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Pragmatic and Metacognitive Applications of Metaphor and Metonymy in Dialogic Professional Genres: the Case of the Job Interview

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This article brings into focus the notion of metaphorical competence (MC) and posits the inclusion of its explicit training in LSP syllabi, stressing its important function in dialogic self-evaluative genres like the job/selection interview. A perspective of the different approaches to MC is given prior to discussing the features and specific difficulties intrinsic to the interview, as well as to analysing the metacognitive and pragmatic roles of metaphor and metonymy and the constraints governing them. Both tropes prove efficacious lexical activators and mnemonics and valid politeness strategies, especially as conflict neutralizers, intimacy builders, hedges, persuasive devices and topic-closing formulas. Key words: metaphorical competence, metaphor, metonymy, metacognition, pragmatic impact, LSP

Towards the inclusion of metaphorical competence in LSP programmes

Strangely enough, the new guidelines set out by the European Council (2001) for assessing language learning and teaching within the frame of the Common European Framework do not include the concept of metaphorical competence (MC) among the general and communicative abilities to be systematically fostered in a near future. At the most they mention the various cognitive styles (convergent, divergent, holistic, analytic, synthetic) as key elements of an existential competence or *savoir-être*, speak sketchily of inferencing heuristic skills as part of a broad ability to learn (*savoir apprendre*), enumerate the diverse politeness conventions impinging on sociolinguistic performance (positive and negative politeness strategies) or, in the ample scope of the pragmatic-functional competences, hint at variables such as rhetorical effectiveness, the observation/flouting of the gricean cooperative principles, and the (de)codification of attitudes, persuasion and socialization.

Thus, according to these recent trends, figurative language seems to make little impact in language pedagogy, being relegated, under the respective headings of sociolinguistic and lexical competences, to the knowledge of folk wisdom expressions (*op.cit.*120), sentential formulae, and phrasal idioms (*op.cit.*111). This article not only argues the important role of MC in L2 learning/teaching and subscribes to its explicit inclusion in the syllabi, but also advocates its usefulness in LSP environments, and more specifically in interactive genres.

Relying on the seminal studies of Lakoff & Johnson (1980), many a cognitivist has emphasized the ubiquity and relevance of metaphorical schemas in everyday life and made the case for their educational encouragement. Both Low (1988) and Danesi (1988) separately coined the term MC and defined it, with a stress on discursual and pragmatic aspects rather than on literary uses, as the ability to construct plausible meanings by means of original metaphors, to decipher (multiple) figurative nuances rapidly, to differentiate between new metaphors, conventional ones and the idiosyncratic extensions of these latter, and even to understand whether a statement is to be metaphorically interpreted or not. Danesi (1992), for his part, noted that the speech of non-natives is often much more literal (that is, less metaphoric) than that of native speakers, a perception further corroborated by Kecskes (2000), who maintains that it is precisely the insufficient conceptual fluency in the L2 and the differences between the L1 and L2 conceptual systems what prevents learners from developing a proper use of figurative language, no matter how much “native-like” their grammar may be. In Kecskes’s own words, “speakers with a low level of conceptual fluency will never sound native-like” (*ibid.* 148). Lastly, Cameron & Low (1999) pointed out that L2 learners experience most difficulties in those metaphorical meanings which are context-bound or of a pragmatic nature. But long before these findings came to light, Danesi (1992) had already put MC on a level with Hyme’s grammatical and communicative competences, sensing that the capacity to metaphorize is an integral part of human cognition and an indispensable element of awareness in language use, since native speakers usually encode discourse in metaphorical ways.

Today MC is viewed as a basic tool for building abstract meaning in language (we invariably grasp new knowledge by mapping the known into the unknown), and as a conscious (and fruitful) mechanism for learning. In its strict cognitive function, MC proves itself an independent broad human capacity (not intertwined with language, contrarily to what might be expected) increasing with age and identified with general conceptual and perceptual processes (Gardner & Winner, 1985), and in particular with holistic-analytic cognitive styles (Littlemore, 2002a). Littlemore (2002b) has in fact claimed its status of intelligence type and therefore speaks of a *metaphorical intelligence* that gathers at least three cognitive processes, namely associative fluency, analogical reasoning (*i.e.* a “syllogisms factor”), and image formation. She additionally highlights its value as a *transcompetence* affecting other communicative abilities: the organizational competence at a

grammatical and textual level, and the pragmatic competence in its illocutionary and sociolinguistic aspects¹.

