

METAPHORIZATION OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS AS MACHINES IN LITHUANIAN AND ENGLISH

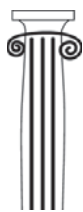
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As modern humans we are in close relation with machines, which influence virtually every aspect of our existence. The use of machines has not only radically transformed the nature of productive activity but also left its mark on the imagination, thoughts and feelings of humans throughout the ages. The image of the machine and all sorts of mechanisms has induced mechanical thinking and mechanistic view of the world. Scientists have produced mechanistic interpretations of the natural world, philosophers and psychologists have suggested mechanistic theories of human mind and behavior. Increasingly, we have learned to use the machine as a metaphor for ourselves and our society, and to mold our world in accordance with mechanical principles (Morgan 1986, 20).

Metaphorization tendencies have been studied widely to reveal the linguistic view of the world; they have become the object of interdisciplinary research, drawing attention of sociologists, psychologists, people engaged in organizational or political studies as well as others who believe in the conceptual nature of metaphor and its outstanding feature 'to affect how we perceive the world and act upon those perceptions' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 146). The broad-based approach underlying these investigations is the conception of metaphor as 'the cognitive mechanism, whereby one experiential domain is partially 'mapped', i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one' (Barcelona 2003, 3). Such account of metaphor-as-thought has been traditionally referred to as Conceptual Metaphor Theory or Cognitive Metaphor Theory. It was first fully revealed in the famous book by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live By* and later escalated in the works of Kövesces, Turner, Reddy, Grady, Deignan, etc. The investigation of the metaphorization of social systems as machines in Lithuanian and English, presented in this paper, has been also framed



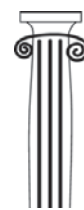
within the principles of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

The object of the current study is the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES and its linguistic realization in the Lithuanian and English languages. The source concept here is a machine, i.e. a device with several moving parts which use power to do a particular type of work, or some mechanism (like lever, gear or cog) as its part (traditionally the term *machine metaphor* is used). The target domain has been defined as social systems, the term chosen to encompass a range of systems in the domain of economy, politics, law, which are comprehended via the machine metaphor and share a lot of common features, e.g.: *žinome, kaip veikia lietuviška teisingumo mašina, kokie jos apsisukimai ir kaip ji tarška, barška, burzgia; kaišioti pagalius į Europon riedančius politikos ratus šiuo metu valstybei nenaudinga, netgi – žalinga; a public relations strategy should touch every moving cog in the workings of your business; such a section ought to be used with the greatest care, so as not unnecessarily to put in motion the machinery of justice when it is not wanted*. As the examples illustrate, various abstract entities in the domain of social systems are conceived through the image of the machine, which is more concrete. This conforms to one of the major tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory which claims that metaphor is the key mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning.

Since conceptual metaphors can be accessed through linguistic metaphors, the analysis of the metaphor SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES has been performed on the basis of metaphoric expressions retrieved from electronic corpora. The Lithuanian material has been derived from the corpus of the Lithuanian language compiled at the Computer Linguistic Center at Kaunas Vytautas Magnus University (<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt>), while the English language data have been obtained from two sources: the British National Corpus (<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk>) and the Collins Wordbanks Online English corpus (<http://www.collins.co.uk/Corpus/CorpusSearch.aspx>). Since both English corpora present samples of contemporary written and spoken texts and are not limited to any particular subject field, genre or register, there will be no reference made to a particular corpus while providing examples. To check the meaning and usage of some metaphoric expressions, the following dictionaries have been consulted: *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (2000), *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (1959–2002), *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (1996) and *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1992).

The Lithuanian and English metaphoric expressions have been analyzed in order to:

- ascertain the pervasion of the machine metaphor in the domain of social systems in the two languages,
- reveal the scope and main meaning focus of the metaphor,
- establish similarities and differences in the linguistic expressions of the metaphor in Lithuanian and English,
- define which aspects of social systems are highlighted and hidden by the use of the machine metaphor.



SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES mapping can be traced to the generic-level metaphor ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES. Kövesces referred to the concept of abstract complex systems as a metaphor subsystem covering a wide range of targets such as the mind, economic systems, careers, social organizations, relationships, society, etc. These are typically abstract complex configurations of entities, where the nature and relationships of the entities vary from case to case. For example, political systems can be viewed as abstract configurations of such entities as the people who participate in the political process, power, government, various institutions, parties, ideologies, etc. that all interact with each other in complex ways (Kövesces 2002, 127). The same applies to economic and legal systems, which are also combinations of interrelated elements and belong to the target domain of the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES.

A corpus-based analysis of metaphoric expressions in Lithuanian and English has revealed a wide scope of targets in the domain of social systems to which the source concept of machine is applied. Both languages provide evidence for the following metaphors (though linguistic expressions show some variation).

LEGAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE

girgždanti teisingumo mašina

vien tik įstatymais ir teisinių mechanizmu negalima sukurti realios žmogaus teisių saugos

the legal apparatus operates coercively to maintain hegemony

law correspondingly refers to the whole apparatus of the machinery of justice

STATE IS A MACHINE

partijos ateina į valdžią po sėkmingo dešiniųjų valdymo, kai valstybės mechanizmo varžtai kietai priveržti, o biudžete nešvilpauja vėjai

atskiras žmogus tėra “sraigtelis”, jis turi suktis valstybės mechanizme

workers' control of economic enterprises and community institutions is intended to reduce the power of the state apparatus

through that strategy the machinery of the state was deployed to control the work of teachers

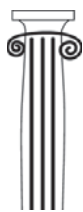
POLITICAL PARTY IS A MACHINE

bejėgiškumo prieš valstybės ir partijos aparata prisiminimai

jam beliktų tik išeiti iš partijos ar susitaikyti su savo kaip “mažojo sraigtelio” vaidmeniu

the representatives of the Communist Party or the apparatus of the Communist Party

the National Council of the Independent Labour Party decided to place the whole machinery of the Party



GOVERNMENT IS A MACHINE

*visą vyriausybės aparatą ketinama suformuoti iki rugpjūčio
niekas taip neišderina valdžios mechanizmų, kaip dažna jų kaita
the report will confirm that Oxford is anxious to become a cog in the government
machine
the administrative machinery of government was geared ultimately towards creating
a culture which earned God's endorsement*

BUREAUCRACY IS A MACHINE

*tegu atleidžia tie žmonės, kurie tikrai pateko po biurokratinės mašinos ratais ir buvo
sutraiškyti ar aplamdyti
gavus patalpas, nemažai laiko praeina, kol apsisuka biurokratinė "mašina",
suderinami projektai
the sluggish and top-heavy bureaucratic apparatus of the City Council could not be
moved to action
there was no bureaucratic machinery to support it*

POLITICAL ELECTION IS A MACHINE

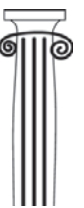
*juk svarbu iki vasaros sureguliuoti rinkimų mašiną, parengti ją įtemptam darbui
rudeni
prieš V.Putino rinkimų kampanijos užsuktą mašiną jie atrodė beviltiškai
party are edging towards agreement on the timing and mechanics of an election
a number of other surviving Irish peers sought to set in motion the machinery for a
fresh election*

ECONOMY IS A MACHINE

*sunkiai sekasi ką nors pakeisti išklerusiame mūsų ekonomikos mechanizme
pagrindinė socialinės pažangos prielaida – efektyvus ekonominių rinkos svertų
reguliavimas
unified machinery of the national economy
we can think of it as subordinate to the world economy such that its parts are the
cogs of an international economy*

