tokens with the word *eye* in the singular, and the second one the word *eyes* in plural. For Russian, 300 tokens of the lemma *глаз* in the singular were extracted and 300 tokens of the lemma *глаза* in the plural. In each sample the main literal and non-literal senses of each item were identified.

This process was supported by dictionaries of English and Russian. Since the study includes all expressions with figurative meaning and not just conventionalized idioms that can be found in the dictionaries, sometimes I, as a non-native speaker of both languages, had to make a choice whether the expression is figurative or not according to my own linguistic instinct. The following dictionaries were used for the analysis: *Cambridge Dictionary* (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>), *Collins Dictionary* (<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/>) and *The Free Dictionary* (<https://www.thefreedictionary.com/>) for English, and *Академик* (<https://dic.academic.ru/>), *Викисловарь* (<https://ru.wiktionary.org>) and *Большой фразеологический словарь русского языка* (Телия 2006) for Russian. In each of the four samples we identified expressions sharing common elements and, to some extent relying on existing studies (Stanojević, Parizoska and Banović 2009; Stanojević 2013), grouped them into different cultural models. In the following part we are going to briefly analyze the quantitative differences and similarities between the expressions in singular and plural forms for each language separately, and then we will make a comparison between English and Russian.

3.1 Differences and similarities between English expressions in singular and plural

The results of the qualitative analysis showed that there are 5 groups: literal meaning, the model of seeing, communication model, physical model and eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state model. Each of these models will be described in detail below. In this section, we will provide an overview of the quantitative differences between the models in English and Russian.

Table 1. The comparison of singular and plural in English

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	TOTAL
LITERAL MEANING	162	146	308
MODEL OF SEEING	103	125	228
Assessment	12	4	16
Opinion	1	1	2
Perspective	11	47	58
Seeing	14	25	39
Attention	65	43	108
Deception	0	3	3
Perception	0	2	2
COMMUNICATION MODEL	15	0	15
COULD NOT BE ANALYZED	8	2	10

PHYSICAL MODEL	9	13	22
EYES-AS-THE-REFLECTION-OF-THE-TRUE-STATE MODEL	3	14	17

The number of English expressions in the singular and plural can be seen in Table 1. There is a slightly larger number of expressions with literal meaning in singular than in plural. The model of seeing is the most productive cultural model since it contains the largest number of expressions in both singular and plural. However, it is slightly more productive in plural forms of the word. The distribution of expressions in submodels varies to a certain degree – the submodel of attention has the most expressions in singular, while the majority of expressions in plural belong to the submodel of perspective. There are no expressions in singular denoting deception and perception. Moreover, communication model is the only model which contains expressions only in singular.

3.2 Differences and similarities between Russian expressions in singular and plural

Table 2. The comparison of singular and plural in the Russian language

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	TOTAL
LITERAL MEANING	134	154	288
MODEL OF SEEING	112	73	185
Assessment	56	5	61
Attention	22	24	46
Perception	6	3	9
Perspective	1	24	25
Seeing	27	15	42
Deception	0	2	2
COMMUNICATION MODEL	13	12	25
PHYSICAL MODEL	13	11	24
EYES-AS-THE-REFLECTION-OF-THE-TRUE-STATE MODEL	10	43	53
COULD NOT BE ANALYZED	10	7	17
PROVERB	8	0	8

Unlike English, Russian has more expressions with literal meaning in the plural than in the singular. The model of seeing is the most productive model in both the singular and plural – a larger number of expressions appears in the singular than in the plural. There were no expressions in the singular found denoting deception. The only other quantitatively significant

difference is that the eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state model is more productive in the plural than in the singular.

3.3 Comparison of English and Russian singular and plural

Table 3. The comparison of English and Russian

	ENGLISH TOTAL	RUSSIAN TOTAL
LITERAL MEANING	308	288
MODEL OF SEEING	228	185
Assessment	16	61
Opinion	2	0
Perspective	58	25
Seeing	39	42
Attention	108	46
Deception	3	2
Perception	2	9
COMMUNICATION MODEL	15	25
COULD NOT BE ANALYZED	10	17
PHYSICAL MODEL	22	24
EYES-AS-THE-REFLECTION- OF-THE-TRUE-STATE MODEL	17	53
PROVERB	0	8

The quantitative comparison of all English and Russian expressions can be seen in Table 3. The literal meaning in expressions appears more frequently in English than in Russian. The model of seeing is the most productive in both languages. However, this model motivates more expressions in English than in Russian. The majority of English expressions in this model denote attention, while the largest number of Russian expressions is related to assessment. Moreover, the eyes-as-the-reflection-of-true-model is more productive in Russian than in English. The difference between English and Russian is statistically significant, $\chi^2(5, N=1165)=26.06, p<.0001$, Cramer's $V=0.15$, which is medium effect size. This means that the probability of these results happening by chance is less than 1%. In other words, the quantitative analysis shows that there is a similar conceptual organization underlying figurative expressions in both English and Russian since expressions in both languages are motivated by the same cultural models.

4 The analysis of cultural models

Let us now look at each group – cultural model – which was based on some shared knowledge which people have about the eye. Four different cultural models related to different aspects of our knowledge about the eye emerged: the model of seeing, the communication model, the physical model and the eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state model. The largest model in both languages, the model of seeing, contains 5 submodels which, besides denoting the experience of seeing, also refer to other things such as attention, perspective, perception, deception and assessment.

4.1 The model of seeing

The model of seeing (Lakoff 1987, Stanojević 2013) is based on the knowledge shared by the speakers of English and Russian about the eyes as organs of vision. This includes the knowledge about the position and shape of the eyes, their function and contribution to the overall functioning of our body. Eyes play an important role in the process of forming an image – they are the receptors of the light which is afterwards transformed into nerve impulses and sent to the brain where the image we see is formed. Numerous expressions are motivated by the conceptual metonymy EYES STAND FOR SEEING (or perceptual organ stands for perception) which is based on the metonymic link between the eyes and seeing (and sight). There is also a strong relationship between what we see and what we know and this relationship serves as the basis for the KNOWING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). According to Stanojević, we are able to identify 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). Therefore, the model of seeing will also include expressions where the perceptual experience of seeing is metaphorically mapped onto the mental functions of thinking, knowing and understanding. In what follows, English and Russian expressions related to the experience of seeing will be grouped according to their meaning and structural similarities in order to see the similarities and differences in their motivation.

4.1.1 Seeing

There is a metonymic link between the eyes and the experience of seeing which motivates many analyzed expressions. In other words, the conceptual metonymy EYES STAND FOR SEEING motivates expressions where eyes refer to the act of seeing. Another cognitive mechanism often used in eye-expressions is the conceptual metaphor SEEING IS

TOUCHING (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) – the vision is achieved when the seen object comes into physical contact with the eyes as in the expressions *to clap eyes on something*, *to lay eyes on something* / *положить глаз на что* and *to set eyes on something*:

(1) Don't get me wrong: I loved Prezi from the moment **I clapped eyes on**¹ it (or, in geek terms, from the moment I received my Beta invite).

(2) Christy and Slippers have both been at Wild Friends for well over a year, but the two had never **laid eyes on** each other...

(3) **Положив глаз на** женщину, он делает все, чтобы добиться близости: меняет облик, обнажает собственные слабости, становится страстным любовником.

'**Having laid eyes on**² a woman, he does everything to achieve intimacy: changes his appearance, exposes his own weaknesses, becomes a passionate lover.'

(4) They **set their eyes on** Mugu Chulu (aka Gojung, 6310m), and succeeded in climbing its West Face and then traversing the frontier ridge including Pt 6246m.

In examples (1) – (4) eyes are in a direct physical contact with the observed object – they are depicted as being *on* it, and the vision is achieved when the eyes touch the object. Besides referring to the act of seeing, these expressions also denote seeing something for the first time. For instance, in example (1), to clap one's eyes on Prezi³ means to see Prezi for the first time. The SEEING IS TOUCHING conceptual metaphor motivates three different English expressions and only one Russian expression, and that expression is *положить глаза на кого или на что*, which is the equivalent of *to lay eyes on something or someone*. The expression *to set eyes on something* which appears in (4) can be interpreted in two different ways. Firstly, *to set eyes on Mugu Chulu* can denote the act of seeing or looking at Mugu Chulu. Secondly, it can mean that climbing Mugu Chulu was as a goal that someone set to achieve. Teliya (2006) claims that these expressions are based on the relation between eyes and sight, and sight and a particular feeling (in our case, a wish to possess something, and attention and interest towards something). Eyes symbolize appropriation which is more typical for another part of our body – the hand (Телия 2006: 552).

¹ All emphases mine.

² All English translations of Russian expressions are literal.

³ Prezi is a U.S. software company, producing a cloud-based presentation software and storytelling tool for presenting ideas on a virtual canvas.

Besides referring to the experience of seeing, eyes can also stand for a certain type of seeing. In the expressions *out of the corner of one's eye* / *краешком глаза* the emphasis is on looking at something or seeing something with just a part of the eye and not the whole eye:

(5) ...I noticed a couple of minutes later **out of the corner of my eye** that Smith discreetly turned around to see what had happened.

(6) А вы верите в домовых???. Интересно, их можно **увидеть**, хотя бы **краешком глаза**???

‘Do you believe in ghosts???. Interestingly enough, they can be seen, even if just **out of the corner of the eye**???’

