

ANNA STWORA

UNIwersytet Śląski
Wydział Filologiczny
Instytut Języka Angielskiego
Zakład Języków Specjalistycznych
E-MAIL: ANNA_STWORA@INTERIA.EU

Money Hanging in My Closet? Various Conceptualisations of Money in English

ABSTRACT

Bringing into focus the theoretical framework of conceptual metaphor viewed through the lens of cognitive linguistics, the following paper is to concentrate on the construction of various conceptualisations of money in English. To this end, it shall deal with specific image schemas basing on a collection of subjectively selected money-related metaphors and idioms. Comparing and contrasting them with a set of chosen quotations on the subject of money containing metaphorical expressions taken from several famous figures shall confirm whether or not the conceptual domains signalled in dictionary entries actually overlap with those found in the examples of common parlance featured.

KEYWORDS

conceptualisation, conceptual metaphor, idiom, money, image schema

Introduction

It is actually an axiom that human beings need metaphorical structures to grapple with abstract concepts so it comes as no surprise that “economy is usually comprehended via metaphor”¹ and so is money. Figurative expressions such as metaphors

¹ Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction*, New York 2010, p. 25.

and idioms are known to be common devices inherent to human language in general and thus should not be underestimated in the process of foreign language apprehension, for instance, as they provide people with interesting insights as to the underlying conceptual knowledge we all possess. Bringing into focus the theoretical framework of conceptual metaphor viewed through the lens of cognitive linguistics, the following paper is to concentrate on the construction of various conceptualisations of money in English.

To this end, it shall deal with specific image schemas basing on a collection of subjectively selected money-related metaphors and idioms. Comparing and contrasting them with a set of chosen quotations on the subject of money containing metaphorical expressions taken from several famous figures shall confirm whether or not the conceptual domains signalled in dictionary entries actually overlap with those found in the examples of common parlance featured.

1. Basic considerations related to conceptual metaphors and image schemas

Taking the theory of conceptual metaphor as the starting point, one should first and foremost state that metaphor cannot be perceived as a mere decorative ploy, but rather as a conceptual framework which structures the organisation of human experience.² With a conceptual metaphor, being “[...] the linguistic manifestation of underlying conceptual knowledge,”³ people understand ideas or phenomena in terms of other basing on mental mappings, that is, on the operations of association between two domains, usually referring to a more concrete one to understand the one of more abstract nature. Basically, this happens as a result of triggering certain analogies between the domains that enter an interaction in one’s mind.⁴ When people compare things or phenomena, they look for certain common characteristics and correspondences that help them understand intangible concepts or ideas in terms of given properties of concrete objects; in other words, they construe their environment in terms of implications or entailments. “Although the objective features of the two domains in a metaphor are often quite different, the two domains can be seen as sharing abstract similarities”⁵ that may prove useful for organising our experience and understanding a wide range of complex or abstract phenomena that escape easy explanation.

² See: G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago 1980.

³ S. Coulson, *Metaphors and Conceptual Blending*, [in:] *Concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatics*, ed. J. L. Mey, Amsterdam [etc.] 2009, p. 615.

⁴ G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, op. cit., p. 40.

⁵ S. Coulson, op. cit., p. 615.

Following the line of thought offered by Kövecses, “a convenient shorthand way of capturing this view of metaphor is the following: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B”⁶ and this kind of a formula generally presents the way all metaphors work since metaphorization transfers the tangible event or object to the world of abstraction by means of entailment, at the same time giving coherence to many cultural, cognitive, and perceptual regularities.⁷ Thanks to the process of mental mapping responsible for the association of groups of elements or qualities with other objects or features, people can effectively map certain patterns or, more specifically, image-schemas onto different images in order to construe fixed correspondences between them.⁸

By way of explanation, image schemas may be defined as “embodied pre-linguistic structures of experience, together with their extensions, driven by conceptual metaphor mappings”⁹ that structure one’s cognitive experience and naturally pre-order human perception. As postulated by numerous researchers in cognitive linguistics,¹⁰ these theoretical and, as the very name suggests, schematic constructs impose conceptualisations of experience that function as simplistic and formulaic patterns arising from imagistic domains.¹¹ The foregoing suggests that abstract as they may be, image schemas are simultaneously not so abstract, so to speak, in that they are actually embodied¹² as recurring structures within human cognitive processes.¹³

Relying on the established mental patterns of understanding and reasoning, conceptual metaphor assumes that certain features and relations will be mapped from one domain to another.