As regards its metacognitive role, Cortazzi and Jin (1999) showed the relevant double function of MC in teaching/learning. On the one hand, metaphor helps students to raise awareness of key concepts, models and issues —and on the whole of the cultural, affective and interpersonal dimensions of language—. On the other, it makes teachers realise that through their self-constructed metaphors they reflect their own experience, worldviews, and above all, their appreciation of the students' learning process, which entails a moral responsibility.

Concerning classroom methodology, the application of metaphor theory in learner-centred settings lends itself to peer-scaffolding when tackling (inter)cultural knowledge, and to the creation of a common pool of resources such as shared cognitive mappings or webs of meaning and repertoires of metaphorical expressions. Holme (1991) underscores the benefits of collaborative activities like the paraphrasing of metaphors from texts facilitated by the teacher, or discussions about the underlying author's intention and its perlocutionary effects. Within the field of LSP, Lindstromberg (1991), Dudley-Evans (1998), and Boers (2000) have equally suggested the efficacy of conceptual metaphors in the acquisition of specialised lexis. In this vein, the empirical study of Littlemore (2004) detected a tendency in language learners to employ metaphoric extension strategies to work out the meaning of unfamiliar vocabulary. Their successful application is largely influenced by three major factors: word concreteness (more concrete items favour them), the presence of contextual clues (*idem*), and the student's cognitive style (visual over verbal).

¹ Littlemore bases her research on Bachman's (1990) comprehensive model of communicative language ability. Such a model breaks into two macrocompetences, organizational and pragmatic. The first one is composed of the grammatical and textual competences, whereas the ones embraced by the second are illocutionary and sociolinguistic. The corresponding constituents of each competence are the following: vocabulary, morphology, syntax and phonology/graphology (grammatical), cohesion and rhetorical organization (textual), ideational, manipulative, heuristic and imaginative functions (illocutionary), and sensitivity to dialect or variety, register and naturalness and the ability to interpret cultural references and figures of speech (sociolinguistic).

In what follows I will be outlining some of the pragmatic and metacognitive possibilities of metaphor and metonymy in the ESP classroom, with a focus on the job/selection interview as a prototype of dialogic genre that furthers metaphorical and metonymic learning and the expression of affective language and politeness strategies through these two tropes.

Specific traits of the job/selection interview

The job/selection interview may be redefined, as I have put forward elsewhere (Sancho Guinda, 2001), as a complex genre conjoining a series of dichotomic communicative variables that must be kept balanced all throughout: concision/explicitness (*i.e.* a greater or lesser observation of Grice's maxim of quantity), and a continuous fluctuation of face wants, be they termed negative/positive faces, autonomy/affiliation, or self-reliance/modesty. The pair concision/explicitness most often embodies a choice between defensiveness and communicative cooperation, since extreme brevity and abstention tend to be interpreted as signs of hostility or uncollaborative mood, if not of linguistic poverty. The polarity negative/positive face is frequently verbalised through hedging and boosting techniques, which are in turn part of an extensive set of positive/negative politeness strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1978) comprising the options of establishing or not common grounds with the interlocutor (by deciding whether to bring up shared knowledge, avoid disagreement, praise moderately his/her former comments, involve oneself and transmit optimism, etc.), showing deference, being solidary, or respecting the social distance marked by hierarchy, either social or professional (cf. Alcaraz, 2000: 177-180).

In addition to these pragmatic underpinnings, the job/selection interview revolves around three main text types/communicative functions: narrative, description, and prediction (Cabellos Castilla *et al*, 1996), and occasionally condensed argumentation. It also contains three different kinds of vocabulary: *disciplinary* (having to do with the technical expertise requested for the position), *academic* (referred to the applicant's educational background), and *personal* (allusive to the candidate's personality and private life). Although Dudley-Evans and St. John (1998: 81) think that the teaching of specialised lexicons does not constitute a priority goal in LSP, it is nonetheless indispensable to dwell on those three vocabularies