BUSINESS / ENTERPRISE IS A MACHINE

*palyginti mažas interneto vartotojų Lietuvoje skaičius kiša pagalius į ratus
elektroninio verslo vežimui
Mažeikių nafta dirba kaip geras laikrodis
why should they send a senior vice president to check out what must be, if you'll
pardon the description, a minor cog in such a huge enterprise?
credit was the solvent that oiled the wheels of many other retailers' businesses*



SOCIETY IS A MACHINE

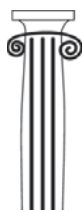
vėliau beveik visus įsuka tradicinės visuomenės, kurioje daug tabu, mechanizmas žmogus, pavirtęs socialinio mechanizmo ratuku why were elected officials unable to fix the social machinery it comes to matters relating to the “quality of living”, rather than being content to simply fit people into the machinery of society as it exists at present

As the examples provided illustrate, metaphoric expressions in both languages differ according to the character of the reference made to the machine. In sentences such as *žino, kur reikia patepti, kad per daug negirgždėtų teisingumo mašina; gremėzdiškas biurokratinis mechanizmas privačias iniciatyvas žlugdo; the wheels in the machinery of government are either being oiled or gummed up with reviews, inquiries; a massive bureaucratic apparatus has been erected to ensure total control and domination* the reference to the machine is direct, i.e. an explicit assertion is made through the words *mašina*, *mechanizmas*, *machinery* and *apparatus*. A number of other expressions in both languages realize the conceptual metaphor in an implicit way, referring only to some feature or part of the machine, cf.: *atleidimą socialdemokratas pavadino sąskaitų suvedinėjimu braškančioje ir traškančioje koalicijoje; kai kurie visuomenės sraigteliai nenori – bijo eiti į atvirą visuomenę; disorganised French industry was slow to get into gear; modern society, it may be argued, is not like a set of neatly intermeshing and well-oiled cogs.*

Despite the variety of targets, the metaphors distinguished share a lot of common features regarding the aspects that are mapped from the source domain, i.e. machine. For this reason, the following analysis aims to demonstrate the general characteristics of the metaphorization of social systems as machines as well as show variation in the linguistic expressions in Lithuanian and English.

Kövesces underlined that ‘each source is designated to play a specific role in characterizing a set of targets to which it applies’ (Kövesces 2003, 82). He defined it as the main meaning focus (also *a major theme, the main meaning orientation*), which is constituted by the central knowledge that pertains to a particular entity or event within a speech community’ (ibid, 82). The analysis of metaphoric expressions in Lithuanian and English that realize the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES has revealed that the central knowledge of the machine as the source concept to be mapped onto social systems is the functioning of the machine. A number of parallels can be drawn taking into account different points of the machine operation (its motion) that are applied to the functioning of some system.

In both languages a considerable number of metaphoric expressions emphasize the initial point of the functioning, i.e. setting the machine in motion, which corresponds to the beginning of some system to exist or the start of some economic, political or legal process. In Lithuanian it is evident from the usage of verbs *įjungti*, *užvesti*, *išjudinti*, *paleisti*, *į(si)sukti*, as illustrated with the following examples: *reikėjo sutvarkyti ministerijos darbą, užvesti tam tikrus mechanizmus; tai buvo postūmis, kuris išjudino rinkos mechanizmus; teisingumo ratas įsisuko, bet ne namo*

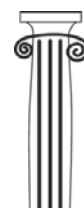


gyventojų naudai; galėdavo bet kuriuo metu įjungti buldozerinio balsavimo mašina ir, su niekuo nesitardami, viską nuspręsti. In English the realization of this aspect lies in the use of verbal phrases such as *set in motion, put in motion, get into gear, start, be moved to action, begin to move, switch on, set the wheels turning*, e.g.: *it set in motion a legal process; then the silent, slow machinery of English law began to move; the American had used Father to set the financial wheels turning for the takeover.*

