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METAPHORS OF LOVE IN ENGLISH

The paper is an attempt to show that the metaphoric structure of the concept of LOVE is correlated with its internal conceptual complexity. Various metaphors apply to different subcategories of LOVE and/or highlight different aspects of those subcategories. The diffe-rences stem from the differences in the conceptual structures between and among the subcategories and the resultant constraints on the possible mappings across domains. The whole system of metaphors forms a metaphoric hierarchy with lower mappings inheriting the structure of the higher mappings. It is shown that some conceptual metaphors allow for alternate mappings so there is no single set of correspondences between domains. The metaphors do not form a coherent system. The relations between some of them may be implicational, but others, owing to alternative conceptualizations, are contradictory.

0. The background

Following the well-established cognitivist tradition, initiated by Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, henceforth L&J), we shall regard metaphor as a cognitive operation whereby one concept C1 is conceptualized in terms of another concept C2. Concept C2 is referred to as "source domain", concept C1 is referred to as "target domain" and the whole mapping is referred to as "conceptual metaphor", which consists of a number of ontological correspondences. It must be remembered that the correspondences are usually selective, in accordance with the Invariance Principle (cf. Lakoff, 1990, 1993), which says that

> *Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain.* (Lakoff, 1993:215)

Thus the Invariance Principle, along with its corollary that "the target domain overrides", radically constrains both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the metaphoric corre-spondences. For instance, the mapping from the concept of JOURNEY to the concept of EROTIC LOVE is construed in such a way that there are two adult travelers, since this is the canonical number of participants in subcategory of LOVE. The restrictions on number and age do not hold, however, in the construal of BROTHERLY LOVE as JOURNEY (often elabo-rated as PILGRIMAGE), as this subcategory is not limited in these respects. Similarly, the mapping from the domain of SUBSTANCES to the domain of EMOTIONS may only be

relevant to the emotional aspect of LOVE, which is compatible with the image schematic structure of substances construed as unbounded regions in space (cf. Langacker, 1990, etc.).

We shall try to show the basic metaphoric mappings from various source domains onto the domain of LOVE. As we shall see, in order to account for the meaning of metaphors of LOVE, it is in fact necessary to view LOVE as a complex category consisting of a number of subcategories. In other words we shall show how the metaphorization of LOVE presupposes a number of different subcategories. Thus our results will provide independent support to the representations of LOVE first suggested in Bierwiaczonek (1995, 1997) and fully developed in Bierwiaczonek (in preparation). In the present study we shall presuppose the general framework of the latter analyses. In particular, we assume that the concept of LOVE consists of a number of subcategories represented in terms of conceptual elements profiled in the domains relevant to the characterization of the subcategories. In addition, most subcategories are represented as scripts divided into stages, which represent their development in time.

For the convenience of presentation, we shall use the following abbreviations:
L – LOVER, OL – OBJECT OF LOVE, LL – LOVE LINK, EL – EROTIC LOVE,
ML – MOTHERLY LOVE, FL – FATHERLY LOVE, BL- BROTHERLY LOVE,
MLG – MAN'S LOVE OF GOD, GLM – GOD'S LOVE OF MAN, SL – SELF-LOVE.

The metaphors will be divided with respect to the designated element of the structure of the Gestalt of LOVE; i.e. L, OL, and LL, respectively. Each time we shall try to determine the source domain of the metaphor (i.e. SD), its structural elements (SE) and the subcategory of LOVE the source domain is linked to (i.e. SCL). The titles of sections indicate the part or the element of the representation of the subcategory highlighted by the metaphoric mapping, e.g. the metaphors in Section 1. highlight the two participants (i.e. L and OL) of the LOVE relationship LL. As we shall see this way of representing metaphoric mappings across domains will enable us to render more specific some of the original L&J's formulations. For instance, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS MADNESS (L&J:49), exemplified by *I'm crazy about her, She drives me out of my mind,* etc., will be reformulated as L IS INSANE and the metaphor LOVE IS WAR (loc.cit.), exemplified by *He is known for his many rapid conquests, He is slowly gaining ground with her,* etc., will be reformulated as L AND OL ARE ENEMIES INVOLVED IN MILITARY CONFLICT. Notice that as it stands, the metaphor LOVE IS WAR is not specific enough for it may imply a number of quite different mappings. For instance, along the mapping mentioned above, there is another construal of the metaphor whereby the LOVERs fight the world, conceptualized as ENEMY in the conflict.. In fact the construal is often evoked in the context of MLG: e.g. religious fundamentalists portray themselves as defenders of God (i.e. their OL) against the adverse forces of the world or Satan, the belief which motivates the concept of HOLY WAR. Thus the formulations suggested below may be interpreted as attempts to show how the metaphors elaborate the various aspects and elements of the gestalt of LOVE (cf. Lakoff & Turner, 1989:67ff). In a similar way we shall reformulate some of the metaphors suggested by Kövecses (1986, 1988).

1. Metaphors of LOVERS

The important aspect of this kind of metaphors is that they highlight the LOVERs involved in LL. As has been mentioned above, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS WAR may ontologically identify the LOVERs with ENEMIES.

1.1. Metaphor 1: L AND OL ARE PARTS OF A WHOLE

The metaphor hinges on another more general conceptual metaphor whereby human interpersonal and social world is conceptualized in terms of the physical world, e.g. people may be "cogs in the machine", who either "fit" or prove to be "misfits", a family may be referred to as a "brick" or "pillar" of society, which may occasionally "fall apart", since some of its "parts" cannot "cooperate", etc. An interesting corollary of this general metaphor is a more specific metaphor: THE EMOTIONAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD (cf. Kövecses (1986:Ch.2; 1990) with its important metaphorical consequence; namely: THE EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS (cf. Wojtyła, 1986:100). It is the latter mapping that accounts for the fact that so much of LOVE discourse is couched in spatial terms of distance, proximity and separation, e.g. *Are you with Jane again? I've never been so close with anybody, We've drifted apart, Don't ever let me go*, etc.

For reasons presented in Chapter 1, we shall consider the UNITY METAPHOR (Kövecses, 1986, 1988) as an extreme case of LOVE IS CLOSENESS METAPHOR, in which the length of the link is reduced to zero, thus rendering the closeness maximal. It will be remembered, however, that both metaphors are elaborations of the metaphor LOVE IS A WHOLE. Examples:

We are one, She's my better half, They're inseparable, Theirs is a perfect match, She has an attachment to him, There are romantic ties between them, There is a strong bond between them (Kövecses, 1986: 18ff)[1],

After all is really said and done/ The two of us are really one/The goddess really smiled upon our love dear Yoko (John Lennon, *Dear Yoko*)

Oh, can't you see that you were born to stand by my side/ And I was born to be with you, you were born to be my bride./ You're the other half of what I am, you're the missing piece,/ And I love you more than ever with that love that doesn't cease (Bob Dylan, *Wedding Song*)

SD: PARTS-WHOLE

SE: PARTS, LINKS

When combined with the domain of time, the links may grow longer or shorter, thus making the distance between the parts change in time. Generally three stages can be distinguished:

Stage 1: the process of the parts getting closer and closer

Stage 2 (Pivot): the moment/ period of unity of the parts

Stage 3: the process of the parts separating and moving away from each other

The stages may of course recur in various combinations

SCL: The metaphor is usually freely used to designate various aspects and stages of EL, as this subcategory includes all the parts and stages of the SD.

Since the prototypical scripts of ML, FL and CLP start with Stage 2, the expressions designating Stage 1 usually do not apply to them, e.g. *?There is something between Mrs. Jones and her son Robert*. Because of the asymmetry of the relationships, the "half" and "match" metaphors do not apply either, e.g. *You and your Mom match each other perfectly* could only sound felicitous rather late, when the addressee is quite adult. *My Dad is my better half* sounds even more bizarre.

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[1] An excellent example of the UNITY METAPHOR can be found in Wojtyła (1986:112ff).

The L – OL asymmetry also prevents most of the instantiations of the metaphor in question from designating GLM and MLG, e.g. it seems extremely unlikely to refer to God as *a good match,* or *a better half.* A lot depends on the way of conceptualizing the God-believer relationship in terms of their relative activity vs. passivity. As I have shown elsewhere (esp. Bierwiaczonek, 2000), two extreme construals are available: Construal 1, whereby the passive God waits for his believer to reach Him, and Construal 2, whereby the active God bestows His closeness upon the believer (or, occasionally, non-believer as well). The difference may also be theological. For instance, in the orthodox Catholic theology God is transcendent ("totally other", objectively and essentially) and there is always an unbridgeable gulf between Him and His disciples (cf. e.g. von Balthasar, 1997: Ch.3). Thus the link with God is mitigated by the Church and its sacraments, with each individual believer construed as part (or member) of the Church , i.e. the Body of Christ (cf. 1Cor,12; Eph, 4, KKK, Part 1, III). The mystic literature, however, insists that the identity and unity of God and His creation is always there, although it takes time to discover it. In fact, the possibility was announced by Jesus Himself in John (17,21): "[I pray] that they may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also be one with us…" However, the mystic experience of unity cuts across the borders of religions and denominations and is one of the crucial aspects of what Huxley called "the perennial philosophy" (Huxley, 1989), discussed in detail in James (1982[1902]), Huxley himself, and Happold (1964), who calls it "a consciousness of the Oneness of everything" (p.46). What is of interest for us is that the experience and the way it is conceptualized are still reported in modern English religious literature, especially in the so-called "channeled" texts. For instance, an unsigned mystic treatise *Christ in You* (1980) declares: "Conscious union with God is your whole salvation; spirit, soul and body. The knowledge of God's oneness with man is the open door to freedom" (p.50), while the author of *The Impersonal Life* (1983) says: "KNOW I AM in you. KNOW I AM You. …. We are not separated. We could not possibly be separated. For I AM You. I AM your REAL Self, your REAL Life and I AM manifesting My SELF and ALL MY POWERS in you NOW" (pp 240, 242). Another text, *A Course in Miracles* (1985), reinterprets Jesus' words in terms of reality and illusion:

> *he meaning of the Son of God lies solely in his relationship with his Creator. If it were elsewhere it would rest on contingency, but there is nothing else. And this is wholly loving and forever. Yet has the Son of God invented an unholy relationship between him and his Father. His real relationship is one of perfect union and unbroken continuity. The one he made is partial, self-centered, broken into fragments and full of fear* (Text:406).

The latter quote indicates that from the mystical perspective, the relationship God – believer may determine the construal of the internal relationship between the Subject and Self within the conceptual structure of SL: since God is within, as my true Self (cf. Lakoff, 1993), my union with Him is my union with my Self, and, conversely, the union of my Subject with my true Self implies my union with God. Alternatively, though, the true Self my be identified with Jesus, in which case my Self must be abandoned: "The more you detach yourself from self, the more attached Jesus is to you" (Mother Teresa, 1987:41).

It will have been noticed that there are two elaborations of the PART-WHOLE METAPHOR that are used almost exclusively in the context of family and religious relationships. The first is FAMILY/RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY IS A BODY, e. g. *My Dad may be the head*

but my Mom is the neck and she takes all the important decisions and I am her right hand, The Church is the Body of Christ, with Christ at its head, and the believers as its member (KKK:787-796).

