Shaver, Joel A. (2011) *Metaphors of travel in the language of hymns: 1650–1800.* PhD thesis.

http://theses.gla.ac.uk/2381/

Metaphors of Travel in the Language of Hymns:

1650-1800

Joel A. Shaver
B.A., MLitt

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of PhD

Department of English Language
Faculty of Arts
University of Glasgow

December 2010

Abstract

This dissertation concentrates on the role of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY in English hymns of the 17th and 18th centuries, addressing the following research questions: 1) To what extent and in which contexts have elements of the lexical category of travel, applied metaphorically, been used in English spiritual language and literature in the period 1650–1800? 2) How has metaphorical extension affected the semantic development of this category? This dissertation discusses the use of travel metaphors as structural schemata for complete hymns, and analyzes the use of individual elements of travel-related terminology across a historical textual corpus. The analyses in this dissertation are undertaken in light of recent trends in semantics, and with the aim of contributing to the development of Cognitive Metaphor Theory as a tool for historical linguistic analysis and literary criticism.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Accompanying Material

Electronic corpus of hymns
     (original and modified source texts, lemma and stop lists, and list of corpus lexeme
     and n-gram frequencies)
Electronic database of collected travel metaphors

Acknowledgements

Call in thy Powers; run, and reach
    Home with the light,
Be there, before the shadows stretch,
    And Span up night.

    – Henry Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans*

Abbreviations

Corpus Authors

Bax: Richard Baxter
Cow: William Cowper
Ged: William Geddes
Kea: Benjamin Keach
Mas: John Mason
New: John Newton
Sha: Shakers (*Millennial Praises* hymnal)
Sma: Christopher Smart
Vau: Henry Vaughan
Wat: Isaac Watts
WeJ: John Wesley
Wes: Charles Wesley

Other Abbreviations

ADJ: Adjective
BNC: British National Corpus (http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/)
BT: (Conceptual) Blending Theory
CCEL: Christian Classics Ethereal Library (http://www.ccel.org)
CMT: Conceptual Metaphor Theory
DNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (http://www.oxforddnb.com)
ECCO: Eighteenth Century Collections Online (Gale Group: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/)
HTE: Historical Thesaurus of English (Online resource, and provisional title for HTOED. http://libra.englang.arts.gla.ac.uk/historicalthesaurus/)
EEBO: Early English Books Online (Chadwyck: http://eebo.chadwyck.com)
HTOED: Historical Thesaurus of The Oxford English Dictionary (Print resource, based on data from HTE project.)
ICM: Idealized Cognitive Model
KJV: Bible—Authorized King James Version
KWIC: Key Word In Context (concordance result layout)
N: Noun
NASB: Bible—New American Standard version.
OE: Old English
OED: Oxford English Dictionary (http://www.oed.com)
PDE: Present Day English
PMT: Primary Metaphor Theory
PRON: Pronoun
V: Verb

Biblical books are sometimes abbreviated to three characters according to convention: see Blue Letter Bible (http://blueletterbible.org) for a table of abbreviations.

I Introduction

In 1691, the Particular Baptist minister Benjamin Keach wrote:

This World's a Sea, our Soul's a Ship
With raging Tempest tost;
And if she should her Anchor slip,
She doubtless will be lost. (1691: 76)

The nonconformist Richard Baxter's earlier *Poetical Fragments*, published in 1681 after the death of his wife, expressed very similar sentiments in similar terms:

If I look out beyond thine Ark,
Nothing but raging Seas I see:
On this side Heav'ns all's deep and dark:
But I look further unto thee. (1681b: 254)

Ideas and experiences of travel are an integral part of how people think and speak about life and spirituality. The expressions we use to communicate our feelings on these subjects —the language of our hopes, fears, and goals—is rooted in travel. We may say that our lives are 'going nowhere', or that we feel like we are being 'led' somewhere specific. Sometimes life 'goes too fast'; at other times we may feel 'stuck'. A particularly meaningful experience may alter the 'course' of our life, or even cause us to 'turn our life around'.

Travel imagery is at the center of how we sing about our lives, too. It abounds in our popular music: in the past 50 years, Sheryl Crow (1997) has told us that 'every day is a winding road', Edgar Winter (1972) has offered a 'free ride', and Bob Dylan (1965) has asked how it feels 'To be on your own / With no direction home … Like a rolling stone?' Books, films, and television programs about travel are consistently well-received: travelogues, biographies, and fictions, both in print and on the screen, are consistent best-sellers; there is even a television channel whose programming is dedicated exclusively to travel. Whether undertaken for business or pleasure, travel is commonly considered to enrich life experience and increase depth of character: it is with this hope that high school and university students frequently engage in cross-cultural 'exchange' programs, living in a different country for a period of several months or more.

This culturally pervasive association of life with travel has been described by George Lakoff (1994) as a special case of a primary conceptual metaphor, LONGTERM PURPOSEFUL

I. Introduction

ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY. This metaphor has been identified by Lakoff and Johnson, in their book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), as part of a system of metaphors, which they see as integral to human learning processes, playing a central role in inspiring and structuring systems of abstract concepts. The special case of this basic-level metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, along with its subordinate mappings, seems to carry special importance in human experience.

