AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN LITERATURE

A JOURNEY' AND 'THE DIVIDED-SELF' METAPHORS IN FAIRY TALES[1]

Javier Herrero Ruiz, Universidad de La Rioja
Email: javier.herrero@unirioja.es

Abstract: This paper resumes the series related to metaphors in fairy tales started by HERRERO in 2005 (cf. HERRERO, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008). In this case, the study is based on how the conceptual metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and THE DIVIDED-SELF may explain the structure and the basic meaning of more than twenty popular tales, which in turn accounts for some of the uncanny of tales.

The tales, which are representative of various cultures, were compiled by the British author Andrew Lang (1844-1912), and have been downloaded from the *Project Gutenberg* online library. Our research also casts some light on the fact that tales are akin in varying socio-cultural contexts: their solid experiential grounding may not only have contributed to a uniform plot, but also to an easier transmission of the stories in diverse, remote settings.

Keywords: Conceptual metaphor, fairy tales, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, THE DIVIDED-SELF, experiential, uncanny, culture.

Título en español: Encrucijada entre literatura, cultura, lingüística y cognición: Metáforas de *Life is a Journey* y *The Divided-Self* en cuentos de hadas.

Resumen: Este artículo continúa la serie relacionada con las metáforas en los cuentos tradicionales comenzada por HERRERO en 2005 (véase HERRERO, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008). En este caso el estudio se centra en cómo a través de las metáforas conceptuales LIFE IS A JOURNEY y THE DIVIDED-SELF se puede explicar la estructura y el significado de más de veinte cuentos populares, lo que a su vez da cuenta de parte de "lo maravilloso" que se da en ellos.

Los cuentos, representativos de varias culturas, fueron recopilados por el autor británico Andrew Lang (1844-1912) y han sido extraídos del *Proyecto Gutenberg.* Nuestra investigación apoya además la idea de que los cuentos son similares en contextos socioculturales diferentes: el hecho de que estén firmemente basados en la experiencia puede haber contribuido tanto a que sus argumentos sean parecidos como a que se hayan transmitido fácilmente en entornos lejanos y diversos.

Palabras clave: Metáfora conceptual, cuentos tradicionales, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, THE DIVIDED-SELF, experiencia, "lo maravilloso", cultura.

1. INTRODUCTION

Of the various types of mythological literature, fairy tales are the simplest and purest expressions of the collective unconscious and thus offer the clearest understanding of the basic patterns of the human psyche. Every people or nation has its own way of experiencing this psychic reality, and so a study of the world's fairy tales yields a wealth of insights into the archetypal experiences of humankind. (MARIE-LOUISE VON FRANZ, 1996: 1).

Several trends have studied fairy tales in the literature (e.g. psychoanalytical, feminist, structuralist, anthropological, etc.). In fact, they are widely acknowledged to have an immense semiotic power and to be characterised by an ever-changing polysemous nature, as their topics keep on varying, mixing with one another, hence resulting in dissimilar meanings in different historical and social frameworks. In this sense, the term 'metamorphosis,' which refers to the multifaceted structure of the fairy tale itself, constitutes a key concept. Moreover, fairy tales are seen as a fruitful resource for cultural analysis because the basic patterns of each re-telling are historically and culturally bound. However, we should bear in mind that whereas specific versions are subject to variation, their motifs (i.e. the stylistic details employed to connect the basic events) tend to be consistent with the plot outline (i.e. the sequence of basic events) of the tale type, which explains the fact that they have survived through repetition over time and across national boundaries in similar forms.

At this point, we may bring up the following questions: How have fairy tales transmitted all this knowledge and experience over the centuries? Why do fairy tales show similarities across different national boundaries and between distant cultures?

We can begin to answer these questions through consideration of the following quote:

Conceptual metaphor is pervasive in both thought and language. It is hard to think of a common subjective experience that is not conventionally conceptualized in terms of metaphor (...). Everyday metaphors are built out of primary metaphors plus forms of commonplace knowledge: cultural models, folk theories, or simply knowledge or beliefs that are widely accepted in a culture. (LAKOFF & JOHNSON, 1999: 45-59).

Actually, conceptual metaphor is not only a reasoning tool that has conveyed and conveys our commonplace knowledge for generations but, as we shall try to show in this analysis, it turns out to be a pervasive device used in fairy tales at a local level and, what is more, a full structuring mechanism of the plot outline that underlies the very essence of the fairy tale.

2. NEED AND PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH

Even though fairy tales have been investigated from many different angles and much attention has been devoted to their analysis, there is not a common, unified approach to their study. In this connection, we think that the current theory of cognitive metaphor (c.f. LAKOFF & JOHNSON, 1980, 1999; LAKOFF & TURNER, 1989; KÖVECSES, 1990; AND LAKOFF, 1987, 1993, 1996), may clarify the aforementioned questions.

With this purpose in mind, we shall try to show how the metaphors under scrutiny constitute the basis on which the fairy tales from our *corpus* are understood and built. Nevertheless, we also pursue some other goals in our research, namely:

(a) It is commonly held that metaphorical and symbolic structures underlie some forms of literature (fairy tales, mythology, etc.). In this paper, we shall attempt to shed light on some of the relationships between those structures and the metaphorical ones found in everyday language.