The second elaboration of the PART-WHOLE METAPHOR takes the concept of FAMILY itself as the source domain for the conceptualization of the Christian religious community. The metaphor CHRISTIANDOM /CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY has the following correspondences: God or the pope or the priest/vicar is the FATHER, Virgin Mary or the Church or the nun superior is the MOTHER, the ordinary members of convents or believers are BROTHERS or SISTERS..

Finally, the PART-WHOLE METAPHOR may also determine the conceptualization of BL. The basis of the PART-WHOLE construal of BL again comes from Christianity. As we have already mentioned, the believers constitute one body: the Church. Thus each believer feels linked to other believers through the same system of beliefs (prepositional attitudes) and forms of worship (behaviors). This is a common theme in modern devotional songs: *We being many are one body in Christ, in Christ/ And everyone member of one another, / Loving each other, / With God as our Father,/ Who loves us as a mother loves her newborn child* (*We Being Many*). It will be observed that the multitude of parts of BL rules out the metaphors in which the whole consists of two parts, e.g. ?*Mary is a better half of our community.* In less prototypical cases of BL, however, it is conceivable that any team, including a team of two, may be construed as a whole, whose parts are linked by the common goal, common responsibility and brotherly LOVE.

1.2. Metaphor 2: L AND OL ARE TRAVELERS ON A JOURNEY

Examples:
Look how far we've come, We are at a crossroads, We'll just have to go our separate ways, We're stuck, We're just spinning our wheels, Our marriage is on the rocks, We've gotten off the track, etc. (L&J:44f)
SD: JOURNEY
SE: at least one TRAVELER, POINT OF DEPARTURE, PATH, DESTINATION[2]

SCL: Again the metaphor is predominantly linked to the concept of EL, although some aspects of it may be used to conceptualize MF, FL, and CLP. The stages of the journey relevant to those subcategories do not prototypically include, however, the start of the journey, since the common start is presupposed in their scripts and is not a perceptible event in the experience of L and OL. Thus it would be strange to say of a mother-child relationship that *We set off on that journey on a rainy day in December 1985*, which may be the child's birthday. Moreover, the metaphors indicate a symmetrical partner-partner relationship between L and OL, typical of more advanced stages of parent-child relationship. For instance, *We are at a crossroads* or *We'll just have to go our separate ways* may be felicitously used with reference to parents and their adult child; they are extremely unlikely, however, in the context of the parents having a three-, seven- or even fifteen-year-old child. The uniqueness of the parent-child link blocks virtually any conceptualization in which the parents may set up a relationship parallel to the one they have with their own child; therefore expressions like *a love affair on the side* cannot normally designate ML or FL, let alone CLP.

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[2] Cf. a detailed account of the LIFE IS JOURNEY metaphor in Lakoff & Turner (1989).

Because of the fundamental asymmetry of the GLM and MLG relationships, the JOUR-
NEY is construed differently: The construal goes back to the Bible with its numerous
descriptions of literal journeys, beginning in the book of Genesis, where God "sent him [i.e.
man] forth from the garden of Eden, ... he drove out the man" (Gen. 3, 23-24), through
Exodus and the Way of the Cross, to St. Paul's missionary journeys. Three construals can
be discerned.

Construal 1: God leads the way while the believer follows him.

Perhaps the most telling and best known examples of the metaphor can be found in the
Psalms, especially in the famous Psalm 23: "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. ... he
leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yeah, though I walk through the
valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me". Jesus will pick up this
theme and take it even further in John ,10, where He declares "I am the good shepherd". In
modern mystical literature the same idea recurs, but God reveals Himself to be the secret agent
of all His believer's acts as the metaphysical source of even his/her deepest subjecthood:
"Aye, whether you went straight ahead or strayed aside, or stepped backward, it was I Who
brought you through. It was I Who urged you on by the glimpse of me in the dim distance. It
was I who lured you by a vision of Me in some bewitching face, or beautiful body, or
intoxicating pleasure, or overpowering ambition" (*The Impersonal Lifge*, 1983: 42f).

Construal 2: God accompanies the believer, supporting or defending him in times of
trouble. The metaphorization also takes root early in the Bible, where life is construed as a
JOURNEY, e.g. Enoch is said to have "walked with God" (Gen. 5, 22,24).

Construal 3: The believer is the traveler, God (His Kingdom) is the destination

Since purposes tend to be conceptualized as DESTINATIONS (cf. Lakoff & Turner,
1989), the believer's purpose, i.e. God, the Kingdom of God, Heaven, etc. is often concep-
tualized as the DESTINATION of his JOURNEY. Of course, the metaphor found its most
elaborate expression in Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, where all of the believer's spir-
itual life is couched in terms of structural elements of the JOURNEY, including rampant
personifications of various elements of the protagonist's mind. The end of the journey,
however, is an almost geographical destination: "the Mount Zion, the Heavenly Jerusa-
lem" (p.153).). From the Biblical perspective, the JOURNEY may be interpreted as a return
to Eden, from which man was infamously expelled. The return aspect of man's journey to
God is highlighted in the parable of the Prodigal (Luke, 15), the second century mystic
poem *The Hymn of the Robe of Glory* (Happold, 1963:176-181) and can also be found in
modern Gnostic texts, as e.g. in the following prayer:

Father, my home awaits my glad return. Your Arms are open and I hear Your
Voice. What need have I to linger in a place of vain desires and of shattered
dreams, when Heaven can so easily be mine? (A Course of Miracles, Lesson 226).

But of course one of the paradoxes a lot of mystical and Gnostic texts emphasize is that
although the believers seem to be traveling, in fact there is no distance, and hence no desti-
nation to be reached. So in the same text we have quoted above, we read: "God indeed can be
reached directly, for there is no distance between Him and His Son" (op. cit., Manual for
Teachers: 61). The paradox seems to stem from the incompatibility of the two metaphoric
construals we have just discussed above: L and OL as UNITY in LOVE IS A WHOLE meta-
phor, and L as a TRAVELER and OL as DESTINATION in the LOVE IS A JOUNREY metaphor.

The mystic and Gnostic literature also highlights the aspects of the concept of JOUR-
NEY which are relevant to the conceptualization of SL. Since "the kingdom of God is within

. you" (Luke, 17,21) and "ye are the City of God" (*The Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus*, quoted by Happold, 1967:175), spiritual seekers plunge into the depths of their own Self. What they reportedly discover is not a separate God Father, but a unity, which we have discussed above, or the Christ within – their own true Self. This is the DESTINATION, this is the journey's end, which enabled an Arab mystic al-Hallag, to cry out "I am God" (cf. Wronecka, 1995,s.XXXIII). Before the state of mystical union is reached, however, the traveler must go a long and difficult way. Thus the promise of inner heaven and unity with God is coupled with a word of warning and instruction: "But know, Beloved, that this cannot be until you have come to me in complete and utter surrender, until you have given yourself, your substance, your affairs, your Life into My keeping, putting all care and responsibility upon Me, resting and trusting in Me absolutely" (*The Impersonal Life*:243). Apparently, the journey means not only leaving behind the earthly bonds, but also large portions of one's own individual Self. Thus the metaphor shows once again that the subcategories of MLG and SL may be construed as merging into one.

They share also one more striking property: both concepts often arrange the direction of the JOURNEY along the vertical axis. Notwithstanding the revelations of mystics, however, in general, their directions differ. While the movement of the seekers of God is conceptually directed upward, "to the heavens above" (cf. also J, 8.23), those who try to reach their own true Self go down into the depths of their being.

Interestingly, there is a less prototypical version of Construal 3 of JOURNEY METAPHOR, particularly common amongst the American baby boomers, in which the TRAVELER undertakes his/her JOURNEY not because of LOVE, but because of the lack of it. In particular, what often motivates such LOVERs is the desire to find their OL, be it God or their own true Self, or something even more elusive, like "the meaning of life" or "the sacred". A brief look at the title list of such self-fulfillment literature best shows the extent to which the metaphor determines the conceptual structure of the whole domain: *The Road Less Traveled* and *Further Along the Road less traveled* by M. Scott Peck, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation* by W.C. Roof, or even Pope John Paul II's *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*. The language of the people reporting their own or others' spiritual experiences reveals the same metaphorical structure: "Rita McClain's spiritual journey began in Iowa ... Just as she had once explored mountains, she began scouting the inner landscape", "... millions of Americans are embarking on a search for the sacred in their lives. Not all have a journey as extreme as Rita McClain's. Some are returning to the religions of their childhoods ...", "Manning is considering 'doing an organized-religion tour,' exposing them [his two children] to major denominations the way wealthy parents once took their offspring on a tour of Europe" (*In Search of the Sacred* by B. Kantrowitz), "Forging another path to the sacred, the religious wing of American feminism seeks to ground women's liberation in a God stripped of masculine traits", "Apart from spiritual tourists, the purpose of every journey is to arrive at a destination ... It [the sacred] is to be found wherever – or whenever – the pilgrim learns to recognize the mystery of each moment. ...In the traditions of the West, every serious sojourner arrives at the still point of an abiding Presence, who sustains the seeker and justifies the search." (*On the Road Again* [sic!] by K.L. Woodward, both articles in: *Newsweek*, Nov.28, 1994).

Finally, the end of your spiritual journey the TRAVELER discover s his/her Soul, who/which may guide them in their external journey through life. As Sting has but it in one of his songs:

When the map you have leads you to doubt
When there is no information
And the compass turns to nowhere that you know well
Let your soul be your pilot
Let your soul guide you, he'll guide you well (Let Your Soul Be Your Pilot)

It will have been noticed that Construal 3 is not confined to MLG and SL. In particular, EL is often construed as L's journey in search of his/her OL. Thus OL becomes the DESTINATION L tries to find, reach or at least get closer to, as in e.g. I've been looking for you all my life, You've built a wall around you and I can't reach you any more. At times the JOURNEY turns into a CHASE, i.e. a pursuit of OL conceived as a moving entity, as often in Bob Dylan's songs, e.g. "Down the highway, down the tracks, down the road to ecstasy/ I followed you beneath the stars, hounded by your memory "(Idiot Wind), "There's a woman I long to touch and I miss her so much/ But she's drifting like a satellite" (Where Are You Tonight) and in innumerable pop lyrics rife with runaways and tramps.

1.3. Metaphor 3: L AND OL ARE INVOLVED IN WAR

Examples:

He is known for his many rapid conquests, He is slowly gaining ground with her, *He fled from her advances, She fought for him but his mistress won out, She pursued him relentlessly, He overpowered her, She is besieged by suitors, He has to fend them off, He made an ally of her father*, etc. (L&J:49)

Father: My own son, our own son, our flesh and blood is planning to kill me, planning to blow me up (S.Tesich, *The Carpenters*).