As such an integral part of our culture, one would expect travel-related metaphors to be extremely prominent in religious literature. Tracy (1978: 95-96) has commented that religion is based on a 'vision of reality … informed by a specific cluster of metaphors', and Jäkel observes that, as an abstract, largely non-sensual concept, 'the domain of the religious should be largely if not completely dependent on metaphorical conceptualisation' (2002: 23). Specifically, Jäkel discusses the role of JOURNEY imagery and a systematic PATH schema in the Bible, observing the ubiquitous presence of a good / bad PATH dichotomy and its related moral imperative: 'LEADING A MORAL LIFE IS MAKING A JOURNEY ON GOD'S WAY'.

This dissertation aims to extend the focus of such discussion to later genres drawing from the tradition established by biblical texts and early Christian writings. It will explore applications of JOURNEY imagery in English texts, and situate such usage within a historical setting and cultural heritage. Specifically, this dissertation will track the semantic history and development of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY and its subordinate mappings in English religious language within the period of 1650–1800. The primary focus will be analysis and discussion of this metaphor within an electronic corpus of hymn lyrics and religious poetry from that period, supplemented with data from other contemporary texts, biographies, and historical materials. Key topics will include synchronic and diachronic variation in metaphor within and across cultural boundaries, interpretation of textual and cognitive metaphors within a historical and cultural context, the role of typology and allegory in the hymns, and the intended function and purpose of specific types of texts— especially hymns as compared to other types of religious and secular writing. To this end, this dissertation addresses the following research questions:

> 1) To what extent and in which contexts have elements of the lexical category of journeying, applied metaphorically, been used in English hymns in the period 1650–1800?

2) How has metaphorical extension affected the semantic development of this category?

The current dissertation is based partly on a pilot study conducted for my MLitt thesis for the University of Glasgow, addressing the use of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in Old English poetry and sermons. In Shaver (2006), I found that Anglo-Saxon authors commonly viewed life as a linear journey, beginning in birth and exile from God, and ending in a return to the heavenly homeland after death. In the literature, those who become truly aware of the reality of this situation often voluntarily become hermits or wanderers, living out their spiritual, metaphorical homelessness in concrete, earthly terms. This kind of real-life allegory is based in the Christian theological practice of typology, a belief that historical (especially biblical) events also represent or prefigure abstract truths. Thus, Adam, the first man, is described as 'the figure of him that was to come' (Rom 5:14) —the first 'type' of Christ. Other scriptural 'types' cited in the New Testament include Moses' bronze serpent—lifted in the air, like Christ, to heal the people (Jhn 3:14); the Flood, a 'baptism' for Noah and his family (1Pe 3:20-21); and Israel's slavery in Egypt, representing the greater bondage of humankind to sin prior to salvation (Gal 4). In Anglo-Saxon literature, the physical world was viewed as a typological representation of the Christian walk. Heaven and hell were portrayed as literal places to which one could travel; politically demarcated kingdoms one could reach either by walking or by righteous living.

This dissertation is organized into five main sections containing background material for the current study, an outline of methodology, and discussions and analysis of the corpus material. Chapter II addresses current theories of metaphor and semantics, giving an overview of the development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and comparing the treatment of TRAVEL imagery in several current accounts. This chapter lays the groundwork for discussions of metaphorical imagery and conceptual schemata in later chapters, looking at the interactions between metaphor and other cognitive phenomena like metonymy and blending. It also discusses questions of 'metaphoricity' and historical change, and methods for approaching these topics through the medium of electronic corpora.

Chapter III offers a survey of the historical setting within which the hymns were written, providing context for the discussions of corpus material in the following chapter. Chapter III traces some of the major developments in English Christianity during the 17th and 18th centuries, from early Dissent, through the 18th century, to the Methodist and

I. Introduction

Evangelical movements. This chapter discusses contemporary attitudes toward metaphor and 'figurative' language, drawing from the writings of Enlightenment philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and John Wilkins; focusing also upon writings on this subject by the 18th-century minister and hymn-writer Isaac Watts. This chapter concludes with biographical overviews of Watts and three other authors, Charles Wesley, John Newton, and William Cowper, whose hymns are the focus of Chapter V.

Chapter IV reviews the methodology used in assembling and compiling the materials for an electronic corpus of hymns, laying out the general principles for corpus analysis used in this study and providing statistical information about the corpus data. This includes discussion in further depth of the motivations behind the current dissertation, and a description of the preliminary study. This chapter details the processes used in identification and collection of metaphors, and in analysis of complete hymns and concordance data.

Chapter V is devoted to analysis and discussion of TRAVEL imagery in the corpus texts, primarily in several individual words or search tokens representing specific elements or nodes from the source domain of TRAVEL imagery, with the support of relevant imagery taken in context. This chapter also provides literary analysis of several complete hymns (one from each of the four main authors selected for this study), exemplifying uses of the JOURNEY schema to structure poetic works.

Finally, Chapter VI contains extended discussions of the corpus material, and of approaches to historical metaphor in general. Building upon the methods and findings of the previous chapter, it applies these to portrayals of the more abstract conception of HEAVEN in the corpus texts, discussing themes from the Enlightenment and Christian symbolism in light of current cognitive theories of embodiment.

In this dissertation I hope to contribute to the continued development of a well-reasoned cognitive approach to historical semantics, especially in the area of metaphor, building on the foundations laid by Lakoff, Johnson, and others since 1980. I hope to show also that an awareness of metaphor, as a psychological and linguistic phenomenon central to human understanding, is a valuable historical and literary tool, offering a view of the forces that shape language and culture.

