

## CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS WITH THE SOURCE DOMAIN OF INSANITY IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

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**Abstract:** *The paper explores the conceptual metaphors with the source domain of INSANITY in English and Serbian, focusing on the features of the source domain that are transferred into target domains. It is shown that the experience that shapes these metaphors relies on the manifestations of mental illness and the common beliefs about mental illness that hold in both languages.*

**Keywords:** *conceptual metaphors, English, insanity, polysemy, Serbian.*

### 1. Introduction

In the majority of societies, insanity is a highly tabooed issue. Although the experience with people who suffer from mental illness is mostly limited, it is still suffused with stereotypes and prejudice, reflecting misconceptions about mental illness (Corrigan and Watson 2002). Bearing in mind the sensitivity of this issue, the lexicon of mental illness has changed throughout the centuries, following the predominant medical views, the social context and, consequently, the issue of appropriateness of these terms and the carefulness with which they should be used. The common words and phrases used in English and Serbian everyday discourse, such as *insane*, *lunatic* or *lud*, *ludak*, are generally no longer used in public and medical discourse. However, they still persist in everyday language, both in their original and extended meanings.

In the light of the aforesaid, in this paper we have focused on the set of lexemes that originally denote the general concept of mental illness in two languages, English and Serbian, and examined them against the framework of the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) with the aim of exploring and comparing conceptual metaphors that motivate the extension of meaning of these lexemes in both languages. This theoretical framework has proved prolific in exploring meaning extension and the links between cognition and language (e.g. Đurović 2014, Stevanović 2014). Our analysis is based on the examples collected from two representative corpora of English and Serbian.

### 2. Theoretical Framework

#### 2.1. Meaning in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The theoretical background for the research is provided by the cognitive linguistic approach, more precisely, the CMT, which postulates close links between language and thought (Gibbs 2006). According to this view, linguistic meaning is grounded in experience, which implies that “the nature of our brains, bodies and environments constrains and shapes what and

how we understand and reason” (Johnson 2005:16). This is mainly people’s experience with their bodies in action, the embodied experience, although other forms of experience may also build onto this (Gibbs 2006). For instance, “bodily experience is situated in sociocultural environment and social setting is seen as co-determining the corporeal experience” (Geeraerts 2010:250).

One of the key notions of the CMT is that of the conceptual metaphor. Starting from Lakoff and Johnson’s seminal book (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), much has been written on metaphor as a conceptual mechanism. Conceptual metaphor can be defined as “a fundamental mental capacity by which people understand themselves and the world through the conceptual mapping of knowledge from one domain onto another” (Gibbs 1994:207). A set of mappings is established between the source and the target domain, with the former being more concrete and directly related to experience and the latter diffuse, more abstract and lacking clear delineation (Kövecses 2002:20). Thus, people “structure the less concrete and inherently vague concepts (like those for emotions) in terms of more concrete concepts, which are more clearly delineated in our experience” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:112), and the mapping takes the form of a formula TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. Metaphorical mappings carry entailments – additional, sometimes quite detailed knowledge that may not be explicitly stated but is activated when using the metaphor (Evans and Green 2006). When structuring the target in terms of source, some of its aspects are activated, while some others remain hidden, which is known as highlighting and hiding (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

“The cognitive nature of metaphor” implies that it is not purely a “lexical” but “instead a deep-seated conceptual phenomenon that shapes the way we think (and not just the way we speak)” (Geeraerts 2010:204). In other words, the semantic structure encodes the conceptual structure (Evans and Green 2006:191). Metaphoric motivation implies that “sense extensions within a polysemous word are not arbitrary, but are constrained by embodied image-schematic knowledge and by various types of cognitive links relating different senses” (Beitel et al. 2001:243). Hence, by exploring the conceptual metaphors manifested in sets of expressions that illustrate metaphoric patterns, we can arrive at certain conclusions of how abstract concepts are presented and experienced in the mind of language users.