The meaning of these expressions is to see something partially, in one's periphery and/or fleetingly. They are based on the fact that seeing a complete image is possible only by using the whole area of the eye – if we use just a part of the eye, for instance its corner, we will see only a partial image. These expressions are motivated by the EYE STANDS FOR SEEING conceptual metonymy which can be reformulated to ‘the corner of the eye stands for seeing partially’. Expressions in (5) and (6) also denote the duration of the act – to see something out of the corner of the eye means to see it fleetingly. This can be related to the fact that we usually look at something out of the corner of our eye when we want to see it quickly and without anyone noticing. Furthermore, there are also two Russian expressions which put emphasis on the duration of the look: *окинуть глазом*, which can be translated as ‘to cast an eye’ and *пробежать глазами*, ‘to run with the eyes’. Both verbs denote an action that lasts for a short period of time:

(7) Удаляясь, Кирилл на прощание **окинул глазом** домик, в котором ему предстояло жить следующую неделю, а то и две.

‘Going further away, Cyril **cast an eye** on the house in which he was to live the next week, or even two’

(8) Ещё разик **пробегите глазами**, я подожду полминутки...

‘**Run your eyes** through this one more time, I'll wait for half a minute’

In (7), Cyril cast an eye on the house, that is, he looked at it quickly, without paying much attention to it. In example (8) eyes are depicted as running – a person is looking at something quickly and superficially.

On the other hand, the opposite meaning can be found in the Russian expression *пялить глаза* на кого, на что which can be literally translated as ‘to spread the eyes on something or someone’ and means ‘to stare at something or someone’:

(9) Хочешь, чтобы посторонний мужчина на меня **глаза пялил**?

‘Do you want a stranger **to spread his eyes** on me?’

The abovementioned examples show how eyes are metonymically linked to the experience of seeing, and how the act of touching serves as the source domain which is metaphorically mapped onto the experience of seeing, the target domain. We have also seen how looking at something out of the corner of the eye enables us to see only a partial image and how the duration of the look is expressed with different verbs which contain the element of time in their meaning. Now, we will analyze expressions which are motivated by a metaphorical relation between eyes and various cognitive processes.

Eyes are often perceived as windows through which we observe the world around us. However, in order to see clearly and properly, some basic conditions need to be fulfilled: eyes have to be open and there must not be anything in or on them which would prevent us from seeing. Therefore, if our eyes are open, we are able to see things around us, and, consequently, we know what we see. This is visible in the expression *to open one’s eyes to someone or something* which means ‘to cause one to see or realize the truth about something’:

(10) Even a short stay working in another institution in another country **opens our eyes to the conditions** normally experienced by students coming to us from that country and alerts us to some of their expectations.

Working in a foreign institution made them see how things function there and what students expect to see in their institution. It could be said that some outside event (in this case working in a foreign institution) causes the eyes to open, and this enables the person to see the true state of affairs. Since we cannot see with closed eyes, the act of opening one’s eyes is a prerequisite for seeing, and seeing, on the other hand, contributes to understanding and

knowledge. Eyes are again metonymically linked to seeing while seeing is metaphorically connected with knowing through the KNOWING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor. The same conceptual metonymy and metaphor motivate a similar expression in the Russian language:

(11) Я не могу **открыть глаз на мир** прежде, чем все мое сознание не будет охвачено идеей этого мира...

‘I cannot **open the eye to the world** before all my consciousness is embraced by the idea of this world...’

However, in this expression, the speaker himself, and not some outside event, causes the opening of the eyes. The speaker claims that becoming aware of the idea of the world will open his eyes, that is, it will make him realize the truth about the world. Seeing and knowing is also related to the way we open our eyes:

(12) ... **раскройте пошире глаза** и не делайте себя сами слепыми, и вы тогда увидите Сына.

‘...**open your eyes wider** and do not pretend to be blind, and then you will see the Son.’

Example (12) shows that, in order to see and understand better, we need to put in a little bit more effort – if our eyes are already open, we have to open them wider. Therefore, by opening our eyes wider we are able to see better and, consequently, understand better. The image of opening one’s eyes wider to see better can be compared to the expression *to see out of the corner of the eye* in (5) and (6). Both examples show how the area of the eye is metonymically related with the way a person sees – if we look at something out of the corner of our eye, we will not see a complete image. On the other hand, by using a bigger area of the eye, that is, by opening them wider, we are able to see a complete image, and we see this image better.

The opposite image, that of closing one’s eyes, refers to the inability to see. However, if the act of closing one’s eyes is described as something a person does willingly, the expression denotes the unwillingness to see something. In the following sentence, both literal and metaphorical blindness is connected with the act of squeezing one’s eyes:

(13) Нет, не согласен я с вами: если и товарищ кривой, не советую **поджимать** себе **глаз**, а с глухим затыкать себе ухо.

‘No, I do not agree with you: if your friend is blind, I don’t advise you to **squeeze** your **eye**, nor to plug your ear if he is deaf.’

The expression *поджимать глаз* is based on the image of squeezing the upper and lower eyelids together – our eye is closed and we are unable to see. The squeezing is described as something a person does voluntarily in order to experience how it feels to be blind.

Besides not wanting to see something, closing one’s eyes also refers to the unwillingness to deal with something. This meaning is conveyed in the Russian expression *закрывать глаза на что* – ‘to close the eyes to something’:

(14) Соответствующая норма федерального законодательства вступила в силу в 2006 году, однако вплоть до конца 2008 года в муниципальных образованиях Самарской области **на нее закрывали глаза...**

‘The corresponding norm of federal legislation came into force in 2006. However, until the end of 2008 the municipalities of the Samara region **closed the eyes to it...**’

By closing our eyes to something, we prevent ourselves from seeing the things we do not want to see. In other words, we are willingly ignoring certain things and refusing to deal with them. The same meaning and underlying motivation can be found in the English expression *to turn a blind eye*:

(15) Tiscali has refuted claims from the British Phonographic Industry that it is **"turning a blind eye"** to illegal music filesharing...

This expression is based on the fact that a person cannot see with a blind eye, whereas the act of turning a blind eye is described as something a person does willingly. Therefore, if someone turns a blind eye, it means that they do not want to see or know the truth. In examples (14) and (15), seeing is again metaphorically linked with knowing or, in other words, unwillingness to see something is closely connected with unwillingness to know about it.

Conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING also motivates a group of expressions denoting the inability to see the things that are not within the limits of one’s visual field.

There are expressions in both English and Russian where something is not visible to someone because it is located in the place inaccessible to the eye. Therefore, the inability to see something is a consequence of it being *hidden from the eyes*. The Russian equivalents are *спрятано от глаза* and *скрыто от глаза*:

(16) [Keep] sharpe Instruments...as neere as you can, ever **hidden from the eyes of the Patient'**

(17) При этом необходимо протирать не только доступные места, но и те что **скрыты от глаза**: под шкафом, в углах, за стенкой...

‘It is also necessary to clean not only easily accessible places, but also those that are **hidden from the eye**: under the cabinet, in the corners, behind the wall...’

(18) Темы взаимоотношений не просто скользкие и неприятные: инцест, нимфомания и бисексуальная любовь, но и скрытные, они всегда **спрятаны от людского глаза**.

‘Relationship topics are not just slippery and unpleasant: incest, nymphomania and bisexual love, but also secretive, they are always **hidden from the human eye**.’

These expressions show that we are unable to see things which are hidden from our eyes, and, consequently, we do not know about them. In other words, if we are to prevent someone from knowing about a particular thing, we just have to hide it outside their scope of vision.

Another English expression related to the scope of vision is *to have eyes in the back of one’s head*:

(19) I remember my first few rides with the club – when I got dropped, there was Alan **with eyes in the back of his head**, to bring me back to the bunch.

We know that our eyes belong to the frontal part of our body, and our visual field is conditioned by the position of the eyes. Therefore, if our eyes are in the back of our head, it means that we are able to see beyond our visual field. Therefore, the image of the eyes in the back of one’s head denotes seeing something that is outside our normal scope of vision.

There is also an example of something not being seen and noticed although it was in one’s scope of vision:

(20) Well, aside from the assorted Tamaki Cute Overload scenes and Miya-Miya going crazy and the rest of the colorful cast doing their thing, probably anything where we get to see just how much **more Dan is than meets the eye**.

If there is more to someone than meets the eye, it means that some qualities of the person were not noticed initially and, due to that, we did not know about them. Example (20) shows the importance of the frontal part of the body in our perception of the world – in order to see something we have to turn towards it. Therefore, we do not see or know about something for two reasons – because something we are supposed to see is hidden, that is, outside our scope of vision as in examples (16), (17) and (18) or because there is more to something than we have initially perceived as in (20). On the other hand, to see things that are outside of our normal scope of vision, our eyes also need to change their position as in (19).

4.1.2 Deception

As it was already mentioned, understanding, knowing, being aware and informed is often connected with some kind of visual input. Since we receive the majority of information through the faculty of sight, in order to know about something, we usually have to see it first. On the other hand, if we do not want someone to know about a certain thing, we just have to prevent them from receiving the visual input. Therefore, the act of deceiving is often described as putting a foreign object in or on the eyes of the person one is trying to deceive. The object acts as a hindrance or ruse and prevents a person from seeing the true state of affairs. Example of this can be seen in (21):

(21) But maybe that was the problem, the last thing Gordon Brown wanted was for his tax changes to be transparent much better to earn some good headlines with a sleight of hand, a bit of mystery dust, and a good deal of **wool flung over our eyes**.