II Theory

This study of JOURNEY language in the history of English hymns draws upon the theory of conceptual metaphor, which has proved to be a central development in cognitive semantics over the past three decades.[1] Section 1 of this chapter therefore situates the present study through an account of the development of the cognitive school of semantics over the past three decades. To give a proper theoretical context to the historical discussion that follows this chapter, Section 1 provides a brief history of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its related concepts within cognitive semantics, summarizing the research that most directly impacts on studies which, like the current dissertation, trace the processes of lexical and semantic development through historical texts. Section 2 narrows its scope to discuss specifically the treatment of travel-related concepts by the cognitive semanticists whose writings were consulted for this dissertation. This is done in order to compare previous treatments of semantically similar material, providing a backdrop against which to view the historical corpus data which is the primary focus of this study.

The pioneering works of cognitive semantics have tended to use the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor as one example of many, drawing from linguistic data collated from a wide variety of mostly modern sources to build up a system of abstract semantic principles. This dissertation recognizes the importance of such contributions to the foundations of semantic theory, but also of testing these principles against bodies of data from all registers, periods, and genres of language. In particular, the later chapters of this dissertation draw extensively from the principles detailed in the current chapter, especially those dealing with conceptual metaphor, metonymy, blending, and levels of 'metaphoricity'. As stated in the research questions in Chapter I, these principles will be applied to analysis of the use of metaphorical JOURNEY language in a textual corpus composed of thematically and historically related works, in the context of English hymns of the 17th and 18th centuries.

1 A Brief History of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Metaphor has traditionally been viewed as a special case of linguistic creativity: a 'poetic' or 'artistic' device. In the history of linguistics as a discipline, it has also often been treated as an abnormal feature of language: Ortony describes linguists like Grice, Searle,

---

1   See, e.g., Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999), Lakoff (1993), Kövecses (2002).

and Black as holding what he calls the 'nonconstructivist position', viewing 'metaphors as rather unimportant, deviant, and parasitic on "normal usage"' (1993b: 2). Searle ([1979] 1993: 103, 108), as well as Glucksberg and Keysar ([1979] 1993: 403-404), hold that metaphorical interpretation depends on identification of a sentence's literal meaning as 'defective'. This contrasts with what Ortony calls the 'constructivist' position, which considers that an individual's knowledge of reality is limited and affected by the interaction between information and its context, and by the individual's prior experience. The cognitive school of semantics as developed by Lakoff et al. takes the constructivist view, emphasizing the 'embodiment' of language and thought, and challenging the traditional view of metaphor as a mere 'matter of words'. The following pages will outline the development of a cognitive theory of metaphor, describing some of the earlier work that led to the idea that metaphor is an important cognitive process, central to language and thought. They will also examine the more recent contributions of Lakoff, Johnson, Grady, and others, who have shown in greater detail the mechanisms by which language is shaped by embodied experience. The accounts of conceptual metaphor and related cognitive processes outlined and developed in this chapter will inform the remaining chapters, and will be tested against the linguistic data collected for this dissertation.

1.1 Understanding metaphor

Accounts of metaphor as an important feature of language, though infrequent, did occur before the rise of cognitive semantics. Although a thorough treatment of the history of metaphor theory is not within the scope of this dissertation, the current section will outline some of these earlier approaches to a theory of metaphor, and discuss their contributions to the development of a cognitive approach.[2] One of the earliest to appreciate the importance of metaphor was I.A. Richards, who described metaphor as an 'omnipresent principle of language' (1936: 92). He believed that metaphor was conceptual in nature (1936: 94), and, recognizing that metaphorical concepts were not merely figurative or poetic substitutions for literal sentences, argued that metaphorical thought accounted for much more of language than was realized by traditionalists (1936: 33-34).

Searle (e.g., 1993: 84), Chomsky (e.g., [1980] 2005: 224), and other modern generative linguists have typically made a formal distinction between sentence meaning

---

2   Allan (2008: 4-8) provides a more detailed discussion and comparison of these and later accounts, showing some of the foundations of the contemporary theory.

and speaker meaning. As outlined by de Swart (1998), semantics deals with 'the study of literal, context-independent meaning', while pragmatics

> … is interested in how sentences work out in context, and is therefore concerned with utterance meaning. This includes the study of nonliteral meaning such as irony ... and metaphor. (1998: 11)

Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet's introductory textbook to truth-conditional semantics (2000: 211) mentions metaphor only in passing, as evidence of multiple layers of meaning beyond the sentence level. Davidson, too, takes a truth-conditional approach to metaphor, arguing that, in order to understand a metaphor, speakers must 'know under what conditions the sentence containing the metaphor would be true', basing this knowledge on the 'usual meanings of the words' (1999: 113). Under this division, metaphors and other forms of 'nonliteral' language are often classed as psychological phenomena.