## 2.2. Previous Studies

Previous studies have mostly dealt with insanity-related metaphors in the target domain of EMOTIONS in the English language. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:49) cite a number of linguistic manifestations of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS MADNESS: *I am crazy about her, He has gone mad over her, She drives me out of my mind, He constantly raves about her, I’m insane about her*, stating that the dimension of madness highlighted in these metaphors is the ultimate lack of control. Kövecses (2000:21-29) argues that insanity metaphors apply only to very intense emotions (e.g. anger, fear, love) and provides a detailed elaboration of metaphorical mappings based on the concept of insanity, such as ANGER IS INSANITY (*insane with rage*), FEAR IS INSANITY (*insane with fear*), HAPPINESS IS INSANITY (*They were crazy with happiness*), LOVE IS INSANITY (*I am crazy about you*), LUST IS INSANITY (*You’re driving me insane*), SADNESS IS INSANITY (*He was insane with grief*). In his words, the metaphor EMOTION IS INSANITY “captures the ‘irrational’, ‘uncontrolled’ aspects of passion” (Kövecses 2000:59), suggesting that intense emotion is a state of the ultimate lack of control and that intense emotions bring about irrationality. The metaphors with the source domain of INSANITY can also be related to the PATH schema as in the expression *come to his/her senses*, which illustrates the metaphor SELF-CONTROL IS BEING IN ONE’S NORMAL LOCATION (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:274).

On the other hand, it has been shown that the LOVE IS MADNESS metaphor, which denotes the lack of control in love, can be found as early as in Chaucer's Knight tale (Trim 2010:244). This testifies that images of emotions as irrational states have been present in the conceptual systems of the English language for a long period of time. During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, there appeared a number of new words and phrases that described mental illness, which further diffused the generally held stereotypes of insanity (MacDonald 1981). Bearing this in mind, the general purpose of this study is to check whether the possible stereotypes about the mentally ill held by the speakers of English and Serbian are reflected in the extension of meaning of certain lexemes stemming from the source domain of INSANITY. These will be looked at through the prism of the CMT, since it postulates that only certain features of the source domain are highlighted in meaning extension.

### **3. Research Corpus and Methodology**

Within the CMT framework, the set of meanings is examined as a radial set whose elements are connected through a simple mechanism of semantic extension, one of them being metaphor (Geeraerts 2010:203). Primary meaning, related to primary experience, branches into other meanings that are connected with the primary, and, in this process, certain features of the source domain experience are transferred into the target domain. As previous research has suggested, the source domain of INSANITY is prolific in structuring abstract domains, but it remains vague which features of the experience with insanity motivate the extension of meaning of the lexemes originally associated with mental illness. People might have experience with common manifestations of mental illness (e.g. rage, irritability) and this can be a universal part of the experience with insanity, but there may be certain features of this experience that are culture-specific and reflect the commonly held stereotypes and myths about the mentally ill. On the other hand, the mentally ill experience a vast array of symptoms, which generally include changes in emotion and motivation, thinking and perception, and behaviour, such as confused thinking, mood swings, delusions, hallucinations, excessive anger or violence, lack of inhibitions, irritability, inappropriate emotions etc., depending on the disorder (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Any of these symptoms may serve as the feature of the source domain of INSANITY that is transferred into the target domain. Additionally, the features may be different across languages and cultures. Nevertheless, as will be shown in our analysis, people seem to hold a generalised notion of a person with mental illness, which is then reflected in language.

Hence, the first research aim of the paper is to explore the presence of the source domain of INSANITY in structuring the abstract concepts in English and Serbian, to formulate the conceptual metaphors relying on this source domain and to determine the types of abstract concepts structured via the source domain of INSANITY in both English and Serbian. Our aim is also to compare the languages with respect to the established conceptual mappings and their manifestations. Based on this, our final aim is to obtain an insight into the dimensions of the source domain highlighted in metaphorical mappings relying on the experience with insanity. This, in turn, can tell us something about the perception of this source domain by language users.

The set of analysed lexemes related to the domain of INSANITY was selected from the list of terms developed in the English language throughout the ages for denoting mental illness (DeFalco 2005). A small set of English lexemes was chosen from the set proposed by DeFalco, more precisely, those denoting mental illness in general. A similar list was then made for Serbian, bearing in mind translation equivalents and the everyday lexicon related to the concept of mental illness.