in order to master the genre. But surprisingly, lexis and the cognitive difficulty of questions are not the chief hurdles encountered by students. They are instead the expression of subjective and interpersonal meanings, and the accomplishment of evaluative tasks through synthesis and inference, demanded by approximately 40% of questions in average interviews (Prieto & Sancho, 2001). True that quasi-homophones/homographs (e.g. *venue* and *revenue*), cognates of Spanish terms (e.g. *eventually/temporarily*, *recur/resort to*, *at present/presently*, *sensible/sensitive*, *assist/attend*, *actual/current*, *resume/summarise*, *ultimately/lately*, *extension/expansion*, *prospect/brochure*, *discuss/argue*, etc.), and genre-loaded words (e.g. *perquisites*, *package*, *on site*, *multi-site*, *profit-driven*, *assets*, *sound awareness*, *literacy*, *customer-led*, *high visibility posts*, etc.) may turn out arduous to learn, but failure is in the main caused by interactive factors: reactions to sudden topic, harassment and tone shifts, or the aforementioned evaluation and subjective encodings (Prieto & Sancho, 2001). Other researchers and ESP practitioners, like Almendárez (2001:145), have as well perceived that technical students exhibit a poor, denotative lexicon of *core words* and expressions lacking emotional quality of any sort.

Metaphor and metonymy may disclose the speaker's feelings and provoke an affective response from the listener, build intimacy, can be used as manipulative devices since they may offer shared attitudes (persuasion is the ultimate purpose of every job/selection interview from the applicant's viewpoint), provide a balance between boosting and hedging, help to neutralize the aggressiveness of some harassing questions, smoothen assessment tasks, and activate whole lexical sets. However, they are no teaching panacea since their application implies dedicated training and certain constraints that must be abided to achieve the desired effects.

Metaphor, metonymy and lexical creativity

Metaphor and metonymy are intricately interwoven. Whenever we project a concept from one domain of experience (source) onto another, called the target domain (*i.e.* when we do a metaphorical mapping), we are selecting the most salient feature(s) of this target domain so as to convey the intended idea. Analogously, once the mapping has been devised, the combined operation of

both tropes persists in the building of the new figurative “universe” through the establishment of ontological and epistemic correspondences² between domains.

In this way, with the aid of metaphor and metonymy new mental associations and connotations are triggered, and metonymy acts as a mnemonic resource: it coherently evokes full lexical sets based on self-experience and a single train of thought, which guarantees a more than acceptable degree of lexical fluency and prevents word/expression blanks from happening. Let us take as example Lakoff & Johnson’s identity A PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY (in our case the candidate’s academic or professional career) IS A JOURNEY, which may be proposed by the teacher. He/she may also give the overall ICM (idealized cognitive model)³ and the image schemata (see Appendix 1) framing such propositional correspondence:

Universal ICM of journey = *Origin à Trajectory à Destination*
(Basic components: traveller + trajectory or path + *locus* or landmark)

Through class elicitation one may arrive at the complete (though not exhaustive) schema given below:

Straight trajectory = honesty/logic thought

(be/play straight with, come straight to the point)

Decision = parted ways or choice between multiple paths

(hit/be at a crossroads, follow/take a path)

² Ontological correspondences or projections link substructures between the source and target domains, whereas epistemic ones represent the knowledge imported from the first to the second. In other words, it could be said that ontological relationships assign entities/roles among elements from both domains, while the epistemic synthesize their common features.

³ ICMs are complex *experiential gestalts* or macroorganizations formed by image or propositional schemas which are in turn composed of metaphorical and metonymic projections.⁴ Para una clasificación detallada de los tipos de programa véase Nunan, D. (1988). *Syllabus Design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press y White, R.V. (1988). *The ELT Curriculum, Design, Innovation and Management*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Opportunity = subsequent journey

(miss the boat, jump/climb on the bandwagon, open new paths/doors)

Progress = movement/movement ahead/in the appropriate direction

(be underway/on the way, follow steps, go/follow along, advance, move forwards/aboard, make headway in, keep going/moving, foresee, look forwards/back on, leave behind, get/go far, be on the right track, head for, be headed in the right direction, take a big step, etc.)

Lack of progress & obstacles = backward, detoured, tangential, circular, delayed, ascending or adirectional routes + absence of movement or temporary impediment

(go around in circles, need direction/guidance, stray off the path, lose one's way, go off on tangents, get sidetracked, get nowhere, fall behind, come to a dead end, stop/get stopped, a stopover on the way, come at a standstill, be at an impasse, be held by, be bogged down, stick in the mud, sit on the fence, get stuck in/with, hindrance, face hurdles, obstacle, hurdle, hit a brick/roadblock, go uphill/upstream, gobackwards/rearwards, etc.)