The study of metaphor is, according to many generative linguists, a matter for psychological and philosophical inquiry, and is properly situated outside the scope of formal linguistic study, along with other mental processes contributing to language production and use.[3] The view of metaphor as solely a psychological process motivates the 'nonconstructivist' position of Searle et al., that metaphorical comprehension depends first upon rejection of literal meaning. This position is still prominent: an introductory syntax textbook currently in use by the University of Pennsylvania (Santorini & Kroch 2007) explains how, in cases of nonliteral language, 'violation of selectional restrictions signals to the hearer that the sentence is intended to be taken not literally, but figuratively'. In such cases, it explains, the hearer goes through a 'subconscious and lightning-quick' reasoning process, like that in the following example:

> The little girl lapped up her teacher's praise?? Whoa there, that's complete nonsense!
> It's only nonhuman animals that lap up things. And then, whatever they're lapping up has to be liquid, not something abstract like praise.
> But the speaker seems to know English and be *compos mentis*, so what could they have possibly meant by what they said?
> I guess what they must have meant is that the attitude of the little girl towards her teacher's praise resembles the eagerness with which a thirsty animal laps up some welcome liquid. (Santorini & Kroch 2007: ch. 9)

---

3   See, e.g., Sadock ([1979] 1993) and discussion in Lakoff (1993: 248).

II. Theory: 1. A Brief History of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

   A large number of the linguistic community have, since the 1970s, come to recognize the importance of semantics as a field of linguistics, resulting in increased research in more recent years into the role of metaphors in language acquisition, comprehension, and production. Despite his view of metaphor as a psychological phenomenon, Sadock comments that metaphors are 'the locus of semantic change in natural language' ([1979] 1993: 57). Writing in the same year, Rumelhart ([1979] 1993) argues that metaphorical understanding is not significantly different from normal understanding. Rumelhart writes of his belief that 'the processes involved in the comprehension of nonliteral speech are part of our language production and comprehension equipment from the very start, and that far from being a special aspect of linguistic or pragmatic competence, it is the very basis for this competence' (1993: 73). He explores the idea of mental *schemata*, or 'abstract representation[s] of a generalized concept or situation' (1993: 77). These are compiled from real-life experience, and are used by hearers to interpret speakers' meanings.

   One particularly influential metaphor theorist has been Black. Although listed above among the nonconstructivists by Ortony, Black denies the 'misleading view of a metaphor as some kind of deviation or aberration from proper usage' ([1979] 1993: 22). Black recognizes the prevalence of the 'substitution' view of metaphor, according to which metaphors are simply 'substitutes' for literal utterances, as well as of the 'comparison' view, which holds that metaphors are condensed versions of similes, and express a literal similarity between two concepts (e.g., 1962: 30-37). Black proposes instead the 'interaction' view: that context imposes new meanings upon words in metaphorical utterances, which at the same time retain their old meanings. In order to apprehend the metaphor, the reader or listener must take both meanings into account (1962: 38-39).

   Despite his realization of the inadequacy of traditional accounts of metaphor, Black does not consider metaphor to be a basic feature of language; he criticizes the 'enthusiastic friends of metaphor', who 'see metaphor everywhere', and believes that metaphor inherently produces a 'nonstandard' or 'emphatic' effect (1993: 23, 26). Regarding the possibility of conventionalized, systematic metaphorical structures, Black maintains that 'a metaphorical statement involves a rule violation', therefore 'there can be no rules for "creatively" violating rules' (1993: 24). Black's view of metaphor, while lacking an explanation for the extensive, cohesive metaphorical systems observed more recently by Lakoff and Johnson (see Section 1.2), shows the beginnings of a more general willingness

on the part of the linguistic community to consider context and direct experience as a factor in meaning.

Reddy ([1979] 1993) observed that, far from being 'semantically anomalous' constructions, metaphors are inescapable, and actually seem to provide the underlying structure for basic systems of thought. Specifically, Reddy discusses the ubiquity in English of a 'conduit metaphor' by which words seem to 'contain' ideas, feelings, and things, and to 'convey' them between people. Reddy shares some of the distrust for metaphor characteristic of the more traditional writers, and his account reflects a continued belief that figurative language obscures the 'true' nature of things. He claims that the reliance of the English language on the Conduit Metaphor can and frequently does have serious consequences: it has severely limited scientific and philosophical thought, has negatively affected government policy decisions, and has even promoted the gradual death of humanism as a valid philosophy. It might be objected that the conduit metaphor was presumably active during the rise of humanism as well; but Reddy's claims do recognize that metaphor can have a drastic effect on communication and thought. He observes, perhaps more plausibly, that this particular metaphor is the force behind a general, automatic tendency in our society to blame speakers rather than hearers for failed attempts to communicate ('After all, receiving and unwrapping a package is so passive and so simple—what can go wrong?') (1993: 168). In his exploration of the conduit metaphor, Reddy personifies the English language as an 'evil magician' who seeks to control our thought processes and actions without our consent, with the ultimate goal of creating discord and discouraging cooperation in interpersonal communication. He calls for a general 'frame shift' in linguistic thinking—possibly involving 'a serious alteration of consciousness' (1993: 166)—which he believes will be necessary in order to perceive the 'new facts' about metaphor.