This expression is a variant of the well-known idiom *to pull the wool over one's eyes*. In the example above, Gordon Brown does not want the public to know about the tax changes, so he tries to prevent them from seeing the truth by flinging wool over their eyes. By not allowing them to see and know the truth, he is able to deceive them. Similar meaning can be found in the Russian expression *пускать пыль в глаза*:

(22) Эпоха «**пускания пыли в глаза**» и разного рода «фенечек» заканчивается...
'The era of "**throwing dust into the eyes**", and all sorts of "baubles", is coming to an end...'

Throwing dust into one's eyes causes an unpleasant sensation due to which a person instinctively closes the eyes. Similar to the wool flung over one's eyes, it also prevents a person from seeing properly – therefore, when we are blinded by the dust, it is easier to deceive us. Moreover, we can also deceive someone by blurring their eyes as in the expression *замыливать глаза*:

(23) ...а увольнениями и назначениями **замыливают глаза**...
'...and with dismissals and appointments, they **blur our eyes**...'

The eyes are blurred by dismissals and appointments, which are used to distract one's attention and prevent them from seeing the important things. This expression is also motivated by the fact that a person cannot see properly with blurred eyes and that makes them more susceptible to deception. The conceptual metaphor underlying all expressions denoting deception is KNOWING IS SEEING. Yu states that in these examples, "the bodily experiences are mapped metaphorically onto more abstract concepts", such as deception (2004: 678). Therefore, it is easier to understand the abstract concept of deception because the metaphor has a concrete experiential basis. In other words, we know that we cannot see when our eyes are covered and we know that our vision becomes blurry when some foreign object comes into contact with our eyes. When someone wants to deceive us, they just have to make sure that we do not see what they are doing.

4.1.3 Perception

Eyes are also metonymically linked to perception via the EYES STAND FOR PERCEPTION (or perceptual organ stands for perception) conceptual metonymy. Lakoff claims that perception is based on the interaction between the perceiver and the world external to him (Lakoff 1987: 130). In other words, we are more likely to believe in things we have personally experienced and this fact motivates the following examples:

(24) I believe in the theory of evolution because **I've seen with my own eyes** the fossil records, dating back millions and millions of years and the sorts of animals we could have evolved from.

(25) Эверетт сказал, что **собственными глазами видел Логана** прямо возле отеля «Хортон Хаус».

‘Evrett said that he **saw Logan with his own eyes** right next to the Horton House Hotel.’

Expressions *to see something with one's own eyes* / *видеть собственными глазами* что или кого is motivated by the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor – we know that the things we see are probably true, and not an illusion or a product of imagination. On the other hand, when we see something that we do not expect to see, we think that our perception is playing tricks on us. This fact motivates the expressions *to not believe one's eyes* / *не поверить глазам*:

(26) Without being asked, this 17-year-old Lithuanian boy starts playing on his teacher's expensive electric guitar – and Beck **cannot believe his eyes**: Rauli Kantas is clearly the next Jimi Hendrix.

(27)...**глазам своим не поверил**, когда я бросил в него отгрызком яблока.

‘...he **could not believe his eyes** when I threw an apple core at him.’

Examples (26) and (27) are also motivated by the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor: we know something happened because we saw it happening – we just do not believe it. Therefore, when something unexpected happens, we think that our perception is playing tricks on us. In other words, we do not believe that something we perceived really happened even though it did.

4.1.4 Perspective

Lakoff states that categorization affects our experience of seeing because people do not categorize the same thing in the same way – different people observing the same situation will notice different things, while the way we see something depends on what we know about the thing we are looking at (Lakoff 1987: 127). This is especially prominent in expressions

where the emphasis is on the perspective from which a certain event is observed. The perspective from which a certain object or event is perceived is expressed with a possessive noun or pronoun. In expressions related to one's perspective such as *in one's eyes / in the eyes of someone* and *в глазах у кого / чьих*, the eyes are often conceptualized as containers for different opinions and points of view. The role of the container metaphor is to specify and limit a certain opinion or view to a particular individual or a group of people. This can be seen in the following examples:

(28) But we do remember Secretary and Sherrybaby, two films that have elevated her **in our eyes** to a lead actor whom we can admire and look forward to seeing her on screen again...

(29) Я очень изменилась и **в своих глазах** и, естественно, **в глазах окружающих**.

'I have changed a lot both **in my own eyes** and **in the eyes of people** around me'

In examples (28) and (29) visual perception is a source domain for the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor, which is "elaborated to refer to making some kind of judgement on the entity" (Stanojević, Parizoska and Banović 2009: 130). Eyes are described as a location where the judgement about the actress's abilities and confirmation of one's change takes place. The container image schema which limits the view or judgement of a situation to an individual or a group of people is also at work in the following examples:

(30) Let's accept the penalty because we do not want to draw attention to ourselves **in the Department's eyes**...

(31) Главное — не уронить себя **в глазах клиента**, когда проданное оборудование вдруг дает сбой, а ты оказываешься бессилен отремонтировать его...

'The important thing is to not embarrass yourself **in the eyes of a client** when the sold equipment fails and you are unable to repair it.'

In (30), the event takes place in the Department's eyes – the Department is described as an entity which possesses a certain opinion. In example (31), the eyes of a client are the location

where the judgement whether something is embarrassing or not happens. In the examples (28)-(31) the eyes are metonymically linked with seeing. The experience of seeing is not related to seeing a physical thing but it refers to seeing something metaphorically and this enables a person to form an opinion or judgement.

Besides being conceptualized as containers, the eyes are also depicted as windows through which we see and perceive things and events around us. The possessive form is again used to state from whose perspective is something seen or perceived:

(32) The video, featuring members of MIND and students of Northern College, shows, **through Michelle's eyes**, her first few hours at college and some of the barriers she overcomes.

The video shows the first few hours at college from Michelle's perspective. This expression is also based on the fact that different eyes see the same thing differently. Therefore, if something is seen through Michelle's eyes, it is seen from her perspective and her perspective differs from ours. The same meaning is conveyed in Russian expression *видеть глазами кого*, which can be translated as 'to see with someone's eyes' or 'to see through someone's eyes':

(33) Это поможет вам лучше узнать мужчин и **взглянуть на себя их глазами**.
'This will help you to get to know men better and **see yourself with their eyes**.'

Seeing ourselves through men's eyes allows us to see how they perceive us. The metaphor underlying expressions in (32) and (33) is KNOWING IS SEEING. If we see something through someone's eyes, we see it from their point of view and that enables us to know the same things they know. The same metaphor is also at work in the expressions *a fresh set of eyes* and *to see something with new eyes*:

(34) So in the new year I shall go back with **a fresh set of eyes** and a less jaded opinion of what it all means.

(35) This session gave us an opportunity to really dream, **to see with new eyes** and to connect to the possibility of being real pioneers into the core of our work- again and again and again.

In the expressions *to see with fresh/new eyes*, eyes are metonymically linked with perspective – new/fresh eyes denote a fresh perspective, a new and different way of seeing and perceiving things.

The model of seeing motivates a large variety of expressions related to seeing, knowing, deception, perception and perspective. However, the most prominent part of this model is the relation between the eyes (or the experience of seeing) and attention. The following submodel deals with how we conceptualize different types and aspects of attention and which cognitive mechanisms motivate the expressions denoting attention.

4.1.5 Attention

Attention denotes the act of noticing and observing the things around us, the regarding of someone or something as interesting or important and the action of dealing with or taking special care of someone or something, and is thus often directly connected with visual input. The submodel of attention includes the knowledge about the human ability to focus our mind on a particular thing. Expressions mentioned here will denote the act of noticing, careful observing, being aware of something and focusing on a particular person, thing and event or on one's aim or wish. In these expressions the eye is often related with attention through a chained metonymy (Barcelona 2003, 2005, Dirven 2003). The first metonymy is EYES STAND FOR WATCHING, and this metonymy is extended by a second metonymy – WATCHING STANDS FOR ATTENTION (Hilpert 2006: 130). In the expressions denoting the act of attracting one's attention, the eye can either actively participate in this process or it can be passive while something else performs the action. In examples (36)-(39), a visual property of an object, or the object itself, exerts its power on the eye and causes the attraction or distraction of one's attention. The act of attracting and holding one's interest is conveyed in the expression *to captivate one's eyes*:

(36)...many tiffany jewelry wholesale that are designed and made to **captivate** not just eyes but also hearts.

Here, the wholesale of Tiffany jewelry is seen as an object which applies force on the eyes and captivates them, that is, it attracts one's attention. A similar external force has an influence on the eye in the following examples:

- (37) The bright colors **catch your eye**, but the intricate details keep you looking.
- (38) When viewing the Rolls-Royce Dawn in side profile, **one's eye is** instantly **drawn** to the elegant profile of the car.
- (39) ...a multitude of ways of **attracting the viewer's eye**, including contrasts in color, edges and value.