The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain. [...] The target domain is the domain that we try to understand through the use of the source domain.¹⁴

⁶ Z. Kövecses, op. cit., p. 4.

⁷ See: P. Eubanks, *The Story of Conceptual Metaphor: What Motivates Metaphoric Mappings?*, “Poetics Today. Metaphor and Beyond: New Cognitive Developments” 1999, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 419–442, [online:] <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/1773273?uid=3738840&uid=2&uid=4&sid=21102867210621> [accessed: 30.10.2013].

⁸ G. Lakoff, M. Turner, op. cit., p. 97.

⁹ K. Žyško, *A Cognitive Linguistics Account of Wordplay*, Cambridge 2017, p. 83.

¹⁰ See: G. Lakoff, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, Chicago 1987, p. 453; M. Johnson, *The Body in the Mind*, Chicago 1987, p. 29.

¹¹ W. Croft, D. A. Croft, *Cognitive Linguistics*, Cambridge 2004, p. 44.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ O. Jäkel, *Metafory w abstrakcyjnych domenach dyskursu: kognitywno-lingwistyczna analiza metaforycznych modeli aktywności umysłowej, gospodarki i nauki*, tłum. M. Banaś, B. Drąg, Kraków 2003, p. 25.

¹⁴ Z. Kövecses, op. cit., p. 4.

Thus, the imposition of such an image-schematic format renders information about abstract objects, i.e. about target domains, potentially accessible through source domains. It is therefore understandable that, as a rule, in the course of constructing metaphorical expressions, people refer to their natural experience, i.e. to their bodies, interactions with the surrounding world and with others¹⁵ that help them structure their experience in a systematic and schematic manner producing ready-to-use, accessible mental stencils facilitating their thinking about abstract concepts.

To conclude this point, explorations into cognitive semantics make it possible to uncover meaning relations in human conceptual world, for the field in question explores the interrelationship between semantic structures, human cognitive systems, and experience of the world itself. For the purpose of conciseness, however, the author will not be going very deep into details of the cognitive theories, for they are relatively widely known to the audience and these basic considerations shall suffice to understand the following analysis of conceptual domains and various types of conceptualisations.¹⁶

2. Selected conceptualisations of money – source domains’ overview

Although money is a tangible product of human beings, as it can be represented by any officially established token, it also stands for an agreed-upon value, which is why its nature is frequently described in terms of metaphors and idioms. Working towards a conceptual approach to linguistic analysis, the following study is to answer the question of how people perceive money and how it is reflected in language. As far as the very research framework is concerned, the theory of conceptual metaphor was applied to the linguistic material gathered.

In order to perform her analysis, the author made a selection of dictionary expressions using money-related metaphors and idioms in English and then collected some random samples of metaphorical and idiomatic expressions on www.goodreads.com with a view to confirming the occurrence of similar conceptual domains in both ossified dictionary entries and in human speech. Upon the collection of the expressions in question, the author put them into several categories according to the source domains represented, which aims at answering the question about the very basis on which we tend to select source domains for particular targets. Presenting and grouping a wide range of metaphors and idioms that include the word ‘money’ shall shed some light on the relations between conceptual domains and this legal tender.

¹⁵ G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 144–145.

¹⁶ V. Evans, *Leksykon językoznawstwa kognitywnego*, tłum. M. Buchta, M. Cierpisz, J. Podhorodecka, A. Gicala, J. Winiarska, Kraków 2009, p. 142.

2.1. HUMAN BODY AND SENSES

The first conceptualisation to identify is personification, which is based on giving human-like qualities to physical, inanimate objects. "This allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities"¹⁷ as nothing constitutes a better source domain than ourselves.¹⁸ Although it is possible to compare an object to both human beings and animate creatures such as animals, it was decided to present only human reference because of its higher incidence, as well as due to the obvious closeness of our body parts. Here are some expressions associated with human body:

- a) *Do you think I'm made of money?*
- b) *Money is like an arm or leg – use it or lose it.* Henry Ford
- c) *Money talks.*
- d) *Money doesn't talk, it swears.* Bob Dylan
- e) *Money without brains is always dangerous.* Napoleon Hill
- f) *Smart money.*
- g) *Funny money.*
- h) *Money, it turned out, was exactly like sex, you thought of nothing else if you didn't have it and thought of other things if you did.* James A. Baldwin
- i) *Money is a handmaiden, if thou knowest how to use it; a mistress, if thou knowest not.* Horace
- j) *Marrying into money was not a good thing for me.* Anna Nicole Smith
- k) *Here's how I think of my money – as soldiers – I send them out to war every day. I want them to take prisoners and come home, so there's more of them.* Kevin O'Leary

It is apparent that money may be personified in a variety of ways, all of which assuming the following: MONEY IS A PERSON/HUMAN BEING. Several examples indicate that one can conceive of it as a PART OF HUMAN BODY (a, b) while some refer to human behaviour, e.g. to the ability to speak (c) of socio-economic status and prestige or, surprisingly, to their being capable of swearing (d) and making use of vulgar, blunt, and direct messages. Furthermore, money may be even able to plot (r) and engage in conspiracy to do something of illegal or harmful nature, which implies that it can cheat. The other sub-domain of personification pertains to multitudinous dimensions of personality, for saying that money is intelligent, smart, funny or evil constitutes a direct reference to human features, which means that MONEY IS A BEING THAT HAS DISTINCTIVE PERSONALITY TRAITS (e, f, g, r). It can thus be either sensible and wise if invested properly or amusing but rather stupid when used just for entertainment, with its personal features being the reflection of its owners' characteristics.

¹⁷ G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, op. cit., p. 33.

¹⁸ Z. Kövecses, op. cit., p. 18.

One can also point out to the domain of sexual activity proving that MONEY IS SEXUAL DESIRE (h), a strong drive and a basic need from which one derives pleasure. Another quotation that can be interpreted in terms of both human drives and conspicuous consumption mentions the “money-mistress” (i), implying that MONEY IS A WOMAN having an extramarital sexual relationship with a man, i.e. with a buyer. Consequently, if such a man is controlled solely by his needs and fantasies, he can easily lose what he has achieved through focusing only on pleasurable consumption. However, when he knows how to tame his money and use it wisely, his assets turn into the “money-handmaiden” – a servant or a subservient partner he can control. This example allows for yet another interpretation, namely that MONEY IS A FEMALE OF AUTHORITY or that MONEY IS A SERVANT. It can also be viewed as a PARTNER one can marry (j), thus creating an intimate relation and a union between a consumer and his funds. Finally, money can be perceived as a MALE, for instance as a prisoner or soldier (k) involved in a military conflict.

Nonetheless, what makes metaphors and idioms so powerful is usually their reference to human senses and emotions, for people experience the world around them by means of their faculties of perception. The following list of metaphorical expressions is concerned with those universal sensual experiences:

- l) *Money is like a sixth sense without which you cannot make a complete use of the other five.* William Somerset Maugham
- m) *Money has no smell.*
- n) *Money just draws flies.* Mahalia Jackson
- o) *See the colour of (someone's) money.*
- p) *I like my money right where I can see it... hanging in my closet.*
Sarah Jessica Parker
- q) *Money is our madness, our vast collective madness.* David Herbert Lawrence
- r) *Money doesn't mind if we say it's evil, it goes from strength to strength. It's a fiction, an addiction, and a tacit conspiracy.* Martin Amis
- s) *Money does not make you happy but it quiets the nerves.* Sean O'Casey

As money is considered to be the essential aspect and the motivating force in one's existence, it can be said that it is actually ONE OF THE HUMAN SENSES (l); in order to enjoy one's life, it is imperative that the world be explored, which is facilitated by means of money enabling one to buy expensive assets that please the eye, to see various parts of the world, to taste and smell oriental dishes, so it is an indispensable experience which allows to gain more and more data for perception. Human receptors detect the presence of different stimuli and “smell is perhaps the most evocative emotion and may be used to trigger deep

emotions.”¹⁹ When something smells bad, it is likely to repel but money is said to either have no smell (m) or, conversely, to stink and draw flies (n); this seems right on the mark since money usually attracts people just like a pheromonal cue affects the behaviour of the same species. The conceptualisations outlined allude to vision as well: as illustrated above (o, p), money is not only visible, but also colourful; its distinct, vivid colours appeal to our senses and substantially condition visual processing.