(b) Strikingly enough, some forms of literature (especially fairy tales) are alike across different cultures and remain with the passing of time. This can be explained on the grounds of the so-called 'universal metaphors,' which are thought to be a cross-linguistic norm.

(c) In Bowe's terms (1996), fantastic literature includes creatures and events which are impossible or, at least, extremely unlikely in the real world. Furthermore, the laws and rules which govern our reality do not always apply. However, in fairy tales and myths the bizarre is perceived as something common. But, "Does this mean that there are no laws? Does the world where magic is possible, the world of fantastic literature, function entirely arbitrarily? Or does this world also have a structure, however differently it may be organised?" (Bowe, 1996: 1). In Case Study 1 of *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, Lakoff points out: "A topic such as the logic of emotions would seem... a contradiction in terms; similarly, it may seem strange to talk about the principles which structure the logic of the fairy tale."

At this point, consider the idea that if the logic of emotions seems to be structured by metaphor and other ICMs (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999; Lakoff, 1987, 1989, 1993; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Kövecses, 1990, 2000; Peña, 2000, etc.), the inner logic of fairy tales may also be partly structured by these tools.

(d) The staggering fact that fairy tales comprise the so-called 'collective unconscious,' which is believed to have been conveyed from generation to generation since the origin of humankind, can be explained out of similarity by means of metaphor. Actually, conceptual metaphor has been considered a reasoning mechanism that has transmitted our commonplace knowledge throughout history.

(e) Strikingly enough, tales have endured the passing of time in akin forms. This was mainly due to the fact that they were wholly learnt by rote and circulated by story-tellers, but metaphor may have contributed to their spread as well. More specifically, from an experiential perspective (Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987) metaphor is regarded as an internalised mechanism of thought and reasoning. Hence, after acquiring these patterns both the comprehension and the retelling of these traditional stories –many of which are ultimately based on metaphor- could have been enormously facilitated.

In this fashion, the idea that metaphor is a reasoning mechanism that somehow conditions how we understand and perceive our cognitive environment (i.e. all the non-linguistic information that is relevant to interpret an utterance as subjectively perceived and interpreted by the language user) may also account for the views

(cf. BETTELHEIM, 1976) contending that fairy tales represent an embodiment of fundamental psychological dramas.

(f) There has always been a controversial debate with regards to tale classification (c.f. AARNE, 1961; PROPP, 1998; HANS-JÖRG, 2000). To our mind, the fact that tales can be based on conceptual metaphor allows them to be analysed in terms of the metaphors they contain, which may cast light onto this unresolved issue.

To the best of our knowledge, there are no preceding works within this line of research in the literature with the exception of KAREN BOWE's Senior Honour Thesis (1996), and some other papers on metaphor and myths (e.g. SWEETSER, 1995). In BOWE's case, not only does she emphasise that fairy tales may be structured by conceptual metaphor to some extent, but she analyses how the punishment of certain crimes in traditional tales can be metaphorically understood as well.

In order to flesh out these points, a computerised corpus of analysis has been used. The corpus includes the fairy tales written by the British author and compiler Andrew Lang (1844-1912), and have been entirely downloaded from the *Project Gutenberg* online library. In the selection of our corpus, we have been guided by these criteria:

(a) Practicability and ease of access: the corpus, besides being easily downloadable from *Project Gutenberg*, contains more than 386 fairy tales distributed in 11 books named by different colours. We should bear in mind that, since its format is electronic, we can work with it at a greater speed and in a more objective way.

(b) Functionality, prestige, variety, and representativeness: we chose Andrew Lang because of the prolificity as regards the collection of fairy tales and since, if compared to other writers, his tales are representative of many different cultures; through his series, tales range from European sources (including Russia, France, Germany, Norway, England, etc.) to African, American, and Asian. Furthermore, not only did he use written sources but spoken ones as well.

In order to identify the underlying metaphors we have made use of the (encyclopaedic) information contained in the *Berkeley Framenet Project*. With the help of this information, we have carried out a thorough and systematic analysis of the lexical patterns of the metaphors. Afterwards, we have resorted to *WordSmith* and its tool "Concord" to find instances of key words and phrases that could underlie metaphorical usage in the texts. Thus, we were able to notice if a given metaphor applies in a given tale or not. Also, we have employed LAKOFF's *Conceptual Metaphor Home Page* and some *Google* searches in order to further substantiate our analysis of the metaphors in everyday usage.

3. ANALYSIS

3.1. The journey

According to LAKOFF & JOHNSON (1999), we may find the following expressions in everyday language:

(a)   *For the under-fives good quality and accessible early education and childcare to support learning in the early years it is critical to give children **a good start in life**.*

(b)   *And with my reactions which were often unconscious, I tried to **give a new direction to my life** and to cure it.*

(c)   *I just feel like **I am going nowhere in my life**.*

(d)   *Are at a crossroad in your career and not sure **which path to take**?*

(e)   *I told her I had come all the way from America, that this was a $100,000 movie and I was trying to **make my way to fame** and fortune.*

In these examples, we think about life as purposeful, in other words, we see life as having destinations and paths towards those destinations. As Lakoff and Johnson point out, in our culture this is a deeply influential folk model according to which people are supposed to have a purpose in life. If you are purposeless, you are seen as "lost," "without direction" in your life, as "not knowing which way to turn." Hence, having purpose in your life somehow gives you "goals to reach" and forces you to map out a way to reach these goals, to see what other intermediate goals you would have to reach to get there, to contemplate what might be standing in your way, how to avoid obstacles, and so on.

