The sense of control and power with OVER

Jasmina Hanić

University of Tuzla

Abstract

The classical category theory uses a homonymy approach, where different meanings of one lexeme are symbolized by the same form without any particular relations between them. Cognitive linguistics reduces this sense arbitrariness and offers mechanisms of meaning extensions, one of which is the theory of conceptual metaphor. In this paper, we study some aspects of the particle OVER as a formative element in verbs in relation to Langacker's (1987) distinction between trajector and landmark. The analysis here focuses on some metaphors for power and control within the framework of cognitive linguistics. Verbs formed with OVER will be shown to behave differently depending on the metaphors which underlie them.

Key words: trajector; landmark; verticality; metaphor.

1. Introduction

Cognitive linguistics (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1987; Kövecses, 2002, 2005) defines metaphor as "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another" (Kövecses, 2002: 4). In other words, metaphor is a cognitive mechanism where aspects of one experiential domain (source) are made to correspond to another experiential domain (target). Cognitive linguists argue that image-schemas lie at the base of many conceptual metaphors. The VERTICALITY (UP-DOWN) schema is very relevant for the conceptualization of power and control and also very productive in the construction of many metaphors related to these concepts. Attention has also been drawn to static and dynamic uses of the particle OVER as a formative element for verbs. Static refers to senses in which a trajector is located above a landmark whereas dynamic implies the motion of a trajector over a certain trajectory to reach a position above another entity (landmark).

The analysis is based on the semantic criterion giving the presentation of all meanings of verb-forming particle OVER related to the sense of control and power. This is only a small part of its complex semantic network. The senses presented in this paper are abstract, metaphorical and based on primary, spatial senses.

2. Trajector-landmark distinction

In this paper, we analyse verbs formed with OVER in relation to Langacker's (1987) concepts of trajector and landmark and the verticality schema. Trajector and landmark are defined in terms of primary and secondary focal prominence which applies to things and relationships (Langacker, 2008: 72). Trajector (TR) is characterized as having the primary focus whereas landmark has a secondary focus within a profiled relationship. Landmark (LM) is usually a bigger entity which has a relatively fixed position as opposed to the trajector and serves as a reference point for the trajector. This is similar to figure-ground organization applied by Talmy (2001). Figure is a more salient and dominant entity with respect to the ground. Figure is automatically perceived by humans standing out against the ground (back-ground).

3. Space dimension as a source domain

We understand the basic concepts in space dimension because our physical world is based on spatial relations and we use them to structure human experience which is not concrete. Spatial verticality serves as a basis for establishing different non-spatial relationship. We experience verticality due to the effects of gravity. Reaching higher position in physical space requires more physical effort to overcome these effects. This fact is mapped on the domain of social relations, i.e. reaching a more favourable position in social, intellectual or business relations. We learn and struggle to stand erect which requires balance and control and to rise up requires power.

Lexemes that refer to vertical dimension in physical space expand their meanings into the abstract domain of society. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), orientational conceptual metaphors play a significant role in understanding abstract experience in terms of spatial orientation. For example, the entire concept of society is conceptualized in terms of vertical orientation. UP-DOWN schema utilizes vertical orientation for understanding concepts like quality, emotions, social position, hierarchical structures, etc. Vertical dimension is the source domain for the following metaphors: POSITION IN SOCIETY IS A POSITION ON A VERTICAL SCALE, FAVOURABLE SOCIAL POSITION IS UP, UNFAVOURABLE SOCIAL POSITION IS DOWN, HIGH STATUS IS UP, LOW STATUS IS DOWN, for example:

She'll rise to the top.

He's climbing the ladder.

He is at the bottom of the social hierarchy. (Rasulić, 2003: 240)

Power, authority, prestige, importance as well as the physical strength are conceptualized through vertical dimension as being up. The basis for this

conceptualization is the metaphor SOCIETY IS SPACE – social space is conceptualized as physical space. As a result, we understand social positions in terms of spatial positions. Higher position is desirable because it allows a person to move and act in a larger area while the lower position limits the person as it contains more obstacles (Rasulić, 2003: 242). Another metaphor that is used to understand society is SOCIETY IS A PYRAMID. Social space is conceptualized as a pyramid which is broad at the bottom and becoming narrower towards the top which is occupied by a limited number of people or even one person only (Rasulić, 2003: 243). Being figuratively down or under is unfavorable and this is also projected from physical space to social domain as it implies a lower position on a social scale. There is another conceptualization where changing a social position is understood as moving up on a scale as climbing a ladder. Metaphors used in this conceptualization are REACHING A MORE FAVOURABLE POSITION IS MOVING UP, REACHING AN UNFAVOURABLE POSITION IS MOVING DOWN (Rasulić, 2003: 245). There are several other metaphors where the source domain is physical space and the target domain is society:

- DIFFERENCE IN SOCIAL LEVELS IS DIFFERENCE IN HEIGHT - Society is organized in different segments, layers and this is understood through metaphor (Rasulić 2003: 247).

