Tianfang Wang & Yingliang He

Spatial Metaphors for Morality in English

**Abstract**

Inspired by Yu's (2016) systematic study, *Spatial Metaphors for Morality: A Perspective of Chinese*, this study focuses on what spatial concepts can be mapped onto morality in English. First, this study reviews fundamental theories and concepts about metaphors in a cognitive point of view. Based on that, the study presents the schema and system of MORALITY AS SPACE, including five pairs of spatial concepts for morality metaphors, namely, UP and DOWN, UPRIGHT and TILTED, LEVEL and UN-LEVEL, STRAIGHT and CROOKED, and BIG and SMALL. Linguistic manifestation and multimodal evidence follow. Finally, we discuss what the possible prototypical aspects of morality and immorality are in terms of each source concept; in addition, we discuss some examples that cannot fit into the system.

**Theoretical Background**

Metaphor in a cognitive perspective, rather than a figure of speech based on similarity or a representation of mastery of language, is in fact to help humans better understand abstract concepts through tangible concepts (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). This is called conceptual metaphor. To better explain how we understand one concept (A) in terms of another (B), consider (A) as the target domain, and (B) as the source domain. The systematic correspondence between the two domains is referred to as mappings (Kövecses, 2010). For instance, ARGUMENT IS WAR. The correspondence between the two domains is that the

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arguers in an argument and the soldiers in a war can both attack their opponents, which forms

a mapping between the two concepts.

Morality, as a basic concept in human society, is defined by various conceptual

metaphors. Concepts such as MORALITY, along with LOVE, TIME, HAPPINESS,

STATUS, etc., "are not clearly enough delineated in their own terms to satisfy the purpose of

our day-to-day functioning" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 181). Therefore, it requires

metaphorical definition that corresponds to human's *natural kinds of experience,* namely, our

bodies, our interactions with our physical environment, and our interaction with other people

within our culture (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003).

The concept of morality is grounded in, constrained by, and tied to our embodied

experience of well-being, in terms of health, strength, wealth, purity, control, nurturance,

empathy, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Such experiences, whether they concern one's own

or others' well-being, serve as motivations for metaphors for morality. For example, people

live better if they are strong and not weak, can stand up and do not have to crawl, eat pure

and not rotten food, and possess things they need rather than not. These embodied

experiences engender metaphors of "morality as strength and immorality as weakness,

morality as uprightness and immorality as being low, morality as purity and immorality as rot"

(p. 250), and morality is increasing another's wealth and immorality is decreasing another's

wealth (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Specifically, concrete concepts, such as "ECONOMIC

TRANSACTIONS, FORCES, STRAIGHTNESS, LIGHT AND DARK, and UP-DOWN

ORIENTATION", are used as common sources domains to map onto various target domains

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of MORALITY, including HONESTY, COURAGE, SINCERITY, HONOR, and their

opposite concepts (Kövecses, 2010). For instance, "I'll pay you back for this", "He's a

straight shooter", and "That was a lowly thing to do" (p. 23-24).

As illustrated, the above metaphorical mappings are not arbitrary but generated by

human's embodied experiences, and therefore are constrained by image schemas (Yu, 1998).

As cited by Yu (1998, p. 23-24), Johnson (1987: xiv) defines image schema as a "recurring,

dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and

structure to our experience", that "operate as organizing structures of our experience and

understanding at the level of bodily perception and movement" (p. 20). In order to gain a

systematic view and to reach deep understanding of the conceptual metaphor of morality, it is

essential for us to identify the image schema(s) that constrain(s) the mappings related to

moral concepts.

Yu (2016) illustrated the systematic nature of MORALITY AS SPACE in conceptual

metaphors in Chinese. He listed five pairs of spatial concepts (seventeen words in total) that

can be mapped onto the positive and negative valence of morality, and specifically, which

aspects in morality (Table 1).

| SPATIAL | | MORAL | SPATIAL | | IMMORAL |
|---------|---|-------|---------|---|---------|
| HIGH | → | LOFTY; NOBLE; GOOD | LOW | → | BASE; MEAN; EVIL |
| UPRIGHT | → | RIGHT; RIGHTEOUS; IMPARTIAL | TILTED | → | WRONG; EVIL; PARTIAL |
| LEVEL | → | FAIR; JUST; IMPARTIAL | UN-LEVEL | → | UNFAIR; UNJUST; PARTIAL |
| STRAIGHT | → | RIGHT; JUST; HONEST | CROOKED | → | WRONG; UNJUST; DISHONEST |
| BIG | → | LOFTY; NOBLE; GOOD | SMALL | → | BASE; MEAN; EVIL |

