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A Contrastive Analysis of Metaphors Belonging to the Basic Conceptual Metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS in English and Croatian

Master’s thesis

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1. Introduction

The long-established perspective on metaphor was that it was only used for literary purposes in order to refine poetic language and style. Therefore, it was perceived as a literary phenomenon separated from everyday discourse and dead if it was connected to everyday usage of language. This notion of metaphor changed with the publication of the book *Metaphors We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). They view metaphor as a cognitive process where we conceptualize one domain in terms of another. This process is called mapping. It functions in a way of applying characteristics of one domain to better understand the more elusive domain based on the similarities between them. Consequently, metaphor began to be seen not only as a linguistic instrument, but also as a cognitive mechanism used in our everyday communication that is based on our culture and our understanding of the world around us (Žic Fuchs 1991: 29).

The assumption is that metaphors are, at least on the conceptual level, similar and in some cases the same, being that human brains work in a universal way, in other words, certain aspects of it function the same, like recognition of universal facial expressions, etc. In other words, the same metaphors come from the same or similar bodily experiences. On the other hand, the human body is influenced by different contexts, and therefore these same metaphors are occasionally expressed differently in various cultures. The cognitive notion of metaphor is strongly motivated by culture and our surroundings to which we are exposed from birth. Thus, by living and experiencing the world we learn how every entity possesses certain characteristics that defines it – animals have instinct, humans have rational thinking, etc. Knowing that, we are able to draw parallels between two distinctive entities, based on their similarities or differences, to better understand the one which may be more elusive to us.

One such metaphor is one of the basic conceptual metaphors PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. Domain PEOPLE is understood and expressed through the domain PLANT based on similarities of characteristics. This conceptual metaphor contains a great many metaphors, and this paper will focus on subdomains of FLOWERS, VEGETABLES AND FRUITS to point out the differences between the English and Croatian language based on the fact that not all flowers, vegetables and fruits are equally represented in these two languages.
2. Traditional Approach vs. Cognitive Linguistics

Metaphor is a concept studied since Aristotle who wrote about metaphor and defined it as “taking another name for an entity”, thus, linguistic expression that denotes this entity is different from the entity to which this linguistic expression first belonged to. Furthermore, Cicero gave metaphor, among other properties, the characteristic of “speech decoration” (Stamać 1983: 39). Thus, traditional theorists referred to metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon rather than a cognitive one:

“Metaphorical expressions were assumed to be mutually exclusive with the realm of ordinary everyday language: everyday language had no metaphor, and metaphor used mechanisms outside the realm of everyday conventional language” (Lakoff 1993: 1).

Even today, when research about the cognitive aspect of metaphor is very well advanced, when asked about metaphor, people still think of poetry and literature. And indeed, looking from a poetic point of view, metaphors are one of the most prominent way of literary expression, and are viewed as a distinctive product of the poet's imagination (Žic Fuchs 1992-93: 585).

The traditional view on metaphor changed with the development of cognitive linguistics and the publication of the book *Metaphors We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). They see metaphor as the most interesting field of research (Žic Fuchs 1991: 33). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discard the former model of metaphors being simply poetic figures and rhetorical means used as a decoration, and claim how metaphors are included in our everyday life. Although poetic and linguistic metaphors were seen as different or separate fields of research, Žic Fuchs (1992-93: 588-589) states how cognitive semantics opened up new possibilities for research. It presumed how poetic metaphors are not entirely arbitrary, in other words, these metaphors do not depend solely on the imagination of the poet. He/she has to rely on boundaries which the basic conceptual metaphor imposes. Poets and writers create these “new” metaphors, but they maintain the connection with the basic conceptual metaphor. Žic Fuchs (1992-93) further states how basic conceptual metaphor turns to conventional metaphor on one hand, and on the other serves as a ground on which poets build their own metaphorical expressions. But, the difference between conventional and poetic metaphors, on the linguistic level, lies in the fact that conventional metaphors can be understood outside context, because they are commonly accepted linguistic expressions, while poetic metaphors are materialized only in the verse of a poem. Here the term “convention” is what is important,
because it serves as a link between the conceptual and linguistic level (Žic Fuchs 1992-93: 591). Žic Fuchs further states how the convention conditions the structure of the duality of conceptual metaphors and possible everyday expressions connected to it, but when it comes to poetic metaphors, convention happens at the conceptual and linguistic level; poetic expressions are by themselves unconventional which is what makes them so interesting.

Thus, cognitive linguists bring a different perspective when looking at language. They do not perceive language as structures or formal rules, but as a system complementary to human cognitive capabilities, which puts metaphor in the center of linguistic interest. From that arises a point of view, different from the traditional, where language is the source of evidence for the functioning of our conceptual system (Žic Fuchs 1992-93: 586). Lakoff and other cognitive linguists came to the conclusion how our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature and some conceptual metaphors, which Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 47, 51) provide, are a good example of how we perceive certain concepts in terms of one another. One of the examples is a metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD:

That argument smells fishy.

What he said left a bad taste in my mouth.

Another example is a metaphor LIFE IS A CONTAINER:

I've had a full life.

His life contained a great deal of sorrow.

These metaphors are examples of how we express ourselves using concepts we are familiar with to express or understand domains which are less familiar to us. Thus, our everyday language is filled with metaphors we are not even aware of, because we express ourselves and our thoughts automatically. We are used to using metaphors in our everyday language, hence it became normal to us, we do not perceive them as metaphors, but as a perfectly natural way of speaking.

Žic Fuchs (1992-93: 586) states how, according to Lakoff and Turner (1989: xi), the foundation for metaphorical thought is a metaphorical concept which serves as a starting point for language to convey metaphorical meaning into different linguistic expressions. The range of these linguistic expressions is visible from examples:

LOVE IS MAGIC She cast her spell over me.
The magic is gone.

I’m charmed by her.

LOVE IS WAR

He is known for his many rapid conquests.

He made an ally of her mother.

She pursued him relentlessly. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 50)

These examples show how the duality, which is a characteristic of a traditional view on metaphor and it is usually expressed as “A is B”, lies in the metaphorical concept but is not necessarily a part of the metaphorical expressions. Thus, we witness metaphorical extension, collocations, idioms and even proverbs. By presenting this view on metaphor, cognitive semantics distanced itself from traditional problems regarding metaphor, as the definition of the term itself. It also simplified the view on all forms of metaphorical expression which can occur in language (Žic Fuchs 1992-93: 586-587). Cognitive semantics radically opposes the explanation of metaphor being a linguistic expression presented by the formula “A is B”, because, according to them, it only points to the form and not at the core of the relations. Basic conceptual metaphors can take different forms and express different attributes of two conceptual spheres (Žic Fuchs 1991: 28-29).