Eugene: Mama, mama, what is it? What else do you want from me? Do you want to strangle and drown me completely? Do you want more string? (K. Frings, *Look Homeward, Angel*)

SD: WAR

SE: two OPPONENTS trying to defeat each other, their WEAPONS

SCL: All the examples above strongly indicate elaboration of EL but of course other subcategories may also be activated, in particular, all three parent – child relations, i.e. ML, FL, and CLP may be conceptualized in terms of this metaphor. An extreme, perhaps grotesque, case of a father's viewing his relationship in terms of WAR or at least a military confrontation can be found in S.Tesich's play *The Carpenters*, quoted above, where the father suspects his son of trying to literally kill him. As has been mentioned above, the WAR metaphor is also activated in the context of religious subcategories of LOVE. There seem to be three possible construals:

Construal 1: God loves his devotee and fights against his/her enemies.

The dominating image in the Psalms is that of God fighting against or defending His believer against his evil heathen enemies, e.g. in Ps. 35 : "fight against them that fight against me. Take hold of shield and buckler, and stand up for mine help. Draw out also the spear…", in Ps.59: "God is my defense", "our shield". And in the following Psalms 60 and 64 we hear that "through God we shall do valiantly; for he is that shall tread down our enemies", "shoot at them with an arrow; suddenly they shall be wounded." (cf. also Rev. 20, 7-10).

Alternatively, God may have to fight, often through his angels, against Satan or devils, for the soul of his children (as e.g. in the medieval *Everyman*), "Because the carnal mind is

enmity against God" (Rom.8,7; see below). On this interpretation the enemy is within as an active part of Self, which may resist God's will and therefore must be overpowered, over-come or subdued[3]. True believers may thus describe themselves as God's prisoners, His slaves or servants (cf. Rom. 6,16),

Construal 2: The believer loves God and fights against his/her enemies.

In the mid twelfth century St. Bernard of Claivaux preached: "Go forward in safety, knights. With undaunted souls drive off the enemies of the cross of Christ... How glorious are the victors who return from the fight! How blessed the martyrs who die in battle" (quoted in Duane, 1997: 43). God's LOVER may defend Him against heathens, infidels, heretics and atheists, or because of his religious zeal, may try to conquer those who do not share his/her beliefs and either convert them or destroy them. The construal motivates the concept of HOLY WAR and a great deal of modern cult ideologies from David Koresh's sect, with their arsenal of guns and explosives, to Heaven's Gates suicides, who denounced even ordinary believers as "Luciferians" (cf. *Time*, April 7,1997). It should be borne in mind that the idea that the visible, experiential world is essentially evil and lies within the realm of Satan was the basis of the medieval Manichean heresy (cf. de Rougemont, 1968). The ideology of the heresy was an ideology of fight and liberation: fight against the body and the world in order to be liberated from their bonds.

What we have said above indicates that, the WAR metaphor may also be activated in the conceptualization of SL: L sees his or her weakness or vices as enemies[4] that must not be surrendered to, given in to; instead, they should be faced, fought against, overcome, subdued, or even broken or crushed. No matter whether the forces are objectively internal or external vis-à-vis Self, they are always construed as outside the real Christ-like Self, which must be defended. There is no more telling example of this kind of construal couched in military terms then the following passage from St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians:

Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities (…) Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. (Eph.6,11-17)

The metaphor seems to be only marginally relevant to the concept of BL.

1.4. Metaphor 4: LOVE IS DOMINANCE

The metaphor may be viewed as an elaboration of the final stage of the WAR metaphor, which entails that as a result of war one party comes out as the winner, who dominates, while the other party loses and thus becomes dominated by the winner. Similarly, it is related to the JOURNEY metaphor, in which the dominating partner is often construed as

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[3] I once heard a chant sung by a group of American "truth-seekers", whose opening line was "I surrender to God".

[4] Cf. e.g. "... abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul" (1 Peter 2,11); "... our old man is crucified with him [i.e. Jesus – B.B.], that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin" (Rom.6,6); "... they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts" (Gal. 5,24).

the leader or the guide. However, since a number of the instantiations of the metaphor does not presuppose any prior fight, e.g. King – Servant, we shall discuss it an independent mapping, bearing in mind that the three metaphors are closely linked.

Examples:

The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein. (Ps.24);

Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy lovingkindness: according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions. (Ps. 51);

The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty. (Ps. 93);

If any man serve me, him will my Father honor. (J 12.26);

For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet... And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all. (1 Cor 15.25, 28);

All must be as God will;

Man proposes, God disposes;

God, and parents, and our master, can never be requited;

A man's mother is his other God;

One father is enough to govern one hundred sons, but not a hundred sons one father.
He that has a wife has a master;

Where the mistress is the master, the parsley grows the faster;

It is a sorry flock where the ewe bears the bell;

An obedient wife commands her husband *(proverbs)*.

SD: DOMINANCE

SE: a DOMINATING PERSON/FORCE, DOMINATED PERSON

SCL: The metaphor profiles the LOVE relationship as a relationship in which one LOVER dominates the other. Thus the metaphor prototypically designates the asymmetrical subcategories, in particular, GLM/MLG and ML, FL and CLP. Accordingly, God (or Jesus) may be the Lord, the King, the Master (i.e. Rabbi), although occasionally it may also highlight the power relations within EL relationships, with masochistic, Pygmalion and anaclitic varieties as their best defined, extreme cases (cf. Bergmann, 1987).

In the case of SL, the metaphor highlights Self-internal tugs-of war, in which the Subject may be dominated by any of the conflicting drives within the Self (cf. Lakoff, 1996). A most telling expression of this construal can be found in Rom (6.16): "Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness."

Of course, the metaphor has been permeating the Western culture and philosophy almost from their beginning in the form of the conflict between Mind and Feeling, Reason and Emotion, the Apollonian and the Dionysian, the rational and the irrational, the Classical and the Romantic, Brain and Heart, Superego and Subconsciousness, Left Hemisphere and Right Hemisphere, and probably a dozen more.

1.5. Metaphor 5: LOVERS ARE PLAYERS IN A GAME

Examples:

All is fair in love and war;

LOVE is a game in which both players always cheat;

He that would the daughter win must with the mother first begin;

The last suitor wins the maid (proverbs)
She is playing hard to get, Hazel, you called and I came, now don't make me play this waiting game. (Bob Dylan, Hazel)
I shall never believe that God plays dice with the world. (A. Einstein)
SD: GAME
SE: two or more PLAYERS
SCL: The metaphor designates primarily the concept of EL. Two construals are possible. In the first construal the whole EL is conceptualized as a relationship that is short-lived with all kinds of "maneuvers", such as sincerity, flattery and lying, designed simply to win the game (cf. Solomon, 1990: 16ff). In the other construal, EL is viewed as a relationship whose participants play different games at different stages of their LOVE. Berne (1967) gives examples of "sexual games" people play at the FALLING IN LOVE stage of their relationship, e.g. "Let's You And Him Fight", which often falls short of becoming a full-fledged LL, e.g. as in "Rapo" (You have violated me and must pay full penalty), as well as "marital games" , typical of much more mature, BEING IN LOVE and CONJUGAL stages of LOVE. As Berne himself observes, and as in fact follows from his transactional framework, most marital games have their Parent – Child equivalents, e.g. "Corner", "Frigid Woman", "Sweetheart", and above all "Uproar"(finding fault marked a slamming door), relevant to the concepts of ML, FL and CLP.

Since, as Solomon observes, "the 'game' metaphor is too frivolous to be taken seriously" (Solomon, 1990:17), we should not expect to find it in the subcategories RELIGIOUS LOVE, although non-believers or non-Judeo-Christians often accuse God of the Old Testament of "playing" rather cruel games with people, especially in the context of expulsion from Eden, Abraham's ordeal and Job's misery. However, since these people in fact use both the metaphor and the stories as arguments either against God's love of people, we may dismiss them as irrelevant.

It is not entirely clear to me how the metaphor may apply to the concepts of BL and SL.

As for BL, it seems that some of the typical games described by Berne are relevant, e.g. "Schlemiel" (Be destructive and still get forgiveness), "Alcoholic" (How bad I've been, see if you can stop me) or "Now I've Got You, You Son of a Bitch" (the name speaks for itself). But we can also find more positive examples, e.g. a teacher may try to help his students get better results by lowering their grades in the beginning of the term, in order to hurt their ambition and thus make them study harder and get better final results. Call the game "Ambition".

1.6. Metaphor 6: LOVERS ARE PARTNERS IN A FAIR EXCHANGE OF GOODS

Examples:
I don't believe in free love. He stole her heart at the beginning of the first year.
Give in marriage, take in marriage.
You've got something I want plenty of, oh, a little touch of your love (Bob Dylan, *Hazel*);
Alright, I'll take a chance, I will fall in love with you.
If I'm a fool you can have the night, you can have the morning too.
Can you cook and saw, make flowers grow,
do you understand my pain?
Are you willing to risk it all or is your love in vain. (Bob Dylan, *Is Your Love in Vain*)

Eugene: *Oh, it's easy to cry now, Mama, but it won't do you any good! I've done as much work for my wages as you deserve. I've given you fair value for your money, I thank you for nothing.*

Eliza: *What's that? What are you saying?*

Eugene: *I said I thank you for nothing, but I take that back. Yes I have a great deal to be thankful for. I give thanks for every hour of loneliness I've had here, for every dirty cell you ever gave me to sleep in, for ten million hours of indifference, and for these two minutes of cheap advice.* (Ketti Frings, *Look Homeward, Angel*)

Eliza: *You will be punished if there is a just God in Heaven.*

Eugene: *Oh, there is! I'm sure there is! Because I've been punished. By God, I shall spend the rest of my life getting my heart back, healing and forgetting every scar you put upon me when I was a child.* (Ketti Frings, *Look Homeward, Angel*)

Sally: (…) *I've lost my sparkle and my effervescence. And it was all due to you. I've let you eat me up, just sitting here, pouring myself into you..*

Christopher: Oh, is that what you've been doing?

Sally: *It's all you want. You're like a vampire. If you don't have someone around you, you sit about in bars waiting to devour someone.* (John van Druten, *I Am a Camera*)

God gives with wrath by weight, and without weight His mercy. God is a sure paymaster. The grace of God is worth a fair. (proverbs)

SD: EXCHANGE OF GOODS

SE: TRADERS, GOODS, (MONEY)

SCL: The metaphor is an elaboration of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS AS PARTNER-SHIP (cf. Lakoff, 1993) and a slightly reformulated version of Solomon's LOVE AS A FAIR EXCHANGE, which on the psychological level structures the loving relationship as "an exchange, a sexual partnership, a trade-off of interests and concerns and, particularly, of approval" (Solomon, 1990:17). On a more social and material level the metaphor takes on the form of the "contract model" of LOVE (Solomon, 1990:27). Excepting perhaps the WAR metaphor, the FAIR EXCHANGE metaphor represents the most striking construal of various models of typical LOVE. For if the ideal LOVE "seeketh not her own [and] beareth all things" (1Cor.13.5,7), the typical LOVE seeks to get even and does not bear unfair exchange.