Table 1: Metaphorical mappings from spatial concepts onto aspects of MORALITY and
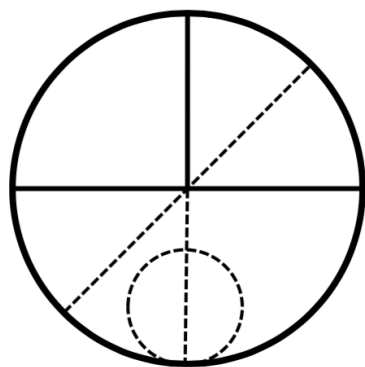
IMMORAL (Yu, 2016)

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Figure 1: Schema of MORAL AS SPACE (Yu, 2016)

It is shown in the table 1 that "HIGH", "UPRIGHT", "LEVEL", "STRAIGHT", and "BIG" are mapped to "MORAL", whereas "LOW", "TILTED", "UN-LEVEL", "CROOKED", and "SMALL" are mapped to "IMMORAL". These five pairs of spatial terms were further represented as four image schemas, "UP-DOWN", "BALANCE", "PATH", and "OBJECT", as shown in the figure 1. His systematic study (2016) focused only on Chinese, but the framework he setup builds a solid foundation for our study.

## MORALITY AS SPACE

Conceptual metaphor reflects how humans think. In the sense of morality, spatial concepts render one means to conceptualize it. In English, we can trace back to the origins of words and idiomatic use of language to illustrate this point. For example, "deprave", according to Oxford Online Dictionary (OOD), has its origin "from Old French depraver or Latin depravare, from de- 'down, thoroughly' + pravus 'crooked, perverse'." We can see that immorality is mapped onto the spatial sense of "down" and "crooked". "Look down on" means to "regard (someone) with a feeling of superiority" (OOD). Here, a sense of scorn is expressed by an orientational action of a human's eyes. Eyes, serving as one of the major perceptional organs of humans, can be used as a source domain in the metaphor "SEEING IS

THINKING". Therefore, by expressing "looking down on someone" means "thinking

someone is low". Again, here immorality is mapped onto the spatial sense of "down".

By looking at examples of origins of English words and idiomatic use of English

language, it shows that morality and space are tightly connected. This study aims to lay out a

systematic view of how we conceptualize morality in terms of space in English.

| Target Domain | MORAL | IMMORAL | Conceptual Metaphors | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | UP | DOWN | MORAL IS UP | IMMORAL IS DOWN |
| | UPRIGHT | TILTED | MORAL IS UPRIGHT | IMMORAL IS TILTED |
| Source Domain | LEVEL | UNLEVEL | MORAL IS LEVEL | IMMORAL IS UNLEVEL |
| | STRAIGHT | CROOKED | MORAL IS STRAIGT | IMMORAL IS CROOKED |
| | BIG | SMALL | MORAL IS BIG | IMMORAL IS SMALL |

Table 2: Mappings of MORALITY AS SPACE

Our findings show that MORALITY AS SPACE in English is similar to Yu's (2016)

findings in Chinese, that morality can be metaphorically expressed through five pairs of

spatial concepts, UP and DOWN, UPRIGHT and TILTED, LELVEL and UN-LEVEL,
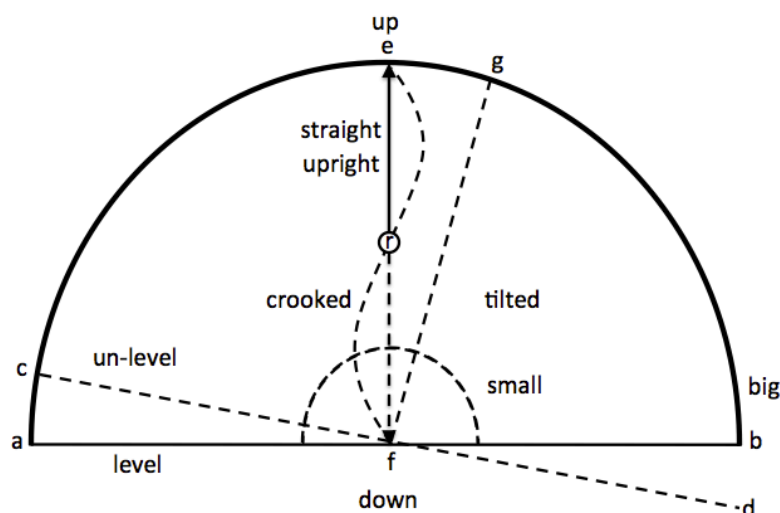
STRAIGHT and CROOKED, and BIG and SMALL.