Destination = (be about to) meet objectives as a result of following the right direction

(reach destination, be over, end of the journey, cross the bridge, see light at the end of the tunnel, have come a long way, etc.)

So far we have seen an ICM belonging to the concept of *motion* (journey = directed motion), but there are other schemata attached to that of *location*. Applicable instances, again from Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are the propositional schemas grounded on orientational experience: UP = CONSCIOUSNESS, LIFE & HEALTH, HAPPINESS, CONTROL & STRENGTH, GOODNESS & VIRTUE, RATIONALITY, HIGH STATUS as opposed to DOWN, which represents the negation or contradiction of the former attributes, and the conceptual relationship PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, in our case adapted into THE APPLICANT IS A PLANT, or even (my idea) THE APPLICANT IS A HARVESTER. According to the UP/DOWN schema we obtain:

Positive connotations = *top grades/priorities, be on top of the world, high status, higher education, high visibility posts, be in high/low spirits, to aim high, to rise high in one's profession, to stand high in one's esteem, to pick up (= learn, correct, recover/improve, realise, take advantage of, resume...), update, upgrade, upmarket, uprate, topflight, topnotch, a superior, superior quality, control over, get over/overcome difficulties, illness, wake up to reality, go up the rank scale, elevated thoughts, etc.*

Negative connotations = *inferior, down and out (=very poor), downbeat (=depressing), downcast (=dejected), downfall, downgrade (=demote), downhearted (=disappointed, discouraged), go downhill (=get worse), downmarket (=cheap, popular, of less category), downscale (=downmarket), downplay (=underrate), downside (=disadvantage), down time (=inactive time for computers & machines), downtrodden (=oppressed), take a downturn (=get worse), underachievement, underdeveloped, underdog (=disadvantaged person), underemployed, underestimate, underfunding, undermine, underpaid, underperform, underqualified, undervalue, etc.*

Likewise, if the candidate is identified with a plant, the ICM is one predicated on a firm rooting, proper growth, and (optionally) fruits, whereby we may get personal references like:

I try to become a cultivated person, I need to nurture myself with culture/new interests, I expect to grow in a position like this, I'd like to put down roots here, My enthusiasm won't wither despite difficulties, I think I'm ripe/green for this position, etc.

The version identifying the applicant with a harvester would generate metaphors such as these:

To cultivate oneself/new interests/friendship, reap fruits (=accomplish goals) = harvest, to prepare the ground for, to sow (=initiate something, start something from the beginning, create), to plough/plow through (=make one's way with difficulty) = back through, to prune (=polish, adjust, reduce), etc.

It is not really a matter of rushing students into thinking like native speakers of English but rather of making them (more) sensitive to the metaphorical phrasing of ideas and pinpointing common metaphorical visions of the subjects and objects of the interview in both languages. With respect to metonymy, its inherent working principle of *conceptual adjacency* has a crucial role in marking the transitions between categories within mental lexicons (Ungerer & Schmid, 1996: 38). The induction of vocabulary with this technique can be used as a guide to elaborate individual candidate personality profiles without falling into lexical blackouts. Starting off from Taylor's theory of prototypes (1989), we can organise series of lexical sets in which certain peripheral members function as hinges

to the contiguous set (see Appendix 2), each set being in contrast categorised by its central (*i.e.* more inherent) members.

A second application of metonymy is the construction of a *hybrid or polyvalent semantic space* between categories dealing with personal qualification (see Appendix 3), especially helpful in those interviews that do not specify the type of position (tasks, desirable profile of the applicant) at stake. The candidate will have an advantage if he/she defines him/herself with the qualities delimited by the intersection of two prototypes (those of leader and subaltern), so that he/she can present him/herself as a peripheral member of both categories and hence increase his/her operative potential:

STANDARD LEADER QUALITIES = charismatic, inspiring, guiding, protective, dominant, powerful, self-assured, determined/with initiative, wise/learned, self-motivated, passionate, creative, courageous, competitive, communicative, compromised

STANDARD SUBORDINATE/SUBALTERN QUALITIES = obedient, cooperative, good team-worker, efficient, quick, competent, precise, productive, systematic, interested, discrete, loyal, autonomous, self-controlled, flexible, cordial

PERIPHERAL ATTRIBUTES COMMON TO THE LEADER AND SUBALTERN PROTOTYPES = realistic, pragmatic, prudent, tenacious, patient, fair, tolerant, reliable, responsible, honest, humble, coherent, positive, goal-oriented

Metaphor, metonymy and pragmatic impact

We have so far seen how metaphor and metonymy may operate as lexical activators and mnemonics. Let us now examine their pragmatic dimension as politeness strategies finally aimed at persuasion: they can be used as intimacy-builders, mitigators and manipulative devices (all of them positive politeness functions), or as negative face-savers, harassment neutralizers, and dissuasive devices (negative politeness resources).