This complex metaphor which has been labelled A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY is very pervasive, and it is built up out of primary metaphors in the following way. If we start with the cultural belief ("people are supposed to have purposes in life, and they are thought to act as to achieve those purposes"), the primary metaphors are PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS. Then, we can turn this into a metaphorical version of the aforementioned cultural belief, namely "people are supposed to have destinations in life, and they are thought to move so as to reach those destinations." These are then combined with a simple fact: "a long trip to a series of destinations is a journey." And when these are taken together, they entail the complex metaphorical mapping A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY, with the following correspondences:

(a)   A purposeful life is a journey.
(b)   A person living a life is a traveller.
(c)   Life goals are destinations.
(d)   A life plan is an itinerary.

Therefore, this mapping represents a complex metaphor made up of four submetaphors, being a consequence of:

(a)   The cultural belief that everyone is supposed to have a purpose in life.
(b)   The primary metaphors PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, and ACTION IS MOTION.
(c)   The fact that a long trip to a series of destinations is a journey.

However, as Lakoff and Johnson highlight, the full import of this metaphor for our lives arises through its implications, which are direct consequences of our commonplace cultural knowledge about journeys, especially:

(a)   A journey requires planning a route to your destinations.
(b)   Journeys may have obstacles, and you should try to anticipate them.
(c)   You should provide yourself with what you need for your journey.
(d)   As a prudent traveller, you should have an itinerary indicating where you are supposed to be at what times and where to go next. You should always know where you are and where you are going next.

Finally, these three submappings turn this knowledge about travel into guidelines for life:

(a)   A purposeful life requires planning a means for achieving your purposes.
(b)   Purposeful lives may have difficulties, and you should try to anticipate them.
(c)   You should provide yourself with what you need to pursue a purposeful life.
(d)   As a prudent person, with a life goal you should have an overall life plan indicating what goals you are supposed to achieve at what times and what goals to set out to achieve next. You should always know what you have achieved so far and what you are going to do next.

What is important to bear in mind at this point is that conceptual metaphors go beyond the conceptual; they have consequences for material culture. For instance, the metaphor under analysis, A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY, not only defines the meaning but also structures the action of many fairy tales whose central motif is the journey of the protagonist. In these tales, we normally find the story of the unnoticed little boy who goes into the world and has great success in life. Details may be different, but the basic plot tends to be the same: the protagonists of lots of tales frequently abandon their houses at an early age and set themselves out on a long trip in which they will face perils, undergo multiple adventures, meet people, perform heroic deeds, solve riddles, and basically live by their wits and goodness until they eventually free the beautiful princess, marry her, and live happily ever after. Although they go through different things in their own way, we usually find these kinds of general purposes or goals that become the main leading motor for the characters: becoming the king of the country –i.e. enthronement-, marrying a princess and having offspring, or obtaining money and fame –i.e. gaining the recognition of society-, etc. These sorts of final destinations tend to appear as a reward after having accomplished a great task which is normally presented as a difficulty or impediment in the trip; among the most classical ones: slaying a dragon, killing a famous dangerous bandit, defeating a powerful enemy of the kingdom, etc.

Nevertheless, as applied to this general schema in fairy tales, the metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY should slightly be redefined by the addition of the following correspondences:

(a)   A purposeful life is a journey.
(b)   The person leading a life is a traveller.
(c)   Life goals are destinations.
(d)   A life plan is an itinerary.
(e)   The means for achieving purposes are routes.

(f)   Difficulties in life are impediments to travel.
(g)   Counsellors, friends, and helpers are guides and supports to travel.
(h)   Progress is the distance travelled.
(i)   Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks.
(j)   Choices in your life are crossroads.
(k)   Material resources and talents are provisions.

Of course, the primary metaphors PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS still apply since the characters in the tales are supposed to have destinations in life, and they move so as to reach those destinations.

Interestingly enough, by means of conceiving the tale under the scope of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A PURPOSEFUL JOURNEY, we obtain a flexible schema which allows us to deal with non-prototypical tales in which the hero is not a male, such as in "The Water of Life," where a princess sets her brothers free, or in "The Girl who Pretended to be a Boy," where there is a girl who departs to save her sisters. In fact, any of the aforementioned correspondences may vary, and we may even find goals which are not based upon the pervasive ones of acquiring fame, richness, enthronement, and marriage, but food for many children, for instance, as is the case of "Stan Bolovan."

To illustrate all this, we may find instantiations of these correspondences in many fairy tales, since life is usually depicted as if it were a journey, which becomes a core element in the vast majority of fairy tales. Besides, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY METAPHOR seems to be central not only to European sources but to other ones, as the tales reviewed here show.

