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# Love is War

**A comparative study of conceptual metaphors in English and Japanese**

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## **I Abstract**

The aim of the present study is to identify the extent to which English conceptual metaphors presented in Lakoff (1980 & 1987) apply in the framework of Japanese. In addition to that, certain Japanese conceptual metaphors not present in English are identified and analyzed. The study uses mainly a corpus of written Japanese and a two dictionaries as data sources. The results have shown that the English and Japanese repertoire of conceptual metaphors are very similar in most cases. Metaphors of love, anger and argument display striking similarities across the two languages. Japanese however possesses a number of metaphors not present in English, the most prominent one being the concept of “path”.

**Keywords:** Conceptual metaphor, cognitive linguistics, English, Japanese, metonymy

## II Conventions and Abbreviations

ASS	assertive
COP	copula
DAT	dative
GER	gerund
INS	instrumental
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
OBJ	object
PAST	past
POS	possessive
TOP	topic

Glossing will be provided for Japanese sentences if they are not too lengthy. All translations provided were done by myself.

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## 1 Introduction to the topic

*“The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor”*

*Lakoff (2003 p.3)*

As explained in great detail in *Metaphors we live by* (2003), metaphors play a pivotal role in not only language, but also thought. At first glance it may seem that metaphors are just like idioms, namely arbitrarily set phrases used over and over again until their meaning, often impossible to infer from its components, stabilizes. But unlike idioms which do not necessarily dictate our thinking, metaphors are deeply intertwined with the way we think of, and perceive the world.

Let us look at specific examples of this. In English there is, for example, the idiomatic expression “to kick the bucket”. This phrase has the meaning of dying. To kick the bucket is a prototypical example of an idiomatic expression. The meaning of dying, while widely understood, is impossible to infer from its individual components of the expression. Neither the action of kicking, nor the object being kicked have any connotation to the concept of death in the minds of most people. However the important thing to note about kicking the bucket is that it does not affect our perception of death. We do not think of death in terms of buckets and kicks, except for this one expression. We do not ascribe the properties of death to a bucket, and vice versa. Kicking a barrel or punching a bucket bear no association to death. The connection between death and kicking the bucket is purely idiomatic and limited to this one particular expression.

However, a closer look at metaphors reveals that in this case, quite the opposite is true.

In English it is possible to say that person A is attacking every weak point of person B's argument. Attacking someone's argument may appear similar to the previous case, where a set phrase arbitrarily acquires a meaning and has no impact on our perception of arguing. Lakoff & Johnson (2003) demonstrate that the opposite is true. We not only talk about arguments as if they were battles, we structure our thinking about arguments as if they were battles.

What happens here is that we use mapping between two domains in order to project the properties of war onto the concept of argument. The expressions that use this phenomenon do not have to be idiomatic. Unlike the strongly fixed phrase "to kick the bucket", the attack performed on someone's arguments can be linguistically modified and still be understood.

The result of mapping between two conceptual domains is called a conceptual metaphor. Conceptual metaphors are extremely prominent in language, and most of the time we use them without even realizing it. The ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is only one of many metaphors we use to structure the world around us. Love is war, time is money, up is good and down is bad. This type of metaphors will be examined in the present study, hopefully shedding some light on the cross cultural differences and similarities. Both English and Japanese examples will be presented, but the main focus will be the Japanese language and how it relates to English.

## **1 Purpose**

The purpose of this essay is provide the reader with a basic understanding of how metaphors are used in Japanese, and how they relate to metaphors in the English language.

## **2 Methodology**

The subject of conceptual metaphors is a vastly complicated one. The amount of cognitive models is simply too large to effectively be examined without a solid starting point. There exist metaphors that are easy to notice, for example the metaphor that argument is war. On the other hand there exist more obscure metaphors that are difficult to identify. This is the reason why the present study will use the metaphors already mapped out by Lakoff

(2003 & 1987). The comprehensive studies performed in these works provide an excellent starting point for the task of identifying metaphors in different languages.

The examples provided in *Metaphors we live by* (2003) and *Women, fire, and dangerous things* (1987) will first be explained in the context of English. Thereafter the English metaphors will be put in contrast with Japanese in order to identify the differences and similarities in the two linguistic frameworks. After that the Japanese metaphors identified in this study that are not equally prominent in English will be examined. The meaning of the Japanese metaphors will be elaborated on, and an attempt to identify their structure will be made.

Two main sources of Japanese written material will be used. The corpus *Shoonagon* (少納言), and the Japanese language dictionary *Dejitaru Daijisen* (デジタル大辞泉).

*Shoonagon* is a corpus of modern written Japanese that will be used to find real-world examples of the usage of metaphors in Japanese. *Dejitaru Daijisen* provides Japanese language definitions for Japanese words and phrases. This makes it possible to examine the language used when describing metaphorical expressions and kanji compound words. The language used in definitions is often metaphorical in and of itself, which provides insight into the role of metaphorical thinking in general.

Moreover, the *Kanken Yojijukugo Jiten* (2013) will be used to examine the possibility that certain metaphorical conceptualizations were imported into Japanese from Chinese. *Kanken Yojijukugo Jiten* is a dictionary of four-character kanji compound words approved for the Japanese kanji aptitude test *Kanji Kentei* (漢字検定). Words up to level two of the test will be analyzed, since at that level all of the characters involved are taught in Japanese compulsory education. This ensures that obscure characters possibly unknown to the majority of native speakers will not distort the results.

Lastly, the constitution of Japan will be analyzed in order to determine whether or not metaphorical expressions appear in very formal situations. It is to be expected that texts of such importance will display more literal language, since it is of utmost importance

that they will be interpreted unambiguously. The possibility however exists that metaphors are still present at a basic level.

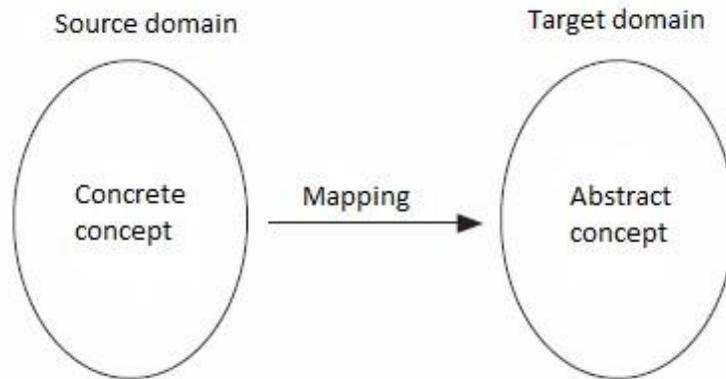
### **3 Previous research**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