Pragmatic applications of metaphor

1) *Metaphor as intimacy-builder and manipulative device*

Despite its unidirectional and subjective codification of meaning, metaphor conjures up extralinguistic shared knowledge which may generate complicity and intimacy between the interlocutors. In this respect, Searle (1983) compares its function to that of other pragmatic phenomena, like irony or hyperbole. For instance (emphasis mine):

- a. What was your most difficult subject at college and why?
 - a.1) Thermodynamics. Many students failed because the teacher was really hard.
 - a.2) Thermodynamics. The teacher *was nails/a real tough nut!*
- b. How come your grades in Thermodynamics were so low?
 - b.1) I found it very difficult.
 - b.2) It was *an uphill struggle* for me.

Answers a.2) and b.2) create an atmosphere familiar to the interviewer, indicate that the interviewee is able to shift register at will and according to the context, that he/she is acquainted with colloquial expressions and cultural metaphors, and that he/she views past mistakes with humour and optimism. In this subtle fashion, applicants may use language to gain affiliation and give a glimpse of their communicative abilities together with their creative potential.

2) *Metaphor as mitigator, neutralizer, and dissuasive device*

Humour and shared knowledge can additionally be employed in a metaphorical way to overcome unjustifiable gaps in the curriculum. A question like:

- c. I see it took you three years to pass Calculus
 - c.1) Yes, it did. It was a first-year subject and getting started was difficult for me. I had to change my workstyle to succeed. But I don't look back to it anymore.
 - c.2) Yes, it was a first-year subject and *the first step is always the hardest*. But *I learned the lesson* and had to change my workstyle to succeed. Now *I don't cry over spilt milk anymore*.

may be answered either literally (c.1) or metaphorically through the prolific propositional schema GENERIC = SPECIFIC (c.2). This second version seems a little more cooperative and its decodification demands a receptive and good-tempered disposition on the listener's part. Similarly, slightly harassing questions of the type:

- d. Why did it take you so long to finish your studies?
- e. Why did you start these studies so late?

may be responded by giving plausible and succinct literal reasons, although the matter may be evaded with the aid of idioms (again emphasis mine), whose rounding-off or topic-closing quality dissuade the interviewer from further questioning (for a deeper account on idioms and topic shift see Koester, 2000).

- d.1) Because I was in the need of taking evening jobs.
- d.2) Because I was in the need of taking evening jobs. I didn't want *to bite off more than I could chew*. Besides, I've always thought it's *better late than never...*
- e.1) Because I had started other studies before these ones, but decided to change.
- e.2) Because I had started other studies before these ones, but decided to change. *One is never too old to learn.*

It is convenient to classify idioms according to the qualities most valued in the job market (*e.g.* teamwork, self-control/prudence, flexibility, will-power, tact, creativity, challenge), so that mental associations close to self-experience may arise during the interview (see Appendix 4).

Frontal harassment may be as well neutralized with idioms:

- f. So far I don't like you. Give me reasons why we should hire you.
 - f.1) I don't know why you think like that. I can contribute to this company by doing.../with my...
 - f.2) Well, better not *to judge a book by its cover*. I can be an asset to this company because I meet the requisites for the position, I am responsible, will-powered, open-minded and willing to learn.

Pragmatic applications of metonymy

The biggest risk of point-blank self-evaluating questions is that the candidate, in fear of selling him/herself short, provides assertive answers with no mitigation at all and so may end up sounding arrogant. A negative response, on the other hand, would be unconceivable and discard him/her right away for being much too modest (for having a notorious imbalance between the positive and negative faces):

g. Are you intelligent?

g.1) Of course/Sure I am.

Yes, I am.

(Yes,) I think so.

g.2) Well, I am insightful, analytical, and tend to apply logic.