The lexemes included the adjectives describing the state of insanity: *mad*, *insane* in English and *lud* in Serbian; the nouns denoting the people with mental illness: *madman*, *lunatic* and *idiot* in English and *ludak*, *idiot* in Serbian; the nouns describing the state of insanity: *madness*, *insanity*, *lunacy* in English and *ludilo*, *ludost* in Serbian, and the nouns denoting the medical facilities where people with mental illness are treated: *madhouse* in English and *ludnica* in Serbian. Once again, it should be noted that the majority of these terms are no longer used in public and medical discourse on mental illness, since they are considered inappropriate. However, they still persist in everyday language, both for referring to people with mental illness and in their metaphorical meanings.

Having consulted the relevant dictionaries (*Oxford English Dictionary* for English, *Rečnik srpskoga jezika* for Serbian), we established the original meaning of these lexemes which directly refers to the concept of mental illness. According to dictionaries, all lexemes have a rich network of extended meanings. The dimensions emphasised in meaning extension are similar for English and Serbian and most comprehensive for adjectives. In English, the focus is on being unable to behave reasonably, being extremely silly or stupid, being excited and behaving in a dangerous, strange, uncontrolled way. In Serbian, the dimensions emphasised in extended meanings comprise being incapable of normal reasoning, being out of control, prone to irrational behaviour, acting unreasonably and being full of elation, joy, but also forceful or intensive.

After establishing the primary meaning of the selected lexemes, the examples of their use were collected from the representative English and Serbian corpora (*British National Corpus*, *Corpus of contemporary Serbian language of the Faculty of Mathematics, Belgrade University*). Following the guidelines for metaphor identification established by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), the examples where the meaning did not refer to the original concept were selected for further analysis. The total number of examples analysed included 422 for English and 235 for Serbian. Although there is a difference in the size of the corpora used for English and Serbian, the discrepancy in the number of examples can rather be explained by a smaller number of lexemes available for analysis in Serbian (for example, Serbian adjective *lud* has two English counterparts, *mad* and *insane*), but it did not affect the analysis. The examples were then classified according to the dimensions of abstract entities profiled in a particular case by the features pertaining to the domain of INSANITY. In what follows, we will provide illustrative examples of the conceptual metaphors that motivate the extension of meanings of the lexemes denoting the concept from the domain of INSANITY.

#### **4. Conceptual Metaphors Relying on the Source Domain of INSANITY in English and Serbian**

The analysis has revealed that a variety of abstract entities are conceptualised in terms of insanity in both languages. The entities profiled through these dimensions include people, their actions and behaviour, situations, emotions, states etc. The features of the experience with insanity highlighted in these cases mostly refer to the lack of something normally expected in people, such as rational behaviour, control, obedience to social norms, and only in one case to the excess of such features. We selected several most prominent cases of the use of the source domain of INSANITY in structuring the dimensions of abstract entities for further elaboration. The English translation of the examples from Serbian belongs to us.

CASE 1: LACK OF REASON/RATIONALITY IS INSANITY

In this case, everything is measured against what is considered “normal”. Under the supposition that people normally behave rationally, insanity stands for behaving irrationally in various life spheres, for instance, doing unexpected things or acting unreasonably in life, business, driving etc. Using this conceptual metaphor implies a certain evaluation of actions or behaviours, even judgement from the position of the speaker who sets the standards of what is normal and rational in the situation. The metaphoric pattern is realised by a number of expressions analysed, in both English and Serbian, mostly adjectives describing the state of insanity (ex. 1, 2, 5). The conceptual mapping LACK OF REASON/RATIONALITY IS INSANITY first of all applies to people, who are described as mad or madmen when they are considered to behave or want to behave irrationally or unreasonably, as can be seen in the following examples:

ENGLISH

- 1) This is one of those sports where the competitors agree secretly among themselves that they must be *mad* to take part in what is cycling’s equivalent of marathon dancing.
- 2) Now that Party Politics has been sold – reportedly for an offer Mr Stoddart would have been *insane* to refuse.
- 3) “Car got out of control. Some *madman* going too fast...”
- 4) It was an accident. (...) From what I can remember this *lunatic* just accelerated out from the side of the road.

SERBIAN

- 5) Gramatiku nisam savladao, pa mi je rekao da sam glupa i nesnošljiva zamlata i da je *lud* što se uopšte zamajava sa mnom.  
I haven’t mastered grammar so he told me I was a stupid and insufferable fool and that he had been insane to bother with me in the first place.
- 6) Treba, dakle, biti potpuni *ludak* pa da se i pored dužeg poznanstva misli o braku za koji ima tek jedna mogućnost, a protiv njega dvadeset hiljada.  
One should be a complete madman, even after longer acquaintance, to contemplate a marriage for which there is only one possibility and twenty thousand against it.