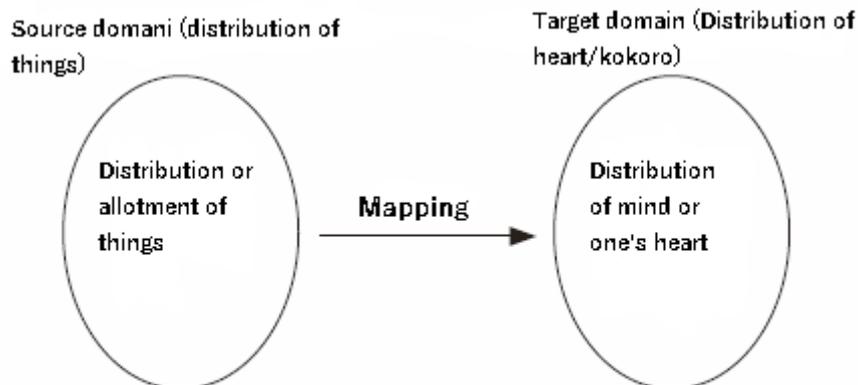
In this section the role, significance and theoretical structure of metaphors will be explained. Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors we live by* (2003) is a work of paramount significance in the world of cognitive linguistics. Almost every major work written on the subject of metaphorical structuring of the world references it in some way. Which is why the present study will utilize Lakoff and Johnson's framework of metaphors as a reference when examining Japanese expressions. In addition to that, the question of cross cultural universality will be addressed.

#### **3.2 Metaphorical mapping**

Fang (2014) provides insight into the theoretical process that leads to the creation of metaphors. This process is called metaphorical mapping, and it is a fundamental ability that we use in organizing our world. Fang begins with introducing the concept of mapping between tangible and concrete concepts (source domain), and abstract concepts (target domain). He explains that we use this kind of mapping in order to make abstract concepts graspable. Abstract concepts have no physical properties that we can just observe and describe. This makes thinking and talking about such concepts problematic. In order to evade our inability to comprehend abstract concepts we simply borrow the properties of concepts familiar to us on a more basic and physical level. We then apply these properties onto the abstract concepts and think and talk about them in terms of the non-abstract concepts. Fang focuses his study on the creation of idiomatic expressions, the theories explained however are also applicable to metaphors alone. The following figure is a translation of Fang's (2014:79) figure used to visualize metaphorical mapping.



In order to demonstrate how mapping creates idiomatic expressions Fang analyzes the expression *kokoro o kubaru*, which means “to give attention to” (lit. to distribute one’s heart. “*Kokoro*, usually translated as heart, actually has a much wider meaning, ranging from mind, thought, feeling, motive, intention, will, idea, attention, and other connotations, such as the true meaning (of a poem or story), the core of something, spirit, or the mood of a place” (McVeigh 1996: 37). Fang explains that the word *kokoro* itself is an abstract and hard to grasp concept, and grasping an abstract metaphor built upon it is even harder.



There are two layers to this expression. Fang explains that the meaning of the word *kubaru* has the meaning of distributing and allocating things. This in turn means that in this example *kokoro*, a formless abstract concept, through a conceptual metaphor takes the

form of an actual object that can be distributed. The idiomatic expression takes form this way, and the mapping involved is visualized in the figure above (Fang 2014: 81)

### **3.3 Container metaphor**

The most prominent metaphor in both English and Japanese appears to be the container metaphor. Both languages structure the human body and other aspects of the world as containers with an inside and an outside boundary.

*“We are physical beings, bounded and set off from the rest of the world by the surface of our skins, and we experience the rest of the world as outside us. Each of us is a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation.”*

*Lakoff & Johnson (2003 p.29)*

Lakoff argues that we project our three dimensional state of being onto other things, and that we use the container metaphor when talking about our visual field, events, actions and much more. Lakoff (2001. P.30-31) shows this using English examples such as the following:

- (1) The ship is coming into view.
- (2) I have him in sight.
- (3) Are you in the race on Sunday? (Race as CONTAINER OBJECT)
- (4) Halfway into the race, I ran out of energy. (Race as CONTAINER OBJECT)

The above stated examples show that the container metaphor is far from being limited to the human body. For example, the conduit metaphor treats language as a container for meaning (objects). The utterer of something puts the intended meaning into his/hers words, and the receiver extract the meaning from them.

The usage of this metaphor discussed in this thesis concerns the human body as a

container for a fluid or gas. The contents of the human container mainly represent emotions, especially anger. Japanese relates the human body with containers to such an extent that there even exist expressions that directly refer to humans as containers. The amount of contents in people's containers determines their ability and virtue. The treatment of humans as containers can be seen in writings by Lao Tzu, who lived 500 years B.C. One of the kanji compounds he used is 大器晩成 (*taikibansei*), which means that great people (lit. large containers) mature late.

(5) 指導者としての器量に乏しい

*Shidousha toshite no kiryou ni toboshii*

Leader as POS ability DAT lacking

He lacks the abilities/virtues of a leader. (Lit. contents of the container is poor.)

Tanaka (2003) also describes the application of the container metaphor to the head, chest and stomach. There are common Japanese idiomatic expressions that apply this. Tanaka presents expressions like “*Munasoko kara ikari ga wakiagatte kita*” (anger boiled up from the bottom of my chest) and “*atama ni kuru*” (become angry. Lit. Come to head). It can be observed that anger in the first example boils up from the chest, and in the latter example it comes to the head. Tanaka explains that this sort of rising of emotions within the containers of head, chest and stomach sometimes, but not always relates to the increase in intensity of said emotion.

### 3.4 Universality of conceptual metaphors

A study regarding the universality of conceptual metaphors was performed by Kövecses (2000). In his paper Kövecses uses native informants to compare the conceptualization of anger in English, Chinese, Japanese, and Hungarian.

*“What explains or motivates the existence of a particular set of expressions in a given language for talking about a particular emotion? Or, to put the same question slightly differently, why don't we have a completely different set of expressions for an emotion in a*

*given language?”*

*(Kövecses 2000 p.181)*

At first glance the problem presented in the above quote appears as a trivial one. However the study of the four languages suggests that there may be more to our everyday expressions than meets the eye. There are vast cultural and historical differences between the western languages presented and the Asian ones, and even the languages within these two groups are not identical. Despite their cultural, historic, and geographic diversity, all of the languages have anger related expressions strikingly similar to each other. If we assume that the expressions used to describe certain emotions are randomly generated based on the history and culture of the region, no systematic similarities should appear. The discoveries of Kövecses however prove that the opposite is true. All of the cultures share similar expressions concerning anger, and the reason for this is that they all conceptualize human beings in the same way. One of the central metaphors used to conceptualize the human body is the container metaphor. This metaphor treats the human body as a container for fluid or gas. And the state of the fluid or gas dictates the emotions expressed through this metaphor. This appears to be a view of the human body present universally across cultures.

According to Kövecses, the cross cultural presence of similar expressions may be based on the physiological effect anger has on humans. We are containers for blood, which can make our faces red and our veins pop out. Things like these are obviously independent of culture, and influence most languages. These physiological effects can be interpreted as the pressure and heat of a liquid or gas inside the human body. These physiological responses to anger also give rise to a multitude of metonymies, like for example the Japanese expression *aosuji o tateru*, which has the meaning of getting angry. The expression references veins standing out because of internal pressure (Matsuki.1995 p.139). One does not have to think for long in order to come up with very similar expressions in English, like for example *bursting a blood vessel*. This makes it plausible that the basis for these expressions is something transcending culture, and the argument for a physiological basis of metaphors as shown in Kövecses (2000) appears to be the most credible one.