- SOCIETY IS A PILE metaphor highlights the negative aspect of social hierarchy: being on its bottom. The heaviness of the crowd makes this position unfavourable.

- SOCIAL POSITION IS A PERSON e.g. *a US high official* (Rasulić, 2003: 250).

- Conceptual metonymies: PLACE FOR ENTITY e.g. *high and mighty*, PART FOR WHOLE e.g. *high society*.

4. Previous research

Brugman (1981) was the first to offer a detailed semantic analysis of the English lexical item *over* using radial categories and schema transformations in order to prove that lexemes have their prototypical meanings and that non-prototypical meanings are directly or indirectly related to the central meaning, i.e. central member of a category. The category has primary senses from which other non-primary senses are extended.

Lakoff (1987) agrees that categorization on the basis of a prototype (prototype approach) is more efficient than the traditional, classical approach. According to Langacker (1987), membership is not a matter of degree. Schema is equally imposed on all members of a category and it is "an abstract categorization that is fully compatible with all the members of the category it defines" (1987: 371).

This approach is used in this paper. All verbs formed with the particle OVER at a certain level of interpretation share the same schematic meaning. In the case of OVER this general meaning is 'to be over in space, above or on the top of'. In terms of trajector and landmark, this means that a trajector is located above a landmark and all other senses are elaborations of this schema. However, the analysis in this paper is limited to elaborations related to the domain of social hierarchy, more precisely power and control.

5. Metaphors of power and control with OVER

The first meaning of OVER listed in OED is 'to be over in space, on high, above the top or surface of', which implies the static nature of the relationship between trajector and landmark. However, OVER can involve two states: static or dynamic (depending whether there is motion of the trajector or not. With dynamic senses we will also recognize the path schema as the trajector moves over a certain path – trajectory to reach a desired and a more favourable (higher) position.

1. As already mentioned, as a part of the complex semantic network of OVER we find the domain of power or control. The primary metaphor used to understand the concept of power is CONTROL IS UP. Control is conceptualized on a vertical axis in such a way that powerful entities are up and the ones without power are down, i.e. being on top and above something is being in control 'over' it. In other words, being powerful is being up, being powerless is being down (POWER IS UP, BEING SUPERIOR IS BEING ABOVE). This implies that people on higher social positions are superior to the ones on the lower positions where we find another conceptual metaphor SUPERIOR IS UP. The following verbs belong to this group: *overcrow, over-govern, overlead, overlord, overpeer*, etc. OVER expresses the figuratively higher, superior position of the trajector with respect to the position of a landmark.

The metaphor RESPECT IS UP, LACK OF RESPECT IS DOWN can be found in the following verbs: *over-cess, over-esteem, over-estimate, oversum*. OVER in these verbs also denotes undesirable 'excess' as the trajector crosses the boundary (functioning as a landmark) that is considered proper.

2. As previously mentioned, social hierarchy is conceptualized in terms of verticality where one person is higher on a social scale than the other and this is achieved through the mechanism of metaphor. Accordingly, gaining control or power over someone is conceptualized as going upwards on a vertical axis while putting another person down. This involves an agentive trajector which is at the same time trajector asserting itself upon a landmark – the entity being overpowered. Trajector suppresses the landmark so that it occupies a higher and socially favourable position than the landmark. By suppressing the landmark, the trajector achieves the victory over the landmark occupying superior position conceptualized as physically higher. The metaphorization of the concrete to

abstract domain is rather clear in this case as well as the motivation for this extension. The trajector (person, emotion or event) exerts its dominance over the landmark by overpowering it. In this group, the meaning of the complex verbs is not the result of merely combining the meanings of its constituent elements. This group represents a metaphorical extension of a physical sense and includes the following verbs: *overawe, overbear, overcome, overgang, over-power, overswive, overthrow, overwarp.* The CONTROL IS UP, LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN metaphor is found in numerous examples given below:

(1) *The third part of the second half of the book mainly concerns the Germanic tribes which invaded and finally **overthrew** the Roman empire.* (BNC)

(2) *The proletariat established its `hegemony' over the mass movement which **overthrew** tsarism.* (BNC)

(3) *The spot marks the place where where hundreds and thousands gathered in February 1986 for a popular uprising that **overthrew** the late President Ferdinand Marcos, and made Mrs Aquino the President.* (BNC)

These verbs can be used to refer to abstract entities rather than concrete human entities as exemplified below by sentences (4)-(8). These examples represent metaphorical extension as in example (4) IDEAS ARE OBJECTS:

(4) *The early nineteenth century saw major developments in embryology, which challenged the mechanical concept of generation and **overthrew** the preformation theory.*

(5) *His successor, Majorian, apparently **overthrew** this arrangement, pushing the Burgundians out of the environs of Lyons in 458.*