Apart from emotional states mentioned above, the goods may include: virginity, body, children (e.g. *She gave me my kids so I owe her something, don't I?*), trust (in the form honesty and intimate, personal secrets), time, careers, compromises, favours, and last but often not least, money. The exchange may be total, i.e. the LOVERs give each other everything to the point of exchanging their self-identities, as in the famous Lovesong by Ted Hughes:

In their entwined sleep they exchanged arms and legs

In their dreams their brains took each other hostage

In the morning they wore each other's face

Since the metaphor hinges on the Preconceptual Image Schema of BALANCE (cf. Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987) its axiology is positive as long as the amount of what is given by either of the partners is offset by what s/he takes or receives (cf. Krzeszowski, 1989; Bierwiaczonek, 1990). If this equilibrium is upset, the axiology of the relation becomes negative and a conflict ensues. So one of the entailments of the metaphor is that in case the exchange is not fair, the partner who is considered unfair will be conceptualized as a thief, fraud, crook, etc. If imbalance results, the partner who is believed to have taken more may

be accused of being possessive, greedy to the point of becoming an emotional "vampire" (see the quote from von Druten's play above). In this respect the FAIR EXCHANGE META-PHOR is like the METAPHOR OF MORAL ACCOUNTING, which hinges on the morality of financial transactions in which it is moral to pay your debts and it is immoral not to pay them (cf. Lakoff, 1996b, Ch.4). As we have seen in the quotes above, the metaphor is by no means uncommon in the conceptualizations of ML. FL and CLP and has also permeated the popular psychology and (self-)psychotherapy . For instance, Berne (1967) points out that there are almost always psychological and social "gains" we wish to achieve and "advantages" we try to gain, such as the relief of tension, the avoidance of noxious situations, etc. , when we play our daily interpersonal games. In a similar vain, Ray (1980) encourages her clients to reevaluate their life by starting to believe that "All losses are gains not recognized" and that whenever we make a mess in our lives it is in order to satisfy some deeper, perhaps, negative need; we should therefore honestly try to finish the formula "My payoff for creating this mess is …" (op. cit:.83)

We may note in passing that the metaphor becomes reality in the concepts of PROSTI-TUTION, MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE. and LOVE FOR SALE.

The concept of UNREQUITED LOVE represents the extreme case of imbalance between what is given by L and the refusal to give anything by OL, the unfair trade charmingly illustrated by the anonymous classic Lady Greensleeves (until recently sung by L. Cohen and still sung by Loreena McKennitt)

Lakoff (1996b, Ch.14) argues convincingly that the FAIR EXCHANGE METAPHOR (his MORAL ACCOUNTING METAPHOR) determines much of what we think of religion with respect to our moral and immoral behavior. If God is construed as a Strict Father, we expect Him to bring us up through self-discipline and punishment. From this point the Original Sin was huge debit only Jesus could pay off. However, if we continue sinning we will have to account for our sins on the Day of Judgment, when our good and bad deeds will be weighed. If our debits (sins) outweigh our credits (good deeds) doomed, if the opposite is the case, we are saved. Thus the Strict Father construal of God leads to the model of justice based on reward and punishment, in which righteousness results from fear of God's retribution[5].

The Nurturant Father construal of God has radically different consequences, although it also frames salvation in terms of the FAIR EXCHANGE metaphor. The essence of GLM is God's grace, construed as free nurturance, with Jesus as the ultimate Nurturer. The way God tries to raise His children is through abundance of grace, i.e. nurturance. If they recognize God's gifts, they try to return them by giving them to others, thus becoming nurturing themselves. There is never any balance between God's grace and our sinfulness because His grace is infinite and all we have to do is to accept it. Once the believer has become aware of God's grace s/he starts feeling enormous gratitude to God and loves Him even more. It follows that, on the Nurturant Father construal of GLM, the FAIR EXCHANGE never happens. On the contrary, GLM is defined in terms of violating the conditions of fair exchange, since God is here construed as the Giver who freely hands out His goods, expecting infinitely less in return. MLG results from the believer's accepting God's gifts and

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[5] This construal of God-man relationship was of course the target of Nietzsche's criticism of Christianity. Given the Strict Father idea of God, sacrifice was interpreted as a way to pay (or bribe) God for His acts of grace (cf. Sławek, 2001).

trying to return them, usually by sharing them with others, while knowing that is the real
return is totally impossible. That is why one of the major components of MLG is GRATI-
TUDE, a common theme in numerous prayers, religious poems and songs, e.g. *Father God,
I give all thanks and praise to Thee* (Father God).

1.7. Metaphor 7: LOVERS ARE BIRDS (usually DOVES)

Examples:
*We sat there billing and cooing till after midnight; It was all lovey-dovey; Look
at those two lovebirds on the bench; Here come the love doves again; Their love
nest has never been discovered* (Kövecses, 1986:31)
SD: ANIMALS, BIRDS
SE: BIRDS, NEST
SCL: The metaphor designates the early stage of EL, highlighting the behavior of
LOVERs. Since neither the stage nor the behavioral patters have any counterparts in other
subcategories, the metaphor is confined to EL.

1.8. Metaphor 8: LOVERS ARE SENDERS AND RECEIVERS INVOLVED IN COMMU-NICATION

The metaphor establishes correspondences between senders/receivers and LOVERs
in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS COMMUNICATION (cf. Solomon, 1990:21)
Examples:
*We are on the same wavelength, They are perfectly in tune with each other, We
just vibrated the same way, We just can't communicate any more, I tried to reach
her but I couldn't get through.*
Love speaks even when the lips are closed.
When love is greatest, words are fewest.
Whom we love best, to them we can say least. (proverbs)
*And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God
speak with us, lest we die.* (Exodus, 20.19)
*I love the Lord, because ha hath heard my voice and my supplications. Because
He hath inclined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live.*
(Psalm 116, 1-2)
*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was
God. (...) In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth
in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. (...) And the Word was made
flesh, and dwelt among us.* (John, 1. 1, 4, 5, 14)
Lord, I am not worthy to receive you, but only say the word and I shall be healed.
(Order of Mass)
SD: COMMUNICATIONS
SE: SENDER, MESSAGE, MEDIUM, CONTEXT, CODE, RECEIVER (i.e. ADDRESSEE)[6]
SCL: One of the most convincing signs of a good EL is good communication. The fact
that the LOVERs do not understand each other or cannot communicate is often a sufficient
reason for them to split up. Of course prototypically they should both in turn play the roles

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[6] It will have been noticed that the structural elements correspond closely to the components of Jakobson's
classic schema of communication (cf. Jakobson, 1989:81).

of SENDER and RECEIVER. The breaks in communication, i.e. *We don't speak to each other*, are tantamount to breaks in the relationship. Calling each other on the phone (MEDIUM) and talking is as important in STAGE 1 of EL as dating and going out. Of course, as the proverbs clearly show, communication needn't necessarily be verbal. On the contrary, it is the ability to understand each other's silence, i.e. to use a non-verbal CODE, that is often the mark of true love. Sometimes communication breaks may be caused by contextual factors, in which case the LOVERs may either resort to some other MEDIUM or give up and look for another SENDER-RECEIVER, as in a recent film *Cast Away*.

By and large the same is true of ML, FL and CLP: good communication is mapped onto a good parent-child LL, a breakdown of communication inevitably marks an emotional crisis and often leads to separation.

Similarly, communication is essential in BL: a person feeling BL usually openly communicates his/her thoughts and feelings to his fellow "brethren" and is equally open to receive their messages, the latter readiness and ability being often extended to empathy and intuitive understanding.

The scope of our study does not allow us to discuss in detail the numerous ways in which the domain of communication provides structure for the concepts of GLM and MLG. God's words permeate the Old Testament. Apart from a few direct divine miraculous intercessions, it is God's words that are the most palpable manifestations of his loving care: they reproach, but above all they advice, teach and guide, not directly, however, but usually through the MEDIUM of prophets or, occasionally, angels. In the New Testament, consisting of four Gospels, i.e. God's words, Jesus is not only the messenger, the Rabbi, the teacher (MEDIUM) but He is also believed to be "the Word", the MESSAGE, which again indicates that God's communication with His people in Christianity is of fundamental importance. God's word is interpreted a sign of His presence, His care, His love. His silence is felt to be tantamount to rejection. The theme reverberates in a modern gnostic text *A Course in Miracles*, in which the idea that "God's Voice speaks to me all through the day" (Lesson 49) is immediately followed by the thought "I am sustained by the Love of God" (Lesson 50) and the ontological identity signaled in the Gospel According to St John quoted above is taken even further in Lesson 151, which says "All things are echoes of the Voice for God".

As the Judeo-Christian believers expect God to speak to them, so does God seem to demand that those who love Him speak to Him. The basic MEDIUM of communication with God in MLG is the prayer[7]. However, the prayer is not only the sign of MLG; it is also its condition and at the same time its most spontaneous, natural expression. Without praying, MLG ceases, dies away; when the believer prays his love intensifies and grows. Thus "the prayer and Christian life are inseparable" (KKK:2745), and so are the prayer and Christian love.

The intimate link between love and prayer is also stressed in the modern mystic literature: "Live in the thought of love toward all, and your life will become an unceasing prayer, a constant going forth of God" (*Christ in You*, !980:17). An even more unequivocal declaration can be found in *A Course in Miracles* (1985): "Prayer is the medium of miracles. It is a means of communication of the created with the Creator. Through prayer love is received,

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[7] The other two media, meditation and contemplation, are increasingly less verbal and more passive, as though the believer tried to still his/her mind to be able receive God's word, His understanding, His peace (cf. excellent and understandably authoritative discussion in KKK, Part IV, Ch.2 &3)

and through miracles love is expressed" (op. cit., *Text*:1). We may conclude that although the schema of COMMUNICATION no doubt provides metaphoric structure for the concepts of GLM and MLG, in fact the link between the two domains is so intimate and strong that it may be construed as "definitional", in the sense of constituting part of the conceptual representation s of the two subcategories of LOVE, rather than metaphoric. For those whose representations of GLM and MLG indeed contain strong links with the domain of COMMUNICATION, the domain is accessed through the domain of BEHAVIORS, in particular through such elements as L TAKES CARE OF OL in GLM and L WORSHIPS OL in MLG. There is little doubt, however, that a rather abstract and conceptually elusive domain of religious communication is based on a much more accessible concept of the ordinary interpersonal communication and to this extent it should be viewed as metaphoric.

1.9. Summary

As Lakoff (1993) observes, metaphors tend to be arranged hierarchically, whereby the metaphorical mappings which are lower in the hierarchy "inherit" the structure of the higher mappings, e.g. the lower level metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY inherits the general structure of the high-level EVENT METAPHOR, which links states and locations, changes and movements, causes and forces, actions are self-propelled movements, etc. Now looking at the metaphors we have discussed it seems that they too can be divided into higher and lower level metaphors. In particular, there seem to be two high level metaphors LOVE IS AN EVENT and LOVE IS A WHOLE which determine the structure of the other, more specific metaphors. The metaphors LOVE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS WAR, LOVE IS A GAME, LOVE IS BUSINESS all inherit the basic structure of the LOVE IS AN EVENT metaphor, while LOVE IS UNITY, LOVE IS DOMINANCE and LOVERS ARE BIRDS all inherit the basic structure of the metaphor LOVE IS A WHOLE. As for Metaphor 8, if it is construed as a simple static set of ontological correspondences in an essentially homogenous process construed atamporally (cf. Langacker, 1990, Ch. 3), it seems to inherit the structure of LOVE IS A WHOLE, with its various structural elements functioning as PARTs of the WHOLE. If, however, it is construed as an ongoing process of communication, then it probably inherits the EVENT structure.