It is however worth noting that although the four examined languages all perceive the human body as a container for some kind of substance, nuances are not uncommon. All of the languages conceptualize anger as a substance inside the human container that can exert pressure on it. The exact process of interaction between the container and the substance is on the other hand more culture specific according to Kövecses. An example of this can be seen when comparing the prototypical models of anger. Kövecses presents the prototypical model of anger in Chinese, as laid out by King (1989), and a model of English anger constructed by Lakoff & Kövecses (1987). These models are an attempt to explain how anger is perceived from a purely linguistic perspective.

### **Chinese prototypical model of anger**

<p><b>1</b> Offending event Wrongdoer offends self. The offending event displeases self. The offense causes an imbalance in the body.</p>	<p>Self exerts a counterforce in an attempt to control anger.</p>
<p><b>2</b> Anger Anger exists. Self experiences physiological effects (heat, pressure, agitation).</p>	<p><b>4</b> Release of anger Self releases anger by exhibiting angry behavior.</p>
<p><b>3</b> Attempt to control anger</p>	<p><b>5</b> Restoration of equilibrium The amount of discharged anger balances the excess in the body. The imbalance disappears and equilibrium is restored.</p>

### **English prototypical model of anger**

<p><b>1</b> Offending event Wrongdoer offends self. Wrongdoer is at fault. The offending event displeases self. The intensity of the offense outweighs the intensity of the retribution (which</p>	<p>equals zero at this point), thus creating an imbalance. The offense causes anger to come into existence.</p>
<p></p>	<p><b>2</b> Anger</p>

Anger exists.

Self experiences physiological effects  
(heat, pressure, agitation).

Anger exerts force on the self to attempt  
an act of retribution.

### **3 Attempt to control anger**

Self exerts a counterforce in an attempt  
to control anger.

### **4 Loss of control**

The intensity of anger goes above the  
limit.

Anger takes control of self.

Self exhibits angry behavior (loss of  
judgment, aggressive actions).

There is damage to self.

There is danger to the target of anger, in  
this case, the wrongdoer.

### **5 Retribution**

Self performs retributive act against  
wrongdoer (this is usually angry  
behavior).

The intensity of retribution balances the  
intensity of offense.

The intensity of anger drops to zero.

Anger ceases to exist.

The Chinese prototypical model of anger bears a lot of similarity to the English model. English however handles stage 4 and 5 differently. In Chinese the anger is released, while in English one loses control of the anger. In stage 5 English focuses on the retributive act, while Chinese does not mention it at all and focuses on the equilibrium instead. Japanese on the other hand has a more elaborate description of how anger rises and gets intensified when moving between the sub-containers in the human body, the stomach, chest, and head (Matsuki 1995). This shows us that although all of the languages share the same conceptualization of anger at a basic level, culture specific nuances arise at a more specific level.

### **3.5 Anger in English and Japanese**

Matsuki takes a closer look at the metaphors and metonymies concerning anger. Her study compares the model of anger constructed by Kövecses and identifies strikingly similar conceptualization of anger in the Japanese language. She however points out that it is impossible to determine the universality of the models presented by examining only Japanese and English.

It is of course true that a more comprehensive study is necessary if a definitive answer is ever to be achieved. A study covering all cultures, languages, and variations thereof would unfortunately be something unfathomably difficult to conduct. Therefore a comparison between English and Japanese, which are languages with vastly different backgrounds, can be considered a relatively good approximation of metaphoric universality. In addition to that, Chinese and Hungarian were added into the equation by Kövecses, making the conclusions even more reliable.

Matsuki finds that a rich collection of both metonymies and metaphors is shared by the two languages. Metonymies related to the physiological effects of anger in English and Japanese bear a lot of similarities to each other. The metaphors of anger also closely resemble each other, with the container metaphor being the most elaborate and prominent one.

The differences between English and Japanese are most noticeable when examining the container metaphor. Japanese divides the human container in a more complicated manner than English. The container in English also appears to have divisions. It is possible to isolate the head as a separate container. We can say that someone's head is empty when we refer to that person's intelligence. We can also say that our heads are filled with certain thoughts or emotions. When a song is *stuck in our head* we cannot stop thinking about it. Matsuki (1995) and Satoko (2003) show that the same is true for Japanese. The head can be seen as a separate container whose functions are related to logical thought. When something fills our heads it tends to obstruct the ability to think logically.

Both Matsuki and Satoko take on the prototypical model of emotion in Japanese, where the head is the last stage an emotion reaches when it rises in intensity. The staging of emotion in Japanese is made possible by the concepts of *hara* (belly) and *mune* (chest). These are seen as separate containers within the human body, and each possess different functions and properties. These containers form a system together with *atama* (head), which makes it possible for emotions to change location within the human body.

Satoko explains the function of these three containers and how they interact with each other. *Hara* is usually considered to be the starting point of emotions. It is there that a lot of emotions and thoughts first appear. At that stage, the content of *hara* is concealed from the outside world. *Hara* is mainly seen as a container for a person's true feelings, thoughts, and intentions. It is the place to conceal one's own thoughts, and the place to look when trying to read other people's intentions. *Hara o yomu* means to read someone's *hara*. When you read the *hara* of a person, you read or guess that person's intentions or thoughts. *Hara ni osameru* (to store in one's *hara*), has the meaning of concealing your thoughts and emotions from others by putting them in your stomach. These are the main functions of *hara*, but not all. Although not as widely used, *hara* also has a function related to comprehending. When something falls into your *hara*, you gain understanding of that thing. *Hara* is also closely related to anger, since *hara ga tatsu* (stomach rises/stands) means to get angry. It is now mainly idiomatic due to the fact that it is used so frequently. The expression however suggests that *hara* is indeed the prototypical source of anger. Furthermore, McVeigh (1996) points out that *hara* is also the place where a person's inner self and spirit resides. Examples of this can be observed in the two expressions *haragei* and *harakiri*. *Haragei* literally translates to "art of the belly". Someone that can do the art of the belly has a strong personality, and can influence others through his or hers rich experience or boldness. *Harakiri* (lit. splitting the belly) is the gruesome ritual disembowelment that is seen as cutting open the vital center of life, revealing your soul and making it possible for others to judge whether or not it is pure.

*Mune* is closely related to emotions like sadness, happiness, and excitement. When a person feels happily excited, the expression *mune ga odoru* (the chest dances) can be used.

When a person is overwhelmed by a strong emotion, the chest gets filled with that emotion (*mune ga ippai ni naru*). *Mune* also has a somewhat contrastive function to *atama*. *Atama* is the body part responsible for logical thought, while *mune* is highly emotional. This can give rise to expressions like the following:

(6) 頭では解る, しかし胸では納得しない.

*Atama de wa wakaru, shikashi mune de wa nattoku shi-nai.*

Head INS TOP understand but chest INS TOP accept do-NEG

In my head I understand, but in my chest I cannot accept it.