Figure 2: Schema for MORALITY AS SPACE

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The schematic configuration of spatial concepts for moral metaphors are shown in the figure, in which the solid lines represent MORAL, dotted ones represent IMMORAL, and the small circle with an "r" in it is the reference point. Line (re) with an upward arrow indicates UP, as it can have three senses, staying high statically, looking up, and moving upward, which indicates MORAL. The opposite is dotted line (rf), which indicated IMMORAL. The horizontal solid line (ab) is level, and the slanting dotted line (cd) is un-level, which are mapped onto MORAL IS LEVEL and IMMORAL IS UN-LEVEL. The line (erf) has two versions, straight and crooked, which are mapped onto MORAL IS STRAIGHT and IMMORAL IS CROOKED. Line (afb) can also be considered as STRAIGHT. STRAIGHT does not have a strict horizontal or vertical dimension, it can be either. Line (afe) represents UPRIGHT, while line (afg) represents TILTED. They can be mapped onto MORAL IS UPRIGHT and IMMORAL IS TILTED. Finally, the solid line bigger semicircle represents BIG, and the dotted line smaller semicircle inside represents SMALL, which can be mapped onto MORAL IS BIG and IMMORAL IS SMALL.

Compared to Yu's (2016) schema (see Figure 1), we differ among un-level (line cd), tilted (line afg), and crooked (crooked dotted ef) for the following two reasons: first, line (cd) and line (afg) give a clearer representation of the difference between un-level (horizontal dimension) and tilted (vertical dimension); second, in English, "crooked" usually expresses a sense of twisted rather than angular. Therefore, a dotted curve is used instead of angled straight lines to represent CROOKED.

## EVIDENCE FOR SPATIAL METAPHORS FOR MORALITY

Multimodal metaphors are ones that are conveyed in different modes. For the fact that metaphors are conceptual in nature, they can be manifested through *metaphorical linguistic expressions* (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), but also can be realized in modes other than speaking and writing, i.e., pictures, sound, gesture, etc (Kövecses, 2010). In this section, we present the multimodal evidences that show how we understand morality conceptually through spatial concepts. The linguistic data come from the COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English), whereas the non-linguistic data come from Google Image. Furthermore, we not only look at the contemporary semantic meaning of a word or a phrase, but we also collected examples of the meanings of word roots, to see how the meaning of this language is constructed from the ancient times.

### "MORAL IS UP" and "IMMORAL IS DOWN"

There are various representations of UP and DOWN in spatial concepts, such as a static sense, high and low; an orientational sense, look up and look down; and a sense in motion, move up and move down. We categorize these three senses in order to better explain. As shown in the tables below, examples are given to show that "MORAL IS UP" and "IMMORAL IS DOWN".

**Static**

| HIGH | LOW |
|---|---|
| aboveboard, high-minded, upstanding, stand-up, high principled, lofty, on the up and up, high-flown | low, debase, base, underhand, low down and dirty, hypocrisy, |

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**Orientational**

| UP | DOWN |
|---|---|
| look up to | despicable, look down |

**In-motion**

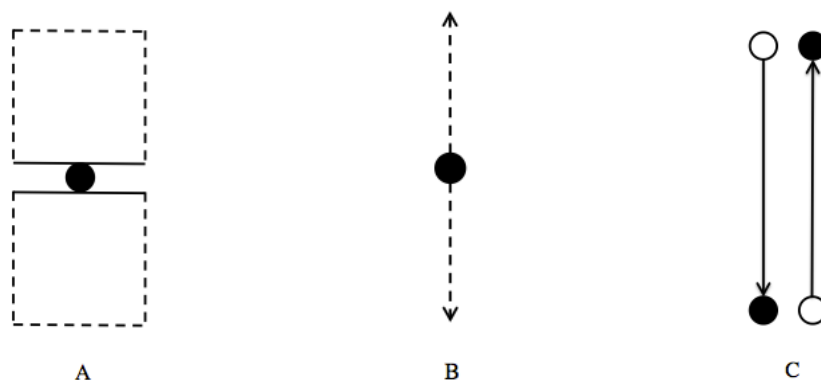| UP | DOWN |
|---|---|
| elevated | fallen, decline in morals, fall of the wagon, stoop to that, sink low, sink to such a level, decadent |