2. Metaphors of LOVER

Since the metaphors presented below are simple ontological metaphors, we shall confine ourselves to discussing their possible construals and correspondences in different subcategories of LOVE, without specifying their source domains or structural elements.

2.1. Metaphor 9: L IS AN INSANE PERSON

The metaphor represents a correspondence between the participants in the concepts of LOVE and INSANITY discussed by L&J's as LOVE IS MADNESS (1980:49) and Kövecses's (1986:52) as LOVE IS INSANITY.
Examples:
I'm crazy about her, She drives me out of my mind, He constantly raves about her,
He's gone mad about her, I'm insane about her,
No folly to being in love.
Love is without reason.

One cannot love and be wise
Lovers are madmen. (proverbs)

Since the metaphor highlights the extreme emotional intensity of LOVE and the resultant loss of control and irresponsibility typical of young, immature people, it is primarily confined to Stages 1 and 2 of EL. For the same reasons it often serves to designate the concept of Fan's LOVE of Idol, e.g. *My son is crazy about Korn.* As for the other subcategories of LOVE, the metaphor usually implies deviations from the prototype. For instance, in the case of ML and FL it indicates "incestuous ties" (Goldenson & Anderson, 1994), in CLP it may suggest Oedipus or Electra complexes, in SL it is indicative of an extreme for of narcissism, and in MLG it may designate the believer's fanaticism, zealotry, or a neophyte's enthusiasm.

The metaphor is extremely unlikely in connection with GLM and BL. In the context of SL, it indicates extreme self-centeredness, as in e.g. *She is nuts about her looks, He is crazy about his own ego.*

2.2. Metaphor 10: L IS AN INTOXICATED PERSON

The metaphor highlights the correspondence between L and the people intoxicated as a result of taking drugs which Kövecses (1988:54) refers to as LOVE IS A RAPTURE
Examples:
They were besotted with love, He is intoxicated with love, I'm giddy with love, I've been high on love for weeks, She is drunk with love.

As in the preceding Metaphor 9, this metaphor links AN INTOXICATED PERSON with L at SDAGE 1 of EL. However, unlike Metaphor 9, it is not available to ML, FL, CL. This may be due to its transferred high intensity and the influence of the external factor: the drink or drug which correspond to the highly charged, uncontrollable emotions affecting L's state of mind. This is also probably the reason why the metaphor is inapplicable to SL and, because of the extreme intensity typical of exclusive LLs, to BL. Since our Judeo-Christian God is considered almighty and omniscient, it would be difficult to conceptualize Him as being intoxicated, GLM must therefore be ruled out. As for MLG, it must be remembered that the witnesses of the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit onto Jesus' first disciples and apostles first thought "These men are full of new wine" (The Acts, 2.13), so the metaphor has an long and well established tradition, particularly with reference to fresh converts.

2.3. Metaphor 11: L IS A BLIND PERSON

Examples:
Love is blind,
If Jack's in love he's no judge of Jill's beauty,
Love sees no faults,
In the eyes of the lover, pock-marks are dimples,
Affection blinds reason. (proverbs)

Since the metaphor highlights the idealization of OL by L resulting from intense emotional stimulation, again it will be primarily used in the context of Stages 1 and 2 of EL.

In ML, FL and CLP it indicates early stages of the parent – child relationship, in which the parents tend to idealize their child, and the child tends to idealize his/her parents.

God being construed as ideal, perfect and omniscient, i.e. always seeing all too, the metaphor is unsuitable for MLG and GLM, although deists, agnostics and atheists may at

times accuse a devout believer of being blind to the evils of the world and the ultimate failure of his/her faith. Similarly, the metaphor may also be used in certain religious construals of BL: a Christian should see Christ in every fellow human being and be blind to his/her bodily, moral, or existential misery. Hence the recommended mantra: *I see your divine self only. I see you as God sees you, perfect, made in His image and likeness.* (Scovel-Shinn, 1987:57f)

An interesting reversal of the metaphor, first hinted at by Jesus in John (9.39), can be found in the Gnostic and mystic literature, where it is the non-believers that are regarded as blind. Therefore, the first step toward acquiring (or, possibly, regaining) the real sight is the admission that *I see nothing as it is now* (*A Course in Miracles*,1985, *Workbook for Students,* Lesson 9), followed by a number of other lessons, including the one in which the disciple meditates on the thought that *God is the light in which I see.* The lessons may seem unworldly but they find ample support in the reports of religious illuminations and conversions quoted and discussed e.g. by W. James (1986). In fact, conversion may affect not only vision but other senses as well, as in the examples adduced by James (op.cit.:250):

> *It was like entering another world, a new state of existence.. Natural objects were glorified, my spiritual vision was so clarified that I saw beauty in every object in the universe, the woods were vocal with heavenly music; my soul exulted in the love of God, and I wanted everybody to share in my joy.*
>
> *When I came to myself, there were a crowd around me praising God. The very heavens seemed to open and pour down rays of light and glory. Not for a moment only, but all day and night, floods of light and glory seemed to pour through my soul, and oh, how I was changed, and everything became new.*

3. Metaphors of OBJECT OF LOVE

3.1. Metaphor 12: OL IS A DESTINATION

As we have already mentioned in Section 4.1.2 , one way of mapping the concept of a JOURNEY onto the concept of LOVE is to conceptualize OL as the DESTINATION of the journey. Let us recall that the main presupposition of this correspondence is that initially there is a considerable distance between L and OL; therefore it is particularly common in MLG, whereby L construes him/herself as a traveler, i.e. a pilgrim, on the way to the Promised Land, Heavenly Kingdom, God. As we have already shown, two other subcategories that allow for the mapping are SL and EL.

3.2. Metaphor 13: OL IS A VALUABLE OBJECT

Examples:
Hello, my precious; We have to leave, dear; You're my treasure; Darling, give me a kiss (cf. Kövecses, 1986:33f)
Because of its INTIMACY and /or, at times, CONDESCENSION, and informality of the expressions used in the mapping, they are used almost exclusively in the context of EL, ML, FL and CLP (Stage 2).

3.3. Metaphor 14: OL IS A HUNTED ANIMAL

Examples:
She set him a trap. He's been chasing girls all day. He fell in her trap. Look at the wolf following that chick. She snared him. He fell pray to her. She hooked a rich

husband. She caught him. Finally she chained me down. He got her. (Kövecses, 1988:73)

Kövecses (1988) is right claiming that the mapping is typical of a rather nonprototypical LL, although it is less obvious that "the active party [i.e. L – BB] is not in love, but the goal of his or her activity is to achieve the other person's love" (op.cit.:73). Our view is that L may be motivated by love, even though the love is usually a rather impoverished and degenerate variety of EL, deprived of its AFFECTION, LONGING, DEVOTION, the will TO SHARE THOUGHTS WITH OL and a number of crucial behavioral characteristics as well. It seems that L's goal in the metaphor is to establish a relation of his or her domination over OL, which indicates a strong link with Metaphor 4 and supports Kövecses' observation that as a result of the hunting "the other person (i.e., the prey) is at the seducer's mercy" (loc.cit.).

Since Metaphor 14 presupposes a rather great distance and reluctance on the part of OL to have a relationship with L, it is restricted almost completely to EL. The only other subcategories of LOVE which enable this kind of metaphorization is GLM, whereby God may be construed as the "fisher of men" (Mat. 4, 19), and by extension BL, where a religious L, a priest, a preacher or an evangelist, regards him/herself too as a "fisher" who helps God to catch and save His brothers.

3.4. Metaphor 15: OL IS A DEITY

Examples:

I adore you; He worships the ground she walks on, He put her on the pedestal; He is forever singing her praises; She idolizes him (cf. Kövecses, 1986:32)

Since the source domain includes such elements as deity and worshiper, the above examples have no metaphorical meaning in the case of MLG. Despite the scene when Jesus washed the feet of his disciples (J, 13), the construal implies the maximal asymmetry of L (humble worshiper) vs. OL (an inaccessible God-like figure) and is therefore unsuitable for GLM. In other subcategories the metaphor indicates asymmetry, even in normally symmetrical relationships, e.g. in EL. Predictably, it often provides structure for CLP as children often idolize their parents. More intriguingly, however, the metaphor is also used in the construals of ML and FL, whereby the parents raise their child to the position of a deity. In the cases of SL, the construal indicates narcissism. On account of the inherent exclusiveness the metaphor entails and its high emotional load, it is inapplicable to BL.

3.5. Metaphor 16: OL IS APPETIZING FOOD

Examples:

Hi, sweetheart; She's my sweet and sugar; Honey, you look great today; She's the cream in my coffee; Hello, sweet-pie. (cf. Kövecses, 1986:27)

Because of the parameters of control the consumer has over food and the informality the only subcategories the metaphor applies to are EL, ML and FL. In CLP the metaphor can be used only after the child has grown old enough to be independent and/or looks after his/her parent.

3.6. Metaphor 17: OL IS A MAGICIAN (e.g. Sorceress or Sorcerer)

Examples:

She cast her spell over me, I was spellbound, She had me hypnotized, I was entranced by him, I'm charmed by her, She is bewitching (L&J:49)

The metaphor is probably related to Metaphor 10 which links L with an INTOXI-CATED PERSON, if it is accepted that L's feeling, thinking and behaving like an intoxicated person may be regarded as a result of OL's "magic" ability to put L in that altered state. The link between the two metaphors is corroborated by the fact that they overlap considerably in their applications, being basically confined to STAGE 1 of EL. The fact that Metaphor 17, unlike 10, is not a viable conceptualization of MLG can be explained by the DEVOTION and pious ADMIRATION a believer usually feels for God, which are inappropriate with respect to a magician.. For a believer, God deserves utmost devotion and admiration not because He does anything, but because He IS. On the other hand, the metaphor may easily be used with reference to people who impress their audiences with their artistic or verbal perform-ance. Hence, it is perfectly suitable as a conceptualization of LOVE OF IDOL.

4. Metaphors of LOVE

Most of the metaphors we discuss in this section are ontological metaphors in the sense of L&J (Ch.6) , whereby abstract and complex concepts, such as events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc. are conceptualized as entities or substances. Which entity or substance is chosen as the source concept depends on the aspects or properties of the target concept which are construed as particularly salient. Accordingly, the ontological metaphors of LOVE we dis-cuss below serve to profile the concept of LOVE as a bounded entity or unbounded region and enhance the salience of some of its properties or aspects. As usual, the abstract, spiritual or emotional characteristics of LOVE will be represented in terms of concepts which are more basic experientially and hence more accessible to interpersonal interpretation.