(6) *…, although Bennet, having previously piloted the abolition of gaol fees, **overthrew** statutory rewards for informers on felony in 1818.*

(7) *It matters not how strong the persuasion was, so long as it did not **overbear** the independence of the patient's decision.*

(8) *It means that there has to be some violence used against the woman to **overbear** her will or …* (BNC)

The verb *overweigh* is another example of meaning extension through conceptual metaphors (IDEAS ARE OBJECTS in example (9) or EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS in sentence (11)):

(9) *Say what you can; my false **over-weighs** your true.*

(10) *One kind look from you will **overweigh** a thousand such small services.*

(11) *If their testimony shall not **overweigh** my supposed guilt, I must be condemned.* (OED)

3. Another spatial sense of OVER is the sense of 'covering'. This sense involves a trajector that is covering a landmark. In order to do so trajector has to be positioned above the landmark being in full (or partial) contact with it, upon the

surface of the landmark in order to cover it, hide it. The covering can be complete which means that the trajector is larger than the landmark extending across and beyond the surface of the landmark or it can only partially cover the landmark. According to this criterion this group of verbs can be divided into two subgroups:

a. This subgroup has the meaning 'to cover completely', which implies that the trajector is of the same size as the landmark so that its boundaries surpass the boundaries of the landmark until it is completely covered. Thus, concrete trajector occupies a higher position than the concrete landmark: *overcloak, overclothe, overcloud, overcover, overcurtain, overflame, overgild, overglass, overglaze, overgrow, overmantle, overmask, overnet, over-paint, overroof, overscarf, overshade, overshadow, oversmoke[1], oversnow, overspread, overstrew, overveil*, etc. OVER in this case conveys spatial, prepositional relations but most of these verbs developed figurative senses and are used to refer to abstract concepts expressing the notion of superiority. This is shown in the examples below (12)-(18):

(12) *Calonnes, Breteuils hover dim, far-flown,* **overnetting** *Europe with intrigues.* (OED)

(13) *…, and more especially as it would give the honour due to the focus of all our liberties, of that regulated freedom which we hope will* **overspread** *the world.* (BNC)

(14) *Darke cloudy death* **overshades** *his beames of life.* (OED)

(15) *A passing sentiment seemed to* **overshade** *the brows of my companion.* (OED)

(16) *It is easy to let this feeling of tragedy* **overshadow** *his story, but that would be wrong.* (BNC)

(17) *This relative success should not, however,* **overshadow** *Labour's undoubted.*

(18) *If these conflicts dominated the past, they look set equally to* **overshadow** *the future.* (BNC)

There are two more verbs with the meaning 'to spread above as if to cover, hide' but in a figurative sense. These verbs are *overgloom* and *overname*.

(19) *Nothing intervenes to* **overgloom** *my mind.* (OED)

Two complementary conceptual metaphors can be recognized in this example NEGATIVE EMOTIONS ARE DOWN, POSITIVE EMOTIONS ARE UP. There is also the notion of power.

b. The second subgroup means 'to cover something partially'. In this case, trajector is smaller in size than the landmark and is located above the landmark but only partially covering the landmark: *over-bar, overlap, over-stain, overseal*. This sense of OVER is productive in abstract contexts:

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[1] The second meaning is excess.

(20) *The explanation for the delayed start is that the Rugby Union and the BBC agreed not to make Rugby Special **overlap** with Sunday Grandstand.*

(21) *Our imperatives or priorities are by no means entirely congruent, but at least they **overlap.***

(22) *In ideal situations, indoor and outdoor activities will **overlap**, as children move freely from one to the other.* (BNC)

4. The same prepositional relations can be applied to abstract domain. Agentive trajector is positioned above a landmark in an abstract domain. Trajector is figuratively directed from above downwards on the landmark. In this case both trajector and landmark are human entities. For this group, trajector is a look that is governed by an agentive trajector which sets the trajector above the landmark denoting the act of supervising as in *over-eye* (the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy), *overgaze, overglance, overlook, overpeer, oversee, overview, overwait, overwake, overwatch, and overview.* Verbs in this group are highly metaphorical and metonymic. Supervision is metaphorical in nature as it implies that the supervisor is occupying socially higher position (MORE FAVOURABLE SOCIAL POSITION IS UP). The act of supervision expressed by the abovementioned verbs is considered to be performed by people occupying higher positions. Supervision is understood through the conceptual metaphor CONTROL IS UP: the one who oversees is understood as having control over the overseen. We can also recognize conceptual metonymies because the act of seeing i.e. perception stands for the complete human conduct (the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy). The metonymy SEEING SOMETHING DONE (stands) FOR MAKING SURE THAT IT IS DONE is based on an idealized model that when you see something you are sure of it (Lakoff, 1987: 437).