Table 3: Three senses of UP and DOWN



Figure 3: Schemas for UP and DOWN

**Static Sense.** In the schema of static sense, as shown in the figure 3(A), there is a reference point (the solid black dot), space above or over it (the upper square), and space below or under it (the lower square). Dotted lines indicate that the spaces above and under the reference point do not have fixed boundaries. "Aboveboard", "high-minded", "high principled", "lofty", "on the up and up" and "high-flown", express certain aspects of morality, are located in the upper square. The opposite expressions with immoral implication, "low", "debase", "base", "underhand", are placed in the lower square. The separation of the two squares indicates that morality and immorality is closely related to height, in which MORAL IS HIGH and IMMORAL IS LOW. For example, in the word "aboveboard", the "board" is

the reference point, and "above" shows that it is higher than the reference point. In a sentence such as "This is lower than you", the reference point is the "normal you". Finally, the reference point can be a "moral baseline", which again shows that MORALITY can be measured in terms of height.

On the other hand, expressions such as "upstanding" and "standup" are related to a human's well-being. One of the basic metaphors for morality is that "MORAL IS STRENGTH" (Kövecses, 2010). When a human has strength, one can stand up straight rather than kneeling or creeping. This set of moral related expressions share the conceptual metaphors of "MORAL IS UP" and "MORAL IS UPRIGHT", which will be illustrated in the subsequent section. Lastly, the word "hypocrisy" has its origin from "Middle English: from Old French ypocrisie, via ecclesiastical Latin, from hupo 'under' + krinein 'decide, judge'" (ODD). From its word root, we can see immorality is corresponded to "under".

Examples from COCA are shown below to demonstrate "MORAL IS UP" and "IMMORAL IS DOWN" in a static sense.

(1) He said that his gallery had indeed taken Mr. Nara from Ms. Boesky but added that it happened with " honesty, all very **aboveboard**. "

(2) You're a fine, considerate, **upstanding** human being.

(3) Head coaches are supposed to live up to their **high-flown** moral code.

(4) Which is the real you - the loathsome, **under-handed** monster you've become?

(5) I can't understand this guy, this a **low down and dirty** dog.

From example (1) and (2), we can see "aboveboard" and "upstanding" are used together with words with positive connotations, "honesty", "fine" and "considerate". In example (3), the "high-flown moral code" refers to a moral standard that are set above the reference point, "head coaches", who are expected to reach the code. While in example (4) and (5), from the words that are used with "under-handed" and "low down and dirty", which are "loathsome" and "dog", we can infer that IMMORAL IS LOW.

**Orientational Sense.** In the orientational sense, as shown in Figure 3(B), the observer (the solid black dot) stands still and the sense of up and down is expressed through the observer's eyesight. The dotted lines with arrows represent the directions of the observer's eye gaze. As explained before, "SEEING IS THINKING", so "look up to" and "look down on" can be understood as "thinking someone highly or lowly", which can further relate back to the static sense -- "MORAL IS HIGH" and "IMMORAL IS LOW". For example, the word "despicable" fit in this case. According to ODD, it is originated from "mid 16th cent.: from late Latin despicabilis, from despicari 'look down on'." The following are examples of this case:

(1)     ...in America, like Reagan did, because he's a winner. People really **look up to** him, admire him, to try and emulate him.

(2)     Well connected and well educated, the kind of person who regularly goes to dinner at the Oberoi or the Taj is likely to **look down on** the dirty business of Indian politics.

People/things that others "look up to" usually are moral and role models, while people/things that others "look down on" usually are inferior and immoral. In example (1), people admire and emulate him for his good deeds, while, example (2), Indian politics were despised because it was corrupted.