4.1. Metaphor 18: LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (e.g. Magnetic, Chemical, Gravita-tional, etc.)

Examples:
I could the feel electricity between us, There were sparks. He was magnetically drawn to her, They are uncontrollably attracted to each other, They gravitated to each other immediately, His whole life revolves around her, The atmosphere around them is always charged (cf. L&J: 49, Kövecses, 1986:50),
The new love drives out the old love,
One love expels another. (proverbs)
Love is God in manifestation, and the strongest magnetic force in the universe. Pure, unselfish love draws to itself its own; it does not need to seek or demand. (Scovel-Shinn, 1987:56)
The metaphor presupposes a considerable distance and intensity of LL between L and OL, thus it is only appropriate in relation to STAGE 1 of EL and MLG, as well as some non-prototypical cases of separation and "toxic" dependency between L and OL in ML, FL and CLP.

4.2. Metaphor 19: LOVE IS FIRE

Examples:
My heart is on fire, He was burning with love, She set my heart on fire, She is his latest flame, The fire slowly went out, The kindled love in his heart, He was consumed by love, I just melted went she looked at me (Kövecses, 1986:44f),

Something there is about you that strikes a match in me (Bob Dylan, *Something There Is About You*)
Our prayers are mostly vocal prayers; they should be burning words coming forth from the furnace of heart filled with love (Mother Teresa, 1987:8)

Because of its extreme intensity, the metaphor is suitable only for EL and, less commonly, MLG.

4.3. Metaphor 20: LOVE IS SUBSTANCE (e.g. LIQUID, AIR) IN A LOCATION / CONTAINER

Examples:
She was filled with love for her son. Suddenly all his love for her evaporated. He felt love in every cell of his body, Where love is, there is faith, Where there is no trust, there is no love.

The metaphor is quite general and often indeterminate as regards the actual substance that is used as its source concept. It seems that it may be, and in fact has been, elaborated in almost infinite number of ways. Thus the metaphors in the two paragraphs below should be considered as just two, perhaps the most common, of its many other elaborations.

4.3.1. Metaphor 21: LOVE IS A NUTRIENT

Examples:
He's love-starved, He thrives on love, She's sustained by love, He hungered for love (Kövecses, 1986:13f)

4.3.2. Metaphor 22: LOVE IS AN INTOXICATING SUBSTANCE

Examples:
John is high on love again, She's got such a hangover after her last affair that she'd better not see anyone for a while, The nut is raving of nothing else but his new sweetheart, She's drunk on love now but she'll sober up as soon as she sees his bank account, I'm addicted to love (pop-song). See also the examples in 4.2.2.

For reasons we have already discussed in relation to Metaphor 10, the only concepts suitable for the mapping are EL (STAGE 1) and MLG.

4.4. Metaphor 23: LOVE IS A CONTAINER

Examples:
a) He's in love again,
b) Love is full of fear, Of honey and gall in love there is store (proverbs)

The metaphor represents a LOVE-elaboration of a much more general emotion metaphor EMOTIONAL STATES ARE CONTAINERS ((Kövecses, 1989, Ch.9). What is not clear, and, as I see it, what Kövecses' theory does not explain is how the EMOTION CONTAINER should be interpreted with respect to examples (a) and (b) above. In particular, the question we need to answer is why the CONTAINER metaphor illustrated by (a) provides a conceptual structure only for STAGE 1 of EL, cf. ? Mrs. White is in love with her son; ?I'm in love with God., while the CONTAINER metaphor illustrated by the proverbs in (b) may apply to almost any subcategory of LOVE, e.g. There is little devotion in her love of her son; My love of God is full of gratitude, etc.

The problem no doubt calls for a more thorough investigation, tentatively, however, we suggest the following explanation:

- The CONTAINER metaphor is a dual (see Section 4.5.2. below), i.e. it must be construed in two different ways.
- The CONTAINER exemplified by (a) is a STATE CONTAINER. It is a big CONTAINER so people can walk, or more often, fall in it. It usually contains the whole person, so we usually say *Bill was in despair*, but not *Bill's mind was in despair*. There are all kinds of STATE-CONTAINERS, e.g. FEAR-CONTAINER, MOOD-CONTAINER, e.g. *I'm not in the mood to write now*, TROUBLE-CONTAINER, SECLUSION-CONTAINER, DANGER-CONTAINER, etc. One interesting property of the STATE-CONTAINERS is that they are construed as unbounded regions (cf. Langacker, 1990, Ch.3), hence they are grammatically mass nouns. The special excluded middle applies: one cannot be in two loves at the same time, although one may be in love with two girls. The logic of inclusion , equivalence and overlap applies too: one can be in love and in trouble at the same time.

The reason why the STATE -CONTAINER of LOVE applies only to STAGE 1 of EL is that L must be rather young and inexperienced to fall in love, which usually happens when L meets somebody new who impresses L so much that L loses control (and falls). This usually does not happen with Mom, Dad or the Self, who have always been around, nor with our "brothers", who do not impress us that much. God knows us so well that He cannot be too impressed either, and if L happens to meet Him, the STATE-CONTAINER L is thrown in is not LOVE but AWE.

The CONTAINER exemplified by (b) is a BOX-CONTAINER. The size of the BOX-CONTAINER depends on the box. As I have tried to show (cf. Bierwiaczonek, 1995, 1997), the box LOVE is huge indeed, so huge that it contains other, smaller boxes too, e.g. EL-BOX, ML-BOX, MLG-BOX, etc. There is no reason why one subcategory of LOVE should be construed as a box and others not, so the metaphor applies to them all. By comparison, the box HATRED seems to be much smaller. Some things fit in the BOX-CONTAINERs and some do not, e.g. we do not usually say *His hatred was full of peace*. The difference between STATE-CONTAINERS and BOX-CONTAINERS is that L does not fall into BOX-CONTAINERS; on the contrary, L holds them (in mind) and can even choose, to some extent, what to put in them; e.g. one can say either *There is always some jealousy even in motherly love* or *There might be jealousy in erotic love but never in motherly love*. They are usually somebody's BOX-CONTAINERS, so we can say *Their love was full of envy* but we cannot say *They were in their love* or *John was in his love with Jane*. Compare also *His first love was OK, his second love was a disaster*, *?There was little jealousy in his loves* and *?When he was in the first love, he was really miserable*.

The examples show that although the metaphoric BOX-CONTAINERS are not fully countable, they can be much easier to manipulate than STATE-CONTAINERS; in particular, they can be owned and ordered.

4.5. Metaphor 24: LOVE IS A LIVING ORGANISM

The metaphor has a number of more specific elaborations.

4.5.1. Metaphor 24a: LOVE IS A PLANT

Examples:

Love is a flower you got to let it, you got to let it grow (John Lennon, *Mind Games*)
Love needs watering, otherwise it withers away, love juice (euph. for *sperm*),

Their baby was the fruit of their love, Their love flourished.

The metaphor seems suitable for all subcategories of LOVE except perhaps for GLM as God is considered to be free from biological limitations. Similarly, it would probably be rejected in the context of the model of IDEAL EL, as well as some "optimistic" folk models of ML, FL, CLP, see e.g. the proverbs *True love never grows old, A mother's love never ages.*

4.5.2. Metaphor 24b: LOVE IS A (CAPTIVE) ANIMAL

Examples:
His love got out of hand, He unleashed his love, He couldn't hold back his love, She lost grip on her feeling of love, Her feelings of love broke loose (Kövecses, 1986:62)
Love will creep where it may not go.
Looks breed love.
When poverty comes in at the door, love flies out of the window. (proverbs)

4.5.3. Metaphor 24c: LOVE IS A PERSON

As we shall see below LOVE is often personified. However, while some conventional expressions may be called "generic", since they are quite indeterminate with respect to the kind of person serving as the source concept, others can be much more specific, i.e. restricted to a rather small, but well-defined subcategory of people. We shall discuss at least some of them in the paragraphs below.

Here are some examples of the generic personifications of LOVE found in English proverbs:
Love lives in cottages as well as in courts
Love asks faith, and faith asks firmness,
Love speaks, even when the lips are closed,
Love is without reason,
Love locks no cupboards,
Love will find a way.
True love never grows old,
⼘ mother's love never ages.

4.5.3.1. LOVE IS A PATIENT

Examples:
This is a sick relationship, They have a strong, healthy marriage, Their marriage is dead, it cannot be revived, Their marriage is on the mend, Their relationship is in really good shape, Their marriage is on its last legs (L&J: 49)

The metaphor highlights a moment of crisis in a rather lasting mutual LL, therefore it may be used as a conceptualization of more advanced stages of EL, ML, FL, CLP and possibly BL. Since God cannot be part of a sick LL, GLM or any mutual construal of the religious LL must be ruled out, although MLG as such sounds perfectly natural.. As an illustration, consider the contrast between a rather strange *Our relationship with God is on the mend* or *God and Bill have a really sick relationship* on the one hand and *My relationship with God is on the mend* or *Bill has a really sick relationship with God* on the other.

Given the construal of person as consisting of two independent parts, e.g. the Subject and Self,, the metaphor is also applicable to SL, e.g. *What needs healing is not Bill's relationship with his boss but his sick relationship with his own self.*

4.5.3.2. LOVE IS AN OPPONENT

Examples:

He tried to fight off his feelings of love, Eventually he surrendered to love, She was struggling with her feelings of love, He tried in vain to suppress his feelings, Love took complete control over him, She was seized by love (Kövecses, 1986:61)
Love conquers all (proverb)

The metaphor presupposes the recognition of two hostile forces within man, which are labeled in a number of ways; e.g. as THOUGHT and FEELING, REASON and EMOTION, the RATIONAL and the IRRATIONAL , SUPEREGO and ID. Of course LOVE represents the second force in the above conjunctions, which normally is not conceived by the Subject as hostile. Since the Subject in our culture usually identifies with the RATIONAL, the SUPEREGO, it must have rational reasons to conceive LOVE as an OPPONENT. The seem to be two kinds of reasons to do that. First, LOVE may be so intense that it jeopardizes the position of the Subject as the controller of the person's life, in which case the person may disintegrate as a whole into pieces (cf. Kövecses, 1989:196). Second, LOVE may threaten to violate some aspect of the social taboo, thereby putting the Subject at risk of feeling guilty and being rejected by the community. No wonder then that the OPPONENT metaphor is used with those subcategories of LOVE which exhibit the highest intensity and the highest likelihood of infringing on taboo: EL, ML, FL and CLP with their taboos of pedophilia and incest. When love interferes with L's ordinary functioning, the metaphor may also apply to BL as in the following example: A friend told me he had to keep his love of people under control and stop giving every beggar all his money, otherwise he would soon end up as a beggar too. Similarly, MLG may be regarded as excessive and practiced at the expense of the family and other people and hence it may be conceptualized as an OPPONENT that should be curbed and brought under control.

The same is true of SL: one's self-love may be viewed as excessive by L, who consequently tries his/her best to suppress it.

4.6. Metaphor 22: LOVE IS (A PRODUCT OF) WORK

The metaphor is the basis of what Solomon (1990:19) calls The Work Model of LOVE, whose maximally constructive and idealistic version is L&J's LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART (Ch. 21).