Any of the possibilities contained in g.1) are arrogant in some degree, but the tangential approach in g.2) to the quality probed for here (intelligence) mitigates the assertive response by mentioning strongpoints and skills (insight, analysis and logic) inherent to such quality within a *part-for-part* —or better yet *target-in-source*— metonymic schema, which originates a derived explicature (Ruiz de Mendoza, 1998). This metonymic turning proves effective for self-evaluation in qualities with a large inborn or genetic component (*e.g.* intelligence, creativity), whereas it is unnecessary for those more dependent on will-power, self-control/commitment or training (*e.g.* team-work spirit, responsibility, etc.). Another metonymic technique to soften aggressive questioning and negative evaluation is the substitution of the omitted weakness by another element from the same experiential or conceptual domain with a part-for-part schema:

h. Are you a religious person?

h.1) Yes, I am/No, I am not/This is none of your business/This issue is irrelevant to the job.

h.2) Excuse me, I don't understand the relation between this question and my capacity for the job.

While g.1) would be either too naïve (too disclosing), too abrupt, or too authoritarian, g.2) appears to show surprise and at the same time rebuts that type of

question for its intrusion into private grounds. In this metonymy, called *illocutionary* according to its scope of action (Panther & Thornburg, 1999), one illocutionary act stands for another (here a statement formulating an indirect question stands for a complaint/negative critique). Furthermore, candidates may have recourse to *target-in-source* metonymies to assume full agency. The RECIPIENT FOR DOER schema instantiates this connotation of supposed responsibility and control over events:

- i. Why did it take you so long to pass this subject?
 - i.1) I failed three times (*versus* The teacher failed me three times)

To conclude, it has been mentioned in passing that the proficient use of metaphor and metonymy throughout the interview is subject to certain constraints. Firstly, the intention underlying any metaphor or metonymy must be clear enough to the interlocutor, which means that he/she has to be familiarised with the domains or subdomains at play (Cameron & Low, 1999:130). Secondly, in order to prevent excessive boosting or self-assuredness in answers to self-evaluative questions, those metaphors and metonymies with an uplifting function should never be applied to inborn qualities like creativity or intellect. Thirdly, tropes in general should be used sparingly: a metaphorical overmindfulness might result in a stilted style. Next, metaphors should not be used (but if they are, with extreme caution) until the verbal interaction has gathered some pace. Otherwise the effect produced will be unnatural and/or confusing. Besides, given their rounding-off quality, those metaphors due to the schema GENERIC = SPECIFIC (idioms) are in general inappropriate for initial ice-breaking questions and commentaries and can instead be employed to mark off the need for a topic shift in harassing questions. Last, the speaker must weigh the relationship cost-efficiency, and consider whether literalness is, on equal terms, conceptually and linguistically more economic than metaphor.

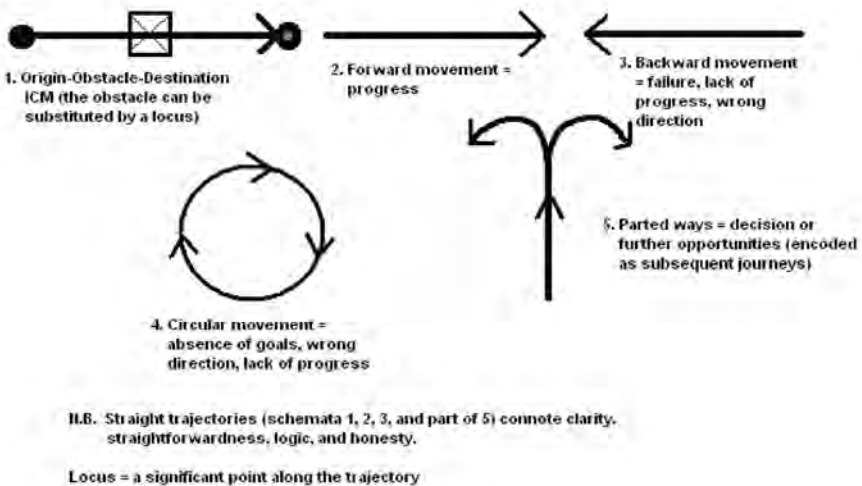
Conclusion

It is well-known that Human Resources experts have recently shifted attention from psychometric testing to linguistic performance as the foremost assessing factor through the selection process. Conceptual mechanisms like metaphor