In (37), (38) and (39), the verbs *to catch*, *draw* and *attract* describe the manner in which another object affects the eye. In (37), the eye can be compared to a ball that is being thrown and caught – the act of catching is performed by the bright colors whose goal is to attract one's attention. In (38) and (39), the eye is depicted as being pulled towards the object which wants to attract our attention. All three examples are motivated by the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema. The eye can be seen as having a certain trajectory which starts from the eye socket (the source), moves along some imaginary path and ends at the object which caused the eye to move in the first place and which can be seen as the goal of one's attention. Moreover, all examples are motivated by the SEEING IS TOUCHING conceptual metaphor. The same meaning as in examples (36)-(39) can be found in the following expression:

(40) Привет всем, я не много обновил дизайн, точнее логотип, надеюсь не сильно **бросается в глаза**.

'Hi everyone, I have changed the design a bit, more precisely the logo, I hope it does not **throw itself in the eyes** too much.'

In the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema motivating this expression, the eyes are not the source, but the goal. The source is the logo, which is seen as possessing some physical force that enables it to throw itself in the eyes. Therefore, the eyes are the end point of this action. Another Russian expression related to attracting attention is *попасть/попасться на глаза кому*, which can be translated as 'to appear on one's eyes':

(41) Постепенно он начал **попасться людям на глаза** все реже и, в конце концов, исчез на несколько десятков лет в 1959, породив слухи о своем полном вымирании.

‘Gradually, he started **to appear on people's eyes** less and less and, eventually, he disappeared for several decades in 1959, giving rise to rumors of his complete extinction’

In this expression, the eyes are also described as being passive, while the object of one’s attention is performing the action.

All abovementioned examples show various ways in which attracting attention is described in English and Russian. However, the same way in which some object and events can attract one’s attention, others can distract it, that is, certain things can have an effect on one’s attention and cause its distraction. This is visible in the sentences containing expressions *to distract/divert one’s eye from something* where something prevents the eye from focusing on what is important:

(42) ...avoid using animated elements that **distract the eye** from the essential content.

(43) In fact, the ad leaves the typical domain of the car commercial - the road - as the viewer's **eyes are diverted** upwards to see old cars being carried away by balloons.

Animated elements are the reason the eye is distracted from the essential content in (42), that is, they affect the eye and cause its distraction. The same principle can be applied to the example (43) – old cars being carried away by balloons cause one to stop paying attention to the road.

Besides being attracted and distracted, attention can also be focused on a particular thing or person. In such expressions, the eye is often depicted as being in direct physical contact with the focus of one’s attention. When all attention is focused solely on the thing one is looking at, it can be said that *one’s eyes are glued to something*:

(44) This January across the country people **had their eyes glued to** their gardens once again recording the comings and goings of their garden birds for the RSPB Big Garden Bird Watch.

The motivation of the expression *to glue one's eye to something* can be found in our common knowledge – we glue two things together so that they would not be separated. Therefore, if

people's eyes are glued to their gardens, the eyes are constantly watching them – the garden is the focus of their attention – and people are able to successfully monitor the comings and goings of the birds. A similar concept is present in the Russian expression *глаз цепляется за кого или что*, which can be translated as ‘the eye clings to something’ or ‘the eye holds on to something’:

(45) Чтобы выделить ME из толпы прочих экшенов, художники убрали «ненужные» тона, оставив пригоршню ярких красок, за которые тотчас **цепляется глаз**.

‘To distinguish ME from other action games, the artists removed the “unnecessary” tones, leaving a handful of bright colors, to which the **eye** immediately **clings**.’

In this sentence, the eye is the doer of the action which initiates a physical contact between itself and what is to become the focus of one’s attention, that is, bright colors. Besides the metonymic chain which relates eyes and attention, examples (44) and (45) are also motivated by the conceptual metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING.

Furthermore, eyes often appear in different spatial relations with other objects. In the expressions where the word *eye* is preceded or followed by a preposition, the eye is often in a spatial relation with the object of one’s interest, focus or attention. In expressions *with an eye toward someone or something* and *with an eye to someone or something*, the eye is depicted as having a trajectory whose end point is one’s focus or goal:

(46) With a continuous audit from a 3rd party, eZ customers have an external source to verify the technical implementation of their strategy **with an eye toward** security and technical best practices.

(47) But if we have prayed and fasted and given alms in truth and uprightness, **with an eye to** God and to his acceptance, and have approved ourselves to him therein, we have laid up that treasure in heaven.

In (46), the eye is on an imaginary line which points toward the security and technical practices. The main focus in (47) is God and its acceptance, and eye is on the path which leads to these things. In both examples, the emphasis is put on the position of the eye in relation to the object of one’s attention. The spatial relation also plays an important role in the

expression *to have one's eye on somebody or something*, which means 'to be keenly interested in something, especially as an objective or as something to be bought or acquired':

(48) It's a great bike for the £50 cost as **I've had my eye on** a Kwaka green 853 Sirius for some time.

Besides the chained metonymy where EYE STANDS FOR WATCHING and WATCHING STANDS FOR ATTENTION, this expression is also motivated by the SEEING IS TOUCHING conceptual metaphor since the eye is depicted as being in direct physically contact with the object of one's interest.

Furthermore, the attention submodel also motivates expressions combining both spatial and temporal elements: *before someone's eyes* and *in front of someone's eyes* in English and their Russian counterparts *на глазах*, meaning 'on eyes', and *перед глазами*, meaning 'in front of the eyes':

(49) Like the time I seen LeBron James make franchise history and play the BEST GAME of his career right **before my own eyes** in Miami!

(50) Из этих фигурок выкладываем "Машину". (Выкладываем ее **на глазах** ребенка, сопровождая эту работу словами: квадратик, квадратик, кружок...)

'We lay out the "Machine" from these figures. (We do this **on the eyes** of the child, saying at the same time: small square, small square, circle...)

(51) A united Europe based on the close cooperation of France, Germany and Russia seemed to be developing **before their eyes**.

(52) Мальчик менялся буквально **на глазах**.

'The boy was literally changing **on our eyes**'

Examples (49) and (50) denote that something is happening literally before our eyes, that is, in our vicinity, and we see it happening right now as we are speaking. On the other hand, in (51) and (52), *before one's eye* and *на глазах* denote an action that is happening over a period of time, and this period also includes the present. During this period, we pay attention to the

development of a united Europe and the change the boy is undergoing – we are the witnesses of the development and the change.

In the following examples our attention is constantly on a particular thing and the emphasis is put on the duration of the action. In English, this duration is often signaled with the verb *to keep* which denotes the continuation of a specified condition or position. Therefore, the verb *to keep* often appears in expressions which stand for constant attention. Moreover, different prepositions point to the position of the eye in relation to the object of one's attention. For example, in the expressions *to keep an eye out for something or somebody*, the eye is seen as being in a spatial relation with the eye socket. That is, the eye is outside the socket which enables it to carefully monitor the things around it. In the expressions *to keep an eye over somebody* (to watch it carefully and be aware of all its movements) and *to be under someone's watchful eye* (to be under the careful protection, care or surveillance) the eye is located above the object of one's attention. For example:

(53) Lemartes: Blood Angels Chaplain who's badass enough to rein control over the Black Rage. **Keeps an eye over** the Death Company as Guardian of the Lost.

The position of the eye plays an important role in the motivation of these expressions – we can see things better from above and this view enables us to have a better perspective on things. The same meaning is conveyed in the expression *to keep one's eye on somebody or something*.

(54) Elizabeth was running just ahead of me, **keeping an eye on** the time and my pace and our mile splits.

In the expression *to keep an eye on something* the word *eye* is sometimes premodified by an adjective to emphasize the type of attention – one can keep a *watchful* eye, a *close* eye or a *weather* eye. In Russian, a similar meaning is conveyed by different verbs denoting unwillingness to stop physical contact between the eye and another object: *не оторвать глаз от кого, от чего* (to not tear the eye away from something), *не сводить/отводить/спускать глаз с кого, с чего* (to not take the eye off something):

(55) Он не мог **оторвать глаз** от этого красного, белобрысого, толстого человека с белыми ресницами и голубыми глазами...

‘He could not **tear his eye away** from this fat, blond, red man with white eyelashes and blue eyes...’

(56) Ольга, как зачарованная, **не сводила глаз** с лица мужа.

‘Olga, as if she were enchanted, did not **take her eye off** her husband's face.’

Expressions in (55) and (56), along with their abovementioned Russian equivalents and the English expression *to keep one's eye on something*, are motivated by the SEEING IS TOUCHING conceptual metaphor. Moreover, these examples can be compared with the expression *глаз цепляется* mentioned in (45), where the eye is depicted as clinging to the focus of one's attention. In the expression *глаз цепляется*, as well as in *не оторвать глаз от кого, от чего* and *не сводить/отводить/спускать глаз с кого, с чего*, the eye has a “natural” connection with something that affects one's attention. On the other hand, in English, as can be seen in example (44), eyes are depicted as being glued to something. In other words, different images underlie Russian and English expressions with the same meaning: in English, the connection between the eyes and the seen object (or the object of one's attention) is assisted by an adhesive substance, while in Russian the eyes are holding to the seen object without any help.

Moreover, expressions denoting constant attention are also based on our knowledge regarding the physical properties of the eyes. The expression *to keep one's eyes open* is based on the fact that people can see only with their eyes open:

(57) When you are out and about in Swansea and Gower, **keep your eyes open** and let us know if you see something which you think should be considered.

Hence, if the eyes are constantly open, a person is able to see and notice everything. The expression *to keep one's eyes peeled for* is based on a similar concept:

(58) We maintain continual listings of all kinds of items, so **keep your eyes peeled for** treasures.