(23) *They would be **overseen** by social services inspectorate.* (BNC)

The verbs *overlook, overpeer* and *oversee* have a spatial sense 'look from above, look down on' as exemplified below:

(24) *A hill that **ouer-peered** the great Mediterraneum.* (OED)

(25) *As long as this awful structure shall **oversee** and guard the subjected land.* (OED)

These physical relations are mapped to the abstract domain of superiority where OVER denotes excelling and reaching a figuratively higher position than another person or an abstract concept:

(26) *Mary Read had little else to do than **overlook** the other servants.* (OED)

(27) *Generous and unselfish principles **overpeer** the coarser and more self-regarding impulses.* (OED)

In *overlook* and *oversee* the meaning cannot be predicted from its parts but it is not completely arbitrary. The metaphorical concepts already exist in language and the spatial meaning of OVER. In *oversee* and *overlook* these meanings are used as a

combination of independent parts. So the meaning of *overlook* is motivated by a spatial schema and two conceptual metaphors.

OVER appears to be more productive in expressing power implying some sort of movement. Therefore, dynamic senses are considerably more numerous than static ones.

5. As opposed to senses mentioned above, OVER may refer to a certain dynamic in achieving power, i.e. trajector moves to reach a position that is above another entity (LM). In verbs like *overblow, overflee, overfly, oversoar*, etc. OVER is used with the physical sense of 'passing above, over head'. The trajector moves above the landmark (without any physical contact) passing it and reaching a position on the other side or after the landmark. This is presented by Figure 1 below. Through the mechanism of conceptual metaphor this motion applies to the domain of control.
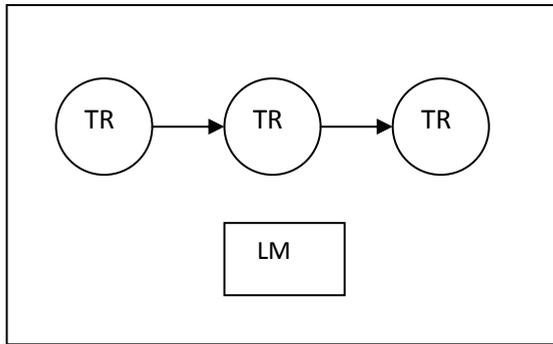

Figure 1.

6. The same schema applies to the following verbs with the meaning 'to omit': *overfly, overhip* ('to hop over figuratively'), *overlook, overscape, oversee, overskip, overslip, overslide* (pass unnoticed). These verbs are highly metaphorical, based on two conceptual metaphors. The first to be identified is SEEING IS TOUCHING - whatever our eyes touch we see it. This implies the sense of control as well. In these verbs that does not occur and the entity does not see it, they overlook it. The second metaphor is MIND IS A BODY or specifically one aspect of it LOOKING AT SOMETHING IS TAKING IT INTO CONSIDERATION. In other words if you omit (overlook or oversee) something you don't take it into consideration.

(28) *One cannot **overlook** the fact that you yourself are not of the nobility.* (BNC)

(29) *Many things he cannot see, and many things he may **oversee**.* (OED)

Verbs *overlook* and *oversee* also have another meaning in common and that is 'to look down upon, from a higher position'. As for *overlook,* this can refer to an actual place exemplified by sentence (30) or a social position as shown in example (31):

(30) *A couple of bedrooms **overlook** Loch Ness, and others the village and the Caledonian Canal.* (BNC)

(31) *Mary Read had little else to do than **overlook** the other servants.* (OED)

With the verb oversee this is the most frequent use:

(32) *New director will **oversee** care work.* (BNC)

7. Similar yet slightly different motion (as a metaphorical extension of the literal sense of OVER 'above and across') can be recognized in verbs like *overhaul* and *overtake*. In these verbs, OVER also implies the sense of power where the trajector overpowers the landmark. The trajector first moves away from the landmark and then above it in order to reach the position better than the one occupied by the landmark. This relation is primarily physical and in that sense entities involved move horizontally. This is exemplified below:

(33) *A ship **overhauls** another in chase when she evidently gains upon her.*

(34) *A slow lorry suddenly appeared ahead. He swung out sharply to **overtake**.* (OED)

This sense, however is also used metaphorically but referring to a concrete situation in which concrete trajector bypasses a concrete landmark. This activity is conceptualized as being performed above the landmark even though it refers to horizontal spatial relations. This is presented in Figure 2 below:
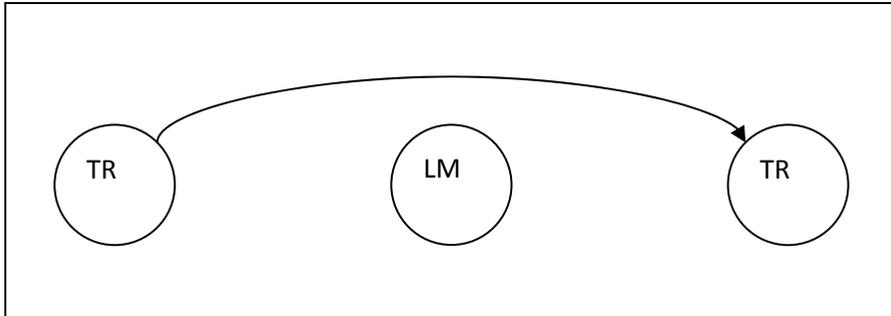

Figure 2.