Satoko (2003 p.115)

The above expression is an excellent example of how *atama* and *mune* are viewed in Japanese. This sentence suggests that the head is a logical device free from emotion, while the chest is a center of emotion detached from logic.

### 3.6 Emotional staging

This aspect of emotion, especially anger is the most noticeable difference between the container metaphors of English and Japanese, and it is the direct result of the existence of the *atama* and *mune* containers. In her analysis of anger Matsuki claims that the rising of emotion from the stomach to the head is part of the prototypical Japanese model of anger. In this model, anger originates in the stomach. If the intensity of anger increases sufficiently, the contents rises to the chest, reaching the second stage of intensity. Matsuki states that anger can still be contained and concealed while it resides in the stomach. Advancement to the chest however diminishes the ability to completely hide the effects

of anger. In the second stage, efforts to control the growing anger cause noticeable effects like nausea. The anger rises to the last and third stage when the intensity increases even further. Unlike the stomach and chest, the head is responsible for logical thinking. This in turn means that when anger rises all the way up to the head it interferes with rational thought. It is this system of three internal containers in the human body that creates the elaborate model of anger in Japanese. This is also the major difference between Japanese and English. However, this does not mean that English lacks this phenomenon entirely. Lakoff (1987 p.384) demonstrates several examples of the rising fluid metaphor in his analysis of anger in English. “His pent-up anger welled up inside him” is one of the examples. Japanese simply has additional complexity added through the containers of *hara* and *mune*.

Expressions in both languages start to resemble each other once again when the function of the three containers is fulfilled. There is no container in Japanese above the head. What happens when anger intensifies even further is exactly what would happen in the source domain of this metaphor. Both English and Japanese model anger according to the metaphor that the body is a container, and anger is a liquid or gas in that container. When the container can no longer withstand the internal pressure, an explosion occurs and the content of the container comes out. This can be seen in both languages as the following examples demonstrate:

- (7) When I told him, he just exploded.
- (8) She blew up at me.
- (9) We won't tolerate any more of your outbursts.

(10) His anger finally came out.

Lakoff (1987 p.385-386)

(11) *Haha wa toutou bakuhatsu sh-ita.*

Mother TOP finally explosion do-PAST

(My mother finally exploded)

(12) *Ikari ga bakuhatsu suru.*

Anger NOM explosion do

(Anger explodes)

(13) *Ikari ga fukiagaru.*

Anger NOM blow up.

(Anger blows up)

Matsuki (1995 p.141)

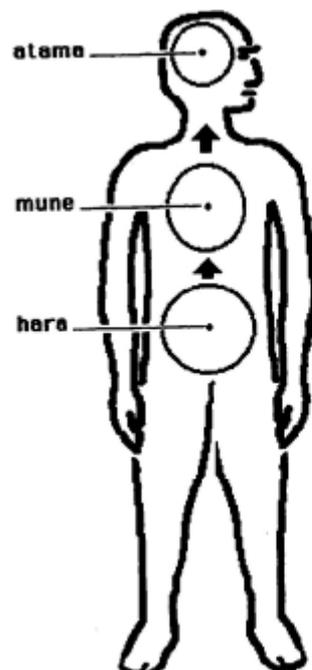


Figure 1. Zones of rising anger in Japanese: *hara*, *mune* and *atama*

Matsuki (1995 p.146)

It is however debatable whether or not this actually is the prototypical model of anger in Japanese, as claimed in Matsuki (1995). Although Matsuki claims that expressions matching the ascension model are the norm and those that do not match are the exception, she does not show the basis for that assumption. Satoko (2003) contrasts the examples provided by Matsuki and shows proof that the reality might be different. She provides examples in which anger originates in the chest instead of the stomach, as well as examples where the intensity of anger in the stomach is clearly higher than that in the head. Examples can also be found in *Dejitaru Daijisen* where anger originates in the heart. There is however no doubt that the model presented by Matsuki exists and is used extensively. However, determining whether or not it really is the archetypal model of anger in Japanese would require a separate study.

#### **4 English conceptual metaphors**

The metaphorical expressions presented below represent the major subjects presented in *Metaphors we live by* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003). These are merely examples of these metaphors and in no way represent their entirety. The list should give a general idea of how metaphorical conceptualization creates systematized expressions in the English language. It is worth noting that the absolute majority of the expressions stated below are not set idiomatic phrases. For example the sentence “*he shot down all of my arguments*” makes perfect sense to us because it applies the properties of combat to argument, and we are used to that. There is however nothing that prevents us from using other portions of

the concept. In this case the expression refers to combat most likely involving some sort of an aircraft. We could however apply the properties of other areas of war. The strength and stability of one's argument and theory can be conceptualized in the form of armor, but also in the form of fortifications. Attacks on arguments and theories can be expressed according to the properties of human or mechanical warfare. How we chose to express ourselves is limited mostly by our imagination and the properties of the source domain.

### **ARGUMENT IS WAR**

Your claims are indefensible. He attacked every weak point in my argument. His criticisms were right on target. I demolished his argument. I've never won an argument with him. If you use that strategy, he'll wipe you out. He shot down all of my arguments.

### **TIME IS MONEY**

You're wasting my time. This gadget will save you hours. I don't have the time to give you. How do you spend your time these days? That flat tire cost me an hour. I've invested a lot of time in her. I don't have enough time to spare for that. You're running out of time.

### **THEORIES (and ARGUMENTS) ARE BUILDINGS**

Is that the foundation for your theory? The theory needs more support. The argument is shaky. We need some more facts or the argument will fall apart. We need to construct a strong argument for that. I haven't figured out yet what the form of

the argument will be.

### **IDEAS ARE FOOD**

What he said left a bad taste in my mouth. All this paper has in it are raw facts, Half-baked ideas, and warmed-over theories. There are too many facts here for me to digest them all. I just can't swallow that claim. That argument smells fishy. That's food for thought. He's a voracious reader.

### **IDEAS ARE PEOPLE**

The theory of relativity gave birth to an enormous number of ideas in physics. He is the father of modern biology. Look at what his ideas have spawned. Those ideas died off in the middle Ages. His ideas will live on forever. Cognitive psychology is still in its infancy. That's an idea that ought to be resurrected. He breathed new life into that idea.

### **IDEAS ARE PLANTS**

His ideas have finally come to fruition. That's a budding theory. It will take years for that idea to come to full flower. He views chemistry as a mere offshoot of

physics. Mathematics has many branches. The seeds of his great ideas were planted in his youth. Here's an idea that I'd like to plant in your mind. He has a barren mind.

### **IDEAS ARE PRODUCTS AND COMMODITIES**

We've generated a lot of ideas this week. He produces new ideas at an astounding rate. His intellectual productivity has decreased in recent years. We need to take the rough edges off that idea, hone it down, smooth it out. It's a rough idea; it needs to be refined. It's important how you package your ideas. He won't buy that. That idea

just won't sell. That's a worthless idea.