Reddy's construal of certain metaphors as insidious dangers to human society may seem implausible in light of the later observations of Lakoff et al.: if metaphor is seen as a necessary component of both thought and language, then, like language in general, its effects can be positive or negative. However, Reddy's observation of the extreme degree to which conceptual metaphors affect and permeate a society is important and valid, and his new way of thinking about metaphor laid the groundwork for studies which, like the present one, study the interaction between metaphor and culture. As Reddy points out, a

15

result of the endemic nature of metaphor is that it is often difficult to notice. The LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, for instance, is conventionalized in Western culture to the point of being nearly inescapable: we routinely speak about our achievements as progress, our goals as destinations, and our extended experiences as stages of a journey. Speakers generally see nothing metaphorical in expressions like 'how far did you get in your career?'; yet this one question employs metaphorical mappings expressing achievement in terms of distance, action as motion, and careers as paths. Even the word *career* is a historical metaphor: the earliest cited usage in the OED is for the sense 'A running, course (usually implying swift motion)'. The sense referring to 'A person's course or progress through life' is not attested until the early 19th century (2nd ed., 1989, 'career, n.'). As acknowledged by Lakoff (1993: 203-204), Reddy's article was part of the inspiration for the early development of metaphor theory and cognitive semantics.

1.2   Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Wegener ([1885] 1991) proposed in the 19th century that metaphors gradually 'fade', and that all generic words are probably metaphorical in origin. Metaphor is perhaps especially ubiquitous in spiritual and religious imagery. The often abstract- or lofty-seeming concepts of theology are understood and made accessible through concrete experience. Sayce's observations on religious language, highlighting both current and historical metaphors, reflect Wegener's theory, and read like an early manifesto of Conceptual Metaphor Theory:

> Language, it has been said, is a storehouse of faded metaphors; and if this is true of language in general, it is still more true of theological language. We can understand the spiritual and the abstract only through the help of the material; the words by which we denote them must be drawn, in the first instance, from the world of the senses. Just as in the world of sense itself the picture that we see or the music that we hear comes to us through the nerves of sight and hearing, so all that we know or believe of the moral and spiritual world is conveyed to us through sensuous and material channels. Thought is impossible without the brain through which it can act, and we cannot convey to others or even to ourselves our conceptions of right and wrong, of beauty and goodness, without having recourse to analogies from the world of phenomena, to metaphor and imagery, to parable and allegory. What is "conception" itself but a "grasping with both hands," or "parable" but a "throwing by the side of"? If we would deal with the spiritual and moral, we must have recourse to metaphorical forms of speech. A religion is necessarily built up on a foundation of metaphor. (Sayce 1902: 15)

II. Theory: 1. A Brief History of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

One of the important observations of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is that latent conceptual metaphors, which traditionally were taken to be 'dead', or at least 'faded', are in fact alive and highly active at a subconscious level. According to their model, many of our systems for speaking and reasoning about physical and mental health, for example, are grounded in the understanding of physical verticality: someone who is healthy will be able to stand upright, and someone who is ill or depressed might have a stooped posture or 'fallen' countenance. Likewise, language related to knowledge and understanding is likely to be rooted in source concepts of 'grasping' objects or 'seeing' light. The passage of time is often described in terms of movement in space, or of spending money. These systems of conceptualization are also usually behind our personal and cultural philosophies; for example, the conceptualization and treatment in Western culture of time and labor as resources, or the metaphors identified by Sayce as fundamental to religious thought. Of specific import for this dissertation is the metaphorical mapping LIFE IS A JOURNEY, discussed in Section 2.1, and described in detail by Lakoff and Turner (1989). This metaphor is central to religious language: the Judeo-Christian tradition makes extensive use of the imagery of walking and paths, as will be seen in Chapter V. Lakoff and Johnson's account of metaphor, taken with Sayce's observation, would indicate that this metaphor has been and continues to be active and integral to religious thought in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) expanded on Reddy's observations, describing a much more comprehensive system of conceptual metaphors on which, to an overwhelming degree, everyday language and thought are based. Using primarily linguistic evidence, Lakoff and Johnson argue that our capacity for abstract thought is structured largely by metaphorical mappings. They describe these as one-way conceptual connections from concrete 'source' to abstract 'target' domains. These provide our basis for understanding, and thus for communicating about, abstract concepts like time, purpose, mental states, and relationships. The 'concrete-to-abstract' model of metaphorical mappings has more recently been challenged by Grady's Primary Metaphor Theory, which questions whether one domain is truly more 'basic' than another; this is discussed further in Section 1.4 of this chapter.

Lakoff and Johnson propose a system of mnemonic labels with the form TARGET-DOMAIN IS SOURCE-DOMAIN, which has become a standard way to represent the relationship between the two domains of a conceptual metaphor, and is used throughout this

dissertation. Examples of the metaphors they discuss in this account include IDEAS ARE FOOD, ARGUMENT IS WAR,[4] and LOVE IS A JOURNEY. Conceptual metaphors such as these are perceived as endemic to the English language; it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to discuss abstract concepts, such as time, knowledge, or purpose, in depth without using language that is (or was) in some way metaphorical, and the metaphors that are used tend to be consistent and highly conventionalized.

Metaphorical mappings are also systematic: rich experiential or cultural knowledge of source domains allows entailments to be made from source to target domains, providing additional information and detail. For example, an idiomatic statement like 'hold your horses' is an instantiation of a conceptual metaphor MAINTAINING PATIENCE IS RESTRAINING ANIMALS. The initial conceptual connection between emotions and animals allows us to fill in the specific details of metaphorical imagery from our knowledge of the source domain: we know, for instance, that horses may be calmed or released. In extreme cases, control may be completely lost, and horses may even cause damage. When mapped back onto the target domain of MAINTAINING PATIENCE, the resulting metaphorical entailments are that a person may be calmed, or may lose patience and act without restraint, and possibly behave in a way that will have bad consequences. It is this systematic nature of metaphorical mappings that supplies much of the imagery in extended poetic metaphors, enabling the 'global metaphorical readings' of poetry described by Lakoff and Turner (1989). These are applied in the poetic analyses of Chapter V, Section 7 of this dissertation.