The beginning of the Japanese tale "Schippeitaro" wonderfully transmits the essence of the metaphor under analysis:

> It was the custom in old times that as soon as a Japanese boy reached manhood he should leave his home and **roam through the land in search of adventures**. Sometimes he would meet with a young man bent on the same business as himself, and then they would **fight** in a friendly manner, merely to prove which was the stronger, but on other occasions the enemy would turn out to be a robber, who had become the terror of the neighbourhood, and then the **battle** was in deadly earnest. One day a youth **started off from** his native village, resolved **never to come back till he had done some great deed** that would make **his name famous**. But **adventures** did not seem very plentiful just then, and he wandered about for a long time without meeting either with **fierce giants or distressed damsels**. At last he saw in the distance a wild mountain, half covered with a dense forest, and thinking that **this promised well at once took the road that led to it**. The **difficulties** he met with –huge **rocks to be climbed, deep rivers to be crossed, and thorny tracts to be avoided-** only served to make his heart beat quicker, for he was **really brave** all through, and not merely when he could not help himself, like a great many people. But in spite of all his efforts he could not find his way out of the forest, and he began to think he should have to pass the night there.

As we may infer from this quotation, the ultimate purpose of getting fame is undertaken via a journey, in which the hero is the traveller and his goals are at the end of his journey. Hence, the means for achieving this purpose are a road which seems to lead to a promising event. Then, difficulties in life are impediments to travel (the rocks, rivers, giants…) and,

in order to overcome them, the hero may have material resources or, as in this case, the virtue of bravery.

Another instance from the African oral tradition of the Senna is "The Story of the Hero Makoma," which tells of a young, strong boy who sets out on a journey to win fame, killing many giants on his way and becoming so powerful that he is offered a place in the clouds by the Great Spirit.

Now turning to an American source, "In the Land of Souls," from the Red Indians, tells about a brave Indian who departs towards the Land of Souls to bring his wife back to life.

> So the next morning he got up early, and put some food in his pouch and slung an extra skin over his shoulders, for he knew not how long his **journey** would take, nor what sort of country he would have to go through. Only one thing he knew, that if the **path** was there, he would find it. At first he was puzzled, as there seemed no reason he should go in one **direction** more than another. Then all at once he thought he had heard one of the old men say that the Land of Souls lay **to the south**, and so, **filled with new hope and courage**, he set his face southwards. For many, many miles the country looked the same as it did round his own home. The **forests, the hills, and the rivers** all seemed exactly like the ones he had left. (…) Now his way led through a **dark wood**, and then over some **steep cliffs**, and on the top of these he found a hut or wigwam. An **old man** clothed in skins, and holding a staff in his hand, stood in the doorway; and he said to the young chief who was beginning to tell his story, 'I was waiting for you, wherefore you have come I know. It is but a short while since she whom you seek was here. Rest in my hut, as she also rested, and **I will tell you what you ask, and whither you should go**.'

As seen before, a purposeful life becomes a journey in which life goals (here reviving a wife) are destinations, the overall plan being conceptualised in terms of an itinerary and the means for achieving one's purposes in terms of routes. Again, difficulties in life are impediments to travel (cliffs, hills, rivers, forests, etc.) and material resources and talents (hope and courage) are provisions. We may even observe here that counsellors (in this case the old man) are guides.

To end with, we make use of a tale from European sources, after having reviewed tales from Asian, African, and American origins. "The Blue Mountains" deals with three men that desert the army. In their escape, they discover a castle where a princess lives but just the Irishman asks who she is, thus finding out about her and taking a quest to set her free from the spell that had been cast upon her. However, he is also put under a spell and loses her, for which reason he sets out on a journey to find her in the Blue Mountains. After meeting two old men who help him find his way, the Irishman finally finds her again and marries her.

Interestingly enough, in connection with this basic metaphor in fairy tales, we have also analysed the correspondence DIFFICULTIES IN LIFE ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO TRAVEL, whereby the hero normally experiences troubles along his way that somehow produce not only a possible delay in his trip but even a full risk regarding the achievement of his primary task. Obviously, this leads to a different correspondence we have already

mentioned, namely PROGRESS IS THE DISTANCE TRAVELLED, which may be exemplified by the following instances of everyday language,

*(a)   I am **in the middle of the way** to finish my assignment.*
*(b)   The lowest share price we saw last year was 26 euros; it is now over 40 euros. We are going in the right direction, but we are still **in the middle of the way**.*
*(c)   I need help. **I am just starting my way** with Linux. I installed Mandrake on a test machine.*

In tales, PROGRESS IS THE DISTANCE TRAVELLED becomes apparent since the more adventures and quests the hero has overcome, the less distance remains to reach the goal which is located at the end of the path. This is closely related to the correspondence THINGS YOU GAUGE YOUR PROGRESS BY ARE LANDMARKS. Finally, the correspondence CHOICES IN YOUR LIFE ARE CROSSROADS is a frequent device in fairy tales, especially when the protagonists must make decisions. Let us observe this in some of our tales:

> This demand seemed so easy and agreeable and the reward was so great, that the Princes lost no time in setting forth on their travels. **At the cross roads** the two elder brothers debated if they should go the same way as the youngest, but when they saw how dreary and deserted it looked they made up their minds that it would be impossible to find what they sought in these wilds, and so they stuck to their former paths. ("Puddocky").