**In-Motion.** Finally, as shown in Figure 3(C), the in-motion sense requires a moving reference point, which can either move upwards or downwards. The dotted line represents the moving track of the reference point, on which the reference point moves from the hollow circle to the solid circle. One example is the word "elevated". The basic meaning of "elevated" is that "situated or placed higher than the surrounding area", whereas it can also means "of a high intellectual or moral level" (ODD). On the opposite, many verbs in which reference point moving downward, namely "fall", "decline", "stoop", and "sink", possess immoral meanings. Moreover, the word "decadent" comes from "late Middle English: from Old French decair, based on Latin decidere 'fall down or off', from de- 'from' + cadere 'fall'." The following examples demonstrate the in-motion case of "MORAL IS UP" and "IMMORAL IS DOWN":

(1) Even though he possessed no formal military training, the fakir provided a charismatic figurehead to the rebellion and maintained his position through dogged determination, strength of personality, and an **elevated** religious position.

(2) In the mid-nineteenth century, Marian Evans Lewes, also known as George Eliot, was considered a **fallen** woman -- " not a prostitute exactly, " writes

Kathyrn Hughes in George Eliot: The Last Victorian, "but a woman who had

become sexually intimate with a man who could not or would not marry her.

(3)   Its just a total shame that they would **stoop to that level** to try and lead people

to believe that they have that many assets on the ground, because it's just simply

not true.

In example (1), the religious position was not physically elevated; instead, it was

elevated in people's mind because of his morally good personality and determination. In

example (2), the woman was fallen. Kövecses (2010) stated that "evil can acted on an upright

person", which can make one "fall" according to the first metaphorical system of morality.

Here, the "fallen" denotes a dynamic process of a woman becoming immoral from moral. In

example (3), we can see that they should have a moral baseline, but they chose to "stoop" to a

lower level of morality.

Two multimodal example are shown as follows:



(A)                                                                                  (B)

Image (A) shows that the moral high ground is a static place with a high altitude. The

person, the representative the United States in a PART FOR WHOLE" metonymy, is in the

trying to stay on the high ground. Meanwhile, issues related to "Iraq" and "Guantanamo" are

burdens that drag the person down, that is, to force the person to act immorally. In image (B),

the "low" does not mean a physical low altitude; rather, it implies that it is lower than, the

reference point, the moral baseline of the listener. It is multimodal because the sentence

accompanies with a look of contempt, which shows the person he is talking to is immoral.

**"MORAL IS UPRIGHT" and "IMMORAL IS TILTED"**

"MORAL IS UPRIGHT" concerns with human's well being and is closely related to

"MORAL IS UP" and "MORAL IS STRAIGHT". A person stands upright to reach the

highest and most stable state of his/hers that other people can lean on. Therefore, he/she can

be perceived to be trustworthy and unbiased. Such conceptual mapping has various linguistic

manifestations. For example, the word "rectitude", originated from late Middle English, was

built on the Late Latin word root "rectus", meaning "right, straight" (OOD).

On the opposite, "IMMORAL IS TILTED" is related to "IMMORAL IS DOWN",

since tilting one's body usually results in the decrease in one's height, such bending down or

leaning. The word "bias", originated in mid 16th century, was used as "in the sense 'oblique

line'; also as an adjective meaning 'oblique'"(ODD). The following examples illustrate the

mappings from source domain "UPRIGHT" and "TILTED", to target domain "MORAL" and

"IMMORAL".

(1)      Perhaps I'd fooled myself into thinking I could lead an **upright**, meaningful

life when in fact I was destined to die alone, facedown in a puddle.

(2)      [H]e owned property of his own, **fair and square.**

(3)      But for former prosecutor Marc Racicot, the decision confirmed what he had

always believed to be a **righteous** conviction.

The expressions "upright", "fair and square", and "righteous" in the above examples

share the meaning of being "morally good" and "honest". "Upright" in the first example

refers to the honest and moral life the speaker desires to have. Meanwhile, the words "upright"

and "facedown" shows the correlation between UP/DOWN ORIENTATION and

WELL-BEING. In example (2), "fair and square" indicates that the man owned the property

"honestly" without conspiracy. "Square" here are mapped onto "HONESTY" because it

contains four right angles. In example (3), "righteous" indicates that the conviction Marc

Racicot believes is fair and honest.

(1) If he[Tony Blair]'s got any sense, he will look back at the history books and saw

what happened to another prime minister who won a third term victory, Margaret

Thatcher, and refuse to **bend** to the will of her members of parliament.