The observations and arguments about the conventionalization of conceptual metaphor put forward by Lakoff and Johnson formed the groundwork for Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), an early version of which Lakoff (1993) describes as a 'contemporary theory of metaphor'. In this more developed version of the theory, Lakoff concludes that metaphors should be understood not as words or phrases but as 'sets of conceptual correspondences' (1993: 207) that are responsible for almost all abstract terms, and remain active in language even after individual metaphorical usages become

---

4   In the 2003 afterword to *Metaphors We Live By,* Lakoff and Johnson acknowledge that argument is actually an earlier and therefore more basic experience to human development than war (2003: 264-265), a point that has been made by Murphy (1996, 1997). They explain that although war is a later, specific-level experience, it is rooted in the concrete generic-level experience of physical struggle. Thus, the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR should be seen as a special case of the primary metaphor ARGUMENT IS STRUGGLE. Although this representation might be interpreted as metonymic rather than metaphorical (see e.g., comments on Mixing Memory weblog, Chris (surname unknown) 2004), it is presumed that Lakoff and Johnson are referring specifically to PHYSICAL STRUGGLE. Even this presumption raises the issue of conflated physical and mental experience, however; see footnote 19, p. 33.

conventionalized. Much as Rumelhart (1993) argues, these source concepts, or mental images, are structured according to internal image schemata, which are preserved across the metaphoric mapping and applied to the target domain. This schematic structure ensures that elements of the target domain correspond in function with elements of the source image.

Conceptual metaphors are also organized in 'inheritance hierarchies', where, Lakoff says, '"lower" mappings in the hierarchy inherit the structures of the "higher" level mappings' (1993: 222). Lakoff gives as an example the metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY, which is a submapping of the 'Event Structure' metaphor.[5] Event Structure is a system of metaphorical mappings that work together to characterize 'notions like states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes, and means … in terms of space, motion, and force' (1993: 220). As a submapping of this system, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, as well as still lower-level mappings like A CAREER IS A JOURNEY and LOVE IS A JOURNEY, inherit all the entailments of Event Structure (1993: 223). All metaphorical mappings pertaining to events in general are able to access entailments of Event Structure, such as PURPOSES ARE GOALS and STATES ARE LOCATIONS; this is discussed in further detail in Section 2.1.

Researchers have used various systems for differentiating between hierarchical levels of generality in conceptual metaphor. Lakoff and Turner's early account (1989) distinguishes between only two levels of metaphoric generality. Generic-level metaphors deal with concepts that lack 'fixed source and target domains' and 'fixed lists of entities specified in the mapping' (1989: 81); these are contrasted with specific-level metaphors, in which these two aspects are specified. Concepts at the generic level possess minimal structure and very few properties. In his discussion of prototype categories, Taylor (2003: 53) refers to the basic (i.e., specific) level as the level that 'has to do with what things are called'. 'Chairs' are specific-level examples of the higher-level category 'furniture', and 'cars' are specific-level examples of 'automobiles'. Specific-level entities tend to be those that humans can interact with or experience directly, and not only as abstract concepts. In Lakoff and Turner's account, LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a specific-level metaphor, and EVENTS ARE ACTIONS is generic.

---

5   The direct submapping is elsewhere listed as LONGTERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY (e.g., Lakoff 1993: 220), with LIFE IS A JOURNEY as a special case (e.g., Lakoff 1994; Kövecses 2002: 70). This relationship is discussed in greater detail in Section 2.

More recently, Lakoff et al. appear to have moved away from a two-level model of metaphoric generality, describing intermediate levels of generality (e.g., Lakoff 1993; Lakoff & Johnson 1999). Others, including Kövecses (e.g., 2002, 2003),[6] Deignan (2005), and Allan (2008) have retained the 'specific' and 'generic' labels provided by this model, which are useful in identifying the extreme ends of what is probably a spectrum. While acknowledging higher levels of generality, this dissertation concentrates mostly on the specific-level metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY and its submappings, dealing less frequently with the more generic levels in subsequent chapters. Although Event Structure is not discussed explicitly in the analyses of Chapter V, the entailments LIFE IS A JOURNEY inherits from Event Structure feature strongly, particularly in discussions relating to the passage of time.

Lakoff (1993) attempts to explain what appears to be a constraint on metaphorical mappings, which he terms the 'Invariance Principle' (1993: 215-216). This perceived characteristic of metaphorical mapping seems to allow only partial transfer of image schemata from source to target domain, allowing the target domain to 'override' the transference of source elements that are incompatible with the 'topology' of the target domain. Lakoff provides the example of 'giving' someone a kick: although the source schema involves transfer of an object from one person to another, the person who has received the kick does not retain it afterward, as someone would retain an object. Another example uses the ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS metaphor: to speak of an argument's *foundation* or *structure* is perfectly acceptable, but one would not generally say that an argument has good *windows* or *laminate flooring*; these entities do not map naturally from one domain to the other, and would require special context in order to make sense. The Invariance Principle would, in theory, apply to any metaphorical mapping in which not every element of the source domain could be mapped successfully onto the target. This would include LIFE IS A JOURNEY,[7] as well as all but the most basic generic-level metaphors. However, the Invariance Principle only describes a perceived effect of specific-level mappings; it does not explain why these partial mappings seem to occur. Grady's Primary Metaphor Theory (discussed in Section 1.4) accounts for this partiality of mapping, and for other characteristics of metaphor previously unexplained by CMT.