The visual image which appears in this expression is the act of constantly peeling the eyelid which results in the eye being constantly open and thus being able to watch carefully until some kind of treasure appears on the list.

In Russian, constant vigilance is expressed by repeating the word *глаз* as can be seen in the expression *глаз да глаз <нужен>*, which can be translated as ‘an eye and an eye (is needed)’:

(59) Но за разбойниками нужен **глаз да глаз**.

‘But the robbers need an **eye and an eye**’

In this expression the emphasis is on the repetition of the word *eye* – the robbers need constant attention and vigilance, and to be able to do that, a person needs to use two eyes since one is not enough.

On the other hand, in the expressions denoting partial attention, only one eye is used for looking at something or someone. The expression found in English is *to look with one eye (for something)*, while its Russian equivalent is *взглянуть одним глазом на кого или что*:

(60) **With one eye looking for** the inevitable scratch or dent, we opened the note to read, “You guys helped me and my family.”

(61) В конце концов, пришли к выводу: На озеро Аян **взглянуть** надо хоть **одним глазом**.

‘In the end, they came to a conclusion: You need **to look** at Ayan Lake at least **with one eye**.’

The same meaning is conveyed in the expression *следить одним глазом за кем, за чем*, which means ‘to follow (something or someone) with one eye’:

(62) Несколько раз он делал попытки использовать ее положение, но Марфа, **следя** за самцом **одним глазом**, успевала повернуться так, что из его затей ничего не получалось.

‘A couple of times he tried to take advantage of her position, but Martha, **following** the man **with one eye**, managed to turn so that nothing came out of his venture.’

Examples (60), (61) and (62) show how looking with one eye is metonymically connected with partial attention. These examples can be compared with the example (59) where the emphasis is on watching something with two eyes. Therefore, the number of eyes (especially

when the number is emphasized) also plays an important role in the motivation of the meaning of figurative expressions.

One's attention can also shift from one thing to another. This shift is reflected in the verbs *to flicker* and *whip about* which denote a certain quickness and change:

(63) **Eyes flicker** between the cow and the statistics in the brochure – day of birth, milk yield in previous pregnancies.

(64) Sure enough, there was a lot of blood soaked into the floor substrate and my **eyes whipped about to** every pigeon in the aviary to find who was injured

In (63) one's attention was shifting from the cow to the statistics and vice versa – eyes are light sources and the vision is linked to the light which shines unsteadily. In (64) eyes are compared to a whip which performs quick movements. Metonymic chain connects eyes and attention, while the verbs denote the shifting of the attention.

Losing one's attention as a result of boredom is based on the image of eyes glazing over:

(65) Your **eyes** must have **glazed over** at the nerdish exposition of train tickets and bus routes.

In other words, the exposition of train tickets and bus routes which a person was looking at is so uninteresting that it causes one to lose attention. The loss of the attention is caused by the glazing of the eyes which prevents a person from seeing properly.

Besides chained metonymy which links eyes with attention, in the following expressions eyes are also metonymically linked to a person via THE EYES STAND FOR THE PERSON conceptual metonymy:

(66) ...this demure cream coloured mini dress is a show stopping style and will ensure **all eyes are on you**.

(67) As this is the last major sporting event ahead of the Olympics, **the eyes of the world** will be on England fans and we will hopefully be showcasing the best of our supporters at home and abroad.

Examples (66) and (67) are motivated by THE PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). This means that a part of a person, their eyes (as one of the most prominent parts of a human body), stand for a whole person. Therefore, in example (66), eyes actually stand for a larger group of people whose attention will be on the person wearing the cream coloured mini dress. The eyes of the world in (67) are also metonymically connected with a large number of people all around the world whose attention will be on England fans. In this expression, the noun *world* can be premodified by another noun to specify the type of group whose attention is on something or someone. The example found in the corpus is:

(68) ...**the eyes of the rugby world** will be on Britain.

The analysis of expression related to attention has shown how different experience related to the eyes motivates figurative expressions in English and Russian. We tried to point out the similarities and differences in their motivation and conceptualization. The following submodel will show how eyes are connected with making assessment and what are these expressions based on.

4.1.6 Assessment

In expressions denoting assessment, eyes are metonymically linked to seeing while the experience of seeing is a source domain mapped onto different cognitive processes such as thinking, knowing and understanding. The eye is depicted as evaluating or estimating the nature, ability, or quality of something. In the following expressions, the eye has the ability to see certain things or situations, and the experience of seeing enables it to make judgement about it. For example, something can have either a good or a bad visual effect on the eye. If something is visually attractive, it is perceived as *pleasing to the eye* / *приятно на глаз*:

(69) Microsoft products are fully functional, **pleasing to eye**, efficient, effective, durable, practical, easy to use...

(70) ...графика в игре **приятна на глаз**

‘...the graphics in the game are **pleasing to the eye**’

Microsoft products in (69) and graphics in the game in (70) are aesthetically pleasing and particularly attractive to look at. A similar meaning is conveyed in the Russian expression *радовать глаз*, which can be translated as ‘to delight the eye’:

(71) Азиатские лилии – это роскошные нежные соцветия, которые **радуют глаз**.
'Asiatic lilies are luxurious delicate inflorescences that **delight the eye**'

Here, the flowers are described as evoking positive feelings in the eye. In other words, they are perceived as pretty. Moreover, something visually attractive can be described as a treat or a candy for the eyes:

(72) Your sensory garden should be **a treat for the eyes...**

(73) The movie is **eye candy...**

Both expressions are based on the fact that words *treat* and *candy* have a positive connotation since they are seen as something that people love. Therefore, if something is a treat for the eyes or eye candy, it means that it is visually appealing. Our eyes refer to seeing and a treat and a candy denote the attractiveness.

Besides being pleasing to the eye, seeing certain things can also have the opposite effect. In Russian, something that is as not visually attractive or acceptable is described as causing an unpleasant sensation in the eyes, that is, as something that 'cuts the eye' or *режет глаз*:

(74) Я не граммар-наци, но ошибки **режут глаз**.

I am not a grammar nazi, but these mistakes **cut the eye**.

The expression in (74) is also experientially grounded since we know that cutting any part of our body causes an unpleasant feeling of pain. If something cuts our eye, it is assessed as being unpleasant and carries negative connotations. Mistakes that cut one's eyes are evaluated as being visually unattractive, undesirable and difficult to ignore. Therefore, visual (un)attractiveness is based on the effect the object has on the eyes. Attractive properties of the object are pleasing to the eye, make the eye happy or are perceived in terms of a treat or candy for the eyes. On the other hand, in Russian, something that is not visually pleasing is related to a physically unpleasant feeling.

In the following expressions, the analysis or assessment of something is done *by eye* or in Russian *на глаз* (on eye), that is, it is done without the help of any kind of instrument:

(75) From Facebook to physics to the global economy, the world is filled with data sets that could take a person hundreds of years to analyze **by eye**.

(76) Не всем водителям удастся **на глаз** определить, есть ли на поверхности дороги лед...

‘Not all drivers are able to determine **by eye** whether there is ice on the surface of the road’

If we analyze data sets by eye as in (75), we do it by looking at each piece of data without the help of a computer. In example (76), the assessment of the road conditions is done by looking at the road and the conclusion is based on the things we have seen. Teliia claims that in these expressions eyes represent the ‘tools’ for measuring quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the seen object – these measurements are not completely accurate and precise (Телия 2006: 401). The same meaning is conveyed in the English expression *with the naked eye* in (77) and in Russian expressions *простым глазом* (‘with the bare eye’) in (78) and *невооруженным глазом* (‘with the unarmed eye’) in (79):

(77) M33 can be glimpsed **with the naked eye** in dark clear skies.

(78) Беззубые киты встречаются большей частью поодиночке; пища их состоит из мелких рыб, моллюсков, медуз и червей, из которых многие едва заметны **простым глазом...**

‘Toothless whales are usually seen alone; their food consists of small fish, mollusks, jellyfish and worms, most of which are barely visible **with the bare eye...**

(79) Занимает на небе площадь в 246.7 квадратного градуса и содержит 49 звезд, видимых **невооруженным глазом**.

‘It occupies an area of 246.7 square degrees in the sky and contains 49 stars visible **with the unarmed eye.**’

In these examples, the human eye is described as not being assisted by any kind of optics, such as a telescope, microscope or spectacles. In other words, naked/bare/unarmed eye stands for normal vision that has not been enhanced in any way. All expressions which put emphasis on doing something with our eyes or looking at something without the help of an instrument

are motivated by a metonymic link between eyes and the experience of seeing, while the experience of seeing is metaphorically mapped onto the target domain of knowing.

There are also expressions where the eye possesses a certain type of knowledge which enables a person to notice, recognize and understand certain things:

(80) For Turkle, the evidence is all around, discerned by her **keen psychoanalytically-trained psychologist's eye**.

(81) У Василия **глаз наметан**: сразу определил, что здесь вход в убежище.

‘Vasilij had a **trained eye**: he immediately determined that here was the entrance into the shelter.’