OVER in these verbs also expresses the abstract higher position, i.e. a superior position. Sentence (35) shows that the trajector reaches a better position with respect to the landmark as in a competition, whereas in sentence (36) the trajector and landmark are institutions where one takes a superior position over another (TR above LM). Both sentences represent metaphorical extensions. The schema of the trajector bypassing the landmark and reaching a better position conceptualized as being above the landmark is mapped to the abstract domain as shown in the examples below:

(35) *After starting the day a stroke behind Stewart, the USPGA champion, Langer **overhauled** him over the seventh, eighth and ninth holes.*

(36) *New York **overtook** Tokyo on March 19th when its stockmarket (…) was capitalised at $1.8 trillion compared with falling Tokyo's $1.7 trillion.* (BNC)

Longman Dictionary introduces a new meaning of the verb *overhaul* 'to change a system or method in order to improve it' as a metaphorical extension (sentences (37) and (38)) of meaning number 1: 'to repair or change the necessary parts in a machine, system etc that is not working correctly'.

(37) *The relationship between the party and the government had to be completely **overhauled**, Mr Modrow urged.*

(38) *The United States, whose law on the subject had recently been **overhauled**, …* (BNC)

The verb *overtake* is also found in other abstract contexts, more precisely spatial relations mentioned above extend to abstract domain where trajector is an abstract trajector like death, disease, punishment or emotion taking over a human landmark. The meaning the verb acquires is 'to come upon unexpectedly' as shown in the following sentences (39)-(46):

(39) *My shaking heart tells me trouble and death will **overtake** us …*

(40) *Should disaster **overtake** Edward her son, …*

(41) *She closed her eyes as blackness welled up to **overtake** her.*

(42) *Darkness overtook us again.*

(43) *The fear of standing on the edge of a great abyss **overtook** me.*

(44) *Sudden confusion **overtook** her.* (BNC)

(45) *We were all so **overtaken** with this good news, that the Duke ran with it to the King.*

(46) *To be sure the knight is **overtaken** a little; very near drunk.* (OED)

In these examples trajector is an abstract entity taking control over a human and other metaphors can be recognized as well (EMOTION IS A LIQUID IN A CONTAINER (41) and EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE (17)). The last example (46) is different from others with *overtake* because the entity taking power over the landmark is concrete (alcoholic drink) but the landmark is the same as in other examples (a person).

8. The trajector passing from one side of the landmark to the other is the movement implied by OVER in the following verbs: *overbridge, overbrow, overbuild, overpass* (also 'above and across' and 'extend or project beyond'), *overroof, overspan* (also figurative), etc. OVER, in this case, implies the movement of a concrete, inanimate trajector over a concrete, inanimate landmark. The trajector is located above the landmark and stretches above it as shown in Figure 3 below:
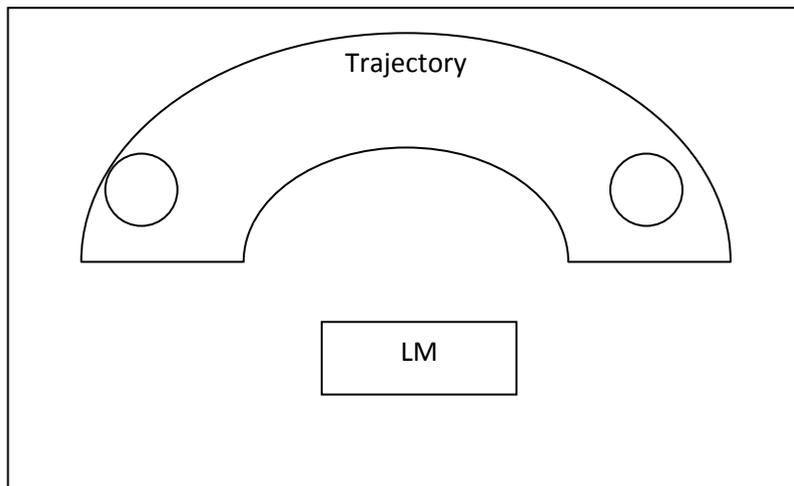
Figure 3.

This does not imply any sense of control or power but serves as a base for the metaphorical extension found with the following group of verbs.