Last but not least, money remains dominant as far as our emotions and senses are concerned. Cash is enough to make one take leave of his senses and drive him mad, so it can be compared to MADNESS (q). Lust for money is a contemporary collective madness which affects everyone and can potentially lead one to lose his mind while chasing wealth, which presents money as an ADDICTION (r). Hence, money can be interpreted as a sort of DRUG (r, s), either as a narcotic substance or a MEDICINE (s) having a tranquillizing effect on an individual, because money usually quiets the nerves providing relief from anxiety and dilemmas connected with day-to-day living, as accumulated assets and funds can give the sense of stability. This observation leads to another conceptual domain involving the process of objectification.

2.2. PHYSICAL OBJECTS

Another common conceptual metaphor follows the pattern of ascribing physical features to concepts; treating a notion as a tangible entity one can see or touch plays a key role in the emergence of metaphorical meaning, just after the conceptual domain of human body. Here are some implicit and explicit examples of the pattern MONEY IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT:

- a) *Throw money around.*
- b) *Money laundering.*
- c) *I like my money right where I can see it... hanging in my closet.*
Sarah Jessica Parker
- d) *Money spinning.*
- e) *Put money on something.*
- f) *If you're not staying on top of your money, you are putting your financial well-being at risk.* Suze Orman
- g) *People say that money is not the key to happiness, but I always figured if you have enough money, you can have a key made.* Joan Rivers

¹⁹ *Metaphor. The definition and classification of metaphors accessed from the website Changing minds and persuasion – How we change what others think, believe, feel and do.* Retrieved December 1, 2013, [online] <http://changingminds.org/techniques/language/metaphor/metaphor.htm>.

- h) *Money is only a tool. It will take you wherever you wish, but it will not replace you as the driver.* Ayn Rand
- i) *Money is the barometer of a society's virtue.* Ayn Rand
- j) *Making money is art and working is art and good business is the best art.* Andy Warhol
- k) *Money is the string with which a sardonic destiny directs the motions of its puppets.* William Somerset Maugham
- l) *Money is a kind of poetry.* Wallace Stevens
- m) *Money doesn't mind if we say it's evil, it goes from strength to strength. It's a fiction, an addiction, and a tacit conspiracy.* Martin Amis
- n) *Money is like manure, of very little use except it be spread.* Francis Bacon

First, MONEY IS A TANGIBLE, THROWABLE OBJECT (a) one can grasp, toss, and use the way he wishes. But there are other specific realisations of objectification as far as money is concerned. For instance, money is compared to CLOTHES (b, c), both in the form of laundry and clean, ready-to-put-on garments. It may also be treated as a THREAD (d) which is spun just like wool or cotton and then turned into a fabric. What is more, if one puts money on something (e), he can cover it with notes or coins so as to invest in it. Therefore, money forms the outside of an object just like a kind of protective COVERING.

Money is also presented as a SURFACE or a PEAK (f) on top of which one can stand. A floor, a hill, a mountain or else, this surface is made of stacks of notes or metal coins being the important foundation of one's prosperity. Financial resources constitute a stable base that helps to maintain an upright position on the highest level. Another statement says that money may be perceived as a KEY to happiness (g) because it can unlock a variety of doors, that is, opportunities, that otherwise would remain closed. As such, it is a universal device intended to operate an almost infinite number of locks, allowing access to countless places and things. Next is the following conceptualisation: MONEY IS A VEHICLE (h) that can take one wherever he wishes, but it is the money's owner who should be the driver and steer both his funds and actions to the right channels. Subsequently, money is depicted as a MEASURING DEVICE (i) made for a particular purpose, as an instrument allowing precise computation and providing useful data.

Money can take subtler forms as well since making money is ART (j) – the manifestation of human skills in its creative aspect. Likewise, entrepreneurship is an inventive activity performed by skilful people and the manifestation of their talent for earning money. Just like pieces of art created by artists stand for admired canon of beauty, money is made by businesspeople and recognised by others. In this respect, money is also portrayed as a STRING DIRECTING PUPPETS and as a PART OF THE THEATRE (k), i.e. as an element of live performance communicating some kind of experience. It is a small, yet influential and significant fragment of a greater performance called life. As far

as artistic activity is concerned, money can be POETRY (l) or FICTION (m) too, which suggests that businesspeople and artists have more in common than is inferable at first sight, as it takes years of practice to master the tricks of their professions and achieve success.