Examples:

They are working out a relationship. We are working at/for our relationship.
It was an extremely difficult relationship at first, but finally they made it work.

Since the metaphor presupposes partnership and more or less equal contribution of both or all parties over a length of time, it is applicable primarily to EL, especially in its STAGE 2 and 3 and STAGE 3 of ML, STAGE 2 of FL and the corresponding stages of CLP, but not to GLM and MLG. It may apply to the lasting LL of BL and to SL providing that the Subject and the Self are construed as equally independent and active, i.e. via THE SELF AS FRIEND metaphor (cf. Lakoff, 1996a:113), e.g. *I and my self are working out a relationship that will hopefully benefit us both.*

5. The network and taxonomies of LOVE

The list of metaphors we have presented above comprises only the most common, the most conventionalized mappings. Following Lakoff and Turner (1989) we believe, however, that, although a myriad of other metaphors have been, are being and no doubt will be invented, no matter how creative and imaginative they are, they will fall into one or another broader category listed above. There are two ways in which the new metaphors are interpreted and fitted into the basic set of conceptual metaphors. Both ways are already manifest in the metaphors we have already discussed. One way has to do with what we shall call "metaphoric taxonomies", the other involves alternate correspondences within the existing mappings.

5.1. Taxonomies of metaphors

Taxonomies of metaphoric are hierarchies of metaphors arranged in the order of generality and schematicity from the most general and schematic mappings to their more specific and detailed elaborations. Some of the metaphors listed above have been ordered in that way, which is indicated by the numbering of the paragraphs. Thus, e.g. the personification LOVE IS A PERSON is more general and schematic with respect to metaphors such as LOVE IS A PATIENT, LOVE IS A PATIENT, while the metaphor LOVE IS A SUBSTANCE is more general and schematic with respect to the metaphors LOVE IS A NUTRIENT and LOVE IS AN INTOXICATING SUBSTANCE. Lakoff (1993) points out that what is crucial about metaphoric hierarchies is the fact that "'lower' mappings in the hierarchy inherit the structures of the 'higher' mappings" (Lakoff, 1993:222). He illustrates the inheritance hierarchy with a three level structure consisting of the following metaphors:

Level 1: The event structure metaphor
Level 2: A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY
Level 3: LOVE IS A JOURNEY, A CAREER IS A JOURNEY

Although I disagree with Lakoff about some details of his analysis[8], it is certainly true that the hierarchies enable us to make significant generalizations concerning the inherited metaphoric extensions of meaning of individual lexical items (e.g. crossroads) and to explain the generality of inferences across the metaphorically linked domains, e.g. the fact that people need some sense of purpose in their life, their LOVE and/or their career and if they lose that purpose they feel lost and try to find it. Furthermore, if they feel that what they do does not bring them any closer to their purpose they will try to change their lifestyle, their LOVE-relationship and/or their career or at least the way they pursue it. They may often try to do it by first returning to some previous stage of their life, LOVE and/or career. Similarly, if they experience difficulties in the progress of their life, their LOVE and/or their career, they will construe them as obstacles on their way which call for extra effort to be made in order to either avoid them or deal with them so that one can "smoothly" continue one's progress in life, LOVE and/or career, etc.

Finally, the top-to-bottom direction of inheritance implies that each lower level metaphor may exhibit its own idiosyncratic properties not to be found in the higher levels. The

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[8] For instance, in my view, Level 2 should be: A PUROSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY and LIFE IS A JOURNEY should be lowered to Level 3, simply because LOVE and CAREER inherit the structure of a PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY without necessarily inheriting the structure of a PURPOSEFUL LIFE.

metaphoric construal of making a career in terms of climbing the ladder is one such property which the concept of CAREER does not share with other metaphors in the hierarchy (cf. Lakoff, 1993)

Returning now to the LOVE metaphors we have proposed above, it seems that they represent a number of different hierarchies. The list below is not meant to be exhaustive, but these seem to be the most obvious taxonomic paths that should be distinguished:

A) EVENT IS A PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY > LOVE IS A PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY > LOVE IS A JOURNEY // A WAR // A GAME // BUSINESS // WORK;

B) WHOLE IS A STRUCTURE CONSISTING OF PARTS AND LINKS > SOCIETY IS A WHOLE CONSISITNG OF PEOPLE, RELATIONSHIPS ARE LINKS BETWEEN AND AMONG PEOPLE > LOVE IS CLOSENESS (> UNITY) // DOMINANCE

C) EMOTIONS & VOLITIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES > LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE > LOVE IS GRAVITATION // MAGNETISM // CHEMISTRY

D) A LOVER IS AN ABNORMAL PERSON > A LOVER IS A SICK (> INSANE // BLIND) // INTOXICATED PERSON

[The symbol ">" indicates a change of level, the double backslash separates metaphors on the same level, the concepts in brackets are further elaborations of the concepts that precede them]

Since the taxonomy of the ontological metaphors of LOVE we have already mentioned above constitutes a more complex structure, we shall represent it in the form of a tree-diagram:

Fig. 4.0. Taxonomy of the metaphors of LOVE
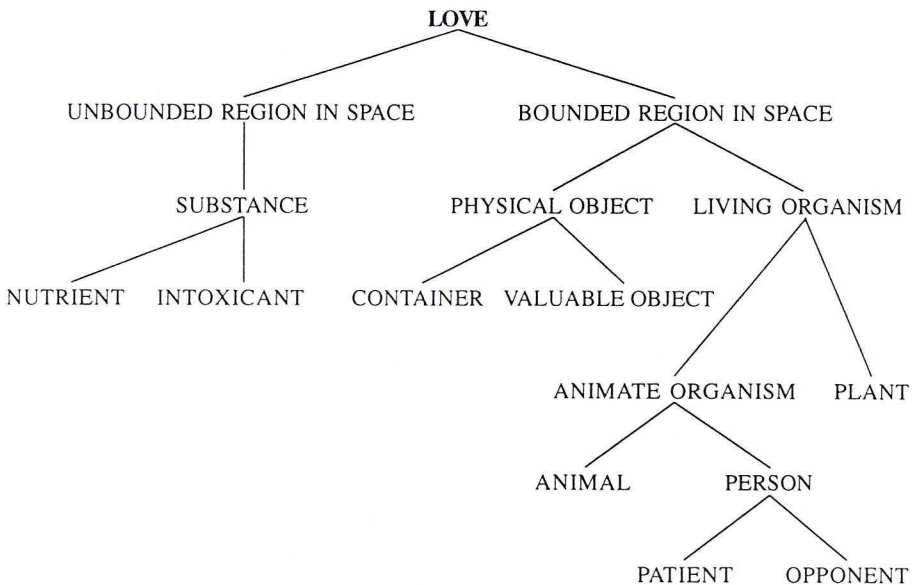
It must be borne in mind that the taxonomy is meant to represent the hierarchy of inheritance, not the taxonomy of entities providing source concepts for the metaphors of LOVE, although it draws on such a taxonomy. The highest term bears the IS-relation to every other term in the hierarchy, e.g. LOVE IS A NUTRIENT, LOVE IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT, LOVE IS A PLANT, etc. Thus the main difference between the taxonomy of categories (in terms of hyperonyms and hyponyms) and the taxonomy of metaphors is that the former

a) represents ever increasing inclusions of categories within other categories;
b) should be exhaustive; and
c) in fact serves to define any term within the hierarchy in terms of other, higher terms, while the latter, i.e. taxonomy of metaphors
a) represents mappings,
b) is selective, to the extent the mappings are selective, and
c) serves to represent the metaphoric conceptualizations of the highest term of the hierarchy.

5.2. Alternate mappings across domains

In his discussion of the metaphoric conceptualization of the concepts of TIME, Lakoff (1993) points out that although in general the domain of TIME is mapped onto the domain of SPACE and is conceptualized in terms of relative motion between an observer and a time, there are two different, "dual" ways in which the domains correspond. In what Lakoff calls "the object dual" the observer is fixed and times are moving objects, as in the expressions The time will come when ..., The time for action has arrived, The time has passed when ...., etc. In the other, "location dual" the correspondences are reversed, i.e. the observer moves while times are fixed locations, as in the expressions He passed the time happily, We're getting close to Christmas, I'll be there in a minute. Duality can also be observed in the event structure system (cf. Lakoff, 1993:225ff).

As we have already pointed out in our brief discussions of the way the metaphors work for different subcategories of LOVE, duality or even multiple alternate mappings play a significant role in the metaphorization of the concept of LOVE as well. This is particularly clear in the case of conceptual metaphors LOVE IS A JOURNEY and LOVE IS WAR.

5.2.1. Alternate mappings in the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY

The concept of the JOURNEY consists of the following basic structural elements:
A) The point of departure
B) One or more travelers
C) A path
D) The destination
Apart from the essential elements A-D, there are a number of optional elements such as:
E) A vehicle
F) A guide
G) Crossroads, turns, forks
H) Obstacles
I) Landmarks
In one pattern of mappings (discussed also by Kövecses, 1988:16f), schematically represented in Fig. 4.1. below, the LOVERs are travelers (T1, T2, etc.), the destination (D) is

the purpose of their LOVE, e.g. a wedding, a family, or simply mutual happiness, the path (the arrowed line) is a set of measures, decisions and methods (i.e. "ways" and "steps") they use over a period of time to achieve their purpose. This pattern is often active in the conceptualization of EL & BL. Notice that in those two cases, the destinations of the travelers are salient and they should coincide, otherwise the travelers may have to part. In the case of asymmetrical categories ML, FL, CLP, GLM and MLG the roles of the travelers are unequal, with one construed as a guide, e.g. a parent or God, and the other as a follower.

One interesting aspect of the JOURNEY metaphor in those kinds of LOVE is that, at least in the ideal cases, the guide leads the way toward the destination of the follower, who may not even be aware of it.

In the other pattern of mappings, which we have already discussed briefly in Section 4.1.2., represented in Fig. 4..2. below, L is a traveler or travelers, while OL is the destination. The pattern is common in the conceptualizations of MLG and SL, whereby L tries to reach God or his/her own Self, but, as we have already seen in Section 4.1.2. it is by no means rare with other subcategories as well.