The above mentioned examples of metaphors LOVE IS MAGIC and LOVE IS WAR show one important fact, and that is the tendency which is important in understanding conceptual metaphor. It is the fact that all abstract concepts which are important to us like love, life or time, are difficult to explain and understand. That is why we need, and use other, more understandable, concepts in terms of which we try to understand abstract ideas. Thus, we explain life as a closer concept of journey; love is seen as a war or a game, ideas as plants or food, etc. But these connections have to make sense and have a link between them, which is why we do not connect love with money or love with potatoes (Žic Fuchs 1991: 29).

The understanding of conceptual metaphors happens through the process of mapping where one domain is understood in terms of another, and in order to make those mappings we have to see connections between the two domains. The mapping functions through source and target domains, where source domain is the one from which we draw metaphorical expressions and target domain is the one we try to comprehend. In other words, with the source domain people try to understand the target domain, and that process happens through mapping from the source to the target domain. Mappings are conceptual correspondences
between source and target domain in a sense that constituent conceptual elements of B (the target domain), correspond to the constituent elements of A (source domain) (Kövecses 2002: 6 in Čizmar 2016: 34). An example can be visible in the sentence “My life has come to a crossroads”, where *life* is the target domain, the one of which we are talking about, and the *crossroads* is the source domain, the one through which we try to explain abstract thing - *life*:

> “Thus, particular keywords from a source domain may activate a conceptual metaphor and thereby an inference pattern for a related target domain” (Tendahl and Gibbs Jr 2008: 1825).

The choice of possible combinations is not arbitrary, it is embodied in people’s physical and cultural experiences. Furthermore, conceptual metaphors are ordered in an organized and coherent system where there is a basic conceptual metaphor from which other metaphorical concepts derive (Žic Fuchs 1992-93: 587). Cognitive semantics deems unacceptable to see metaphor as a sort of anomaly; it states how metaphor depicts a common practice, a convention. Thus, these common forms should be analyzed not as isolated examples, but we should look at the similarities which connect seemingly different concepts (Žic Fuchs 1991: 28). Some metaphors appear to be universal, but others show interesting cultural differences in different fields. Conceptual metaphors are created according to the world around us, thus it is expected for different cultures to have, at least to some extent, different conceptual metaphors.

### 2.1. Culture and Environment

The ground on which convention is based is, among other things, culture (Žic Fuchs 1991:29). When looking at metaphors one cannot disregard culture because culture gives insight to the analysis of language use. Language is one of the most important vehicles for expressing ourselves, our needs and desires:

> “Since communication is based on the same conceptual system in terms of which we think and act, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like” (Lakoff 1980: 454).

Kövecses (2003: 315-317) explains how culture plays an important role in the use of metaphorical language and how they often materialize in non-linguistic ways, not only in language but in social reality also. Our culture, in a strong way, defines our language, words we use, syntactic structure, semantics – the way we think and act. People talk and behave
based on things they experience because culture needs to provide a way for successfully dealing with the environment in order for people to socially function in a normal way (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 146). Thus, the environment also plays a great role when dealing with metaphors. Differences in the metaphorical expression in people come from the differences in the culture and the physical environment people are surrounded with. This means how metaphors are not only cognitively, but also culturally and environmentally motivated.

According to cognitive theorists it is precisely culture and environment which enable us to talk about love, ideas and other abstract constructs in forms of conventional metaphors. We adopt constructs by experience and environment in which we live in, usually through patterns which are deeply embedded in the culture we live in (Žic Fuchs 1991: 29-30).

With culture and environment in the equation, we can assume how conceptual metaphors are not the same across the world because certain languages, environments and cultures differ extremely among themselves. This can be testified through vernacular language in different cultures which is especially susceptible to changes. On one hand, this is because it follows the dynamic of changes within the culture and on the other hand, because, as a certain type of expression, it is limited to a certain group of speakers (Stamać 1983: 71)

English and Croatian belong to a wider cultural circle, but on the other hand, they still have different cultures where each has its distinctive characteristics. The same case is with the environment. Croatian and English people are surrounded by different environments which means that the reason for certain conventions will be under the influence of the environment. This is important for the purpose of this paper because the environment is the key factor in the distinction between plants that are used for the conventionalized expressions.

Although they manifest differently, conceptual metaphors in the English and Croatian language follow a certain hierarchical structure called The Great Chain of Being metaphor which was developed by ancient philosophers and it has survived into our times.

2.2. The Great Chain Metaphor

In More than Cool Reason (1989), Lakoff and Turner state how The Great Chain Metaphor has four components:

1. Cultural model of The Great Chain of Being

2. Theory of the Nature of Things

3. The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor

The cultural model of the Great Chain of Being is the scale on which higher levels, “higher” beings and their properties are positioned. It is the hierarchy of things, beings or concepts ranked from top to bottom where each entity has characteristics of the entity below him (Čizmar 2016: 75). The Chain’s function is to allow different categories in the chain to interact, in other words, it enables mapping of the characteristics or behaviors between different categories of the chain based on their similarities in order for us to better understand certain domain in terms of another. The basic form of the Great Chain of Being is defined by attributes and behaviors that are arranged in categories where humans are at the top, because of their higher attributes and behavior, followed by animals, plants, complex objects and natural physical objects. Filipczuk-Rosińska (2016: 16) explains how Krzeszowski (1997: 68) extends the Chain by adding GOD at the top position, which is consistent with the Jewish-Christian tradition expressed in the Old Testament and characteristic of the Catholic religion:

GOD
HUMANS
ANIMALS
PLANTS
INORGANIC THINGS

This model is supplemented by the theory of the Nature of Things where things have something which defines the way they act. For example, people are defined by rational thinking, animals by their instinctive behavior, plants by their biological properties, etc. (Čizmar 2016: 75).

The third part of the Great Chain is the metaphor GENERIC IS SPECIFIC which allows for the model of the Great Chain to become metaphorical, because the model in itself is not a metaphor. This allows us to understand one level of the chain in terms of another and allows mapping to happen.

The last component is the Maxim of Quantity\(^1\) (Grice 1975: 45 in Čizmar 2016: 76) which puts certain limitations onto mappings. The goal here is to choose those aspects of the

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1 One of the four Grice's maxims. Maxim of quantity is the one where one tries to be as informative as one can, and gives as much information as is needed, and no more
scheme that are important for metaphorical understanding (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 179). Let us take death as an example. Death is personified in a very small number of ways: drivers, reapers, destroyers, etc. We can see how in many personifications, events like death, are understood by using actions by some agent like reaping. The agent is the one who is personified. So if we use metaphors EVENTS ARE ACTIONS and DEATH IS DEPARTURE we can compare the two. Here departure is an action, and if events are actions, then death is an action. And with departure as an action we now know how events are understood in terms of actions by some agent. So this action of departure must be understood on the part of some causal agent – someone who brings about, or helps to bring about departure. In general, the permissible actions must be taken from the same domain of experience as the event (Lakoff 1993: 29).

From the Chain it is evident how mappings can take both the upward and downward spiral. The topic of this paper is the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, which indicates using characteristics of a lower domain (plant) to understand the concept of a higher domain (people).