The multifaceted process of construction of comprehensive correspondences between the abstract notion of money and more concrete objects shall end with perhaps crude an example: money can be treated even as MANURE (n), both literally and figuratively. On the one hand, it can be accumulated into a huge pile of malodourous notes that are of no use; on the other, it may be spread and invested, that is, used to fertilize new projects... or plants being the next domain to be presented.

2.3. PLANTS

It is possible for money to be conceptualized as plants: as living organisms, which are a part of the natural world and can serve as decoration or food. "When we use the concept metaphorically, we distinguish various parts of plants; we are aware of the many actions we perform in relation to plants; and we recognize the many different stages of growth that plants go through."²⁰ This assumption can be supported upon scrutiny of the following examples:

- a) *Money is the root of all evil.*
- b) *Money is the root of all evil, and yet it is such a useful root that we cannot get on without it any more than we can without potatoes.* Louisa May Alcott
- c) *Money doesn't grow on trees.*
- d) *Rake in the money.*
- e) *To plough money into [a business].*
- f) *I'm the only person I know who's got a bunch of money.* John Mayer
- g) *Money is the seed of money.* Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Money presented as a PLANT possesses many features typical for such organisms. To start with, MONEY IS A ROOT (a, b) being the plant's support, which also creates the structure providing proper nourishment, just like funds allow people to support their families and feed them. When it comes to food, it becomes apparent that money is just like a VEGETABLE or a FRUIT (b, c) and that, as far as the cultivation of plants is concerned, one can also PLOUGH (e) money into a business, that is, prepare the ground for the planting of new funds so as to make more money in the future.

Unfortunately, a money tree, which is the source of unlimited or easily obtained funds, does not exist. Was it real, money would grow on trees and, therefore,

²⁰ Z. Kövecses, op. cit., p. 19.

would constitute its LEAVES (c, d) one can pick or rake in. Moreover, money can be viewed as FLOWERS (f), for it can be found in profuse, colourful bunches of various notes. Flowers turn into fruits whose SEEDS (g) may be used to plant new money that will grow and bear more fruit, hence allowing the constant circle of reproduction.

2.4. SUBSTANCES

The conceptualization of MONEY AS LIQUIDS is a reference to popular knowledge of substances. The main claim is that one can quench his thirst with water just like a consumer can satisfy his needs thanks to money; thus, fluid substances can constitute another domain associated with money metaphors and idioms, for instance:

- a) *Pour money down the drain.*
- b) *Money is like sea water. The more you drink, the thirstier you become.*
Arthur Schopenhauer
- c) *The flood of money that gushes into politics today is a pollution of democracy.*
Theodore White
- d) *Put your money where your mouth is.*
- e) *Pots of money.*
- f) *I went to the bank and asked to borrow a cup of money. They said, 'What for?' I said, 'I'm going to buy some sugar.'* Steven Wright
- g) *Money: power at its most liquid.* Mason Cooley
- h) *Money, like vodka, turns a person into an eccentric.* Anton Chekhov
- i) *A drinker has a hole under his nose that all his money runs into.* Thomas Fuller

To begin with, money flows like WATER or any other LIQUID (a) one can drink or pour. It is comparable to SEA WATER (b) whose salty tang makes one even thirstier; similarly, the possession of wealth creates more needs to be satisfied, developing an addiction to money. This compulsion to have more and more is best illustrated by the FLOOD (c) of money: as it rushes to inundate the nearby area, it becomes dangerous and polluted because the soil is unable to take such an abnormal amount of water.

As money allows purchasing drinks for refreshment or nourishment, one can take it into his mouth and swallow, that is, DRINK it (d), whether from a pot or a cup, which supports the contention that money is a FLUID SUBSTANCE (e, f, g). Following this line of thought, money can take the form of liquids other than water, such as VODKA (h) or other ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE (i), again implicitly touching upon the subject of addiction caused by excessive consumption.

2.5. CONTAINERS

Not only is money measured with containers like pots or cups, but also constitutes some form of a container itself. The image schema of containment²¹ suggests that there is a clearly delineated space, open or closed, bounded by walls, usually comprising something. One can infer that MONEY IS A CONTAINER from the following examples:

- a) *Be in the money.*
- b) *Be out of money.*
- c) *I got good advice once. Someone said to me: 'Live in your money rather than look at it.'* Simon Cowell

Despite little incidence of this conceptualisation, it is clear that what happens is the imposition of the container image onto the notion of money. Suddenly, money becomes a schematic, delineated space with sharp boundaries one is able to enter or leave, that is, to COME INTO (a) and OUT OF it (b). This spatial orientation may be illustrated by the concept of a FLAT or a HOUSE (c) one can live in, for each apartment is a kind of a container whose outer walls protect the content or build a barrier limiting the interaction between interior and exterior space, separating the content from the outside.