> The two elder brothers took many servants and carriages with them, but the youngest set out quite alone. In a short time they came to **three cross roads**; two of them were gay and crowded, but the third was dark and lonely. The two elder brothers chose the more frequented ways, but the youngest, bidding them farewell, set out on the dreary road. ("Puddocky").

> The old man, after waiting patiently for some time, sent his second son to seek the Golden Blackbird. The youth took the same direction as his brother, and when he came to the **cross roads**, he too tossed up which road he should take. The cap fell in the same place as before, and he walked on till he came to the spot where his brother had halted. ("The Golden Blackbird").

Now, let us continue by analysing some other related metaphors which deserve special attention. In connection to all this, the main character generally suffers a change in his social status as long as the trip goes on. This obviously leads to the metaphor CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION. In order to exemplify this, we may think about the tales in which the protagonist is born within a humble family of the woods which he abandons in search of adventures (which may lead to the metaphor LEAVING THE HOME OF ONE'S PARENTS IS MATURING), and by the completion of several heroic actions, he reaches the position of a king after marrying the princess, also perhaps after having passed through intermediate stages as page, knight, etc. As we have already seen in "The Blue Mountains," the protagonist starts as a deserter of the army, and ends up marrying a princess, thus inheriting part of the country. In this sense, as the character goes on changing his place of dwelling (from the poor hut in the woods to a chamber in the palace as a

servant and, eventually, to an impressive castle), his social position or state varies as well (from being the son of a humble peasant to becoming a servant and, in the end, the king of a whole kingdom). As Zipes (1993) suggested, when the oral wonder tale was passed on to the literary fairy tale (thus oral tales being written down), a constant element of the basic structure and theme which literary tales inherited was the magical transformation which involved a change in the social status of the protagonist. Even though peasants, the very origin of the oral wonder tale, were marginalized and excluded in the formation of this literary tradition (which was aimed to address a public and readership formed by the aristocracy, the clergy, and the middle classes), their materials, voices, style, and beliefs (basically, the hope for change) were incorporated into the new genre.

Furthermore, the term "state" may not only refer to a social status or position but even to the physical and sociological state, as is the case with many of the tales in which a repulsive animal eventually becomes a prince or a princess: the beast in "The Beauty and the Beast," the batrachians in "The Frog" and "Puddocky," or the pig in "The Enchanted Pig." In all the cases, the hero shifts from being a humiliated and ridiculed monstrous being, though having inner beauty, to the position of a nice prince or princess who ends up being loved and respected by everybody. For instance, "The Ogre" tells about a poor lad, Antonio, who was considered a simpleton. Antonio entered as the Ogre's servant and, through different magical devices which the ogre gave to Antonio, the poor lad ended up married and wealthy.

Nevertheless, we may have the opposite case: "The Goose-Girl" is the story of a princess who is sent to another country to be married but, as she loses her magic handkerchief on the way, she becomes weak and powerless, fact which leads the servant to take advantage of the situation, obliging the princess to change horses and dresses so that the maid would be taken for the princess-bride. Of course, at the end everything is resolved since the princess's horse, Falada, was able to speak.

Also, a related metaphor is DIFFICULT THINGS TO ATTAIN IN LIFE ARE UP, which may ultimately stem from the experiential fact that when we are kids and we want to get some alluring object normally placed at a high level, we cannot reach. In fairy tales, the final goal is not only located after a long distance and after many dangers, but tends to be beyond some hills or mountains. Palaces and castles, for instance, which are the target of many heroes, are generally placed at the highest point of a mountain or hill, which brings about the historical idea of self-defence, but also leads to the idea that the protagonist is about to culminate his ascension in the social level in terms of the already commented on metaphor CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION. Consequently, in reaching the final highest point of the journey, usually the metaphors CONTROL IS UP, HEALTHY IS UP, HAPPY IS UP, GOOD IS UP, HEAVEN/DIVINE IS UP, MORE IS UP, IMMORTAL/ SUPERNATURAL IS UP, etc. apply. In order to illustrate this let us draw the following examples: in "The Blue Mountains," the protagonist must reach them in order to get his wife, and thus happiness. In "The Story of the Hero Makoma," the protagonist is so great that he is offered a place in Heaven by the Great Spirit, also leading to the metaphors MORE IS UP, CONTROL IS UP, and GOOD IS UP:

In the morning when they awoke, Mulimo the Great Spirit was standing by them; and he said: 'O Makoma and Sakatirina! Ye are heroes so great that no man may come against you. Therefore ye will leave the world and take up your home with me in the clouds.' And as he spake the heroes became invisible to the people of the Earth, and were no more seen among them.

Finally, the protagonist of "The Flying Ship" must go to the world's end to get some healing water for the king, which also seems to imply the idea that health is difficult to reach and keep.