3. PEOPLE ARE PLANTS Metaphor

People use things that are close to them in order to understand more easily something abstract, and plants serve as an excellent example of this because plants have always been, and still are, a very important part of human lives. The concept of agriculture is one of the most fundamental human experiences dating back thousands of years ago. Plants serve as food, they are used in various different rituals, they are used as medication in some cultures, and even today to relieve pain after an injury by putting cabbage or comfrey leaves on the swelling. Thus, it is expected to find a certain amount of conceptual metaphors including plants in various languages where they serve as a source domain. There are a lot of domains that fall under the PLANT domain, thus for the purpose of this paper I will choose only several of them to point out the similarities and differences in the meaning these metaphors convey. This paper will be focused on subdomains of FLOWER, VEGETABLE and FRUIT as hyponyms of the main conceptual domain PLANT. The expression flower, cvijet in Croatian, vegetable, povrće and fruit, voće, will be analyzed as well as certain species of flowers, vegetables and fruits that appear in English and Croatian as prominent members of the before mentioned subdomains.
Examples for this paper were taken from British national corpus, BNC$^2$, and Croatian web corpus - hrWaC$^3$. Under the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS many metaphors can be used to show similarities and differences between English and Croatian. This research aims to show the differences between English and Croatian based on environmental differences when it comes to the use of certain flower types or certain vegetable and fruit types.

3.1. Flower and Flower Types

In the English language flower is used as a term of endearment:

(1) Come on Flossy Anne! (SP:PS1CX) This way! Come on! (pause) Come on flower! (SP:PS1D2) Who was the fella up there today talking to Neil? (BNC)
(2) That depends (pause) if we can get the telly. (SP:KD7PSUNK) How are you today flower? (SP:PS0KR) I'm not well! (SP:KD7PSUNK) (BNC)
(3) There you are, flower! There you are, Bryony! (SP:PS14B) And I think the other one must… (BNC)
(4) …shaken his fist at him. But his mother called him,' My little flower pot.' She was, had been, a treasure. (BNC)
(5) “Stop it, little flower”, he said. “Don't talk to them. That's not your job.” Then he hit Carl in the face. (BNC)
(6) He stroked their hair and embraced them. Good night, my little queen, he said to Thrs: my little flower. (BNC)

This concept of flower being used to express fondness comes from a close connection between humans, flowers and plants in general, where plants are used as a food source, for survival; flowers are used in decorations around the world – in homes, during weddings; flowers also serve as a sign of affection when given to a close friend or a girl/boyfriend, and in many other situations.

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$^2$ The British National Corpus (BNC) is a 100-million-word text corpus of samples of written and spoken English from a wide range of sources. The corpus covers British English of the late 20th century from a wide variety of genres, with the intention that it be a representative sample of spoken and written British English of that time.

$^3$ Croatian web corpus (hrWaC) is the biggest Croatian corpus with samples from a wide range of sources – news portals, forums and web sites. It gives information on conversational, administrative and journalistic style of the Croatian language.
Although it usually has positive connotations, the BNC showed two samples of a negative one where *flower* is used to express a fragile, soft or a delicate person:

(7) I'm not a retarded under-age flower who was raped or molested by some evil stepfather -- not by a long shot. (BNC)

(8) …to a certain extent you make your own luck.’ A retiring flower I'm not,’ she says. Certainly she talks eagerly and at length… (BNC)

These examples show how *flower* is also used when trying to describe a negative quality, because of its characteristic of being gentle and soft, when describing someone or one owns characteristics.

As well as in the English language, there are also examples of using *flower* as an expression of fondness in Croatian:

(9) Ti si *cvijet* moga života. Namam se da nemaš fotosintezu Kad se muškarac izvadi iz stroja za pranje rublja dobiva se čista glupost. (hrWaC)

(10) *Cvijete* moj, duga je godina kroz koju se do svoje ljepote i svoga mirisa probijaš. Ja bdijem nad tom godinom i čuvam sjeme tvoje nejako da, unatoč mrazu i nasilju surove klime zemaljske, nježnost plodnu sačuvaš. (hrWaC)

(11) …volim te ti si *cvijet* koji ne vene ja sam tvoja hrana i voda ti si čitav dio mene i hoću samo tebe, moju radosnu suzu nikad dopustio ne bi da mi te davoli uzmu mrzim pomisao ružnu da ćeš nestati zauvijek gasim snove…(hrWaC)

Just as in English, *flower*, is used in Croatian to express less desirable characteristics, such as in example (12) where “nije cvjetić” refers to a person who is not without a scandal or who is not known for good behavior:

(12) Pravi je primjer bezveznjaka i propalice koji je u svoje loše kolo uvukao i svoju bivšu curu Kate Moss. Iako ni ona *nije cvjetić*, svima je poznato da ju je on odvukao na samo dno. (hrWaC)

*Flower* in the next example is also used in a negative context meaning soft person who needs attention:

(13) Od odraslih se osoba očekuje da *ne budu cvjetići* koje će, ajmemajko, pogoditi to što ih možebitna punica ne šmeka. (hrWaC)
Flowers are in Western cultures mostly represented as gentle, easily torn apart or in need of constant care in order to survive. Knowing these characteristics, it is easy to map them onto people, especially children, or people we care about. Also, negative connotation is easily understood because of the same reasons. It is visible from examples (5) and (6) how those people do not want others to perceive them as gentle or not capable of dealing with difficult situations.

In both the English and Croatian corpora expressions of *flower* connected to youth and as a representation of growing up are visible through structural metaphor *flower of youth* (Croatian *cvijet mladosti*):

(14) …if it had not been a conquered repressed country from which so many of the 

*flower of its youth* were forced to escape, would Ireland have been able to produce…

(BNC)

(15) Usprkos tome što znamo da bi i naše bake izgledale kao u *cvijet mladosti* kad

bismo ih uredile u photoshopu, cure diljem svijeta očajavaju, izgladnjaju se i

ugrožavaju svoje zdravlje. (hrWaC)

As shown in previous examples English and Croatian share similarities when it comes to metaphors where lexeme *flower* is used. But, differences arise when we look at flower types which are used to describe certain characteristics in people.

Specific types of flowers that appear in the English and Croatian language, from which we can draw conclusions on differences between those two cultures and environments, are *wallflower, violet* and *white lily* in English, and *mimoza* (eng. *mimosa*) and *fikus* (eng. *ficus*) in Croatian (Žic Fuchs 1991: 31).

Metaphorical expression *shrinking violet* refers to the people who seem shy or timid. In the BNC lexeme *violet* is mostly used to signify a color or to represent a name Violet. Several findings corresponded to the requirements of this paper, and all of them are in the form of the expression *shrinking violet*.