9. The movement to the other side can be not only literal but figurative in terms of influencing someone to change their opinion. People with different or opposing opinions are conceptualized as being on opposite sides and persuading someone to change his opinion is bringing him to the other side (with respect to their original stand): *over-bias, over-intreat (-entreat), over-persuade, overpray.* Conceptual metaphors also play an important role in understanding these concepts because persuading someone to change his opinion also implies a certain amount of control which in this case the trajector (human) has over the landmark which is conceptualized as being beneath the trajector. These words are used with the sense of inclination to one side so as to lean over the space beneath, for example in verbs as *overbend, over-bias, over-bribe, over-influence, overintreat, over-lean, overpersuade, overtreat.*

Some examples are given below:

(47) *Our responsibility is to filter information so that we do not **over-influence** the situation and create self-fulfilling prophecies of our own devising.* (BNC)

(48) *I find some men of worth over-awed by the vulgar, or **over-biassed** by their own private interests.* (OED)

10. Another dynamic sense of OVER refers to the movement of a trajector over a vertical obstacle: *overclimb, overleap, overjump, overspring,* etc. The obstacle that trajector has to surmount functions as a landmark. The movement of the trajector is directed over the landmark in order to reach the position that is on the other side of it. This is schematically presented as follows:
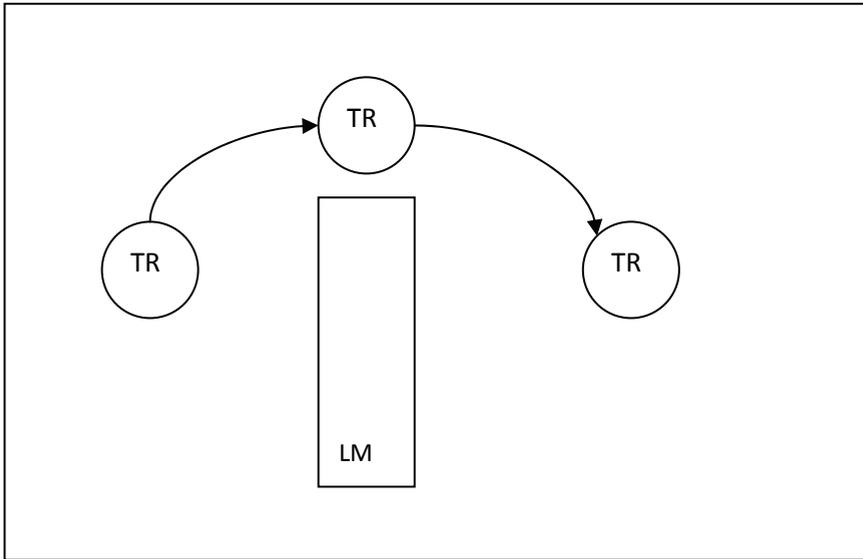
Figure 4.

Although OVER refers to spatial relations, verbs from this group can be used metaphorically referring to abstract domains as physical obstacles:

(49) *We can not so lightly **overjump** his death.* (DEATH IS AN OBSTACLE)

(50) *An Arabian wildness of fancy which seldom shakes off the costume, or **oversprings** the range of Arabian idea.* (OED) (IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, IDEAS ARE OBSTACLES)

Vertical obstacles can function as abstract landmarks which are found in the following verbs: *over-bray, over-clamour, overcome, overdare* (also 'surpass'), *over-feeble, overget, overput.* In these verbs, trajector and landmark refer to places and events or emotions and this is achieved through metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and OBSTACLES (IN LIFE) ARE VERTICAL OBJECTS. This means that prepositional spatial relations are mapped onto the abstract domain of human life as shown in the sentences below:

(51) *Bristol and West hopes that by arranging collective auctions it will be able to **overcome** this problem.*

(52) *She had **overgot** the temporary indications of illness.* (BNC)

Within an abstract domain, a trajector, usually a person, goes over a landmark that can be an event, situation or emotion. In other words, a concrete trajector overcomes an abstract landmark and assumes control over it.

As previously mentioned, negative emotions are considered obstacles that should be overcome. The following sentences are examples of another figurative

sense of the verb *overcome*: 'to affect or influence excessively with emotion'. Emotion is conceptualized as an enemy that should be defeated unless we want to be overcome by it.

(53) *Non-swimmers are being offered a novel way to **overcome** their fear of water.*

(54) *The only losers if McEnroe fails to **overcome** his perennial distrust of the media…* (BNC)

There are examples, however, where the construal is reverse and the emotion in fact overcomes the person but the concept of the enemy is the same:

(55) *Constance felt let down but, more, she was **overcome** with indignant self-pity.* (BNC)

The metaphorical extension applies to positive emotions as well:

(56) *She is **overcome** with tenderness towards him, believing him to be asleep.*

(57) *Churchill indeed was so **overcome** with the romance of it all …* (BNC)

The verb *overstep* also belongs to this group with its two senses, the first of which refers to things both material and immaterial while the second one is strictly a spatial sense. Landmark in the first case is an abstract boundary (or a limit) that trajector passes as shown in examples (64)-(67):