We have even found an instance of the metaphor LOOKING FOR SOMETHING IS EXPLORING A LANDSCAPE in the tale "The Princess who was Hidden Underground." In this tale, the protagonist –the prince- has to find his princess, who is hidden underground by her father so that no one could find her.

As important as the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, we also find the related LIFE IS A PATH or A PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELING ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION metaphors. From a psychological point of view, it would be interesting to see what people would do if they were asked to draw the meaning of a tale. To our mind, many people would draw a path or way leading to something, someone, or somewhere. From this angle, as we have already observed, we may see that several tales make use of paths as a way of representing the progress of the hero and, what is more, this may even be taken as symbol of maturation or growth.

Also, inheriting from the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the metaphor under scrutiny includes the correspondence "crossroads are options or decisions in one's life," even though these are normally presented as difficulties which tend to pose a sort of, say, decisive decision-taking moment for the character. The features of the path map onto the features of life in such a way that "difficulties in the path are difficulties in life." As usual, this metaphor has several realisations in common language:

(a)   *Can you envision the moment when each exCon has gone on to live a successful* ***straight life***, *never returning to prison or a life of crime again?*

(b)   *Often twenty something lead a* ***bumpy life***, *so to find out what they like and where their passion lies comes from trial and error.*

(c)   *Twain's* ***meandering life*** *is so filled with guilt, death, and heart-brokenness, one would find it odd if he did not become cynical and bitter.*

From our corpus, the most renowned tale involving a choice of paths is no doubt *Little Red Riding Hood,* the tale of a young girl who is offered two different paths to reach her grandma's house, namely the normal safe way and the way offered by the naughty wolf and where she takes longer as she enjoys herself with flowers and animals. In the end, the grandmother and the girl are devoured by the wolf, who had arrived earlier than Little Red Riding Hood eating the grandma up and using her garments to deceive the girl. So, in this tale, the metaphors DEATH IS REACHING A FINAL DESTINATION (the granny's home at the end of the path) and DEATH IS THE END OF LIFE'S JOURNEY apply as well.

In many cases, fairy tales show a character that has to perform not just one, but multiple deeds and tasks. In the Greek tradition, Hercules had to carry out twelve labours; more

recently, this echo could also be seen in Uderzo and Goscinni's *Asterix, The Twelve Tasks* (1976), who also underwent the same number of labours. What is really meaningful about this, is that we may argue for the existence of the metaphor LIFE IS COMPLETION OF TASKS, which may be exemplified by means of the following instances:

(a)   *His life was very **fruitful**. He did lots of things.*

(b)   *It was not enough just to die, or else the Saviour could have died at birth. But **his life was the accomplishment** of righteousness and polite-ness.*

(c)   ***He had a very busy life,** but now that he has retired from station life, he has time to create fine, unique pencil drawings for which he is famous.*

As a cognitive explanation, through our lives we normally set out to perform different tasks (e.g. exams, making friends, finding a job, and many other things) and we undertake them. Just to draw an example, "The Flying Ship" tells about a simpleton who, after helping a manikin, receives a flying ship. After gathering some people in his ship, he arrives at the court and, since he wants to marry the princess, upon seeing that he was a mere peasant, the king sets the most impossible tasks imaginable for him to accomplish.

To end with, a similar metaphor is LIFE IS UNDERGOING QUESTS, whereby fairy tales generally portray the confronting and resolving of a problem usually by taking a quest. Examples from daily language are below:

(a)   *The boy does not know it yet, but he is about to undergo **the quest of his life**, which will change the face of the world, forever.*

(b)   *Upon a hard adventure **yet in quest**.*

(c)   *Cease your **quest of love**.*

3.2. Tales of two brothers

Unlike "Brother and Sister," there are many other fairy tales in which two protagonists –generally brothers- may symbolise, as seen by Bettelheim (1976: 90), seemingly incom-patible aspects of the human personality. The two brothers usually separate after an initial period of having been together or having shared a common background (e.g. the family), and then endure different fates. In these fairy tales, which according to Bettelheim (1976) are among the oldest and most widely spread even though they are not common nowadays, the brother who remains at home and the adventurous one remain in touch through magic. But when the adventurous one dies because he has lived in accordance with his desires or since he has disregarded dangers, his brother sets out to rescue him, succeeds, and they end up reunited and living happily ever after. The details may vary and we may find two sisters or a brother and a sister, although this is less frequent.

Nevertheless, all these stories share features which suggest the identity of the two heroes, one being cautious and reasonable but ready to risk his life to rescue the other brother who has foolishly exposed himself to terrible dangers. Moreover, there is also a magic object involved which usually becomes the sign for the brother who sets out on the rescue when

the other is in danger (e.g. a bloody knife in "The Water of Life"). As BETTELHEIM (1976: 91) points out,

> The motif of the two brothers is central to the oldest fairy tale, which was found in an Egyptian papyrus of 1250 B.C. In over three thousand years since then it has taken on many forms. One study enumerates 770 different versions, but probably there are many more. In some versions one meaning becomes more prominent, in others, another. The full flavour of a fairy story can best be gained by not only retelling it or by hearing it many times –then some detail at first overlooked becomes ever more meaningful, or is seen in a new light- but also through becoming acquainted with the same motif in several variations.