He's been a source of valuable ideas. I wouldn't give a plugged nickel for that idea.

### **LOVE IS WAR**

He is known for his many rapid conquests.

She fought for him, but his mistress won out. He fled from her advances. She pursued him relentlessly. He is slowly gaining ground with her. He won her hand in marriage. She is besieged by suitors. He has to fend them off. He made an ally of her mother.

## **5 Corresponding conceptual metaphors in Japanese**

The following examples represent a portion of the findings made in the Japanese corpus *Shoonago*, and the *Dejitaru Daijisen* dictionary. Not all nuances of the following metaphors will be represented. This is due to the fact that it appears that there are no definitive rules to express these concepts, as stated in the previous section.

### **5.1 Manifestation of metaphors in kanji compound words**

One way in which metaphors can manifest themselves in Japanese is through kanji compound words. English has only one, purely phonetic writing system. Japanese on the other hand utilizes four different writing systems. This adds a layer of complexity to the Japanese language that is not present in English.

The first writing system introduced to Japan consists of Chinese characters, in Japanese known as kanji. Kanji unlike the Roman alphabet have not only phonetic but also semantic properties. The character “山” for example has phonetic readings like “*yama*” or “*san*”. But it also bears a meaning, which in this case is the meaning of “mountain”.

Later on in history two additional writing systems were developed by deriving new characters from the kanji. These two systems are hiragana and katakana. Both hiragana and katakana are phonetic writing systems, and they convey the exact same set of sounds. Despite this, the usage of these two similar writing systems differs. According to Shibatani (1990) kanji are used for content words, and hiragana for grammatical function words such as particles and inflectional endings. Katakana on the other hand is mainly used to write foreign loan words and certain onomatopoeic expressions.

The fourth writing system used in Japanese is the Roman alphabet, or “*roomaji*” as it is called in Japanese. The transcription of Japanese into the *roomaji* has practical applications like signing western documents, representing acronyms and advertisements. Japanese is a fairly unique language since it has four concurrent writing systems, all of which can be used simultaneously in a single sentence. The following example is taken from Shibatani (1990 p.129).

(1) 花子 は あのビル で 働いている OL です

Hanako wa ano biru de hatarai-te-iru oeru desu

Hanako TOP that building LOC work-GER-is OL COP

(Hanako is an office lady working in that building)

Here we can see all of the four writing systems being used to express a single sentence. The name *Hanako* is written entirely in kanji, followed by the particle *wa* and the pre-noun *ano* written in hiragana. The word *biru* (Eng: building) is a loanword and therefore written in katakana. The following locative particle *de* is written in hiragana. The verb *hataraiteru* begins with a kanji, and ends with the inflectional portion written in hiragana. *OL* is written in the Roman alphabet since it is an acronym for “Office Lady”. The sentence then ends with the copula *desu* written in hiragana.

### 5.1.1 Metaphorical kanji compounds

*“The effect of loan words on the Japanese language is not insignificant. In particular, the effects of S-J borrowing have been felt in all aspects of the Japanese language, including syntax.”*

*Shibatani (1990)*

The writing system most relevant to the topic of conceptual metaphors is the kanji system. A large portion of the Japanese lexicon consists of words containing two or more kanji characters. Most of these so called Sino-Japanese words (S-J words) are technically loan words borrowed from Chinese. They however permeate the Japanese language to such extent that they are not really considered foreign at this point.

Kanji compound words are widely used in the Japanese languages. Shibatani shows that in certain types of magazines kanji compounds make up almost 60% of the total number of words. And in newspapers the value can go all the way up to 65%. This is made possible by the vast lexicon of compound words, a lot of which have been constructed by the Japanese themselves. The size of the kanji compound lexicon is made possible by the properties of kanji. Almost every kanji character has multiple meanings and readings. These characters can then be combined based on their respective meanings in order to form a compound, both phonetically and semantically.

The dominant presence of kanji compound words shows that they are a significant part of the Japanese language, and worthy of closer inspection from the viewpoint of conceptual metaphors. Let us take a look at a specific example:

(2) S-J word: 論敵

Reading: *Ronteki*

The word *ronteki* is the word for one's opponent in argument. It consists of two kanji whose individual meanings combine to form the meaning of the entire word. The first kanji bears the meaning of argument, and the second one has the meaning of enemy or opponent. The word can be seen as proof of the presence of the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor in Japanese. The second kanji (also a word on its own) *teki*, commonly refers to one's literal enemy, be it in war or other struggles. An enemy country is called *tekikoku* (敵国) and an enemy encampment is called *tekijin* (敵陣). Yet another example of conceptual metaphors in S-J words can be seen in the following word.

(3) S-J word: 論陣

Reading: *Ronjin*

Here the word once again begins with the kanji for argument. The difference between *ronjin* and *ronteki* arises in the second component. The kanji “陣”, read as “jin”, bears the meaning of a military formation or encampment. The definition of the compound word that these two characters create is the structure and construction of an argument. This example indicates that the ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS metaphor is also present in Japanese.

## 5.2 Argument is war

The ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor appears to be just as evident in Japanese as it is in English. The main difference between the two languages is that while English expresses this metaphor only through complete sentences, Japanese utilizes kanji compound words to a great extent. This does not mean that Japanese lacks the complex metaphoric sentence building capabilities of English. Japanese people also use conceptualization of war in full sentences, like in the following example from *Dejitaru Daijisen* shows:

(4) 議論をして相手の説を破る

*Giron o shi-te aite no setsu o yaburu*

Argument OBJ do-GER opponent POS theory OBJ destroy

(To **destroy** the opponents **theory** through argument)

A prototypical kanji compound example of the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor in Japanese is the word *ronsen* (論戦), in which the first character means argument, and the second one means war. The meaning of the now formed compound word is “argumentative dispute”. This word shows us how conspicuous the metaphor is. A lot of similar compound words that are metaphorical in nature are extremely simple in their construction. In the case of *ronsen*, the compound meaning can be inferred without prior knowledge of the word, as long as one knows the characters.

(5) 実験のみによっては容易に不可知論を打破することができない

*Jikken nomi niyotte wa youi ni fukachiron o uchiyaburu koto ga dekinai*

(You cannot easily **destroy agnosticism** only through experiment)

In the above example we see the words *uchiyaburu* and *fukachiron* expressing the metaphor. *Uchiyaburu* is a compound formed by the words *utsu* (to hit) and *yaburu* (to tear/destroy). The target of *uchiyaburu* in this sentence is the word *fukachiron* (agnosticism). The word *fukachiron* consists of two parts. *Fukachi* literally means “cannot be known”, and is the stem of the compound word. Following *fukachi* comes the suffix *ron* (theory). The resulting word which in English means agnosticism has the imbedded meaning of “theory of that which cannot be known” in Japanese. For more detailed information of Japanese kanji compounding refer to Takano (2004). The meaning of the Japanese sentence is to destroy the theory of that which cannot be known. This expression is one of many found in the *Shooagon* corpus that indicate direct physical attacks on theories and arguments. Other Japanese examples involve conquering the podium on which one arguments, or crushing the foundation of someone’s argument.