(16) Bit of a *shrinking violet*, our Kenny. Alison recounted:’ I started off at

Stirling… (BNC)

(17) …until succeeded by his daughter at the last election.' I'm no *shrinking violet*,

but he's still more gung-ho than me,' she says… (BNC)
Oh yes, oh yes. (SP:PS5VN) Yes. Not a **shrinking violet** at all! Well, so what have you found out about this man? (BNC)

Being native speakers of Croatian language we are aware that the term *ljubičica* (eng. *violet*) is used as a term of endearment in Croatian language, as well as for someone who is soft or weak, for which evidence is found in hrWaC:

Plaši se navijačkih nereda. Bliskih susreta s mariborskim "violama", ljubičastima koji se baš ne ponašaju kao *ljubičice* ... Zbog toga se ranijih godina eskiviralo igrati s Mariborom, tradicionalnim prijateljima Hajduka, sad su redarstvenici stavili zabranu na bilo kakvo javno okupljanje. (hrWaC)

Pa ga pitam, jesam li najljepsa na svijetu ovome? Pa mi zapjevusi na uvce, ah, *ljubicice* moja milena, naravno, ne imade ljepse, pametnije, ljupkije i brkato-bradatije od tebe. (hrWaC)

Al, sad, da mu se ne smi ništa reći, prigovoriti Pa što je, on *ljubičica*?? Pa, kakva bi to utakmica bila, da ljudi ne urliču, deru se, ispoljavaju svoje emocije, pa u krajnjoj liniji i navijaju? (hrWaC)

There is also mention of the appellation *ljubičica bijela* when referring to Josip Broz Tito, the president of Yugoslavia:

Oni najbolje ruše mit o velikom vodi, učitelju i *ljubičici bijeloj*. A bogme i mitove o boljem životu u Jugoslaviji nego u samostalnoj Hrvatskoj. (hrWaC)

Što naš drug Tito, *ljubičica bijela*, ima s drugom Staljinom? Nije li Tito bio nešto kao glavna faca u svijetu i celebrity kakav zaslužuje puno poštovanje kao najcCool lik s ovih prostora? (hrWaC)

The expression was taken from the song “Druže Tito ljubičice bijela”, which comes from an unknown author, and was widely used in former times. Hence, the background for convention.

Next expression is *mimoza* (eng. *mimosa*) in Croatian, which is an expression used when describing sensitive characteristics in people:

nekima repka više ni netreba jer su bogate ugovore potpisali i sada mogu hladit da nekažem što i tu je još trener koji je poznat po "blagoj" naravi, a onaj prije ih je pretvorio u *mimoze* i tolerirao štošta. (hrWaC)
Leaves of the mimosa plant are known for their reaction to outside stimulus which results in shrinking of the leaves. In Croatia, it can be found in areas with Mediterranean climate which indicates how the plant is sensitive to its surroundings which serves as a motivation for the use of this metaphor. There is no use of mimosa for describing human characteristics in the English language, probably because it is too cold for it to grow in those areas so English people are not familiar with it like with other flowers typical for their climate. This shows how environmental factors influence the process of metaphorization.

Being gentle or vulnerable is also expressed using a flower daisy, tratinčica in Croatian:

(27) Kad bi se morala predstaviti nepoznatoj osobi, Korana bi rekla: "Ja sam tratinčica u duši" (hrWaC)

(28) On je stvorio i manjih svetaca, i oni se moraju zadovoljiti time da budu tratinčice ili ljubičice, određene da razveseljuju pogled dragoga Boga kad ga spušta k svojim nogama. (hrWaC)

In English exists an idiom to be (as) fresh as a daisy which means “to be healthy and full of energy”, usually after a good night’s sleep, which alludes to the flower’s characteristic to close during the night and open in the morning like the human eye does. Daisy, used by itself, is used as a common name for a person in English.

The plant which is used to show delicacy and sensitivity in the English language is wallflower (Croatian šeboj):

(29) Have I, Poppa? Really? I know I’m not a wallflower -- other boys keep asking me for a date but Harry just doesn’t seem to notice me. (BNC)

(30) …he could remember the times when she had patronisingly tried to include some wallflower into a party, inwardly breathing a sigh of relief. (BNC)

(31) The worst of fates was to be a wallflower passed over and rejected.

(32) I felt very much the wallflower as I crept out of the room without speaking to anyone, my books held… (BNC)
Use of the expression *wallflower* comes from the eponymous plant wallflower which has an unusual growth pattern. It grows against the wall as a stake or in cracks in stone walls. It can also be connected to the flowers on wallpapers and the woman who sits by the wall at parties, often waiting for a partner and to be asked for a dance. Thus, *wallflowers* are people who can literally stand against a wall, separate from the crowd, and simply observe their surroundings.

Although there are several types of wallflower plant present in Croatia, the plant itself is not very common in Croatian culture and environment and therefore its qualities did not serve as a mapping for human characteristics.

Another plant which denotes sensitivity is *pansy*, Croatian *maćuhica*. In the English colloquial language, the name of this flower is derogatively used to express men who are effeminate, not manly enough, sensitive, and it may refer to a male homosexual:

(33) It wasn't for him: he was no *pansy*; he liked women, not boys with made-up eyes and sly insinuating glances. (BNC)

(34) With a forlorn expression, a *pansy* voice and a surprisingly athletic body Mr Crawford makes a real joy of his role, tumbling about, doing everything wrong and getting 99 per cent of the laughs. (BNC)

(35) Not wishing to be a *pansy*, I stepped up my pace too, but I was no match for the male legs I was pursuing since both of my spindly little limbs could fit into the right leg of his breeches. (BNC)

The Croatian corpus also mentions *pansy*, but only when referring to someone’s sensitivity. The difference in Croatian is that *pansy* is used both for males and females:

(36) Kad se tuku navijači Basela i Xamaxa ostaje pustoš kao nakon palestinske intifade. Naši nisu takvi, ali bome nisu ni *maćuhice* Svaka navijačka skupina u Hrvatskoj u svojim redovima ima članove koji na utakmice idu samo radi nasilja i destrukcije. (hrWaC)

(37) A onda dolazi mlada djevojka, mirisava, divna; prozirna ko ledac, *nježna ko maćuhica*, meka ko svila, tiha ko radost, blaga ko maglica, mirisna ko cvijet - proljetna dob. (hrWaC)

(38) Državotvorci Pašalićevoga tipa s pravom su poput *maćuhica* osjetljivi na glas javnosti, i za njihovu rafiniranu psihologiju novinari ne samo oni ucijenjeni i korumpirani, nego i oni samoprijegorno nezavisni morali bi pokazati humanističko razumijevanje. (hrWaC)
When expressing someone’s inactivity in Croatian language the plant *fikus* (eng. *ficus*) is used. Ficus is famous as a plant used for decorations in houses or offices, and is best known for not responding well to changing positions or to sudden changes. This serves as a motivation for describing a person who is not willing to change their current position in life or a place, or simply to describe an inactive or passive person:

(39) Iako je ustaljeno mišljenje da je dužnost predsjednika da u svom uredu glumi *fikus*, njegovo aktivno zastupanje Hrvatske u svijetu je itekako važno, i politički i gospodarski, pa dobro razmislite koga želite vidjeti na toj funkciji i da li je to vrijedno vašeg izlaska na birališta. (hrWaC)

(40) Neću ja biti *fikus*, skupa sa zamjenicima zasukat ću rukave, izgorjet ću na tom poslu, radit ću od jutra do mraka pa rezultati neće izostati tvrdi potencijalna županica. (hrWaC)

(41) Shvatiš da ti tako više ne želiš i ispočetka se nadaš da će se i tvoj zakoniti probuditi i shvatiti da kraj njega, *fikusa*, ne stoji još jedna mrtva biljka nego žena. (hrWaC)

It is interesting to notice how most of the findings in hrWaC refer to politics. The reason is probably because ficus is often used as an office plant, and it is usual to see it decorating state offices.