(2) And the BBC is under fire from British and Israeli governments for allegedly

**slanted** news coverage.

In example (1) and (2), "bend" and "slant" illustrate the body's tilted movements

towards its front and its side. "Bend to the will of her members of parliament" means that

Margaret Thatcher gives up her beliefs and standing points. Refusing to do that reflects her

honesty and righteousness. "Slanted" in example (2) refers to BBC's allegedly biased news

coverage, in which it "leans" towards a particular side rather than the other sides.

The following picture serves as multimodal examples of "MORAL IS UPRIGHT"

and "IMMORAL IS TILTED":



(C)                                          (D)

Image (1) is the business logo of a company, *SquareTwo Financial*. The company makes

a promise to be "fair and square" in the text, meaning that they "promise to treat every

[c]ustomer with fairness and respect" (SquareTwo Financial). In addition to employing the

above-mentioned spatial concept of square in writing form, the company used a square

shaped text box as a container of the text. It reinforces the mapping from "UPRIGHT" to

"HONEST/FAIRNESS" with a visual illustration, and therefore makes the promise more

tangible and easier to comprehend for their costumers.

Image (2) demonstrates the literal meaning of "slanted media coverage", in which the

journalists, representing media in a "PART FOR WHOLE" metonymy, are standing in

slanted positions while taking notes on the press conference. The picture implies that the

journalists' biased opinions resemble their tilted physical positions. Thus, there are reporting

with prejudice and unfairness, which is considered unethical in their profession.

**"MORAL IS LEVEL" and "IMMORAL IS UNLEVEL"**

"Level" and "un-level" concepts are commonly mapped onto the "fairness" aspect of

morality. "Level" here refers to a flat, smooth, and horizontal surface, where the objects on

the surface are evenly distributed. In addition, "level" implies the state of being at the same

height, which can be understood as "even". In a society, the state of absolute "level" is

reached when every member shares the equal amount of resources and rights. The word

"equal", containing moral related meaning of "(of people) having the same status, rights, or

opportunities" and the meaning of "evenly or fairly balanced", is originated in "Late Middle

English: from Latin aequalis, from aequus 'even, level, equal'"(OOD). The word root of

"equal" shares both the meaning of "level" and "even". On the other hand, "unlevel" refers to

the unfairness due to the unequal distribution of social or economical resources and rights.

The following examples illustrate the mappings from "LEVEL" and "UNLEVEL" to

"MORAL" and "IMMORAL".

(1) Chernow respectfully relates Washington's well-deserved reputation for

   **evenhanded** dignity as president.

(2) The core is the American people do not think the system is fair or **on the level**.

(3) The teachers develop activities in their subject areas that are designed to teach

   students about the **equitable**, ethical and legal use of computers and related

   technology.

In example (1), "evenhanded" refers to President Washington's impartial character, which is a morally good quality that contributes to his reputation. The use of "evenhanded" is a direct representation of human's embodied experiences. When holding objects, especially a container full of liquid, with both hands, a person needs to position his/her hands at the same height to keep the object balanced. Figuratively, it can be understood as treating everything in the container or each side of the object s/he is holding equally. Similarly, example (2) indicates that the American people think that the system is not treating every person equally, and therefor not "on the level". In example (3), the word "equitable", served as synonymy to "moral", refers to the fair use of technology.

(1) In the case of Bangladesh and India, however, arguments for and against the water-sharing treaty must be understood in the overall context of the **asymmetrical relationship** that exists between the two nations.

(2) But Indian leaders now complain that trade is far too **lopsided** in China's favor and say that Indian corporations face too many obstacles in entering the Chinese market.

(3) ...it is definitely making for an **unlevel playing field** to on the one hand play by the rules and then have somebody on the other side of the line playing by a separate set of rules, better known as cheating.

In the above three example, the imagined surface is no longer horizontal. Conceptually, the entities on the two opposite sides do not share the same amount of resources or privilege. "Asymmetrical relationship" in example (1) indicates the

power difference between Bangladesh and India. Here, "asymmetrical" is explained as

"[h]aving parts or aspects which are not equal or equivalent"(OOD).