### **5.3 Time is money**

The TIME IS MONEY metaphor is yet another example of how extremely common conceptual metaphors can be. Lakoff & Johnson (2003) explain how the modern industrial society made us think of time in terms of money.

*“In our culture time is money in many ways: telephone message units, hourly wages, hotel room rates, yearly budgets, interest on loans, and paying your debt to society by "serving time." These practices are relatively new in the history of the human race, and by no means do they exist in all cultures.”*

*Lakoff & Johnson (2003 p.8)*

There is no doubt about the fact that industrialization and the way we associate time with wages has had an impact on our conceptualization of time. The direct analogy between time and money in Japanese may however have originated earlier than that. The four-kanji compound word *ikkokusenkin* (一刻千金. Lit. One moment thousand gold) is an example of this. The compound word literally compares time to money, and is used when expressing the preciousness of every single moment. The *Kanken Yojijukugo Jiten* lists the source of this expression as a poem by the Chinese writer Su Shi. Su Shi lived during the eleventh century, long before industrialization. Considering the geographical proximity of China and Japan as well as the influence of China, it is reasonable to assume that there is a possibility that the expression was imported by Japan. Further diachronic examination is required in order to determine if this really is the case. It is also worth noting that a direct translation of the English maxim “time is money” is listed in the *Dejitaru Daijisen* dictionary. This makes it clear that English has had some influence, even though the metaphor may have Chinese origins.

It appears that the TIME IS MONEY metaphor is not directly expressed in as many two-kanji compound words as the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor. It is however very easy to find examples where time is treated as money in full sentences. This is due to the fact that the words used when talking about money can be directly applied to time. In Japanese time can be treated exactly like in English, which suggests that the two languages have the same source domain for this metaphor. Although the metaphor might have originated in China, there is no doubt that modern society has a deeply intertwined view of time and money. Time can be spent, saved, wasted, earned, given and taken.

(6) 時間を稼ぐ

**Jikan** o **kasegu**

time OBJ earn

(To **earn time**)

(7) いたずらに歳月が費える

Itazura ni **saigetsu** ga **tsuieru**

vain DAT time NOM spend

(**Time is spent** in vain)

In the above examples we can see that time is treated like money since the exact same verbs used when earning and spending money are used. A nuance of this metaphor, also present in English, is the metaphor that time is a valuable commodity. In the following examples we can see that time can be received or bestowed upon someone, and it can also be stolen from people. Another example of treating time as a commodity is that it can be made by someone just like in English. It appears that there is no significant difference between the English and the Japanese metaphor.

(8) 少し時間を貰い、お話しをお聞きしました

Sukoshi **jikan** o **morai**, ohanashi o okiki shimashita

(I **received** some **time**, and listened to the story)

(9) 「灰色の男たち」は人間から余った時間を盗むことで生きる糧を得てい

る

Haiiro no otokotachi wa ningen kara amatta **jikan** o **nusmu** koto de ikiru kate o  
eteiru

(The grey men obtain food by **stealing** humans left over **time** [fantasy])

#### 5.4 Theories (and arguments) are buildings

This is yet another metaphor that is frequently conveyed both in full sentences and in kanji compounds. The metaphor is quite strongly connected with the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor. A lot of examples combine the two metaphors, forming a system where the defending side uses aspects of buildings and fortifications to withstand the attacks of the enemy. In contrast to English however, there appears to be slightly more emphasis on military encampments. However using normal buildings as the source domain is still the most frequent case. Yet another nuance in comparison to English is the word 根 (ne/kon. Lit.root), used when talking about the stability of arguments. *Dejitaru Daijisen* includes “foundation of things and thought” as the definition of the Japanese word for root. An argument or idea lacking the root has no foundation and thus no credibility. Cases concerning the structural stability of arguments can be seen in four-kanji compound words originating in China, just like with the ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS metaphor. This makes it probable that the idea was imported by Japan.

(10) 論陣を張る.

**Ronjin**                      o            **haru**  
**Structure of argument**    **OBJ**    **lay out**  
**To lay out the structure of one's argument.**

The above example shows the kanji compound *ronjin* (explained in chapter 6.1.1 ) utilized in order to refer to the structure of an argument.

(11) 二〇世紀後半は素粒子理論の再構築が行われていくわけです

Nijuu seiki kouhan wa soryuushi **riron** no **saikouchiku** ga okonawareteiku  
wake desu

(In the second half of the 20th century, a **reconstruction** of the **theory** of  
elementary particles was carried out)

This example makes it clear that a theory can be reconstructed, and the action is described using the same vocabulary as when referring to buildings.

(12) 空中楼閣.

**Kuuchuu**      **roukaku**  
**In the air**    **high building**  
**(Something without a foundation)**

The above shown compound word is of Chinese origin, and refers to thoughts and

arguments being unstable like a swaying mirage illusion of a tower.

### 5.5 Ideas are products and commodities

This metaphor appears to lack the complexity of the preceding metaphors, and treats ideas similarly to English. They can be produced, given and stolen. The *Shoonagon* corpus however suggests that the metaphor is mainly used when talking about the theft of ideas. In general, it is difficult to identify differences between the Japanese version of this metaphor and the English one.

(13) 赤川先生のアイデアを盗んでいたらしいんですよ

Kawasaki sensei no **aidea** o **nusun-de-i-ta** rashiin desu yo

Kawasaki teacher POS idea OBJ steal-GER-is-PAST seems COP ASS

(He seems to have been **stealing** teacher Kawasaki's **ideas**)

### 5.6 Ideas are food

Once again we have a metaphor that does not differ significantly from English. Just like in English, ideas can be raw, ripe, unripe, fresh and rotten. There however exists an interesting and very common idiomatic expression related to this metaphor. In Japanese, when someone accepts information without fully understanding it, they eat it in the same manner as a cormorant bird swallows its prey. The way cormorants swallow food whole has been adapted into the Japanese language and is now a common example of the IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor.

(14) 新鮮なアイデアや、数多くの解決策を思いつく力

**Shinsenna aidea** ya, kazuookuno kaiketsusaku o omoitsuku chikara  
Fresh idea and many solution strategy OBJ come up power  
(The power to come up with many **fresh ideas** and solution strategies)

(15) 相手の意見をすべて鵜呑みにしてしまうのは危険だ

Aite no iken o subete **unomi** ni shiteshimau no wa kiken da

(It is dangerous to **swallow** all of somebody's **ideas** [like a cormorant])

### 5.7 Ideas are people

All of the aspect of the English metaphor seem to also exist in Japanese, although certain aspects appear with greatly different frequencies. The shared aspects of the previously explained metaphors had a seemingly even usage frequency. The Japanese IDEAS ARE PEOPLE metaphor on the other hand appears to mainly focus on the birth of ideas. Searching for the death or killing of ideas gave remarkably few results. The metaphorical birth of ideas on the other hand is common and appears to work just like in English. There also exist expressions where people let their ideas live. This does not seem to be an expression said in contrast to the killing of ideas. When people let their ideas live, they make the best out of those ideas and put them to use.