The English language uses the plant *lily flower* to point out someone’s purity or innocence. Motivation for this expression lies in the color white. In Western civilization white color symbolizes purity and innocence, it is worn by brides, doctors, dentists, priests, etc. Lambs and other white animals are well known as being used as sacrifices in rituals to please deities or to redeem sins, children wear white on their baptisms, brides wear white at their weddings as a sign of their purity, etc.

(42) Well you should be innocent shouldn’t you? (SP:PS50W) (laugh) (SP:PS50T) 
Lily white (pause) (SP:PS50W) Is anybody lily white? (BNC)

(43) # US SUPPLIERS FAVOUR US CUSTOMERS # The US is hardly lily white in the battle over chip imports into Japan, and Japanese chip users say that their US suppliers have been cancelling deliveries in favour of US customers even as they complain about the difficulty of penetrating the market, according to Electronic Industries Association of Japan. (BNC)
hrWaC also shows findings which point to the fact how *lily white* is used to express purity in Croatian too, and where *lily white* is used as a description of a pure or innocent person:

(44) HDZ je tamno crven, a SDP nije ni ružičast. **Bijel je kao ljiljan.** Hrvatska od 1990. nije više bila komunističkom zemljom, ali je ostala crvenom. (hrWaC)

(45) Kaže se da je važan prvi dojam, a moj prvi dojam o sv. Dominiku je bio da je on **kao ljiljan** u polju koji nema ništa, a najljepši je, dakle sve je dobio od Boga. (hrWaC)

(46) I neka je ženska glava kakva mu drago, **nevina kao ljiljan** na polju, čista kao jutarnja rosa, te djevojke nema na svijetu kojoj ne bi laskava riječ iz usta mladića ugrijala to malo srdašce. (hrWaC)

Another flower which is relevant is *narcissus*. This is connected to the Greek mythology and the well-known myth of Echo and Narcissus. The myth tells a story about Echo, a mountain nymph, who fell in love with Narcissus, but he rejected her and told her to leave him alone. As a consequence, and punishment for his behavior, Narcissus was made to fall in love with his own reflection. There are different versions of the ending, but all of them end with Narcissus dying. After his death, at the bank of the river, where he was gazing at his reflection, sprung up a gold and white flower. Thus, the flower narcissus, which is commonly found near rivers and lakes, got its name after the mythical hero. This is the reason why this flower is connected to having a big ego or loving yourself a little too much. Examples of this are found both in English and Croatian:

(47) Under his generous tutelage, she was developing a **narcissistic** interest in herself. It was a healthy narcissism. (BNC)

(48) Streep is splendidly **narcissistic** as Ashton, lashing all-comers with her viper's tongue in a script that… (BNC)

(49) Hahahaha, znači samo lijevi i homoseksualno orjentirani kao ti imaju privilegiju znanstvenog ironiziranja. Kakav ego, kakav **narcis**.. (hrWaC)

(50) Postoje samo takvi napuhani **narcisi** koji misle da sve znaju, a Boga, Isusa i Bibliju , ma bolje od Pape vi to mozete protumaciti , dodirnuli ste savrsenstvo , vama vise nista ne treba , vi lebdite , vi cete vjecno zivjeti.. (hrWaC)

*Saffron*, Croatian šafran, is another plant which is used in Croatian when referring to crazy or insane people. In the past time, people ate saffron, and larger quantities of it can
affect the consciousness. It is used as a stimulant and it serves as an aphrodisiac. This expression is used when describing someone as being crazy:

(51) "Lud ko šafrań" to ti je poznato još iz srednjeg vijeka - - kad se najedeš šafrańa a on je žut, poludiš i počneš se smijati a smijeh otvara sve vrste spoznaje.

(hrWaC)

Today saffron is largely used in making tea. There were no indications in BNC how this plant is used to denote the same meaning in the English language.

3.2. Vegetable and Vegetable Types

The lexeme vegetable in English is commonly used when referring to someone who has suffered traumatic injuries and is paralyzed, because of an illness or an accident. The cause for this mapping can be the inactivity of a vegetable and because inactivity is commonly viewed as negative in Western civilizations, so it is compared with an expression from the lower level of categorization:

(52) recovered, spending the rest of his life as a vegetable in a long-stay hospital.

Derek's father never recovered from this loss and... (BNC)

In Croatian, people also use similar way of mapping, only they do not use vegetable but the expression to be like a plant, or to wake up as a plant (biti kao biljka, probuditi se kao biljka):

(53) Kad su svi govorili da će se probuditi kao biljka jer je tumor bio 5 cm, polutka mozga odmaknuta 2 cm, mi smo molili, i znali da će se probuditi, i da će sve biti dobro. (hrWaC)

Furthermore, there is an expression where a person without an attitude is referred to as a plant. This mapping also comes from the inactivity of a plant.

(54) Morate biti sigurni u ispravnost svog stava. Čovjek bez stava je biljka. A sa krivim stavom zna bit i životinja. za oluju mozgova? (hrWaC)

Similar to this, English has the syntagm mindless vegetable:

(55) „Exactly. The second batch has a data-based compound that blanks out the will, making the victim a mindless vegetable who'll obey any order at all“ (BNC)
Both of the last two examples show an inactive person who can be easily manipulated. There are no examples found in the corpus how the lexeme \textit{povrće} is used in Croatian in the same or similar way.