---

6   Kövecses later (2005: 58) distinguishes between at least three levels, with 'general' metaphors such as SUBJECT-SELF at the top, primary or 'simple' metaphors at the next level, and complex metaphors or 'special cases of primary metaphors' at the most specific.
7   See the discussion of Kövecses' example regarding PATH imagery, p. 53.

II. Theory: 1. A Brief History of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

CMT has been developed in response to a traditional view of metaphor, which is held by many formal semanticists and logicians, as discussed in Section 1.1 of this chapter. Lakoff and Johnson claim that the traditional view 'has fostered a number of empirically false beliefs about metaphor that have become so deeply entrenched that they have been taken as necessary truths' (1999: 119). According to Lakoff and Johnson, the traditional view feels intuitively correct because it is consistent with a set of widely held folk beliefs about metaphorical language: that metaphor is a matter of lexical substitution and not a cognitive process, that its use is always novel and figurative, that words in metaphorical expressions are used improperly or that the expressions are not 'true', that metaphors 'die' when they become conventionalized expressions, and that metaphors describe inherent similarities between things. As a folk theory, these beliefs deal only with the perceived effects of a systematic cognitive process that is central to language. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 122-129) present evidence against the validity of each of these beliefs, discrediting the folk theory as a realistic basis for a system of linguistic analysis. The tenet that metaphors are 'just a matter of words' is contradicted by their observations of extensive, cohesive sets of metaphorical expressions: for example, those that routinely express ideas about love in terms of journeys. These, they argue, are not unrelated expressions, but instances of 'a single conceptual metaphor' (1999: 123). Further, metaphorical expressions are far from unusual or 'false': they occur normally in everyday language, often as the preferred or default method of expressing certain concepts. Additionally, conceptual metaphors that become conventionalized do not usually 'die', but often continue to affect language and thought. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 125) provide the example of the metaphorical system that conceptualizes the topic of understanding in terms of grasping: this includes the fairly obvious metaphorical usage in sentences like 'I don't *grasp* what you're saying', but also the historical metaphor behind the word *comprehend*, which meant both 'hold tightly' and 'understand' in Latin.

Finally, one hypothesis that has prominently been advanced as an alternative to metaphor theory is that based on 'literal similarity'; this is called the 'comparison' hypothesis by Black (1962: 30-37), and is defended in various forms by Murphy (e.g., 1996, 1997) and Jackendoff (2003, 2009), among others. Murphy (1996) argues that words like *rise*, meaning both 'move upward' and 'increase' (e.g., in value) are more likely cases of literal polysemy, the extended senses being motivated by structural similarity between the two domains. In his original paper as well as his response (1997) to Gibbs'

(1996) rebuttal, Murphy maintains that there is no sufficient reason to presume that this structural similarity is metaphorical in nature.[8] In his view,

> … the prevalence of metaphoric ways of talking about certain domains does not generally reflect the influence of the metaphor on the representation … Instead, the metaphors arise out of the similarity of pre-existing conceptual structures (Murphy 1996: 179).

The idiom *spill the beans*, meaning to 'reveal a secret', has been analyzed (e.g., Gibbs & O'Brien 1990) as accessing a complex conceptual metaphor composed of the mappings THE MIND IS A CONTAINER and IDEAS ARE PHYSICAL ENTITIES. Murphy argues instead that there is merely a structural similarity between the phrase's literal and idiomatic meanings: 'The beans are spilled by mistake, suddenly, and are ruined as a result; the secret is suddenly revealed by mistake and is thereby spoiled' (1997: 104).

Murphy differentiates between the conceptual phenomenon of structural similarity—described as 'conceptual metaphor' by Lakoff and Johnson—and the production of novel metaphors:

> The structural similarity view is not a theory of novel verbal metaphor. I am not saying that Lee *is a block of ice* means just that Lee is similar to ice. The point of *Lee is a block of ice* is to say something about Lee, not just to point out a global similarity of Lee and ice (Camac and Glucksberg, 1984; Manfredi and Glucksberg, 1994). The structural similarity view says only that the "conceptual metaphors" identified by L&J can be explained by conceptual similarity without resorting to metaphoric concepts or mental relations (1996: 179).

Likewise, Jackendoff (2009: 447-448) describes metaphorical relationships in terms of 'similarity'. Although he admits that metaphor based on 'concrete objects' often forms the only etymological basis for words dealing with 'abstract objects' (2003: 299), he prefers to reserve the term *metaphor* for the traditional usage: 'creative, novel expressions, often with a patent semantic clash, used to make speech more colorful' (2003: 358-359). He argues that many of the expressions identified as 'metaphorical' by cognitive linguists 'exhibit no semantic clash, and they are the only ways available in English of expressing the concepts in question'; thus, they should not be viewed as metaphorical. Nevertheless, like Murphy,

---

8   There is insufficient space in the current chapter to engage in a detailed summary of the points raised by Murphy (1996, 1997) and Gibbs (1996) on the topic of metaphorical representation. Nevertheless, this debate is notable both for its impact on metaphor theory and as an example of a constructive and civil discussion between proponents of two sharply opposed linguistic theories.

he recognizes the presence of 'underlying conceptual patterns that can be applied to many different semantic fields'. He identifies these patterns as 'the basic machinery that permits complex thought to be formulated and basic entailments to be derived in any domain'.