(16) 技術者は自分のアイデアを生かすために、他部門の設備を使ってよい

Gijutsusha wa jibun no **aidea** o **ikasu** tame ni, tabumon no setsubi o tsukatte  
yoi

(Technicians may use the facilities of other departments in order to put their  
ideas to use [let the ideas live])

(17) アイデアを生み出すプロセスの大まかなフレームワークをまず作るこ  
と

**Aidea o umidasu** purosesu no oomakana fureemuwaaku o mazu tsukuru koto

(To first construct a rough framework of the process of **giving birth** to **ideas**)

### 5.8 Ideas are plants

This metaphor is present in Japanese, but does not display significant differences in comparison to English. Ideas in both languages start as seeds, and come into fruition if successful. The expression used when the seed of an idea bears fruit appears to be mostly idiomatic in nature, and can be used in relation to other concepts like for example efforts and endeavors.

(18) やがてこの催眠心理学の研究が実を結び...

Yagate kono saimin shinrigaku no **kenkyuu** ga **mi o musubi...**

Finally this hypnosis psychology POS research NOM fruit OBJ bear (stem)

(This **research** of hypno-psychology finally **bore fruit**...)

(19) そんな思いが実を結んで...

Sonna **omoi** ga **mi o musun-de...**

Such thought NOM fruit OBJ bear-GER

(Such **thoughts bore fruit**...)

(20) アイデアの種子を大きく育てたいと思いますか？

**Aidea no shushi** o ookiku sodadetai to omoimasuka

(Do you want to bring up the **seeds** of **ideas**?)

### 5.9 Love is war

This is yet another Japanese metaphor that is largely expressed through compound words.

In Japanese, a romantic interest is one's target, and if multiple people aim at the same target, a battle between the two or more rivals arises.

(21) 友達が僕の彼女を狙っている

Tomodachi ga boku no **kanojo** o **nerat-te-iru**

Friend NOM me POS girlfriend OBJ aim-GER-is

(A friend **aims** at my **girlfriend**. [Tries to get her])

(22) 人の旦那とか恋人とかを奪いたくなる習性がある

Hito no **danna** toka **koibito** toka o **ubaitakunaru** shuusei ga aru

(She has the habit of wanting to **steal** people's **husbands** and **lovers**)

(23) 突然現れた恋敵と戦う

Totsuzen araware-ta **koigataki** to **tatakau**

Sudden appear-PAST romantic rival with fight

(**Fighting** with a **romantic rival** [enemy] that appeared suddenly)

## 6 The path metaphor

There is a common metaphor in Japanese that I chose to call the “path metaphor”. This

metaphor is not entirely absent from English, although the Japanese version is more common and much more elaborate. Most of us have encountered certain Japanese usages of the path. The way of the sword, and the way of the warrior are expressions that often appear in popular fiction that has to do with the samurai and the Japanese way of life. This however is only a small portion of the concepts and expressions relating to some sort of a way or path. In fact, the basic concepts of morality in Japanese are in some way related to this metaphor.

The metaphor appears to have originated in China, with some of the earliest examples dating back over 2000 years according to *Kanken Yojijukugo Jiten*. An example of this can be seen in the following word used by the Chinese historian Sima Qian.

(1) 大逆無道

Taigyakumudou

(Something greatly wicked)

The meaning of the kanji is as follows: 大逆 means greatly wicked, and 無道 means without a path. The meaning of the entire compound stands for something greatly atrocious. The last two characters form a compound used frequently in Japanese today when describing hideous things. The antonym to this word is 有道 (*Yuudou*. Lit. There is path) which replaces the first character to that for “is”. In other words, the absence of a path in Japanese means that something is atrocious and the presence of a path means that something is morally good. The definition provided for this word in *Dejitaru Daijisen* demonstrates how difficult it can be to describe metaphorical concepts. It defines the

inherently metaphoric word through usage of further metaphorical expressions, and states that *yuudou* stands for things that follow the path.

(2) 正しい道にかなっていること

Tadashii **michi** ni **kanat-te-iru** koto

Right path DAT follow-GER-is thing

(Something that **follows** the correct **path** [definition of the word *yuudou* from *Dejitaru Daijisen*])

It is also possible to represent morality and righteousness by showing whether or not something follows the path, or strays from it. Actions and thoughts that follow the path are right and morally correct. Straying from the path however means that something is erroneous and/or immoral.

(3) これは道理にかなったことでしょうか？

Kore wa **douri** ni **kanatta** koto degozaimashouka

(Is this something that **follows** the **path** [is right])?

(4) 道理にはずれた行いをすること.

**Douri** ni **hazure-ta** okonai o suru koto

Truth DAT remove-PAST deed OBJ do thing

(To do deeds **removed** from the **path**)

The metaphor can also be seen in many common kanji compounds like the following:

(5) 道德

Doutoku

(Morals)

This is the Japanese word for morals, and the literal meaning based on the kanji is “virtue of the path”.

(6) 道理.

Douri

(Truth)

The first kanji in this compound is that for “path”, and the second one is “truth”. The word is used to represent general moral righteousness and truth. *Douri* is a central concept in the Japanese system of morality, and things that stray from it are generally unacceptable. The definitions of evil things in *Dejitaru Daijisen* often make use of this word.

## **7 Obsession is intoxication and drowning**

Another metaphor typical for Japanese is the intoxication metaphor. When someone is obsessed by something, they are intoxicated by that thing. Self-obsession in Japanese is expressed as self-intoxication (自己陶醉. *Jikotousui*). It is also possible to become intoxicated due to one’s success, which basically means that the person becomes haughtily arrogant.

(1) 成功に酔う

**Seikou** ni **you**

Success DAT get drunk

(To become **drunk** in one's own **success**)

(2) 妙技に酔う

**Myougi** ni **you**

wonderful performance DAT get drunk

(To become **drunk** in a **wonderful performance**)

(3) 名演技に陶醉する

**Meiengi** ni **tousui** suru

fine performance DAT intoxicate do

(To become **intoxicated** through a **fine performance**)

Another similar, although somewhat less common metaphor is the metaphor of drowning. In Japanese, drowning in something means that one becomes obsessively engaged in it or obsessed by it. One example of this is the kanji compound 溺愛 (*dekiai*) which mean obsessive love. The first character means “drowning” and the second one means “love”.