Another type of vegetable used to express an inactive person is a potato in the idiom \textit{couch potato}. This metaphorical expression has a pejorative meaning and it is in popular use today to describe an inactive person who spends most of his/her time in front of the television, which then reflects on the person’s appearance. The person gains weight in the middle part of the body, thus acquiring the look of a potato:

(56) Graham emphasized the fact that the breed needs plenty of mental exercise, too, even if it's only basic obedience training. It is no good you being a \textit{couch potato} and having a Dobermann, only to wonder why it seems so frustrated with its existence. (BNC)

This expression is also present in Croatian in the same form as in English – there is no Croatian equivalent for it, although there are a few examples where the term is “translated” to Croatian, but it is not a conventionalized expression:

(57) Koliko smo postali tjelesni neaktivni govori i podatak da postoji i izraz za osobe koje uglavnom sjede i vrlo malo se kreću: couch potato " odnosno kauč krumpir osobe " (hrWaC)

(58) 23 - godišnja britanska gola manekenka cijele dane provodi na kauču kao pravi kauč krumpir. (hrWaC)

A type of vegetable which is also used in the English language to express inactivity is \textit{cabbage}:

(59) But I said I would not become a \textit{cabbage} and I did survive it.' He was determined to regain as much of his former abilities as he could and each time he began his rehabilitation with as much vigour as he could muster. (BNC)

(60) The image of the housewife as a \textit{cabbage} makes a number of appearances in answers to the question about writing housewife on a form (it is mentioned by twelve of the forty women). A' \textit{cabbage} housewife is someone entirely immersed in domestic affairs, a colourless personality, a drab, uninteresting automaton. (BNC)

\textit{Cabbage}, with its shape, resembles the head, which is the reason for the mapping for this expression. Knowledge and activity are connected to the activity inside the brain which is not
a quality of vegetables and cabbages, or plants in general as we perceive them. Mention of the Croatian word for cabbage, *kupus*, when referring to people is also present, usually when they made some silly mistake, cannot figure something out, or if brain-dead:

(61) No, kako onaj tko je postavio putokaz misli da će se skrenuti udesno do Bankomat-grada kad sve četiri trake vode samo ravno?? »text«<text> A evo, izgleda da sam *kupus* ipak ja. Došla san doma. (hrWaC)

(62) On od nikoga i ničega ne zavisi a sve sazdano zavisi o Njemu . On je Jedan Gdje živi - u par sivih stanica. Neka one krepucnu, postao si *kupus*. (hrWaC)

Furthermore, in Croatian an expression *lud k'o kupus* appears. Literal translation to English would be “crazy as a cabbage” and it is used to signify a crazy or irrational person:

(63) Poluluda uzima mamine hlace iz njenog ormara ... Svi u kuci joj se miču s puta jer je divlja i *luda ko ' kupus* ... (hrWaC)

(64) Bio Breivik *lud ko kupus* ili ne on je u prvom redu terorist jer je njegovo djelovanje izazivanje terora s političkim ciljem. (hrWaC)

Similar to *lud k'o kupus*, Croatian speakers use mushrooms (*lud k'o gljiva*) and popcorn to point out to someone’s insanity. The latter probably because when heating corn, it pops which creates popcorns, and the former because mushrooms are known for their use in shamanistic rituals:

(65) Evo prave matične

http://img.hexus.net/v2/internationalevents/cebit2007/MD/supermicro.jpg) za server

Bunac je i dalje *lud ko gljiva* A jucer, dobia iz informatike 3 iz ispita, i pita me, dobia 3 petice.. (hrWaC)

(66) I jasna strategija koja ima smisla Eto, sad sam se sjetio tipa koji je bio gadan djaner, sad je *lud ko kokica*. Ali sretan. Ima firmu, energije ko u prici. (hrWaC)

In English it is usual to refer to someone as an *old bean*. As a term of endearment, this metaphorical expression, and appellation, has positive connotations and refers to a person who is close to us:

(67) Rory had brought the bottle in his rucksack.' There you go." Ta much. You're a decent fellow for a Bolshie bastard." One tries, *old bean,'* Rory said. (BNC)

There are no mentions in hrWaC of the word *grah* when talking about people.
When referring to someone’s head, the Croatian language uses *pumpkin* which is not used in the English language in the same way:

(68) Na fakultetu smo imali neke radionic. Što je od toga ostalo u mojoj *tikvi* je zanemarivo i u tragovima; no i dalje mi se više dopada od biheviorizma. (hrWaC)

(69) I bidan moj prika, šta će, padne u nesvist, resetira se, jer je dobija bijon po *tikvi*, a ova ni pet ni šest, nego sedam, veže Branu i biž ča. (hrWaC)

Further examples are related to *peas*. Peas are very small in size, therefore they are used when referring to something small, usually with negative connotations when mentioning someone’s brain:

(70) Margaret rolled her eyes at the ceiling.’ Look, *pea brain*, you're not denying them... you're just not mentioning them. There's a difference. (BNC)

Mentions of peas in the same meaning as example (52) are also found in *hrWaC*:

(71) Moraš imati *mozak veličine graška* za stavit ova dva grada u ma kakvu usporedbu ... A o mješancima ... (hrWaC)

There are examples where children are compared to a grain of pea. The grain of pea is common in Croatian when referring to something small in size:

(72) Neće nam se na to naljutiti vrhunski gimnastičari koji su se također okupili ovom prigodom, jer malo je onih koji su ostali ravnodušni kad su se parterom rasplesali mališani. Neki od njih veliki tek kao *zrno graška*, kao da su tek jučer prohodali, a već znaju osnove gimnastike. (hrWaC)

A vegetable which is used as a term of endearment is *pumpkin*. This metaphorical expression is present both in English and Croatian:

(73) ’Know what, *pumpkin*?’ he purred.’ Know... where I was... with you… (BNC)

(74) Bye now, *pumpkin*. Don't forget me, will you?’ (BNC)

(75) Uvjerila je našu malu *bundevicu*, da ona zapravo nije bundeva nego poveća kruška No svi znamo kako je lako navesti mlade da vjeruju u nešto i da postanu nešto što zapravo ne žele. (hrWaC)

The subdomain of *vegetables* proved to be very well represented both in English as in Croatian.
3.3. Fruits and Types of Fruits in English and Croatian

The next domain is fruit (cro. voće). Lexeme voće does not have metaphorical meaning in the Croatian language apart from one idiomatic expression, zabranjeno voće, and it is commonly used when referring to a person someone cannot, or should not, have a connection to:

(76) Kao što mnogim ženama smeta kad muškarac nanosi Jennifer Oikle za Galtime sastavila je listu 'zabranjenih' zavodnika. Naravno, zabranjeno voće je najslađe i ponekad se čini da si ne možete pomoći... (hrWaC)

This idiomatic expression can also be found in English:

(77) Temptation on two legs. The desired forbidden fruit. Where would it all end? She became aware of that… (BNC)

(78) he thought of Amanda... forbidden fruit. Mick bit the end of his pencil, harder than usual (BNC)

One example shows how English uses the term fruit case to refer to a crazy person which was not found in the Croatian corpus:

(79) Yeah, I'll tell you something too (SP:PS0SX) He dropped something, a screw or something, he went all over the, the floors! (SP:PS0SY) He's a fruit case really (SP:PS0SX) (laugh) (SP:PS0SY) isn't he? (SP:PS0SX) Oh no! (SP:PS0SY) Him and his dad! (SP:PS0SX)

One of the important fruit which occurs in both the English and Croatian language is the apple through the idiom rotten apple or bad apple (cro. trula jabuka):

(80) In at least one such area where it did eventually intrude, the original' rotten apple' is believed to have been a government agent. The history of the rural paramilitary organisations is a contrast to that of the Belfast UDA and the other urban ones. (BNC)

(81) The stained seats in an aeroplane, the cassette tape that jams, the hotel room service that arrives thirty minutes late, the bad apple in the pack. It is easy to blame the machine, the computer or the system -- but somewhere along the line a human being operated that machine, programmed that computer, used that system. (BNC)

(82) Nema tu sriće dokle god ne dode jedan gazda, lupne šakon o stol i zadnju trulu jabuku ne istira vanka. (hrWaC)
Stvarno, sta će nam eventualna **trula jabuka** kakva je bio nekad Metličić?
Međutim, opet se logički nameće više pitanja. Što ako je gajba trula? Što onda?