The functioning of various systems can be effective or ineffective, which is also conceptualized through the source domain of machine. As regards the effective functioning of social systems, in Lithuanian it is metaphorically conceived through the image of the machine turning fast, as evident from the examples: *praėjusį pavasarį paleistas išcentrinis Konservatorių partijos mechanizmas sukasi vis intensyviau; dabar propagandinės mašinos krumpliaračiai pradėjo sukis kur kas anksčiau, jų daugiau, greitis vis didėja.* In English *operation in top gear* is the most frequent description of effective functioning, for instance: *this period illustrates the fundamental dynamics of the boom particularly well because it shows operation in top gear and with enormous effect; finance minister needs to have in mind a more convincing package of measures to get Japan Inc back into top gear.* Both languages share the image of a clock mechanism to describe institutions working precisely and efficiently, e.g.: *visos mano tarnybos dirba kaip šveicariškas laikrodis; sugriežtinti parlamentinę vykdomosios valdžios kontrolę, rasti būdų, kaip ją patobulinti, kad Vyriausybė ir Seimas dirbtų kaip gerai suderintas laikrodis; businesslike, disciplined, voluntary fulfilment of the assignments and decrees necessary for the economic mechanism to function really like clockwork; the lenders were collecting their interest like clockwork.*

Features of defective machines are also mapped onto political, legal or economic systems. In Lithuanian the main feature here is the sound made by a defective machine – some clatter, scroop or burr, as seen from the following examples: *koalicijos vežėčių ratai smarkiai braškėdami ritosi per šių metų biudžeto svarstymo akmenis; girgždanti biurokratinė mašina niekaip negali pareikšti kokio nors konkretaus sprendimo.* In the English language the focus is on the slow tempo of motion rather than sound, c.f.: *government apparatus as well as the population only moves at half-pace; it will take months for the appeal to be heard, putting all the machinery of the lawsuit in slow gear.*

Maintaining the efficient working of a machine (often by putting oil to make it work more smoothly) is also mapped on the domain of social systems. The linguistic realization of this aspect appears to be very similar in Lithuanian and English, cf.: *nieko nuostabaus, kad Briuselio rinkodaros mechanizmas taip gerai suteptas; pirklių cechai, patepę valdžios mechanizmą, gavo privilegiją importuoti ir amatininkus paliko su ilga nosimi; Lietuvos okupacijos plano teisinis pagrindimas riedėjo pirmyn kaip žilvičio degutu patepti ratai; the office runs like a well-oiled machine; two measures should do a good deal to grease the wheels of the City's*



securities business; Cleveland college is about to oil the wheels of the transport industry to make its employees more transportable. Plenty of Lithuanian examples point to the illegal character of the influence, often directly stated as bribing, which reveals negative attitude towards various institutions due to corrupt practices, e.g.: *konferencijoje kaukėti mafijoziai skundėsi, kad jų tūkstantiniais kyšiais patepti prašymai jau nesuranda atgarsio valdininkų širdyse; reikia turėti geležinius nervus ar valdininkams patepti krūva pinigų.* Such usage has not been observed in the English language.

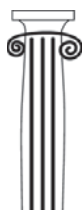
Opposite to maintaining efficient operation of the system, one can try to prevent it. This aspect is also expressed through the concept of machine in both languages and realised through the use of phrases *kišti/kaišioti pagalius į ratus* and *put a spoke in the wheel*, e.g.: *dauguma vietos politikų toliau kaišios vieni kitiems pagalius į ratus ir lauks naujų rinkimų; čia konservatoriai taip pat kiek įmanydami kaišiojo pagalius į ratus ir neleido kooperavimo vežimui tinkamai riedėti; the Supreme Soviet has, at least temporarily, put a spoke in the wheels; there's a business going on there that somebody should put a spoke into.*

The English language has one more specific expression to refer to some hidden or unknown influence and complicated situation – *wheels within wheels*, e.g.: *we are little men, we don't know the ins and outs of the matter; there are wheels within wheels; as the wheels within wheels of the music industry continue to grind, the question of exactly what is an independent company comes into focus.*