(4) 遊里沈溺

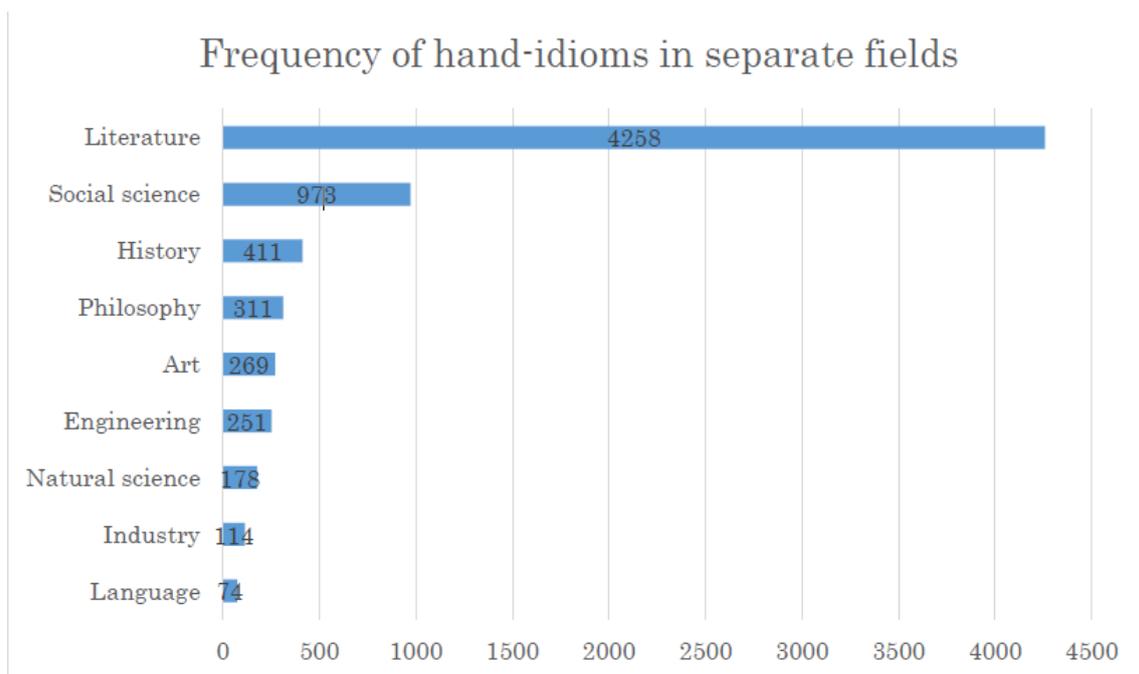
Yuuri chindeki

Pleasure district drowning

(Drowning in pleasure districts)

## 8 Context specific usage of idioms and conceptual metaphors

Unlike the usage of idiomatic expressions, the usage of metaphorical expressions and words appears to be less restrained by the genre of writing and the context. This is because metaphors are used to structure concepts, and not only to make language colorful. There are however exceptions to this. In cases where the clarity and unambiguity of the written material is of prime importance, very literal language seems to be preferred.



The above chart represents the total number of times hand-idioms appeared in the examined genres. Murata (2011) using the *Shoonagon* had access to writings from each of the above mentioned fields. This shows that the usage of idioms is extremely common in literature, where the variety and beauty of expression is important. The usage however decreases drastically in more technical genres.

The constitution of Japan contains no idioms and nearly no metaphorical expression. This does not however concern the most basic metaphors. Lakoff & Johnson (2003) calls these metaphors “orientational metaphors”. These metaphors concern things like the belief that up is good and down is bad, or that feeling up is good and feeling down is bad. These metaphors are formed by very basic human experiences, and appear to be very similar across cultures as Nabeshima (2001) shows. In his comparison between English and Japanese it becomes apparent that the basic orientational metaphors in the two languages are very similar to each other. Multiple examples of them can also be observed in the constitution of Japan. One example of such words is ”向上” (*koujou*), meaning “improvement”. The first kanji means “to face”, and the second one means “up”. When the constitution mentions improving living standards, the word *koujou* is used. The presence of orientational metaphors in the constitution is most likely due to the fact that these metaphors are so fundamental to our understanding of the world that replacing them would be extremely difficult. Another example of metaphors in the constitution can be seen in some of the kanji compound words used. The words themselves are not metaphorical, their construction however is. An example of this is the word 道德 (*doutoku*), which simply means “morals”. The first character used in this word is the character for way/path, and the second one means virtue. This shows that the word is constructed based on the path metaphor.

The constitution of Japan shows us that metaphors can be present even in the most literal and unambiguous writing. However, this appears to only concern the most basic of metaphors, those that are so fundamental to the language and culture that replacing them is not an option.

## **9 Discussion**

The study succeeded in creating a rough overview of Japanese metaphors, and outlining the major differences in comparison to English. I now realize however that creating a detailed explanation of what is and is not allowed in Japanese would require deep interviews with multiple informants. The major aspect of metaphors is that they structure our understanding of the world, and linguistic effects follow after that. A study of corpora and dictionaries can however only reveal the linguistic side of things. Delineating the possibilities of Japanese metaphors would require the testing of potential expressions that are so unconventional that no corpus or dictionary contains them. This means that the only way to test the properties of metaphorical conceptualization is to conduct studies involving native speakers. Another subject that could use further investigation is the frequency of metaphoric expressions in different genres of writing. It became apparent that basic metaphors are present even in the most formal writing, and that the basic metaphorical conceptualization of the world is inescapable.

The study succeeded in identify the most prominent differences between English and Japanese metaphors. This has the potential to make the acquisition of Japanese easier. Learning a new language also involves learning a new way of thinking, and a comparative study of Japanese metaphors can make the process easier. Another thing this study managed to accomplish is to identify the main Japanese metaphor not present in English. The path metaphor is ever present in the language, and understanding it is a crucial part of learning Japanese.

Addition of two dictionaries to the study made the results generally more reliable. The

*Shoonagon* gives real life examples of metaphor usage, but it is important to remember that native speakers also make mistakes. The inclusion of data from internet forums in the corpus makes it relatively probable that a large amount of mistakes are included. There is also no guarantee that all of the data in *Shoonagon* is written by native speakers. The dictionaries provided a reliable basis for the study, having factual examples and definitions with reliable sources. This also provides a certain reliability that interviews cannot have. The opinions of people often vary significantly, which is something that cannot be ignored. Generally accepted dictionaries are the only relatively unbiased sources of definitions and examples.

The metaphors presented here are not the only metaphors unique to Japanese. A variant of the conduit metaphor presented by Nomura (1993) treats language itself as a fluid. Remarks can be spilled out, you can be showered with complaints, and there is of course the concept of leaking information. This metaphor is not entirely absent from English, as in the previous cases, but it is noticeably more common in Japanese. It is also not an exception from the tendency of Japanese metaphors to be expressed through compound words. I however chose not to elaborate on this metaphor since Nomura already covered most of it. Moreover, certain small metaphors were omitted since they are relatively insignificant, and the point of this study was to outline the major metaphors. One of the small metaphors describes customs and folkways through the concept of wind.

## **10 Concluding remarks**

In conclusion, the study went relatively well and it was possible to identify a number of Japanese-specific metaphors. It was interesting to see that a lot of the metaphors used in

Japanese today were present in ancient China. English has certainly had a large influence, but China has been exerting linguistic and philosophic pressure on Japan for a very long time. This means that the Chinese metaphors are probably more deeply engraved in the language than the metaphors possibly imported from English. Additional research is required to identify all of the Japanese-specific metaphors, but that is beyond the purview of this essay. In the end I hope that the findings made in this study will possibly aid someone in the acquisition of the Japanese language.

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