It is assumed how this mapping owes its thanks to the Bible, where Eve picks the apple from the forbidden tree, which for a consequence, has a downfall of the entire human race. It is also a shortening of the proverb *a rotten apple spoils the barrel*. This term denotes a person who brings damage to the group, thus affecting it in a negative way.

*Peach* is also present as a prominent member of the *fruit* domain in English and Croatian:

Guarnaccia's a real **peach** of a part, they don't come along very often,' says 39-year-old Alfred.' (BNC)

Jean Marsh -- **pale peach**, not very good in beds, better up against a wall.' I want to tell you,' says Jean,' that's not true. (BNC)

She was a **peach**, he thought lovingly, a perfect **peach**, and all his, provided…(BNC)

In the above presented examples, *peach* is shown both in a negative as well as in positive context. Peach is soft and sweet fruit which enhances the mapping for using it in positive contexts, although the characteristic of softness can be presented in a negative context as well. Used in a negative context, lexeme *peach* has the word *pale*, in front of it. Being pale is a negative characteristic, so when combined with the softness of a peach, in this case it denotes generally speaking a negative characteristic.

In the Croatian language diminutive of a word peach is used, *breskvica*, as an appellation and a term of endearment:

Ovako ćemo, **breskvice**, od danas više ne ideš tamo. Bogme, neka si nađe drugu robinju. Bolje ti sjedi kod kuće. Gladni nećemo bit. (hrWaC)

Other examples of this type of fruit are connected either to the private parts of the female body, or a female person in general, all in a more vulgar way:

Dečko uzme moje **breskvice** u dlanove i lagano ih stisne. (hrWaC)

Samo kad bi me poslušao i odabrao vlasnicu male ružičaste pičkice sa glatkom utrobom, kratke, guste crne frizure, sa zaobljenim, debelim stidnim usnama poput **breskvice**, položenim malo unazad, bliže analnom otvoru, povoljnijim za prodiranje odostraga. (hrWaC)
Another fruit which is used in a similar manner as *breskvica*, is a diminutive of a pear, *kruškica*:

(90) U kolu. Zagrljene. Gomila propupalih **kruškica** koja skakuće. Koga zanimaju ti bokovi žene i lice djeteta? (hrWaC)

(91) ONI, ti vanzemaljci sposobni zajebat 'nas gadn, padaju na **kruškice** u minjacima sa dugom kosom i savršenom šminkom. I ne traže nikakve znakove inteligencije. (hrWaC)

(92) Srela je kruškicu. Zanosnu malu **kruškicu** koja je bila toliko samouvjerena i sigurna u sebe i smatrala je da je popila svu pamet ovoga svijeta… (hrWaC)

**Kruškica** is used in a similar way as *breskvica*. It is used when referring to a female person, usually when describing female body, especially breasts and the shape of the hips:

(93) Odmaknuh joj ruku s druge **kruškice** i nježno posisah bradavicu, a zatim usnama kliznuh po bijelom vratu do njenih rastvorenih usana. (hrWaC)

(94) Prisjetila se i kako ju je dečko Jamie Kennedy naljutio jer je njenu stražnjicu nazvao **kruškicom** - ′Jeste li ikada vidjeli krušku? Na početku je 'mršava′ i onda se počne širiti i više nikad nije ′mršava′. (hrWaC)

**Melon, dinja** in Croatian, is also used to refer to female body parts – breasts:

(95) Pomislila sam, upotrijebimo grudnjake, jer oni drže moje ′**dinje**′ jako dobro pa će biti dobri i za prave ′, u šali je objasnila Meers.′ (hrWaC)

(96) …samo se za tebe čuva, sve zubi ima, sise ko **dinje** , nikom ne pokazuje. (hrWaC)

Just like *melon*, *watermelon*, according to hrWaC, is also used when referring to female breasts in Croatian:

(97) Razlika je samo u boji kose ili kože , ostalo je po kalupu napravljeno , dugačke lokne , cicke ko dve **lubenice** , trbuh ravan ko šper-ploča , uglavnom kakav mali leptirić , srček ili vražićak tetoviran iznad bikini zone , noge dugačke i ko plastične .(hrWaC)

(98) Pita mali oca Koliko vrst cic ( sisa ) ima. Franina prvo u soku.A onda odgovara.Tri vrste.U dvadesetima su ko **lubenice** , lipe , trde , stoje.U tridesetima i cetrdesetima su ko kruske , malo vise ma jos su lipe. (hrWaC)
The use of fruits like melon, watermelon, pear and peach is mostly connected to the female body parts, especially the breasts. The reason for this convention is the resemblance between the round shape of these fruits and the round shape of female breasts.

**Strawberry**, Croatian *jagoda*, apart from its use as a personal name in Croatian, is used as a term of endearment and appellation:

(99) Janjo, *jagodo* moja, pušči to sve k vragu, nemoj nikem niš više tumačit i divanit, vidiš da je sve podivljalo, imamo dost posla, kaj češ po noći opet pisan i virovat da će kemu dojt iz riti do… (hrWaC)

(100) Naravno da te volim, *jagodo* moja. - Zbilja, kokice? - Da. Spavaj… (hrWaC)

Strawberries are very common and liked fruit in Croatia, and because of their sweet taste, they, like other fruits, have positive connotations. **BNC** does not show similar uses of this fruit in metaphorical expressions in English.

Further example involving *prune* is present only in the English language:

(101) I mean, let's face it, he was a good leader, but a right miserable **old prune** when it took him. ’ Linta did not have the chance to reply. (BNC)

*Old prune* denotes an old and unpleasant person. This has a negative connotation and it is connected to plums which get wrinkled as they get old. Wrinkles associate to the mental picture of an old person who is often mean and unpleasant.

Fruit which is used to describe someone who will get angry about something is the banana in the idiom *go bananas*:

(102) Well no because they just **go bananas** if you do. You’ve got to be careful. (BNC)

(103) I bet she would if she knew,” said Tim. “I bet she’d **go bananas**.” Well, she won’t know if nobody tells her.

Bananas are not used in Croatian when talking and referring to people according to hrWaC.