Social systems as well as machines are conceived as having breakdowns. In Lithuanian this mapping is realized through a number of verbs such as *subyrėti, sugesti, sustoti, išsiderinti*, for instance: *štai ėmė braškėti ir beveik subyrėjo LDDP „valdanti“ dauguma; galbūt išsiderino pats valstybės mechanizmas; sugedo Lietuva, visi žiūri tik savęs.* The English language data show that the word *breakdown* is very frequent: *the political breakdown was manifested in the two world wars; social breakdown, too, has taken its toll; he wheezes ponderously into his chest-mike about a breakdown in law and order.* The metaphoric expression *thrown out of gear* could be also related to the breakdown of some system, which is often some country, e.g. *the whole country was thrown out of gear.*

Damaged machines can be fixed. Within the mechanistic view, various institutions, organizations, systems and the whole society can be also fixed by removing damaged parts and providing new ones. Linguistic expressions to prove it are the following: *kaltinant dabartinę valdžią retas pasako, kokius valdymo mechanizmo varžtus tuojau pakeistu, jeigu būtų išrinktas į Seimą; modernistinis pasaulis buvo suprantamas kaip tiksintis laikrodis, kuriam sugedus užtenka pakeisti netikusias detales naujomis ir vėl laikrodis tiksės; why were elected officials unable to fix the social machinery.*

Beside the functioning of the system as the main meaning focus, the metaphorization of social systems via the concept of machine highlights the hierarchical structure of the systems, especially elements of the lowest rank, referred to metaphorically as cogs. In Lithuanian the smallness of the unimportant



members of some political parties, enterprises, the legal system or society in general is emphasized by the use of diminutives *sraigtelis*, *ratukas*, *varžtelis* (sometimes preceded by adjectives *mažas*, *mažytis*, *bejėgis*, *niūrus*), e.g.: *aš pats esu mažas lietuviškos teisinės sistemos sraigtelis*; *žmogus, pavirtęs socialinio mechanizmo ratuku*; *kasdieniniame gyvenime nepaskęsta pilkumoje ir netampa niūriu pasaulio mechanizmo varžteliu*. In the English language the cogs of social systems are described as *little*, *tiny*, *minor*, *very small*, *humble*, *unimportant*, as illustrated by the following examples: *he felt like a tiny cog in a giant, impersonal machine*; *he was also ready to acknowledge the failures of bureaucracy and deplored an organization of little cogs, little men, clinging to little jobs and striving towards bigger ones*. To sharpen the contrast between the cogs as unimportant parts of the system and the system itself as a machine (mechanism), the latter is described by employing the words *didžiulė (-is)*, *galinga(s)*, *vast*, *huge*, *large*, *giant*, e.g.: *žmogus tapo vienu iš daiktų, didžiulės mašinos sraigteliu, prarado gyvenimo prasmę*; *tampa masės individu, mažyčiu sraigteliu galingame civilizuoto pasaulio mechanizme*; *working on a conveyor belt or as a human cog in a vast industrial machine does little for a sense of personal fulfillment*; *the feeling of being an unimportant cog in a large machine*. It is interesting to note that in English the word *cog* is sometimes preceded by the word *important*, as in the sentence *he's joined the Liberal Party, and now he's a very important cog in the cabinet*. In the English language, presumably, *cog* may refer to any part of the machine regardless of its importance.

As seen from the numerous linguistic expressions, the image of the machine is deeply ingrained in the conceptual system of the speakers of both languages: Lithuanian and English. In many works on the machine metaphor its origin is related to Cartesian philosophy and Newtonian science, which induced the mechanistic view of the world. 'It declared that the universe and everything in it, whether physical, biological, or social, could only be understood as a clock-like mechanism composed of separable parts acting on one another with precise, measurable, linear laws of cause and effect' (Hock, 2001). Having roots in the Renaissance period, such approach came into favor through the industrialization of society. As Morgan, who investigated the machine metaphor in organizations, put it, 'it is with the invention and proliferation of machines, particularly along with industrial revolution in Europe and North America, that concepts of organizations really became mechanized' (Morgan 1986, 23). People surrounded by mechanisms of all sorts possessed fairly good knowledge about them and applied it to reason about more abstract things including various entities in the domain of social systems. Speakers nowadays continue using machine terms to refer to various aspects of political, economic or legal life without probably being aware of it.