Example (2) and (3) describe situations that specifically benefit one party but impede

the development of the other one. In example (2), "lopsided" suggests that the trade is biased

and not fair. The correlation of "lopsided surface" and "unfairness" generated and can be

understood by embodied experience as well. Two simple examples are the seesaw and the

scale, on which heavier object, in this case, the party with more privilege, would naturally

weigh down its side and break the balance of the seesaw or the scale. In example (3), the

"unlevel playing field" refers to the unfairness of two parties engaging in the same activity

but judged by different standards. In reality, an unlevel playing field increases the

possibilities for the team playing on the higher half of the field to win. Finally, the metaphor

"MORAL IS LEVEL" and "IMMORAL IS UNLEVEL" can be supported by multimodal

evidences shown below.



(E)                                                                     (F)

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Image (E) comes form an India institution: Assure Quality Management Certification Services (Impartiality Principles). The illustration is used by this institution to explain their "impartiality principles" to potential costumers. It not only states their impartial attitude via text, but also depicted a silhouette of a firm hand holding a balanced scale. The same height of the two loading trays and the horizontal levelness of the weighing beam are mapped onto the concept of impartiality. Therefore, the illustration is a manifestation of the conceptual metaphor "LEVEL IS MORAL/IMPARTIALITY".

Image (F) shows a playing field where one side of the field is elevated from the ground. Multiple elements are mapped from a soccer game to the unfair situation that World Trade Organization (WTO) generates. The two different parts of the world, the Western and the rest, are described as two opposite teams in the game, whereas the referee is the WTO. The picture indicates that the WTO rules in the favor of the Western nations and therefore increases their winning opportunities. The unfairness of the game is reflected in both the unlevel playing field and the different size of the goals, which make clear the mapping from "UNLEVEL" to "IMMORAL/UNFAIRNESS".

**"MORAL IS STRAIGHT" and "IMMORAL IS CROOKED"**

"Straight" is mapped onto "honesty" when describing morality. "Straightforward", "straight shooting", "lay it on the line" (line implying straightness) all share similar meaning, being honest. However, "crooked" and "twisted" has a variety of meanings. "Crooked" can mean dishonest, corrupted, illegal, etc., while "twisted" can mean evil and harmful to the society. The mapping from "STRAGHT", "CROOKED" to "MORAL", "IMMORAL" can

be understood in the basic metaphor "LIFE IS A JOURNEY" which involves a traveler, a path, and a goal. Since our human society possesses the goal of being moral and increasing humans' well-being, it can be seen as one of the goals for the journey. To walk on straight paths is the fastest and most energy saving way for a person to reach the goal, being moral. On the opposite, straying from the straight path and walking on crooked paths indicate the traveler's immoral character. The word "deprave", for example, illustrate the mapping from "CROOKED" to "IMMORAL". According to OOD, "deprave" originates from "from Old French depraver or Latin depravare, from de- 'down, thoroughly' + pravus 'crooked, perverse'." We can see it is a combination of "DOWN" and "CROOKED", which simply means morally bad or corrupted.

(1) He's a completely honest, straightforward, hard-driving man who I have known for well over 30 years.

(2) It also allowed conservatives to present their views as the philosophy of a region that Americanseven sophisticated urban ones-traditionally venerate as the repository of national virtue, a place of plain speaking and straight shooting.

(3) Until recently the city was notorious, known as both the murder capital of the world and as the home of drug kingpin Pablo Escobar, who ran the Medellin cocaine cartel for years and poisoned the city with his army of narcotraficantes, drug dealers, crooked cops, and assassins.

(4) Now she was about to begin the last stage of her training, a fellowship in forensic

psychiatry, where she'd treat some of the sickest and most twisted minds humanity

could imagine.

In example (1) and (2), "STRAIGHT" is exclusively mapped onto "HONESTY". It

shows in the sentences that "straightforward" and "straight shooting" share the same meaning

as "honest" and "plain speaking". In example (3), "crooked", rather than "dishonest", is

mapped onto "corrupted". Lastly, in example (4), "twisted" is used to describe the criminals

who is harmful to the society's well being.

**"MORAL IS BIG" and "IMMORAL IS SMALL"**

"BIG IS BETTER" is coherent with "GOOD IS UP", since "the most fundamental values in a

culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in

the culture" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p.22). "MORAL IS BIG", here, is as well coherent

with the above-mentioned "MORAL IS UP" / "GOOD IS UP". We can see a person's

"LIFE/HEART/MIND" as a container and his/her "VIRTUE" as the content in the container.