2.6. MACHINES

On the basis of linguistic data analysed, one can also confirm the existence of a conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A MACHINE; the following examples support the idea that money may be perceived as a device in terms of measuring, making, and creating:

- a) *Make good money.*
- b) *Money makes money.*
- c) *Money begets money.*
- d) *Money spinning.*
- e) *Money is a mechanism for control.* David Korten
- f) *Men make counterfeit money; in many more cases, money makes counterfeit men.* Sydney J. Harris

As these examples prove, the IDEA OF MANUFACTURING or MAKING (a, b, c, d) is used quite frequently, either referring to the conceptualisation MONEY IS A MACHINE (in that money creates money and hence continually multiplies itself

²¹ M. Johnson, op. cit., p. 126.

(b, c)) or MONEY IS A PRODUCT. Narrowing the conceptual domain even further, one can identify the process of making threads and producing fibres (d), which stresses the very PRODUCTION PROCESS that takes place. Moreover, money can be read as a MECHANISM for control and regulation of both cash flow and consumers (e); this mechanism is equipped with many moving parts being just like COGS in the machinery of economy. Finally, relating to production processes, one can mention the COUNTERFEITING PROCESS (f) that, according to the example above, takes place when people start to pretend to be someone else under the influence of prospective money, showing that funds can create cheap imitations of people.

2.7. ELEMENTS

Sometimes money turns out to be fierce and overwhelming a phenomenon beyond human control and, as such, may be perceived as the source of a major part of extreme human experiences, thus likening money to one of THE ELEMENTS. The schema in question requires drawing correspondences between the great might of nature and an equally powerful influence of money. Consider these expressions:

- a) *Hot money.*
- b) *Money burns a hole in your pocket.*
- c) *Have money to burn.*
- d) *Money is in some respects life's fire.* Phineas Taylor Barnum
- e) *The flood of money that gushes into politics today is a pollution of democracy.*
Theodore White
- f) *And the truth gets buried under an avalanche of money and advertising.*
Barack Obama

What logically follows from these examples is that the domain of FIRE (a, b, d) is the most common as far as natural forces are concerned, perhaps because of its being venerated from the very beginning of human experience with nature. Money also parallels FLAMES (a), for it can reach such a high temperature and become so HOT (a) that it BURNS (b) but, at the same time, it can also BE BURNED (c), which emphasises its (self-)destructive potential. Money is said to be LIFE'S FIRE (d) – a force capable of lighting up one's living with new perspectives, opportunities, and happiness. Another element, WATER, here taking the form of a FLOOD (e), has already been mentioned in the section devoted to the conceptual domain of substances. Just like an AVALANCHE (f), too much water connotes danger due to its severity and rapidity with which one is completely unable to fight.

2.8. MOVEMENT

Last but not least, the domain described here is embedded in orientational metaphor connected with movement, whose main characteristics are changes of direction or location; these involve moving from one place to another, encompassing such activities as departure from a specific location, being on one's way, and arrival at a given point. Although listed as a separate class, the class in question may also relate to objectification in which money is conceived as a SIGNPOST erected to guide one's actions.

- a) *Follow the money.*
- b) *Money's a horrid thing to follow, but a charming thing to meet.* Henry James
- c) *Friends and good manners will carry you where money won't go.*
Margaret Walker

The abovementioned set of insights bears on spatial orientation, according to which money turns out to be a SIGN or a PATH to follow while deciding one's future (a, b) or even one's DESTINATION (b). Referring to the final example, money may help to attain corporal prosperity rather than spiritual welfare and, thus, is not equivalent to intangible values like friendship or proper conduct, so it may be said that it is not the only way but rather ONE OF SEVERAL PATHS (c) to take.