In example (80), a person views the problem from the perspective of a psychologist who is an expert in psychoanalysis and this perspective and knowledge enables him to have a specific view on the evidence. The Russian expression *глаз наметан у кого* (‘the eye is trained’) in (81) denotes one’s experience and the ability to understand something by just looking at it, and the ability to evaluate it accurately. According to Telia, this idiom is based on the metonymy “organ of sight stands for perception – experience is a result of constantly trained perception” (Телия 2006: 154). Eyes are linked to perception, while perception is metaphorically seen as a tool. Examples (80) and (81) are motivated by the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor – the eye is seen as possessing particular knowledge which is “activated” when a person sees a certain thing. The eye is keen or trained because a person is able to see a certain thing from the perspective of his area of expertise.

The model of seeing contains expressions where eye(s) are metonymically linked with the experience of seeing or watching while the experience of seeing is a source domain which is metaphorically mapped onto various cognitive processes. There is also a lot of expressions where touching is metaphorically connected with the experience of seeing. Therefore, this model shows how our knowledge about the eyes as organs of vision is reflected in different figurative expressions and how English and Russian use similar mechanisms to relate eyes with seeing, perception, different perspectives, deception, attention and assessment. All these relations are based on different cognitive mappings whose source domain often has an experiential basis. What all these expressions have in common is that they are based on the experience of seeing which is then, both as source domain and a target domain, connected

with other abstract or physical concepts. The following cultural model, on the other hand, shows how various physical properties and characteristics of the eyes are metaphorically and metonymically linked with various abstract concepts such as time, emotions and states.

4.2 Physical model

Stanojević, Parizoska and Banović (2009) have shown that eyes can be conceptualized as a container “for things that may physically occur there for various reasons or are a part of the eye” and they decided to call this type of motivation the physical model of the eye (Stanojević, Parizoska and Banović 2009: 310). Their study included *in...eyes* constructions and thus contained only expressions where eyes are conceptualized as containers. Our physical model of the eye includes expressions where any physical property or characteristic of the eye is seen as motivating an expression and contributing to its overall figurative meaning. We have found different expressions where movements of the eye denote nonverbal communication, time or hesitation, as well as expressions where these movements refer to fear or tiredness.

Although nonverbal communication will be studied as a part of a separate cultural model (the communication model in 4.4), this paragraph will deal with how physical movement of the eyes is reflected in expressions denoting nonverbal communication. People often use different eye-movements to nonverbally express their attitudes or feelings towards a certain situation. For example, boredom, annoyance and disagreement can be expressed with an eye roll. This physical movement of the eyes now has a meaning of its own as can be seen in the following example:

(82) While you may **roll your eyes** at the thought of going to a tile museum, it's our favourite museum of the ten.

(83) Создан образ "тёмной стороны", нового Сатаны - логики и разума, потому что лишь при их упоминании, последователи новой религии **закатывают глаза...**

‘The image of the "dark side", the new Satan - logic and reason was created, because any time they are mentioned, the followers of the new religion **roll their eyes...**’

A person can physically turn the eyes upward or around in a circle at the thought of going to a tile museum and it can also be one's physical reaction to the mention of logic and reason. In examples (82) and (83), the eye roll is a verbal expression which denotes the feeling of annoyance and disagreement. Therefore, a description of a physical movement carries the same meaning as the actual movement in the nonverbal communication. Another eye-movement used in nonverbal communication is the act of closing one eye while the other remains open – *подмигивать глазом*. This movement can be interpreted in different ways depending on the context. One of its meanings can be seen in the following example:

(84) А что ты против нее имеешь? ЛАРИСА: Я ничего не имею, это ты ее имеешь, но может и не только ты, а я только ото всех и слышу: "Опять твой... (нарочито **подмигивает глазом**) это... самое... с Каткою-то..."

‘And what do you have against her? LARISA: I don't have anything, you have her, but maybe you are not the only one, the only thing I hear from everyone is: "Your guy again ... (deliberately **winks with an eye**) is ... just ... with Katja ...’

The physical act of winking gives additional meaning to the uttered words. In example (84), Larisa mimics the physical reaction of the people telling her about her boyfriend and someone named Katja – the wink is used as a hint to Larisa that something is going on between her boyfriend and Katja. In (84), as well as in (82) and (83), the expression describing physical movement of the eye carries a figurative meaning which is not just a sum of meanings of each word.

On the other hand, the following expressions are not motivated by the nonverbal message which the physical act carries, but by some measurable characteristics of the physical act, such as duration:

(85) It was chosen **in the blink of an eye** back in 2001 when only companies could register a .nl domain.

(86) Точно сожрут, и **глазом моргнуть не успеешь**.

‘They will devour her and you won't even have time **to blink your eye**.’

Expressions *in the blink of an eye* in example (85) and *глазом моргнуть не успеть* in (86) describe actions which are done quickly, within a very short period of time. The meaning of

these expressions is based on the fact that an actual blink of an eye has a short duration. Therefore, the time component underlying this act in real life motivates the meaning of the expressions describing the act. Besides denoting duration, the act of blinking the eye has several other meanings in Russian depending on the context in which it appears. In the following sentence, *глазом не моргнуть* denotes doing something without the slightest hesitation, without even thinking about it:

(87) Толик, а ты почему диктант не пишешь? - спросила я. - Ручку забыл, - **не моргнув глазом**, соврал «Пушкин».

‘Tolik, why aren’t you writing the dictation? – I asked him. - I forgot the pen - “Pushkin” lied **without blinking an eye**.

To say a lie without blinking an eye means to say it with a straight face, to be so self-confident that you do not even blink.

Another meaning can be found in the expression *хлопать глазами* which can also be translated as ‘to blink the eyes’:

(88) Стоит, **хлопает глазами** и не понимает, что от его имени произносит священник.

‘He stands, **blinks his eyes** and does not understand what the priest is saying on his behalf.’

In (88) the expression *хлопать глазами* denotes confusion. The person does not understand what is happening so the only thing he can do is to perform an involuntary action of blinking his eyes.

In short, the act of blinking can stand for three different things. These three things are the consequence of the act of blinking. In examples found in both English and Russian (85) and (86), blinking stands for doing something fast. Since the act of blinking is fast and involuntary, it may mean that a person is surprised. In Russian, (not) blinking your eyes can denote that one’s expression has not changed and a person acts as if nothing had happened – when something happens you blink your eyes (example (87)). And lastly, *хлопать глазами* in (88) can denote the feeling of confusion when a person just blinks because he is incapable of doing anything else.

Like rolling the eyes and blinking, tears are also something that can be physically seen by looking into one's eyes. Their cause can be physical – tears can appear as a result of some foreign object in our eyes or as a symptom of some eye diseases, and emotional – they can be the body's response to a particular emotional event and they can signal the emotional state of a person. The example of the latter can be seen in the following examples:

(89) The residents had received no support at all – there were **tears in their eyes** when we handed over relief items.

(90) У кого-то **слезы умиления навернутся на глаза** при звуках марша Мендельсона...

'**Tears of tenderness** will appear **in one's eyes** at the sound of Mendelssohn's march...'

According to Stanojević, Parizoska and Banović (2009: 311), tears are a special case of the physical model since they necessarily include our knowledge about their causes; they are “a result of emotions, which might otherwise remain hidden”. In the analyzed expressions their causes are not physical but emotional and they are metonymically linked with strong emotions (Stanojević 2013: 197).

Besides tears which appear in the eyes as a result of an emotional reaction, other feelings and states can also be physically manifested in the eyes and their movements. For example, when we are tired, we are often unable to control the movement of our eyelids and they start to fall down. Therefore, when someone says:

(91) I couldn't **keep my eyes open** today!

it means that one's eyes were closing due to tiredness. Another feeling that is physically visible in our eyes is the feeling of fear. Our body reacts to fear in different ways: our blood pressure increases, the pupils dilate and the eyes open wider. The reaction visible in the eyes appears in the following sentence:

(92) Она только ухватилась побелевшими пальчиками за скамейку и **расширенными от страха глазами** смотрела на удалявшийся от нее причал.

‘She just grabbed the bench with her white fingers and looked at the dock moving away from her **with eyes wide with fear.**’

A special group of expressions belonging to the physical model of the eye is motivated by our knowledge of the shape of the eyes. In these expressions, the word *eye* is related to the shape of the object or a part of the object. For instance, the following sentence mentions a tow eye:

(93) ...swim ladder concealed inside a compartment in the swim step, a well-placed grabrail for swimmers and divers, and **a tow eye** for waterskiers.

A tow eye is a ring or a hook on a structure in which a tow bar may be attached for moving the object from the ground. Due to its round shape which resembles the eye, it is called a tow eye. The same goes for an eye screw – a screw (as a wood screw) that has a head in the form of an eye. The same metonymy where eye stands for its shape also appears in Russian:

(94) ...улицу Москвы, по которой идет новехонький трамвай, напротив горит **красный глаз светофора.**

‘...the Moscow street, along which a brand new tram goes, there is **a red eye of the traffic light** burning on the other side’

The round shape of the eye denotes the red circle which appears on the traffic light and signals us to stop.

Examples motivated by the physical model of the eye show the experiential basis of figurative expressions that can be physically seen in the eyes. This model partly analyzed the role of the eyes in nonverbal communication. It also showed how blink of an eye can convey different figurative meanings, and how different states and emotions are metonymically related with particular movements of the eyes and with the things which appear in the eyes. The following model will further elaborate the relation between eyes and different emotions and states that can be reflected in them.