Curiously enough, in all the variations of this tale, the two figures symbolise opposite aspects of our nature, impelling us to act in contrary ways. All this may be interpreted under the light of Cognitive Linguistics from the perspective of LAKOFF's (1993) views on "The Divided Person and The Objective Subject." As LAKOFF claims, every time we attempt to see ourselves as others see us, we are conceptualising ourselves as split in two, as if we were constituted of an ensemble of two parts at least: the Subject, the locus of the consciousness and rationality which becomes the centre of all subjective experience and values; and the Self, in which the Subject resides, and which includes our emotions, needs, desires, social roles, a past history, passions, and much more. Moreover, the Subject can reason but cannot function directly in the world, as the Self can. From our culture, we learn that the Subject should be in control of our Self so that our desires and passions do not erupt and make us harm others, or preferably, the balance between the Self and the Subject should be achieved. This stems from a metaphorical folk theory of who we are, a folk theory that we all grew up with, which is ultimately a folk version of the Subject-Object dichotomy of traditional Western philosophy with referents even in the ancient classical world where Baccus (Dionysus in Greece) was the representative of the Self[2], and Apollo of the Subject[3]. Furthermore, the folk theory here presented is grounded in the DIVIDED PERSON metaphor, by which a person is an ensemble (containing a person –the Subject-, and another entity at least –the Self-): the consciousness experience is the Subject, the bodily and functional aspects of a person constitute the Self, and the relations between the Subject and the Self is spatial (i.e. the Subject is normally inside, in possession of, or above the Self). Finally, in order to illustrate this issue, we may have a look at everyday language instances of the DIVIDED PERSON metaphor such as:

(a)   *Step outside and take a good look at yourself.*
(b)   *You should see others as others see you.*
(c)   *I'm not myself today.*

---

[2] Dionysus was the god of vegetable life (especially the grapevine and ivy) and, hence, he was the god of wine, fertility and poetry. He represented altered states, madness, drunkenness, and his powers were thought to disrupt social order. (Source: http://www.facstaff.bucknell.edu/gretaham/teaching/myth class/mythreader/godsajaxdemeter.htm)

[3] Apollo was the god of prophecy, healing, and the arts (music, poetry, dance...). He was also related to the sun, thus representing intelligence and moderation. (Source: http://classics.rutgers.edu/GreekCiv /Gods.pdf).

In "Brother and Sister," the choices are whether to follow the path of our animal nature or to restrict the expression of our physical desires and emotions for the sake of our humanity, the characters thus embody a sort of inner dialogue that we engage in when we consider what course to take.

In some other tales, such as "Half chicken," we also see the dichotomy based either on the striving for independence and self-assertion, and the opposite tendency to remain safely home, tied to the parents (in this case, because of the mother, an overprotective hen). As attested by BETTELHEIM (1976: 91), from the earliest version on, the stories stress that both desires reside in each of us, and that we cannot survive being deprived of either: the wish to remain tied to the past, and the urge to mature and reach a new future. In these tales, we learn that totally cutting oneself off from one's past leads to disaster, but to remain anchored in the past is stunting as well. In other words, even though staying home is safe, it provides no life of one's own, and only the integration of these tendencies permits a successful existence.

Whereas in most tales containing the DIVIDED SELF metaphor the brother who leaves home runs into trouble and is saved or rescued by the brother who stayed home (e.g. "How the Little Brother Set Free his Big Brothers," "The Bird Grip," "The Man without a Heart," etc.), according to BETTELHEIM (1976: 92), some others, including the aforementioned ancient Egyptian version, point out the opposite, i.e., the undoing of the brother who remains home. In both "The Twin Brothers" and "The Two Brothers" we see the same plot: the brother who remains home departs to save his brother, claiming the princess, who was married to the other, for his wife; after rescuing the brother, in telling him of what befell, the married brother becomes furious and kills his saviour, although he revives him in the end. As we may observe, sibling rivalry is also shown as a strong motif in these tales, as the first impulse of the married brother is to kill his sibling out of jealousy. However, his better nature fights against his lower impulses and eventually wins.

In brief, although there may be very different variants of these tales (e.g. a girl who rescues her brothers –"The Water of Life"-, a girl who sets out to save her sisters –"The Girl who Pretended to be a Boy"-, etc.), they ultimately point out the fact that if the contradictory aspects of our personality remain separated from each other, nothing but misery is the consequence. That is why after the brothers are eventually reunited, a symbol of having achieved integration of the discordant tendencies within us, they live happily ever after. In fact, many tales transmit the idea that tragedy occurs if the two brothers –standing for the two divergent aspects of our personality- do not become integrated. This is sometimes carried out to the extent that if a brother dies, the others die as well, as is the case of the tale "The Three Brothers." Also, in terms of BETTELHEIM (1976), the identity of the twins is constantly emphasised although in symbolic ways, as in the Lithuanian fairy tale "The Three Princes and their Beasts." In this story, the brothers encounter a hare, a fox, a wolf, a bear, and finally, a lion. Since they spare the lives of the animals, each gives them two of their offspring. After separating, each brother takes one of the two sets of animals, and the beasts work together to help their masters escape great dangers. This shows that successful living requires working together, i.e., the integration of the

quite different aspects of our personality, here symbolised by the differences between hare, fox, wolf, bear, and lion[4].