At a linguistic level, most realizations of the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES also show high degree of conventionality. Most metaphoric expressions and their meanings are recorded in dictionaries, e.g.: *mašina* 'prk. apie organizaciją, nustatyta tvarka, kaip mechanizmas, vykdančią savo darbą'

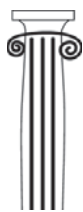


(LKŽ), *patepti* ‘šnek. duoti kyši’ (DLKŽ), *in top gear* ‘with the greatest possible effort and energy’ (LDCE), *put a spoke in (someone’s wheel)* ‘make it difficult for them to achieve something they had planned to do’ (CIDE). There are few examples of the novel expressions of the metaphor under analysis, especially in English. New linguistic means often reveal the extension of the conventional conceptual metaphor by introducing a new element in the source domain, e.g.: *premjeras tapo svarbiausiu valstybės mechanizmo dispečeriu, jis laiko savo rankose visus; likę gyventojai negalės trukdyti reformų, ir gyvenimas ims gerėti; jis ir taip gerėja, tik proceso dalyviai to nepastebi. Juk tai kaip laikrodžio mechanizmas. Valandinė rodyklė – parlamento įstatymai. Minutinė – vyriausybės nutarimai, o laikrodžio dirželis – gyvenimo gerėjimas.*

Since metaphors are not a matter of language only, but also ‘represent certain ways of thinking that are rooted in a common social practice’ (Mey, quoted in Deignan 2005, 24), the metaphorization of social systems as machines provides the conceptual framework of how these systems are designed and managed, how they function and treat their members. It is agreed that the use of the machine metaphor had an influence on designing bureaucratic organizations. The German sociologist Max Weber gave the first comprehensive definition of bureaucracy as ‘a form of organization that emphasizes precision, speed, clarity, regularity, and efficiency achieved through the creation of a fixed division of tasks, hierarchical supervision, and detailed rules and regulations’ (Morgan 1986, 24–25). As the data of both languages indicated, these bureaucratic features are the aspects of social systems highlighted by the use of the machine metaphor, when various aspects of machine motion (whether effective or not) are mapped onto the sphere of more abstract entities.

Since metaphoric interpretation is always partial, highlighting necessarily goes together with hiding. As Lakoff and Turner pointed out, ‘to study metaphor is to be confronted with hidden aspects of one’s own mind and one’s own culture’ (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 214). In case of the machine metaphor, the hidden aspects are, first of all, human qualities, forced into a background role when people are treated as inanimate cogs, designed to perform their function only. Encouraging people to obey orders, discouraging their initiative and human motivation show depreciation of human values in general, which has been severely criticized as the main drawback of machine-like-systems. This critical approach can be seen in some examples from the corpora data, e.g.: *net ir darbe mes nesame vien bejausmės mašinos, skirtos atlikti tam tikras užduotis; geras vadovas žino, kad darbą atlieka ne mašinos, o žmonės; individuals may be seen as ‘cogs in the machine’ and one of the major criticisms of Taylor’s approach was that he had a tendency to treat workers as automatons who would respond to financial incentives automatically.* Machines do not learn and do not respond to changes in their environment; social systems conceptualized and designed as machines are also characterized by difficulty in adapting to changing circumstances, the lack of innovation and flexibility, which are the shortcomings of the social reality we live in.