3.4. **Nuts in English and Croatian**

*Nuts* also appear as a prominent part of the subdomain *fruits*. They are well represented in the Western civilization, and are used to describe a person who is very concealed, does not open up easily to other people, etc. This mapping comes from nuts having hard shells, which
are difficult to open. Examples of this are found in both the English and Croatian language. In English there are expressions *tough nut* or *hard nut*, and in Croatian only *tvrdi orah*:

(104) Shearer, a **tough nut** not inclined to whinge, said his ankle was like a pudding.. (BNC)

(105) There is a new phone box, ripped from the wall and lying on the floor of her office to prove it. Meadowell has even discovered a new martyr in the shape of one Willy Hunter, a local **hard nut** awaiting trial for murder, and allegedly the victim of a police frame-up (BNC)

(106) Treba napomenuti da su zaigrali svi najbolji igrači Nizozemske, te da nisu bili ništa bolji od solidne Bugarske koja se pokazala kao **pretvrd orah**. (hrWaC)

(107) U prvom sastavu će biti i novo pojačanje vratar Hrvoje Višić i tu će se dobiti na sigurnosti obrane, no Neretvanac je "**tvrd orah**", igrači iz Opuzena su u vrhu ljestvice igraju dobro pa će to biti istinski derbi. (hrWaC)

In English there is also an idiom *tough/hard nut to crack*:

(108) I had a very deep feeling that the attack on the village by the Black Watch was not going to be successful due to the fact that the enemy were well dug in and were determined to hold on to this position. It was a **tough nut to crack**. (BNC)

(109) How are things going in the Soviet Union? A **hard nut to crack**. They're suspicious of foreigners. (BNC)

*Nut* is in the English language also used to refer to a crazy or a silly person:

(110) Gillian's always been convinced I'm a complete **nut**, and one of the advantages of being a known **nut** is that one can always get people to believe one's acted in a nutty way. (BNC)

(111) Bobby has received several written and verbal threats. At first he thought it was just some **nut** who didn't like him getting married. (BNC)

*Nutcase* is another term also used to describe a crazy person:

(112) And Philip thought if anyone was a **nutcase** it was that boy in the wood. Lee or whatever he was called (BNC)

(113) They all think I'm a **nutcase**. But I just go out and play the game. (BNC)
Case here, like in fruit case, is used to amplify the meaning of craziness. *Merriam Webster* gives definitions of the word *case* as “an instance of disease or injury” and “a peculiar person”, which explains how it began to be used in this manner.

There are no mentions of using *orah* in Croatian language to refer to a crazy or a silly person, only as a person who is difficult to persuade into doing something, or has a strong character:

(114)  Ne prolazi takva taktika na svima baš. Ali i to one znaju, pa brzo odu dalje ako osjete da je ovaj tvrd orah. Ima žena taj špurijus, mora se priznati... (hrWaC)

Subdomains of FLOWER, VEGETABLE and FRUIT all proved to be very well represented in both the English and Croatian language.
4. Conclusion

While the traditional view on metaphor was that it strictly represents poetic thought or how it is used for literary purposes, linguists like Lakoff and Johnson (1980) went further to point out to a much wider and complex use of metaphor – the conceptual metaphor. Using metaphors in our everyday communication poses a question of how much culture and environment have to do with the creation of certain metaphors.

This paper aimed to show the differences between metaphors that fall under the basic conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS in English and Croatian. There are many metaphors included in this basic metaphor and they show many similarities, which is why subdomains of FLOWER, VEGETABLES and FRUITS were used to point out the differences among these two languages. Although there are similarities in the English and Croatian language when these subdomains are used, when it comes to certain plant types we see how these languages differ. This happens because of the different climate which causes different types of plants to grow in these two cultures, and thus stresses the environmental dimension as well.

The research showed a lot of similarities, especially in the types of fruits and vegetables English and Croatian speakers use in the process of metaphorization. Although they use almost the same types of fruits and vegetables, the meaning they convey shows differences among these two languages. The reason for this is are the differences in culture and environment which provide different grounds for conventions. One such example is cabbage meaning someone inactive in English, but in Croatian, apart from denoting inactivity, it refers to someone who is crazy for which plants such as mushroom and saffron were also used, especially in the past. Furthermore, little pear (kruškica), melon (dinja), watermelon (lubenica) and little peach (breskvica) are used to refer to a female body in Croatian, while in English, according to BNC, examples of this were not found. Furthermore, appellatives and terms of endearment are visible from jagoda, breskvica, ljubičica in Croatian, and old bean, flower and pumpkin in English. While pumpkin (tikva) is used as an endearment in English, in Croatian it is used when referring to someone’s head because of its round shape which serves as a convention for this expression. The differences were also visible in the types of flowers which are used for certain expressions like mimosa and daisy for a soft and delicate person in Croatian, and shrinking violet and wallflower when talking about someone shy, timid and introverted in English. Furthermore, ficus is used in Croatian to denote an inactive person, while the English do not use this flower when talking about people, according to BNC.
The research confirmed the fact how certain metaphorical concepts serve as foundations for metaphorical thought and serve as a starting point for language to convey metaphorical meaning into different linguistic expressions. Thus, we witness appellations, terms of endearment, idiomatic expressions, similes, etc. This means how conceptual metaphors can take different forms and express different attributes of conceptual spheres.
Abstract

The aim of this paper was to use the subdomains of FLOWERS, VEGETABLES and FRUITS, which fall under the basic conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, to show the differences between English and Croatian. The assumption is that the source domain PLANTS is well-grounded in people’s everyday experience, thus, well-grounded in the cognitive processes also. PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor is related to the Great Chain of Being metaphor which points out to the similarities in these two cultures, but certain cultural differences lead to variation in this metaphor. There are a great number of metaphors under the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS basic metaphor which translate in the same or similar way in both the English and Croatian language, but there are also certain metaphors where these languages use certain plant types for describing people, showing differences between the two languages. That is why the aim of this research was to show how different plants are used in Croatian and English when describing specific characteristics of people.

The research was conducted on the basis of British National Corpus (BNC) and Hrvatski web korpus (hrWaC) where the data in the form of sentences were used. For the English language flowers narcissus, wallflower, white lily and violet were used, while ficus, daisy and mimosa were used as examples for the Croatian language. Vegetables and fruits which were used are bean, peas, cabbage, peach, pumpkin, strawberry, banana, etc. Lexemes flower, vegetable and fruit were also taken into account and used to point out to the differences and similarities between these two languages when it comes to the use and translation of this lexeme.

The research showed how there are indeed differences when using flower types in metaphors, and similarities when using only the lexeme flower. When it comes to vegetable and fruit subdomains, the examples show how although English and Croatian mainly use the same vegetables and fruits for denoting the same ideas, they do differ in the meaning they convey.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, culture, Great Chain Metaphor, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, flowers, vegetables, fruits, nuts
5. Literature


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