(58) *… just as the public will accept that prison warders will **overstep** the line from time to time because of the people they are dealing with.*

(59) *Individuals are required to perform their job to the full, but not to **overstep** the boundaries of their authority.*

(60) *… its remarkable freshness and youthfulness and its success in never allowing Tom's violent feelings to **overstep** the sensitivity and gentleness of the play.*

(61) *Other than using it for business purposes, there are no restrictions --; except, of course, that you must not **overstep** your borrowing limit.* (BNC)

11. Similar motion (presented with the arrow in Figure 6 below) can be found with verbs *overgive, overplant* (also 'excess') and *oversend*. There is no vertical obstacle but the motion resembles the one passing to the other side or over a vertical obstacle. This schema is rather specific and includes two active participants, i.e. two human entities. In the initial state one agentive trajector is in possession of a trajector and is inciting and performing the action of the verb. This is illustrated in figure 5 below. The concrete trajector under the influence of the agentive trajector passes the trajectory reaching the target position, i.e. it is passed from one entity to another passing a trajectory. So in the final state the second human entity comes into possession of the trajector, i.e. assumes control of it.
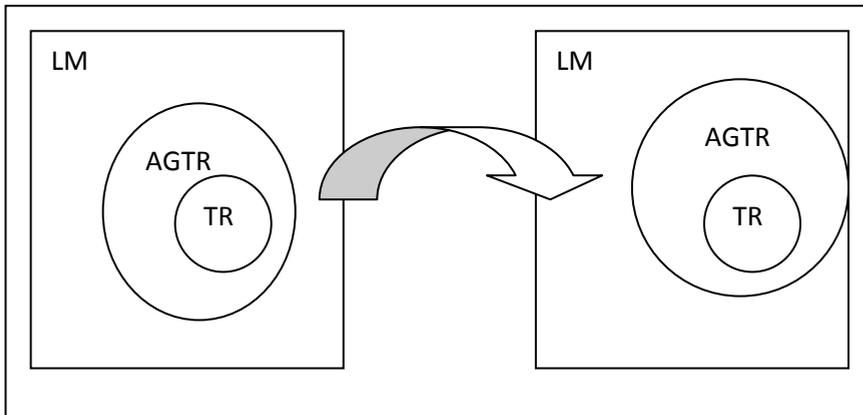
Figure 5.

12. Another spatial sense of OVER that involves the motion of a trajector is 'to project one entity above another'. This implies the motion of the trajector from a physically lower to a higher position that is above the landmark (Figure 6 below). The trajector is initially at the same physical level as the landmark but in the final position it moves over a trajectory to a position that is physically above the landmark. This sense is recognized in the following verbs: *overmount, overraise, over-rise, oversail* (v3), *overtop, overtower*. Some of the verbs can be used metaphorically to express superiority and power of the trajector over the landmark as exemplified below:

(62) *A sort of fixed high-water mark of their capabilities, which they will never* **'over-rise'**.

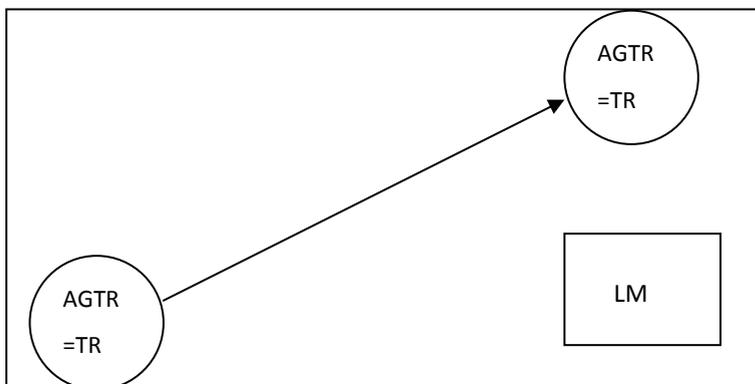(63) *The time when the Pope began first to* **overtop** *the Emperour*. (OED)

Figure 6.

13. Motion forward and down from above, literal overturning, inversion is found in verbs: *overbalance, overblow, overcast, overset, overtilt, overthrow, overtumble, overturn*, etc. The motion implied by these verbs is from a higher position to a lower one under the influence of an external force. In other words, under the influence of an agentive trajector, the trajector is falling and going beneath its original position – the landmark.