4.3 Eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state model

As was mentioned in the physical model, different eye movements and tears can be related with one’s inner state. Experiencing emotions such as happiness, sadness or anger

causes the movement of different facial muscles which change the shape of our eyes. For example, anger causes the eyes to bulge, during a smile facial muscles raise the angle of our mouth and cause the eye crinkle. Tears are also one of the ways in which our body responds to an emotional event. These physical responses to emotions, which can be seen by looking someone in the eyes, serve as the experiential basis for metonymic and metaphoric relations of the eyes with different emotions, feelings and states. Another important factor in understanding the experiential motivation of expressions in this model is the fact that our eyes naturally reflect light – we can often see the reflection of some bright object in one’s eyes. This fact, along with physical manifestations of different emotions in the eyes, has motivated the perception of light in the eyes as an indicator of different emotions⁴ (Stanojević 2013: 198). Stanojević, Parizoska and Banović (2009) analyzed expressions where eyes are seen as a reflection of what is going on inside us and decided to name the model motivating these expressions eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-soul model. Their model is based on expressions where eyes are conceptualized as containers for a particular type of look, emotion or some type of light (Stanojević, Parizoska and Banović 2009: 311). In our analysis, we encountered numerous expressions where eyes also reflected different intellectual and inner states which transcend the boundaries of the soul-model. Therefore, the name for the model which Stanojević, Parizoska and Banović used was partly modified to include the abovementioned states. The modified name of this model is eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state. This model deals with the role of the eyes in figurative expressions denoting different feelings, emotions and states. There are three groups of expressions: in first, eyes are seen as simply reflecting different feelings, emotions and states, in second, eyes are conceptualized as containers for different emotions, feelings and states, while the third group deals with different types of light that affect the eyes or are located in the eyes.

4.3.1 Feelings, emotions and states reflected in the eyes

Many expressions are motivated by a metonymic link between eyes described in terms of some emotion or feeling and a person experiencing these emotions and feelings. Therefore, eyes in examples such as *влюбленный глаз* (eye that is in love), *задорные глаза* (passionate eyes), *грустные глаза* (sad eyes) refer to a person that is in love, passionate or sad. There are

⁴ In the English and Russian expressions, light is metonymically linked to different emotions, feelings and states. On the other hand, in Chinese, the traveling ‘eye light’ is related with the act of seeing since seeing often involves the contact between the traveling ‘eye light’ and the target (Yu 2004: 666).

also expressions where eyes simply reflect one's inner state and feelings as in the following examples:

(95) **His eyes were dead, sunken** and I felt a deep sadness for the loss of his innocence and the closing of his heart...

(96) Молодая охранница **со смешливыми глазами** быстро чиркает в тетрадке вес каждого поддона.

'A young guard **with smiling eyes** quickly scribbles the weight of each pallet in a notebook.'

Eyes can also reflect one's intellectual state as in *bright eyes*, *умные глаза* (smart eyes), *глуповатые глаза* (a bit stupid eyes), *бесхитростные глаза* (simple eyes), and some temporary states and feelings such as *изумленные глаза* (surprised eyes), *усталые глаза* (tired eyes), *голодные глаза* (hungry eyes):

(97) Чтоб не смотрели **голодными глазами** на эту булочку.

'So that they wouldn't look at the pastry with **hungry eyes**.'

All these expressions denote the inner state of a person which is reflected through the eyes. For example, the expression *голодные глаза* in (97) describes one's condition caused by not eating sufficient food – the hunger which is physically experienced by a person is transferred to the eyes, and eyes are described as being hungry.

4.3.2 Eyes conceptualized as containers

Numerous expressions belonging to this model are motivated by container metaphor. Eyes are conceptualized as containers for different emotions, feelings and states. The EYES ARE CONTAINERS metaphor is visible in the constructions where a particular feeling is seen as being *in one's eyes* or *в глазах* кого:

(98) **The excitement in his** voice and **eyes** all too apparent, that missing something – the fan that would encourage that spark to burn – was finally there.

(99) Мне показалось хотя, быть может, я и ошибалась, что **в его глазах** мелькнуло что-то, похожее на **восхищение**.

‘It seemed to me, although I could be mistaken, that something similar to **delight** appeared in his eyes.’

Emotions can also be described in terms of liquids in the EMOTIONS ARE LIQUIDS conceptual metaphor (Stefanowitsch 2006: 69). For example, the conceptualization of eyes as containers enables them to be filled with lust:

(100) **His eyes were filled with lust** and they slowly danced their way to the farthest recess of the dance floor.

Besides different emotions, feelings and states, eyes can also reflect one’s thoughts as in:

(101) Сразу же **в его глазах прочел**, что предложение его интересуют...

‘I immediately **read in his eyes** that he was interested in the proposal...’

In this example, eyes are conceptualized as a container filled with words that reveal one’s thoughts and can be read by another person. This expression is also motivated by the fact that we can “read” people’s emotions by looking them in the eyes. For example, when we see tears in someone’s eyes, we presume that the person is sad. Similarly, we can metaphorically see or read one’s thoughts by looking them in the eyes.

4.2.3 Eyes conceptualized as light sources

Almost 40% of both English and Russian expressions belonging to this cultural model have some sort of light mentioned as being in the eyes or coming out of the eyes. As it was already stated, all eyes have a natural glow which is caused by a light being reflected from their surface. However, in language, this light has acquired metaphorical meaning and now different types of light denote one’s inner state. One of the conceptual metaphors motivating expressions in this group is EYES ARE LIGHT SOURCES (Yu 2004: 666) which often appears in expressions where eyes are conceptualized as containers. For instance: *в глазах его вдруг вспыхнул огонек* (a fire appeared in his eyes), *теплый свет из глаз лучился* (a warm light was coming out of the eyes).

In some expressions the appearance of the light is connected with an emotional reaction to a certain situation. Here, light is a source domain that is metaphorically mapped onto different feelings and emotions – the target domain. For example, when a person is angry, his eyes ‘flare up’:

(102) Зеленоватые **глаза** Димитраша **разгорелись**: </s><s> — Исполнять мои приказания!

‘Dimitrash's green **eyes flared up**: </s> <s> - Fulfill my orders!’

In this expression, anger is related to fire through the ANGER IS FIRE conceptual metaphor (Lakoff 1987). The fact that fire is related to light allows it to appear in one’s eyes. Moreover, glints in one’s eyes can denote a feeling caused by a certain event or situation:

(103) It engages the practical maker/creative part of the brain and even the hardest consultants and heads of finance attending the workshops had **glints in their eyes** when handed a pair of safety specs and a hammer.

Sometimes the cause of light in the eyes is also stated in the expression – certain emotions and states are described as causing the light whilst being in the eyes or coming out of the eyes. For example:

(104) Он совсем пришел в себя, и **в глазах его светилося необычайное счастье**.

‘He came to his senses, and there was **unusual happiness shining in his eyes**.’

According to Kövecses (1991), lexical items from the domain of light are also used in the domain of emotion to describe happiness, realizing the conceptual metaphor HAPPINESS IS LIGHT.

Expressions in the eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state model show how light, which our eyes naturally reflect, affects the appearance of a metonymic link, first between the light and different emotions, and then between eyes and emotions. In all these expressions, one person can look another person in the eye and see (or read) their inner state since this state is reflected in their eyes – emotions reflected in the eyes are metonymically linked to the

inner state of a person. The fact that we need to look someone in the eyes to see how they feel is closely related with the next model – the communication model.

4.4 Communication model

The communication model (Stanojević 2013: 193) is based on our knowledge about communication with other people. Expressions motivated by this model show the importance of our eyes in nonverbal communication. This importance is based on their location in the dominant frontal part of the body along with some other important senses. The eyes normally look in the direction in which we typically move (ahead, forward) and this position is also the one we use when we communicate. Therefore, when we want to engage in a conversation with someone, we will turn with the frontal part of our body in their direction. Since visual information is important for our everyday functioning, the eyes play an important role in communication. For instance, we can signal the willingness to communicate with someone by looking them in the eyes as in the following examples:

(105)...my cross eye condition just deteriorated further to the point where on bad days I couldn't **look people in the eye** because one eye would look into theirs while another would be reading a poster on the adjacent wall.

(106) Пауло устремил взгляд прямо в глаза хозяина...

‘Paulo **directed his gaze directly into the owner’s eyes...**’

By looking someone in the eyes we are letting them know that they have our attention and that the interaction can begin. On the other hand, by avoiding someone’s look, we send the opposite message – we avoid looking you in the eye because we do not want to communicate with you. This meaning is conveyed in the expression *to not meet one’s eye* and *не встречаться глазами*:

(107) "Wouldn't you be more comfortable in a changing room? </s><s> " a male H&M staffer said to me, **not meeting my eye**, nor my breast, looking instead somewhere just east of my right shoulder.

(108) Рамон пытался **не встречаться глазами** с горящим взором маркиза.

‘Ramon tried **not to meet eyes** with the burning gaze of the marquis’

The unwillingness to meet one’s eyes can also denote that a person is ashamed, shy or even rude as in example (107). In example (108), a person does not want to look the marquis directly in the eyes because he is afraid of his reaction.

Another expression referring to nonverbal communication is *to make eye contact*:

(109) Hazel keeps a respectful dip to her head, so that she can make polite **eye contact** with the Elder.

Eye contact occurs when two people look each other in the eyes. The image underlying this expression is the one where the eye of one person touches the eye of another person. Therefore, the source domain of touching is mapped onto the target domain of seeing – the vision achieved due to this contact enables further communication.