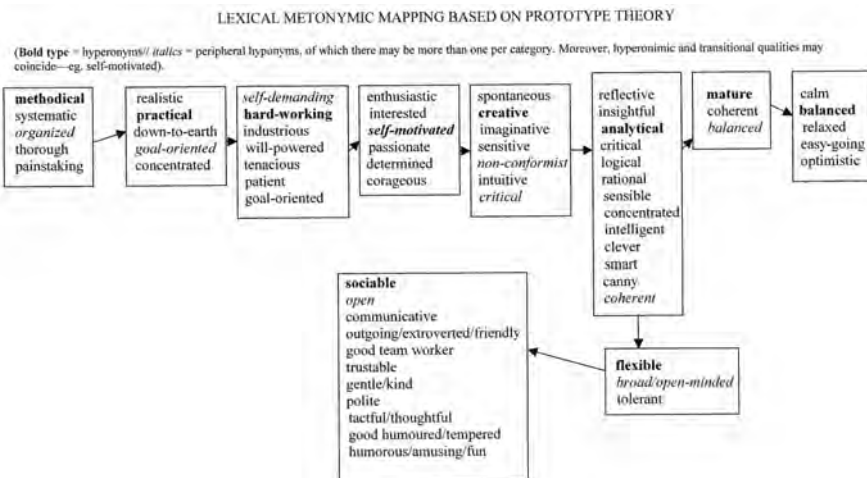
and metonymy may show the candidate's excellence regarding linguistic and cultural proficiency in the target language and creative and analytical thought, since metaphorizing involves a capacity for selecting the source domain and mapping ontological and epistemic relationships. Also, conventional vocabularies are side-stepped in favour of a more personal semantic imprint. From a methodological standpoint then, the guided application of metaphor and metonymy enriches the students' sociopragmatic and lexical skills. For all these reasons, the overt training in MC should be contemplated as part of LSP syllabi and metaphorical and metonymic schemata (both propositional and visual) could be provided to students as advantageous tools for learning.

Appendix 1

Visual schemata for the prototypical notion of directed movement in the western thought:

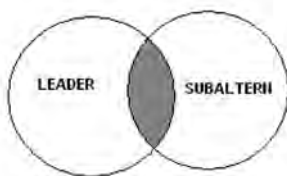


Appendix 2



Appendix 3

Visual schema of the *hybrid space* between the standard qualities of leaders and subordinate workers:



Appendix 4

Non- exhaustive classification of idioms according to the qualities most demanded in the job market:

Teamwork

In unity there is strength
If you can't beat them, join them
Two heads are better than one
Every little helps
It takes two to tango
Birds of a feather flock together
A friend in need is a friend indeed
A friend who shares is a friend who cares

Will power

Practice makes perfect
Experience is the best teacher
He that seeks shall find
Don't put off for tomorrow
 what you can do today
There's no shortcut to success
Rome wasn't built in a day
Little by little and bit by bit
A stitch in time saves nine

Creativity

Want is the mother of industry
Necessity is the mother of invention

Prudence

Against misjudgment → All that glitters is not gold / The proof of the pudding is in the eating / Don't judge a book by its cover / Actions speak louder than words / A tree is known by its fruit / Easier said than done / A ragged man may cover an honest man / Clothes do not make the man / Appearances are deceptive / Barking dogs seldom bite / Second thoughts are best

Against overreaching or excessive ambition → Jack of all trades, master of none / Grasp all, lose all / The best is often enemy of the good / Leave well enough alone / Extremes are dangerous / Don't have too many irons in the fire / A

Flexibility

There's more than one way to skin a cat
Everyone to his taste
It takes all sorts to make a world
All roads lead to Rome
Variety is the spice of life
That's water under the bridge
Don't cry over spilt milk
Let bygones be bygones

Challenge

Nothing ventured, nothing gained
No pain, no gain
You cannot make an omelette without
breaking eggs

Tact

When in Rome do as the Romans do
Don't bite the hand that feeds you
Don't look a gift horse in the mouth

bird in the hand is worth two in the bush / Don't bite off more than you can chew

Against foolhardiness → Better to ask the way than to go astray / Better safe than sorry / Cross the stream where it is shallowest / Look before you leap / Don't put all your eggs in one basket

Against lack of realism/daydreaming → Don't count your chickens before they are hatched / Don't put the cart before the horse / You reap what you sow

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