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have shown that the LIFE IS A JOURNEY and the DIVIDED-SELF conceptual metaphors are able to fully structure more than twenty fairy tales. Addressing the former, we have seen how the various correspondences of the metaphor gradually develop the plot of the tales in such a way that, in the end, some sort of objective is accomplished. Additionally, we have analysed other related metaphors (e.g. CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION, CONTROL IS UP, HEALTHY IS UP, LIFE IS COMPLETION OF TASKS, etc.) that interact with LIFE IS A JOURNEY in the attainment of the global meaning of the tales in which the metaphor under scrutiny acts as an engine for actions and events.

As far as the DIVIDED-SELF metaphor is concerned, it allows us to account for the meaning and interpretation of not only the canonical tales in the literature based on siblings but also of other possible variants, as the characters they portray are ultimately linked to the different aspects of human personality.

On top of that, we think that it is possible to classify tales according to the metaphors they contain. In this way, a taxonomy can be established on the basis of either the basic metaphors underlying the tales (as is the case of the two analysed here) or a combination of metaphors that characterise the stories. We also suggest that the fact that countless tales and stories make use of the journey and the siblings motifs in different socio-cultural settings may be a result of the strong experiential grounding of the metaphors studied. This could also have contributed to an easier transmission of the quintessential plots of the tales as it would have been easier to memorise their basic patterns.

5. REFERENCES

Aarne, A. 1961. *The Types of Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Bettelheim, B. 1976. *The Uses of Enchantment. The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales*. New York: Vintage Books.

Berkeley FrameNet Project. May, 2010. <http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/>

Bowe, K. 1996. *To Make the Punishment Fit the Crime: Blended Spaces and Conceptual metaphor.* Senior Honor Thesis. Department of Linguistics. Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley.

Hans-Jörg, U. 2000. "The Third Revision of the Aarne-Thompson Tale Type Index". *Enzyklopädie des Märchens.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

---

[4] See the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Ruiz & Herrero, 2005).

HERRERO RUIZ, J. 2005. "The KNOWLEDGE IS VISION and the AUTHORITY IS A BOUNDED REGION metaphors in fairy tales". *Interlingüística, 16*: 1-10.

_____. 2006. Conceptual metaphors in fairy tales. The cases of: ACQUIESCENCE IS SWALLOWING, INTELLIGENCE IS LIGHT, A CHILD IS HOPE OF CHANGE AND RENEWAL, DARKNESS IS A COVER, and POWERFUL IS WITTY". *Interlingüística, 17*: 475-482.

_____. 2007. "At the Crossroads between Literature, Culture, Linguistics, and Cognition: Death Metaphors in Fairy Tales." *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada (RESLA),* 20: 59-84.

_____. 2008. "At the Crossroads between Literature, Culture, Linguistics, and Cognition: Punishment And Moral Metaphors in Fairy Tales." *ODISEA,* 9: 117-132.

JOHNSON, M. 1987. *The Body in the Mind: the Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination and Reason.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

KÖVECSES, Z. 1990. *Emotion Concepts.* USA: Springer-Verlag.

-- 2000. *Metaphor and Emotion.* Cambridge: CUP.

LAKOFF, G. *ET AL. Conceptual Metaphor Home Page.* Berkeley. <http://cogsci.berkeley.edu/lakoff/>

LAKOFF, G. & M. JOHNSON. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By.* Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought.* New York: Basic Books.

LAKOFF, G. & M. TURNER. 1989. *More Than Cool Reason. A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

LAKOFF, G. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1989. "Some empirical results about the nature of concepts". *Mind & Language 4,* 1-2: 103-129.

_____. 1993. "The contemporary theory of metaphor". *Metaphor and Thought*. Ed. A. Ortony. Cambridge University Press. 202-251.

_____. 1996. *Moral Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

PEÑA CERVEL, S. 2000. *A Cognitive Approach to the Image-Schematic Component in the Metaphorical Expression of Emotions in English. Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Modern Languages.* Logroño: University of La Rioja.

Project Gutenberg. May, 2010. <http://www.promo.net/pg/>

PROPP, V. 1998. *Morphology of the Folktale*. University of Texas: Austin.

RUIZ GIL, E. & J. HERRERO RUIZ. 2005. "New perspectives on the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor". *Interlingüística, 16.*

Sweetser, E. 1995. "Metaphor, Mythology, and Everyday Language". *Journal of Pragmatics* 24 (6): 585-593.

Uderzo A. & R. Goscinni. 1976. *Asterix, The Twelve Tasks.* Citel video / PFC video.

von Franz, M-L. 1996. *The Interpretation of Fairy Tales*. Boston/London: Shambhala.

Zipes, J. 1983. *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion. The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization*. New York: Wildmann Press.