In conclusion, it could be stated that the image of the machine is deeply ingrained



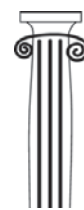
and pervasive in the conceptual system of speakers of both languages: Lithuanian and English. It is used as a source concept to reason about a wide range of abstract targets in the domain of social systems: economy, government, political parties, elections, business, legal system, etc. Though linguistic expressions in the two languages show some variation, the metaphorisation of social systems as machines reveals a number of common features. In both languages the main meaning focus of the metaphor is the functioning of the system, emphasizing different points of the machine motion and highlighting machine qualities such as precision, speed, regularity and efficiency that are mapped on the domain of social systems. The hierarchical structure of various institutions is also highlighted, especially the elements of the lowest rank, referred to metaphorically as cogs. The downplayed aspects of social systems conceptualized as machines are difficulties in adapting to changing circumstances, the lack of innovation and flexibility as well as the depreciation of human values, which are all characteristic of the mechanistic view of the world.

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SOCIALINIŲ SISTEMŲ METAFORIZACIJA MAŠINŲ SĄVOKOMIS LIETUVIŲ IR ANGLŲ KALBOSE

Santrauka

Pagrindiniai žodžiai: *metaforizacija, konceptualioji metaforos teorija, šaltinio sritis, tikslo sritis, mašina, socialinė sistema, metaforos apimtis ir pagrindinė tema, mechanistinė pasaulėžiūra.*

Straipsnyje analizuojama socialinių sistemų metaforizacija mašinų sąvokomis lietuvių ir anglų kalbose. Remiamasi konceptualiaja metaforos teorija, teigiančia, kad metafora yra ne tik kalbos reiškiny, bet ir mąstymo būdas. Tai pagrindinis mechanizmas, kuriuo mes suvokiame abstrakčius konceptus ir abstrakčiai mąstome, susiedami dvi sritis: šaltinio ir tikslo. Nagrinėjamos metaforos SOCIALINĖS SISTEMOS – MAŠINOS atveju šaltinio sritis yra mašina (ar kažkoks jos mechanizmas). Kalbinė medžiaga rodo, kad žinios apie šią sritį (įvairias mašinas, jų sandarą, veikimo principus ir ypatybes) dažnai naudojamos kalbant ir mąstant apie visuomenę, valstybę, jos politinę, ekonominę ar teisinę sistemą, politines partijas, rinkimus, verslą ir kitas tikslo sritis, kurios šiame straipsnyje apibendrinamos *socialinių sistemų* terminu.

Tyrimas atliktas remiantis elektroninių lietuvių ir anglų kalbų tekstynų duomenimis. Lietuviški metaforiniai pasakymai rinkti iš Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Kompiuterinės lingvistikos centre sudaryto tekstyno, o anglų kalbos duomenys gauti iš dviejų šaltinių – *the British National Corpus* ir *the Collins Wordbanks Online English corpus*.

Išanalizavus surinktą medžiagą, matyti, kad mašinos įvaizdis yra giliai įsišaknijęs abiejų kalbų (lietuvių ir anglų) vartotojų sąmonėje. Metaforos apimtis ir pagrindinė tema gretinamose kalbose yra labai panašios, tik kalbinė metaforos raiška atskleidžia tam tikrų skirtumų. Abiejose kalbose akcentuojama mašinos veikla ir jos ypatybės (greitis, efektyvumas, tikslumas) kaip pagrindiniai požymiai, perkeliama į socialinių sistemų sferą. Taip pat išryškinama hierarchinė šių sistemų struktūra, kurioje žemiausios pakopos nariai vertinami tik kaip mašinos sraigteliai, sukurti savo funkcijai vykdyti. Tuo tarpu žmogiškosios savybės nustumiamos į šalį. Tai atspindi plačiai paplitusių biurokratinių sistemų esmę, kuri, daugelio tyrinėtojų nuomone, neatsiejama nuo mašinos metaforos, atsiradusios Renesanso laikais ir paskatinusios mechanistinį požiūrį į pasaulį.