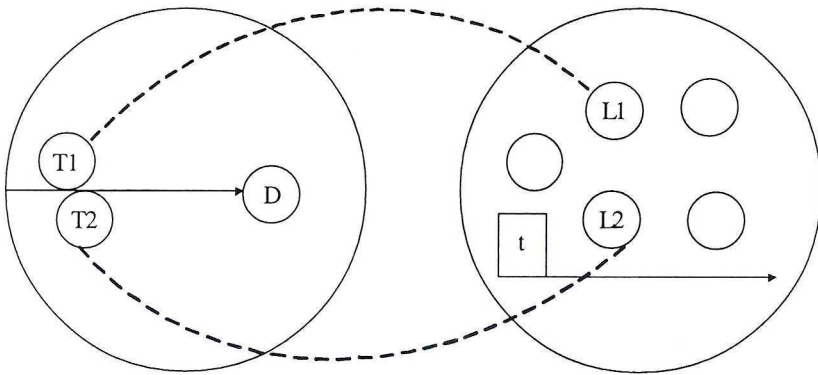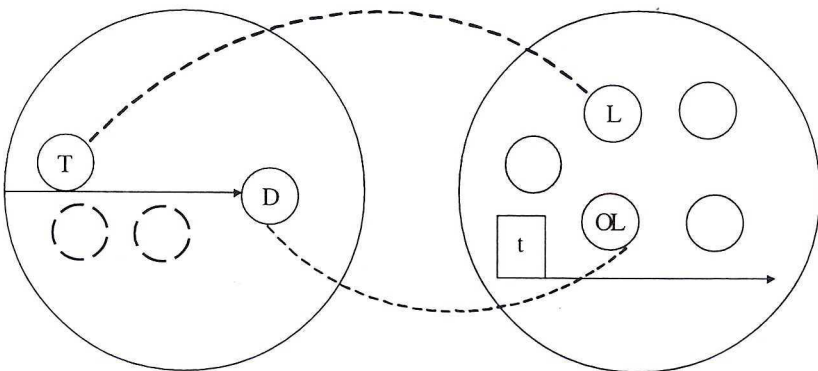Fig. 4.1. Mapping pattern JOURNEY-LOVE 1


Fig. 4.2. Mapping pattern JOURNEY-LOVE 2

### 5.2.2. Alternate mappings in the metaphor LOVE IS WAR

As we have already observed in Section 4.1.3. the metaphor LOVE IS WAR can also be construed in different ways. Basically there are again two alternate mappings across the domains of WAR and LOVE. In the first, probably the more common pattern of mappings, shown in Fig. 4.3. below, L and OL are the two opponents and the purpose of war is the victory of one opponent over the other opponent (for a detailed analysis of the Gestalt of WAR cf. L&J: 80f). It will be noticed that the pattern has a few minor variants, e.g. in one variant L tries to conquer OL, whose actions are confined to self defense, in another variant both opponents are equally aggressive and active and try to defeat each other and make the other surrender. The pattern is quite common in the conceptualizations of EL, inner conflicts of SL and the end of STAGE 2 and often throughout STAGE 3 of ML, FL and CLP. It seems to be rare, though by no means impossible in GLM. MLG and even BL.

Fig. 4.3. Mapping pattern JOURNEY-WAR 1
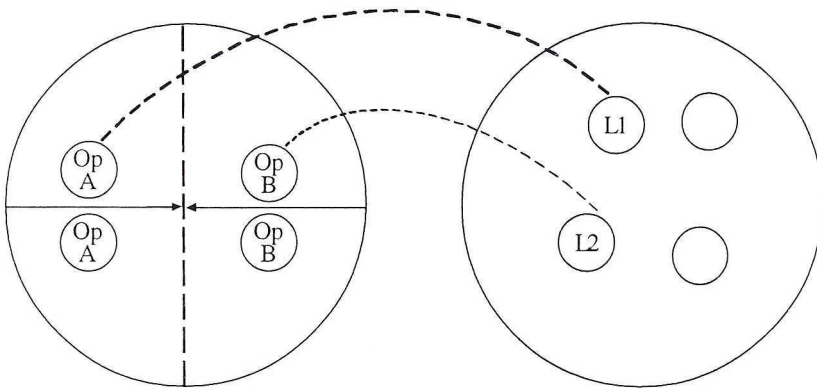
In the other mapping pattern, represented in Fig. 4.4., LOVERs are allies fighting against adverse forces trying to destroy their relationship. Depending on the subcategory of LOVE, the LOVERs' opponents may correspond to different entities, e.g. they may be rivals, the family, public opinion, or simply fate in the case of EL, "other people" in the case of possessive ML or FL, any other sibling in the case of CLP, any "worldly temptations " in the case of MLG, any person or circumstance that brings down the Self in SL. The conceptualization seems to be particularly common in various religious organizations, e.g. especially sects and cults, but churches cannot be excluded either, in which the believers, "the brethren", conceive themselves as the defenders of the "true" faith surrounded by "infidels" or other forces of evil. In all the subcategories, the victory of the LOVERs is their survival, their defeat is the end of their relationship: a separation, a divorce, a disintegration, a dispersion.

Fig. 4.4. Mapping pattern JOURNEY-WAR 2
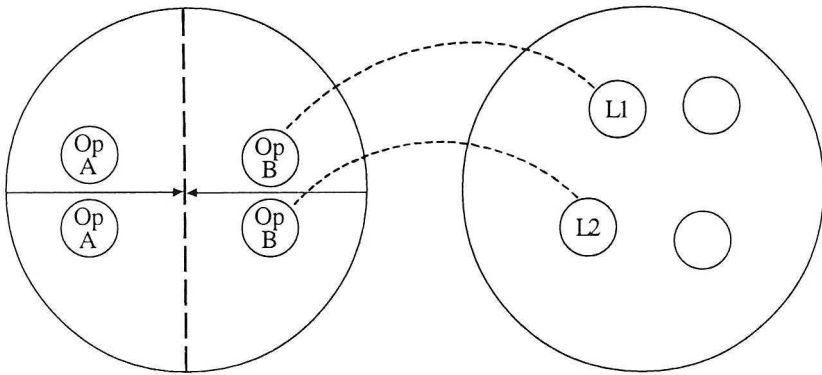
One important aspect of the alternate mappings we have presented above seems to be that although they link two different domains in various domains, they never violate the Principle of Invariance.

6. Conclusions and final remarks

Given the complexity of LOVE and the wealth of its cultural elaborations it should come as no surprise that its metaphoric structure is also complex and rich. As usual different metaphors serve to highlight different aspects of the concept. Some of them are confined to its structural elements, such as L, OL or LL, while others metaphorically elaborate only its selected domain or domains. Since as a conceptual category, LOVE consists of a number of subcategories, the metaphors are either not equally available to all the subcategories or may have to be construed differently, e.g. EL and BL require different construals of the metaphor LOVE IS FIRE on account of their different conceptual structures. Thus if the metaphor applies to EL, it highlights the high intensity of the emotions characteristic of EL, particularly the central ones, i.e. AFFECTION, ENTHUSIASM, INTEREST, LONGING, SEXUAL DESIRE, and ADMIRATION, while in the case of BL the "burning" emotions will be FRIENDSHIP, INTEREST, RESPECT[9].

Furthermore, we have seen that most of the metaphors constitute fairly clear inheritance hierarchies, which account for a number of important semantic properties of the lexical items whose meaning is extended along with the mapping of its source domain. Finally, we have shown how different elements of LOVE can correspond with the elements other domains in alternate ways, without violating the Invariance Principle. It must be remem-

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[9] Some readers may find it strange that an emotional attitude such as RESPECT should be considered as an emotion which can be metaphorised as FIRE. It must be remembered, however, that the metaphor applies to the whole BL indicating the high intensities of its related concepts. A valid argument against the present account would involve showing that emotions such as RESPECT cannot be graded, which of course is not the case; cf. e.g. *I feel much greater respect for Aunt Ann than for Uncle Jim* (cf. Kövecses, 1989, Ch.7 for a more exhaustive discussion).

bered that the last two problems have only recently been brought to linguists attention and require further research.

One issue that we have not discussed so far is the horizontal relations between the metaphor of LOVE. If the taxonomies we suggested above represent vertical hierarchies of increasing generality, the horizontal relations between and among the metaphors highlight the way the metaphors are related in terms of implications and contradictions between and among particular metaphors constituting the whole system, reflecting the complexities, the ambiguities and the paradoxes of the concept. Since the exact and detailed analysis of all the possible relations would require another chapter of considerable length, we shall confine ourselves to a handful of the most uncontroversial cases.

Implications:
- If OL IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT, the site where it can be found, i.e. its LOCATION may be the destination of A JOURNEY and the reason and or purpose of WAR, since we usually go to places we find exciting and set goals which we consider desirable.
- If OL IS A MAGICIAN s/he may make L INSANE, INTOXICATED or BLIND, and, as a result, OL may DOMINATE over L. Therefore L conceives OL as AN OPPONENT and WAR ensues.
- If L and OL play a game, one of them wins and the other loses. The winner DOMINATES the loser, who therefore conceives him/her as AN OPPONENT and WAR ensues.
- If LOVE IS AN INTOXICATING SUBSTANCE, it may make L lose control, act irresponsibly and do something irrevocable; it is therefore a hostile FORCE or AN OPPONENT, who must be defeated and brought under control.
- If LOVE IS WORK or A JOURNEY or WAR, which are tiring, energy consuming activities, the people involved in them need to be well fed. LOVE is also A NUTRIENT, however, which explains generates itself..
- If LOVE IS SUBSTANCE it may be a better or worse conductor in which LOVERs RECEIVE and TRANSMIT their messages.
- Some NUTRIENTS are poisonous or INTOXICATING, therefore have consumed it one may be lovesick, INSANE or INTOXICATED.
- If LOVE IS FIRE, L must be INSANE, INTOXICATED or BLIND to fall in it; nobody aware of the danger would dare even approach it. Alternatively L must be pushed into it or attracted to it by the FORCE beyond his/her control
- If L DOMINATES OL, OL stops COMMUNICATING with L honestly. OMMUNICATION becomes A GAME in which OL tries to win and start DOMINATING L.
- If L is INTOXICATED, s/he cannot play the GAME successfully. Therefore, the party who manages to get the other INTOXICATED, wins the GAME. The same is true of WAR.
- If L and OL are both INSANE or INTOXICATED they are likely to fight a rather INSANE WAR
- If one of the parties involved in WAR is BLIND, the other party can easily win the WAR.
- If one of the parties on a JOURNEY is BLIND, it is easy for the other party to lead him/her astray or take him/her to a wrong destination.

 – If L'S OPPONENT in a WAR or GAME is A DEITY, L loses the WAR or GAME.
 – If OL is A DEITY, s/he does not need any NUTRIENT and it is impossible to get him/her INTOXICATED.
 – If OL is A PRECIOUS OBJECT, it may be stolen

Contradictions:
 – If LOVE IS FIRE, people in LOVE do not travel or play GAMES, they burn.
 – If LOVE is a NUTRIENT, it is not FIRE.
 – DOVES are symbols of peace, they cannot be at WAR, (unless of course they play a GAME and pretend to be DOVES in order to win)
 – If LOVE IS A PLANT, it cannot be involved in a WAR; plants do not fight, they either grow or wither away.
 – If L and OL are INSANE, INTOXICATED or BLIND, they cannot set off on a JOURNEY, in particular, they do not have any sense of direction or destination.
 – If L and OL are involved in a WAR, they cannot travel together
 – If L and OL are both INSANE or INTOXICATED they cannot play a GAME, which consists of rules that must be complied with.
 – If OL is A DEITY, it is impossible for L to have A FAIR EXCHANGE OF GOODS with OL.
 – A BLIND PERSON is not A DEITY (unless, that is, the conceptualizer is INSANE), and A DEITY is not BLIND.
 – If LOVE is WORK it cannot be WAR

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