3. Linguistic analysis – results

The ongoing analysis was conducted in order to show various ways of conceptualising money in English through numerous linguistic manifestations of underlying conceptual knowledge included in both popular dictionary entries and certain contemporary examples in the form of quotations from famous people about money retrieved from search results on www.goodreads.com. The examples presented are indicative of the role of natural environment, bodily experience, and basic man-made objects as points of reference when it comes to the construction of image schemas.²²

Conceptual metaphors based on human anatomy and faculties of perception are predominant in the analysis performed, hence showing that people strongly prefer to assign human features to abstract phenomena in order to understand them properly. Other figurative representations of money involve physical objects of various kinds, including diverse mechanisms outlined in the section devoted to machines-based metaphorical expressions. Furthermore, some examples permit depiction of money-related notions by means of organic forms, such as plants and specific parts thereof, like roots, flowers or seeds. They may also

²² See: O. Jäkel, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

refer to human experience of physical forces and, hence, point out to the mental transfer of the idea of the elements, such as fire or water, onto the idea of money. What is more, the findings indicate high incidence of conceptual metaphors using substances as their source domain and, simultaneously, suggest a lower frequency of movement- and containment-based conceptualisations.

In the light of the foregoing, one can conclude that, as an abstract notion, money is strongly metaphorised in language because of the fact that metaphor gives shape to abstract target domains by means of establishing connections with elementary senso-motoric experience.²³ It can therefore be said that metaphors and idioms are instruments by means of which we apprehend our reality thanks to the use of the image-schematic format that allows for the organisation of human experience. Both metaphors and idioms are largely irreplaceable because it is possible for them to be understood only through their non-literal structures or, optionally, through other metaphors. They simply stand for associations created by cognitive systems and are part of everyday thinking and reasoning, showing how much human cognition is shaped by figurative representations. "Many abstract or complex concepts that we encounter every day [...] are mentally represented, understood and constituted by metaphor"²⁴ and so is money. It is apparent in the analysis of metaphorical linguistic expressions that they most often originate in human natural environment and in man-made surroundings since they aim at rendering the target domain more approachable and understandable through the schematicity of source domains.

Given the abundance of the linguistic expressions collected, one can see that it is possible to ascribe many possible references to one concept as figurative expressions permit a single concept to be structured by means of several different aspects. This multiplicity of source domains allows for plurality of explanations necessary to fully understand a given target, for each of the lexical entries listed represents features of various sorts, thus changing the scope of meaning depending on the very set of characteristics that get salience.²⁵ Obviously, the list of domains participating in conceptual metaphors as source domains presented in this paper is by no means exhaustive, thus inviting further exploration of the topic under discussion.

As far as the implications for further research are concerned, one could think of expanding the research for it to take account of a larger corpus of more varied texts from a wider range of genres, which could help to corroborate the findings presented herein. It is the author's intention to further this research in such a direction. Despite its being limited to a smaller collection of data, though,

²³ Ibidem, p. 315.

²⁴ M. Tendahl, *A Hybrid Theory of Metaphor: Relevance Theory and Cognitive Linguistics*, Houndmills and New York 2009, p. 114.

²⁵ See: O. Jäkel, op. cit., p. 220.

the overview offered in this paper still produces a profound insight into the operation of various conceptualisations of money and thus can prove useful both for researchers interested in metaphorical or idiomatic expressions and for second language learners interested in better understanding or acquisition of the figurative in language. It will also constitute a promising starting point as regards future comparative analysis.

PIENIĄDZE WISZĄ W MOJEJ SZAFIE? RÓŻNE KONCEPTUALIZACJE PIENIĄDZA W JĘZYKU ANGIELSKIM

STRESZCZENIE

Opierając się na modelu metafory pojęciowej i przyjmując optykę językoznawstwa kognitywnego, niniejszy artykuł skupia się na sposobach konstruowania różnych konceptualizacji pieniądza w języku angielskim. W tym celu zaprezentowane zostaną przykłady schematów wyobrażeniowych, jakie można znaleźć w zbiorze subiektywnie dobranych przez autorkę metafor i idiomów związanych z pieniędzmi. Porównanie i skonstruowanie ich z zestawem wybranych cytatów sławnych osób na temat pieniędzy w ujęciu metaforycznym posłuży ustaleniu, czy domeny pojęciowe sygnalizowane w hasłach słownikowych faktycznie pokrywają się z tymi obecnymi w wybranych przykładach mowy.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

konceptualizacja, metafora pojęciowa, idiom, pieniądz, schemat wyobrażeniowy

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