Similar to the CONDUIT metaphor (Reddy, 1979), the size of the container indicates the

amount of its content, as illustrate below:

(1) He was a very, very charitable man and with a really big heart.

(2) What they do with that, if their sick little mind decides to go out and shoot

somebody -- what are you going to do about it?

In example (1), the person's "HEART" is perceived to be a "CONTAINER" that holds

his moral qualities. The content in the "HEART" in this case is his "CHARITABLE

CHARACTERS". Stating that he has a "big heart" implies that he is a morally good person

with a large amount of charitable qualities. Example (2), on the other hand, indicates the

limited amount of virtue in the shooter's "MIND". It collocates with "sick" to further illustrate

the shooter's evil and selfish character.

**Discussion**

| SPATIAL | MORAL | SPATIAL | IMMORAL |
|---------|-------|---------|---------|
| UP | NOBLE; GOOD; ETHICAL | DOWN | BASE; BAD; UNETHICAL |
| UPRIGHT | RIGHTEOUS; IMPARTIAL; HONEST; NOBLE | TILTED | BIASED; UNETHICAL |
| LEVEL | FAIR; IMPARTIAL | UN-LEVEL | UNFAIR; BIASED |
| STRAIGHT | HONEST | CROOKED | DISHONEST; CORRUPTED; EVIL; UNETHICAL |
| BIG | NOBLE; KIND | SMALL | EVIL; SELFISH |

Table 4: Spatial concepts' metaphorical mappings on prototypical aspects of MORALITY

Based on the analysis of MORALITY AS SPACE in English in the previous section,

we first present how each pair of the spatial concepts are mapped onto the various but

prototypical aspects of MORAL and IMMORAL, as shown in table 4. It is worth noting that

UP and DOWN embrace the most general aspects of MORALITY, such as morally good or

bad. Nevertheless, the rest pairs all have distinctive focused aspects of morality.

SPACE is such a big concept that includes various aspects of our bodily experience.

Besides the five pairs we listed in the previous sections, SPACE also includes FRONT and

BACK, INSIDE and OUTSIDE, DEEP and SHALLOW, FAR and NEAR, etc. However,

these are few linguistic manifestations regarding these domains from the data we collected.

Moreover, sometimes, space concepts in different dimensions are combined together.

For example, devious originates from "Latin devius (from de- 'away from' + via 'way') +

-ous. The original sense was 'remote'; the later sense 'departing from the direct route' gave

rise to the figurative sense 'deviating from the straight way" (OOD). It has a sense of "away

from", combined with "MORAL IS STRAIGHT", so that it emerged the meaning of away of

moral, therefore immoral.

"Upfront" and "outright" are two other examples of combinations of two spatial

dimensions. Both words share similar meaning of being honest. However, claims such as

"MORAL IS FRONT" and "MORAL IS OUT" cannot be made, merely based on "MORAL IS

UP" and "MORAL IS UPRIGHT" without ample evidence.

**Conclusion**

This study is based on Yu's (2016) study about MORALITY AS SPACE from a

perspective of Chinese. This study intends to lay out the systematic conceptual metaphors for

morality in the spatial subsystem, MORALITY AS SPACE. We list out five pairs of spatial

concepts to form this metaphor system, that is, UP and DOWN, UPRIGHT and TILTED,

LEVEL and UN-LEVEL, STRAIGHT and CROOKED, and BIG and SMALL. Furthermore,

a visual representation of these five pairs of spatial concepts as a schema is presented. We use

tokens from Corpus of Contemporary American English as our linguistic evidence, and

pictures searched from Google Image as our multimodal evidence. Based on the analysis,

table 4 shows each pair of spatial concepts is mapped onto which prototypical aspects of

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morality. Finally, we discussed the limitation of the metaphorical system MORALITY AS

SPACE based on some examples, which shows the possibility to combine two spatial

concepts into one.

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**Appendix: Dictionaries and Corpus**

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　　1990-present. Retrieved from http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/.

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**Appendix: Images**

(A) http://www.myconfinedspace.com/2007/02/14/american-moral-high-ground/

(B) http://memegenerator.net/instance/56530260

(C) http://www.squaretwofinancial.com

(D) http://mylifeinverse.com/tag/mainstream-media-bias/

(E) http://www.aqmcs.com/impartiality-principles.php

(F) http://martinjapan.blogspot.com/2005/12/wto-level-playing-field.html