In the Russian expression *с глазу на глаз*, which means ‘from one eye to another eye’, the communication process is conceptualized in terms of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema. The message is seen as traveling from the source (one eye) to the goal (another eye):

(110)...а это уже вопрос очень тонкий, можно сказать — интимный, и его лучше решать **с глазу на глаз**.

‘...and this is a very delicate question, one might say - intimate, and it is better to solve it **from one eye to another**.’

The same meaning is conveyed in the expression *глаз в глаз*:

(111) Они встретились внезапно, **глаз в глаз**.

‘They met suddenly, **eye to eye**.⁵’

In examples (110) and (111) eyes are metonymically linked to a person. In (110), the communication channel is described as going from one eye (one person) to another eye (or the second person) – we know that at least two people are needed for communication. In (111),

⁵ English uses the expression *face to face* to convey the same meaning. As in Russian, the frontal part of the head plays an important role in communication.

we have an image of two people standing opposite one another, which is a normal position for interaction, while each eye stands for one person.

In the communication model we have discussed the role which eyes play in communication. The analyzed expressions point to the experiential basis of our metaphorical reasoning. They all emphasize the importance of the frontal part of our body where our eyes are also located. In order to communicate, the frontal part of our body has to be turned towards the other person. Only in this position we can look the other person in the eye, our eyes can meet and we can make eye contact.

5 Discussion and conclusion

The analysis of English and Russian figurative expressions containing the word *eye(s)/глаз(a)* has shown that the same cultural models motivate both English and Russian expressions. The universal experiential basis and widely shared knowledge about the eye, its function and properties is grounded in four cultural models: the model of seeing, the physical model, the eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state model and the communication model. Since eyes are the organs of vision, and as such are most often linked with the experience of seeing, the model of seeing is the largest model of the four. The experience of seeing is in different ways related to other abstract concepts which were analyzed as separate submodels. In these submodels, eyes are linked to seeing, various cognitive processes, attention, perception, perspective, deception and assessment. Second cultural model, the physical model of the eye, discusses expressions where different physical properties of the eyes are metaphorically and metonymically related with other abstract concepts. For instance, it deals with the relation between the blink of an eye and time. Besides things that can be physically seen in the eyes in the physical model, there is another model, the eye-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state model, which motivates expressions where certain emotions, feelings and states are described as being reflected in the eyes. In order to see someone's emotional state we have to look them in the eyes. Moreover, looking someone in the eyes is also important for communication. Therefore, the communication model deals with the relation of eyes and communication and emphasizes the role of the frontal part of our body in this process.

The model of seeing contains the largest number of expressions in both languages. It is divided into five submodels and each of these submodels is related to a certain concept. The first submodel (and at least in part all others) is based on the knowledge we have about the eyes as organs of the visual system, about the experience of seeing (for instance, the fact that

we cannot see with our eyes closed), and about the importance of the visual input for our cognitive processes. English and Russian use the same or similar images to convey the same meaning. For instance, seeing something *out of the corner of the eye* or *краешком глаза* denotes seeing it only partially, while the image of opening one's eyes to something is not related with just seeing, but also with understanding and knowledge that are a consequence of the received visual information. There are certain meanings which appear only in Russian, for instance, seeing something fleetingly (*окинуть глазом*) or superficially (*пробежать глазаму*), while expressions which denote seeing beyond one's visual field (*eyes in the back of one's head*) and not seeing everything there is to see (*more than meets the eye*) have been found only in English. However, there are also expressions which are motivated by the same knowledge and have the same meaning, but are based on slightly different images. For example, in Russian, ignoring is described as willingly closing one's eyes, while in English ignoring is related to turning a blind eye. The same goes for deception. While deception is conceptualized as something in or on our eyes preventing us from seeing and knowing in both English and Russian, in English the thing which prevents us from seeing is wool flung over one's eyes, while in Russian there is dust being thrown into our eyes. Expressions related to perception are based on the fact that we usually believe that the things we see are true, and the same underlying images motivate expressions in both English and Russian. Another important aspect of the model of seeing is the perspective from which we see a something since this perspective affects our understanding and knowledge. Here, eyes are conceptualized as containers for opinions – the container image schema limits the opinion or judgement of a particular situation to an individual or a group of people. In English something can be seen *through one's eyes*, while in Russian you can see something 'with one's eyes'. However, seeing something with new/fresh eyes (i.e. a new perspective) appears only in English. Furthermore, attention is also closely related to the cultural model of seeing – the focusing ability is connected with our visual sense, since vision, far more than other senses, can pick out and attend to one stimulus amid a multitude of input stimuli (Sweetser 1990: 32). Expressions denoting attention are often motivated by chained metonymy where eyes are metonymically linked to seeing/watching, while seeing/watching is metonymically related to the attention. In expressions describing the act of attracting one's attention, the object of one's attention is active and uses force to attract/catch/draw/captivate the eye (in English) or to throw itself in the eye (in Russian). The spatial relation between the eyes and the object of one's attention also plays an important role in motivating different expressions. Expressions based on this relation appear more often in English than in Russian; this is especially

prominent in expressions which denote constant attention. In expressions denoting constant attention, the differences which emerge between the languages are the result of slightly different conceptualization: in English, eyes are glued to the object of one's attention, while, in Russian, there is a natural bond between the eyes and the object. However, the conceptual metaphor motivating them is the same – SEEING IS TOUCHING. Basic knowledge about the number of eyes and about the relation between the number and the performance motivates expressions in both languages – using both eyes enables us to be constantly attentive in Russian, while one eye is metonymically linked with partial attention both in English and Russian. The image of the eyes glazing over as a result of losing one's attention, as well as expressions based on the relation between quick movements of the eye and the shifting attention, and expressions motivated by both THE EYES STAND FOR THE PERSON conceptual metonymy and a metonymic link between the eyes and attention, were found only in English. The model of seeing is also based on how we interpret visual stimuli and how we use them to make an assessment. The basis for this is the link between eyes and seeing, and seeing and the ability to draw inferences and make estimations from the things we have seen (the relation between seeing and knowing). Therefore, eyes have the ability to assess certain situation as visually attractive or unattractive. For instance, something that is visually unattractive cuts the eye in Russian, while visually pleasing things are referred to as an eye candy or a treat for the eye in English. We can assess a situation by the eye, that is, without using any instruments or machines. Moreover, eyes can be described as possessing a specialized knowledge which is activated when a person sees a particular thing.

The physical model of the eye is based on our knowledge about things that can be physically seen while looking someone in the eye and on our knowledge about different properties of the eyes. For instance, the fact that the duration of a blink of an eye is very short is used in expressions which denote that something happened very fast. However, in Russian, there is an additional meaning related to the physical act of blinking – blinking is seen as something that happens naturally, without much effort, and the expression *to do something without blinking an eye* also denotes doing something without the slightest hesitation, while to just *blink eyes* can denote a moment of confusion when a person does not know what to do, so he just does an involuntary act of blinking. Some other physical reactions which motivate figurative expressions are related to the feeling of tiredness in English, and fear in Russian. A group of expressions which is productive in both languages is related to tears as physical manifestation of one's emotions. We can physically see tears in one's eyes and we know that they can be one's reaction to an emotional event. The fact that our body's reaction to certain

feelings and emotions can be physically manifested in the eyes motivates figurative expressions in which eyes are described as reflecting different emotions and states. The eyes-as-the-reflection-of-the-true-state model is based on the fact that we can see one's emotional state by looking them into the eyes, since eyes, as well as the rest of the face, often show one's inner states. The number of expressions belonging to this model is significantly larger in Russian than in English. However, similar concepts appear in both languages – eyes reflect or contain different emotions, feelings, states, and types of light. However, the example where eyes are conceptualized as containers for one's thoughts appears only in Russian. Beside the container image schema, this model is also motivated by the EYES ARE LIGHT SOURCES conceptual metaphor. Eyes naturally reflect light and this fact serves as a basis for the metonymic link between eyes and different emotions and feelings.

The communication model is based on the relation of eyes with seeing, and seeing with attention, since the direction of our view is linked to the focus of our attention (Stanojević 2013: 194). In both languages communication is expressed in similar ways – looking someone in the eyes is interpreted as willingness to communicate, while avoiding one's eyes denotes the opposite. The difference between the two languages is in the way they conceptualize communication: in English, it is a physical contact between the eyes and the seen object, while in Russian it is motivated by the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema where the message is seen as travelling from the eye of one speaker to the eye of another speaker.

The similarities between English and Russian are a result of motivation based primarily on embodiment and the common experiential grounding of the specific linguistic expressions. Thus, similarities between English and Russian are rooted in the shared knowledge about the eye and the shared bodily experience. On the other hand, the differences between the languages often appear in different literal meaning of the expression conveying the same figurative meaning and can be attributed to cultural preferences. The study of figurative expressions containing the word *eye(s)/глаз(a)* 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 figurative expressions. Metaphor is seen as being grounded in shared human experience regarding our eyes, perception, the experience of seeing, communication and various cognitive processes. However, our understanding is not shaped only by physical experience, but also by our cultural environment, and thus the differences which appear in

both languages can be attributed to cultural variation. Although Russian and English use different word forms to express the same figurative meaning, conceptual mechanisms motivating these expressions most of the time remain the same.

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