(64) *Ricky cannot snatch toys, kick others,* **overturn** *furniture and…* (BNC)

(65) *Their small vessel being* **overset***, hope itself nearly deserted them.*

(66) *…lest the wind should* **overblow** *him.* (OED)

The motion expressed by OVER in these verbs can be figurative, i.e. physical relations of reflexiveness is mapped onto the abstract domain of power relations, superiority or emotions:

(67) *The champion jockey failed in his attempt to* **overturn** *a five-day suspension*

(68) *…struggling to* **overturn** *this situation.*

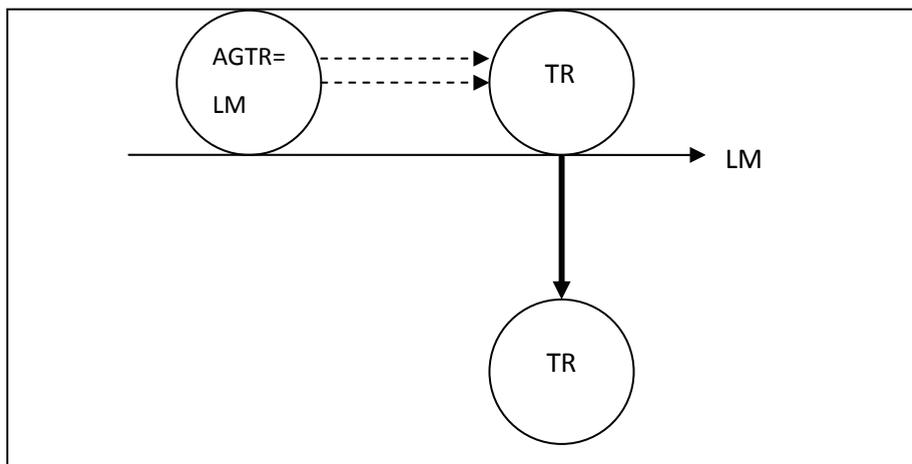(69) *The small kindness nearly* **overset** *her again.* (BNC)

Figure 7.

14. The same motion can be understood figuratively 'overcoming, putting down, or getting the better of, by the action or thing expressed': *overbray, -choke, -cow, -daze, -deave, -drowse, -fright, -lume, -noise, -stifle, -war, -wrestle* (OED). These verbs are presented in Figure 8 above. This is understood through the metaphor COMPETITION IS WAR where competing is understood as battling and winning in a competition requires defeating the opponent. Defeat is conceptualized as putting the opponent down where we find another metaphor WINNING IS BEING UP. The sense 'to beat in a competition (or as in a competition) can be found with the

following verbs: *overlaw, overmaster, over*-talk (also 'exceed'), *overvote, overwin, overwit, over-wrestle.* A human agentive trajector forces another human trajector to a lower position. Therefore in the final state, the trajector is above the landmark, i.e. agentive trajector. Schematic representation given in Figure 3 above applies here as well. Dotted arrows represent power agentive trajector exerts over the trajector and the bold arrow represents the motion of the trajector under the influence of the agent.

6. Conclusion

All of this proves that cognitive structuring of space allows us to map physical relations that govern the space on abstract domains of human life. Metaphorization plays a significant part in polysemous nature of the particle OVER and the conceptualization of verticality is deeply rooted in our consciousness. Physical senses of OVER, more precisely vertical distancing of the trajector from the landmark is mapped on abstract domain in which trajector and landmark are people or events. There is a variety of both literal and metaphorical senses and all are motivated by the same unified image schema and this is the semantic contribution OVER as a formative element adds to new derivatives. The UP-DOWN schema plays a significant role in the conceptualization of social relations in particular the concept of power and control.

OVER is understood through a conceptual metaphor. Being on a higher hierarchical position is conceptualized as being on a physically higher position. This is achieved through several primary metaphors such as POWER IS UP (LACK OF POWER IS DOWN), CONTROL IS UP (LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN), SUPERIOR IS UP (INFERIOR IS DOWN). Numerous examples are provided in this paper to support this claim, many of which represent metaphorical extensions of literal senses (i.e. literal meanings serve as a basis for abstract meanings). For example, the sense of covering can both be found with physical and abstract entities. The sense of supervision (sense no.4) is also metaphorical in nature (MORE FAVOURABLE SOCIAL POSITION IS UP and CONTROL IS UP).

As previously mentioned, they all share the same general meaning 'above, over in space'. This is found in the first four groups of verbs, whereas the rest involve the motion of a trajector to reach a position above and/or in front of a landmark. Groups 5 through 10 involve similar motion of a trajector passing over a landmark to reach to the other side of it. Verbs in group 11 also imply motion similar to group 10 but the difference is that two human agentive trajectors are also included. In the initial state a trajector is in possession of an agentive trajector and it passes trajectory to reach another agentive trajector who comes into its possession. Group 12 refers to a different kind of motion, i.e. the motion of the trajector from a physically lower to a higher position that is above the landmark. For the remaining two

groups (13 and 14) the same schematic representation implies: moving forward and down from above. Verbs in group 13 primarily express physical relations while the group 14 represents metaphorical extension of group 13.

To conclude, different senses of verbs formed with OVER are related by shared image schema and abstract, metaphorical senses are extensions of literal senses which is achieved though cognitive mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and metonymy.

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Author's address:
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Tuzla
Dr. Tihomila Markovića 1
75 000 Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina
jasmina.hanic@untz.ba