The concepts structured by this mapping include behaviour or actions (ex. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) and situations deemed as irrational (ex. 9), which are labelled as mad, insane or as madness, insanity or lunacy in English and “ludilo” or “ludost” in Serbian.

ENGLISH

- 7) Is it *mad* to spend 1 million on a folly?
- 8) Would it be totally *insane* of her to agree to his suggestion?
- 9) The British Government has acquiesced in an *insane* situation.
- 10) Cutting down the forest is sheer *madness*.
- 11) It suddenly occurs to me that it might be pure *insanity* to take this loan.
- 12) It seemed sheer *lunacy* to share such intimate sleeping arrangements.

SERBIAN

- 13) Kupovina Kristijana Ronalda bila bi u ovom trenutku *ludilo* (...).  
The purchase of Cristiano Ronaldo would be madness at this point (...).
- 14) Tadić je izjavio da se još nada da će se pridružiti EU i da bi bila *ludost* za Srbiju ako to ne učini.  
Tadić said he still hoped that we would join the EU and that it would be madness for Serbia not to do so.

CASE 2: COMPLETE LACK OF REASON/ LACK OF COMPETENCE IS INSANITY

This mapping is realised by one particular lexeme in both languages, *idiot*, which denotes a person with impaired mental capacities. The use of this conceptual metaphor entails a negative evaluation of someone doing something very stupid or completely irrational.

ENGLISH

- 15) They come into the theatre (...) and they sit there saying (...) ‘Can you imagine what kind of leadership is in our theatre – who is the *idiot* who gave this lady the role of Aida?’.
- 16) The 2.5 million mass media campaign had two themes – ‘Don’t fool yourself, speed kills’ and ‘If you drink, then drive, you’re a bloody *idiot*.’

SERBIAN

- 17) Neki je *idiot* rimske putnike koje je dr Komarowsky izolovao, pustio u tranzit.  
Some idiot has released into transit the Roma passengers isolated by Dr Komarowsky.
- 18) Ma onaj Širak je *idiot* što je to sprečio, sve je mostove trebalo srušiti.  
That Chirac is an idiot for preventing this, all the bridges should have been destroyed.

### CASE 3: LACK OF CAUTION IS INSANITY

Under the supposition that people are normally cautious and do not take unnecessary risks, those who do so are described as mad or insane. However, in this case, behaving irrationally in the sense of lack of caution can have a positive connotation, e.g. describing as mad someone brave enough to do something that involves a lot of risk.

ENGLISH

- 19) The people at work think I’m *insane* and when I showed them the video of the bungee jump it just confirmed their opinion that I’m a *lunatic*.

SERBIAN

- 20) Svojevremeno je devet godina živeo poput Robinzona, bez struje i vode, na jednom trošnom splavu sa “rečne strane” Ade Ciganlije. (...) Svi su me gledali kao nekog *ludaka*, a meni je bilo upravo fantastično.  
Once upon a time he had lived like a Robinson, without electricity or water, at a decrepit float on the “river side” of Ada Ciganlija. (...) Everyone thought I was a lunatic, but I was having a fantastic time.

### CASE 4: LACK OF SERIOUSNESS IS INSANITY

The supposition is that people are usually serious and, when they do silly things, this is labelled as insanity. In both languages, the non-serious actions are structured as being in the state of insanity (the noun *madness* in English, *ludost* in Serbian).

ENGLISH

- 21) I was in my forties when I met him – call it middle-aged *madness* if you like – but he was so kind and thoughtful.

SERBIAN

- 22) Doček Nove godine je idealna prilika da se isprobaju mnoge *ludosti*, da šminka bude smela, ekstravagantna i upadljiva (...).  
New Year’s Eve is an ideal opportunity to try out many crazy things, for make-up to be bold, extravagant and striking (...).

### CASE 5: LACK OF CONTROL IS INSANITY

In general, it is assumed that people normally control themselves, their actions and behaviour, as well as that normal situations are those under control. Our examples have shown that lack of control in people can occur when experiencing intense emotions towards someone or

something (e.g. love towards people or strong affection towards certain things, e.g. football). The mapping is realised by prepositional phrases involving the analysed adjectives related to the state of insanity in both languages (in English: *mad with love/insane with worry*, in Serbian: *lud od ljubavi*, when a person is in the state similar to that of insanity and the preposition specifies the emotion or state that caused it; in English: *mad about her/football* and in Serbian: *lud za mnom/vlašću*, which describe lack of control caused by strong affection towards someone or something, when the preposition specifies the object of affection).

#### ENGLISH

- 23) I am *mad* with love for you! Don't refuse me now!
- 24) I just didn't want to talk about our son, to tell how he has driven us almost *insane* with worry.
- 25) He calls her his Schimpanse: his chimpanzee. I have to say that I'm *mad* about her too.

#### SERBIAN

- 26) (...) govorio joj je odvođeći je na mesto, skoro *lud* od ljubavi.  
(...) he spoke to her, taking her to her place, almost insane with love.
- 27) Ja sam znala da me Šraf voli i da je *lud* za mnom.  
I knew that Šraf loved me and that he's mad about me.

Lack of control can bring about agitation and total loss of control, which are also conceptualised as insanity. In this case, the mapping is realised either by the nouns denoting the state of insanity (ex. 28, 31) or by phrases *to go mad/insane*, *to drive insane* in English or *dovesti do ludila* in Serbian, which focus on the cause of agitation or loss of control.

#### ENGLISH

- 28) "I don't know what kind of *madness* overtook me," he said, "but a little time ago I made a contract with somebody to have her killed."
- 29) And I I did I went completely *mad* and that's the only ever time I've ever hit anybody in my life, honest.
- 30) A fly, whose buzzing had been driving me *insane*, was struggling for life.

#### SERBIAN

- 31) Obuzet trenutnim *ludilom* pojurio je natrag, zgrabio boce sa nekom strašnom kiselinom, i razbio ih nad njihovim nagim, spletenim telima.  
Consumed by temporary madness, he rushed back, grabbed bottles with some terrible acid and broke them over their naked, entwined bodies.
- 32) Zvezdinog gorostasa doveo je do *ludila* da je hvatajući se za glavu pitao golmana Partizana: "Dokle bre ovako?"  
He has been driving insane the Zvezda giant, who kept asking the Partizan goalkeeper: "How long will this last?"

Lack of control in situations or actions can imply the lack of law or rules, which leads into anarchy. These situations are structured as the state of insanity (ex. 33, 35) or the facility for treating people with mental disorders (ex. 34, 36).

#### ENGLISH

- 33) I saw David shovelling more and more, he was getting more tired, more irritable, more run-down and less able to control the *madness* that was going on around him.
- 34) Warrington South MP Mike Hall has slammed the Government's rail privatisation policy as 'the politics of the *madhouse*'.

#### SERBIAN

- 35) Ljudi koji su pokušavali da zaustave to *ludilo*, bili su učutkivani jedan po jedan.  
People who have tried to stop this madness were silenced one by one.

- 36) Prema njenim rečima, možda bi posmatrala televizijske izveštaje i samo pomislila kako je tamo potpuna *ludnica*, ali je sasvim drugačija situacija kada se gledaju vesti i kada je njen sin u ambasadi koja je napadnuta.  
In her own words, perhaps she would just watch the television reports and think that it must be a complete madhouse out there (...).

When it comes to situations, lack of control can also be evaluated positively, denoting enthusiasm, excitement, giving in to instincts and doing something without inhibitions (e.g. having good time). Such actions are usually denoted as mad, while situations or atmosphere are denoted either as the state of insanity (ex. 39, 41) or a mental facility (ex. 42).

#### ENGLISH

- 37) She just knew she was going to have a *mad*, passionate affair with him.  
38) The days of *mad* spending are gone and exhibitors are looking to cover their costs and pay back the bank as soon as possible.  
39) Angelica, trying to place her accent but not managing it, said, "You should see it when the season gets going, it's *madness*".

#### SERBIAN

- 40) Amsterdam, Berlin i Pariz, osim dočeka na ulicama, obećavaju *lud* klupski provod raznovrsnom ponudom u kojoj su zastupljeni svi elektronski muzički pravci.  
Amsterdam, Berlin and Paris, (...), promise mad club fun by their versatile offer that includes all electronic music genres.  
41) Karneval je dostigao vrhunac *ludosti*.  
Carneval has reached the height of madness.  
42) Čeka nas *ludnica* u Igalu, kad Jadran igra na svom bazenu navijači sigurno daju 30 odsto više snage svakom igraču.  
We're up against madness in Igalo, when Jadran plays in their pool, the fans certainly provide 30 per cent more strength to every player.

### CASE 6: EXCESS OF INTENSITY IS INSANITY

In this case, the assumption is that the behaviour and actions of people with mental illness are more intensive, more pronounced than usual, and hence excessive strength, vigour, rush or excessive energy are labelled as mad.

#### ENGLISH

- 43) If already in hand-to-hand combat then he won't move away, but counts as charging again in the next round (the shaman dashes around with *insane* vigour much to the astonishment of his foes).  
44) Gertie Sohl, one of the lucky schoolchildren chosen to appear at Blackpool Children with previous experience not only did the shows at the Pavilion at 2 pm and 7 pm but they also appeared at the Ballroom in between, thoroughly enjoying the *mad* rush.

#### SERBIAN

- 45) No, svejedno, danas je pun neke *lude* snage. Grozničavo uzbuđen i beskrajno samouveren.  
Still, today he is full of some insane strength. Feverishly excited and infinitely self-confident.  
46) Saradnja s njim bila je veoma inspirativna. Posедуje mnogo divlje i *lude* energije.  
Cooperation with him inspired me. He has a lot of wild and insane energy.

## 5. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Our analysis has shown that the domain of INSANITY is used in structuring abstract concepts in both languages, English and Serbian. The dimensions of the source domain highlighted in metaphorical mappings include lack of reason, lack of caution, lack of seriousness, lack of control and excessive intensity. They mostly hold for people, actions and situations in

both English and Serbian, with slight differences in linguistic manifestations. The analysis has confirmed previous research findings (Kövecses 2000) that the dimensions emphasised in the mappings relying on INSANITY include lack of control and irrationality, but it has been shown that they hold for a range of abstract concepts.

These metaphors highlight certain dimensions of mental illness, which seem to correspond to a general notion of how a person with mental illness behaves and acts. We could argue that language is somewhat biased in the sense of stigmatising the people with mental illness through the metaphors, since the majority of evaluations in both English and Serbian are negative (people with mental illness are irrational, incompetent, chaotic, uncontrollable etc.). However, there are some positively evaluated mappings (people with mental illness do not obey rational and social norms; hence, they indulge in risky situations and have more fun). The limitation of the paper is that, due to restricted space, we could not include more lexemes into our analysis, which would further confirm the established mappings or maybe testify to some new ones.

Another issue is what brings about these mappings, or, in other words, what kind of source domain experience we are dealing with. First of all, the very domain of INSANITY is not so clearly delineated as many other frequent source domains (e.g. motion, food, animals) and is actually also a target domain, structured by other more concrete concepts. We can argue that the established mappings rely both on actual knowledge of mental illness and the prevailing beliefs about it. For instance, some studies have shown that people hold certain prejudice and stereotypes towards people with mental illness as being excessive, unstable, unpredictable, uncontrolled (Angermeyer and Dietrich 2006, Phelan et al. 2000) and these are the very dimensions most prominent in the established conceptual metaphors in English and Serbian. This finding can be explained in terms of highlighting, i.e. using only certain features of the source domain in structuring abstract concepts. An additional explanation is the influence of the prevailing image of people with mental illness which has, among other things, been shaped by literature (e.g. the recurring theme in Shakespeare's plays is madness, with a particular portrayal of people with mental illness focusing on certain characteristics only).

According to our analysis, there are no culture-specific suppositions about madness that are manifested in the mappings with the source domain of INSANITY. The conceptual metaphors with this source domain are virtually the same in English and Serbian, which belong to two distant and non-related cultures. Therefore, it can be argued that people hold a general belief about the features of mental illness and that this is reflected in language, although this argument needs further verification in studies of mental illness lexicon in other languages. This proves the role of not only direct or bodily experience, but other forms of experience as well.

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### Corpora:

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