This seems to be a case of conflicting terminology; specifically, a disagreement over how wide a scope the word *metaphor,* used as a technical term, should be allowed to encompass. The use of *metaphor* to include conceptual mappings goes against tradition—Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) frame their argument specifically against a traditional view. Nevertheless, I would argue that this extension of the terminology by cognitive linguists is a valid one. The 'structural similarities' observed by Murphy and described by Jackendoff as 'basic' are metaphorical in nature, in that ideas from one domain of experience are framed, and continue to be understood, in terms of ideas from another. The 'clash' Jackendoff observes is a secondary effect of an especially novel or unconventional metaphor, rather than a requirement for metaphor in general. Records of semantic change (e.g., Sweetser 1990; Allan 2008) show that novelty can be lost, but conceptual mappings retained over time—this is the case with the mental use of *grasp*, as well as with the concept of a *career:* historically based on a RUNNING metaphor, it continues to be structured in terms of a path with forward motion toward a goal. This effect is also seen in the corpus data for the current dissertation, for example, in the term *run* (see Chapter V). If, as Jackendoff agrees, metaphor provides the original motivation for many examples of meaning extension, it does not seem reasonable to look further for a non-metaphorical conceptual system upon which to base continued systematic correspondences between root and extended senses. Furthermore, the basic-level similarities observed by Murphy (e.g., the mapping from 'spilling' to 'revealing' in *spill the beans*) are compatible with the theory of primary metaphors, as proposed by Grady (e.g., Grady et al. 1996): the basic-level 'similarity' between the two conceptual domains may result from a conjunction of primary metaphors. This theory is discussed further in Section 1.4 of this chapter.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue further against the similarity view: one problem is that there is often no literal similarity between the two ideas in a metaphor, as with the concepts of LOVE and JOURNEYS. When some form of similarity is arguably present, the idea conveyed in a metaphorical expression does not necessarily relate to that similarity. This is the case with expressions like 'I *see* what you mean': the object of the expression is not to describe a similarity between knowing and seeing, just as the object of *Lee is a block of ice*

is not to describe a similarity between Lee and ice. Rather, such expressions use the concept of *sight* to say something about knowledge. If there were a literal similarity, one might expect that the metaphors be reversible, but a sentence like 'I *know* what you mean' does not convey any information relating to sight, and descriptions of journeys do not immediately call to mind the topics of love or professional careers. Another argument against a hypothesis of inherent similarity is that several conventional systems may exist concurrently for conceptualizing one topic. Marriage can be understood in terms of a business partnership, emphasizing equality between two people, or as a parent-child relationship, emphasizing inequality; whereas cognitive theory allows for the possibility of multiple concurrent cognitive models for one concept (see discussion, Section 1.3), the similarity hypothesis would perceive a contradiction between these two models.[9]

It is the aim of formal models of linguistics, including generative grammar, to predict the structures and systems of linguistic production. Because of the emphasis formal models place on prediction and sentential meaning, it is difficult for them to provide a viable account of metaphor as a linguistic feature. Those attempting to provide such an account have had to choose between allowing for inherently nonliteral sentential meaning (e.g., Cohen [1979] 1993) or dismissing metaphor as belonging 'exclusively to the domain of use', and conveying nothing 'beyond its literal meaning' (Davidson 1978: 32-33). A different view of metaphor is held by proponents of CMT, as has been described above in Lakoff and Johnson's account. This is a functionalist model, and looks for the motivations for existing features without requiring predictions about future ones. Cognitive linguists, and in particular cognitive semanticists, view speaker meaning as central to language; therefore, forms of 'figurative' language like metaphor are viewed as crucial to linguistic study (see Preface, Lakoff & Johnson 1980: ix-x). Cognitivists are able to conceive of pragmatics as an aspect of the larger domain of semantics (e.g., Croft 2002: 163). In a linguistic analysis of specialized texts with a highly spiritual and poetic component, it is important to use a methodology that takes issues like usage, 'figurative' language, and cultural context as central concerns. For the reasons outlined above, this dissertation takes the view that cognitive semantic theory is better equipped than theories advanced by the generative or formal traditions to address the role of metaphor in historical texts.

---

9 The perceived contradiction between multiple models is, in fact, one of Murphy's (1996) original objections to metaphorical representation. He considers this multiplicity as evidence against any underlying conceptual system linking source and target concepts; however, Lakoff's theory of Idealized Cognitive Models (see Section 1.3) and Fauconnier and Turner's Conceptual Blending Theory (see Section 1.6) account for the structuring of one concept by multiple source domain schemata.

1.3 Idealized Cognitive Models

Lakoff's work on Idealized Cognitive Models (or ICMs) (e.g., 1990) has become a key component of recent versions of CMT, showing the relationship between categorization and metaphors, and illustrating how conceptual models structure the source and target domains used in metaphorical mappings. Lakoff (1990) attempts to discern the nature of and motivation behind conceptual and linguistic categorization, and the source of 'prototype effects' in language and thought as described by Rosch (e.g., 1975). He criticizes attempts to retain the classical model of categories, which, as he shows, has long been discredited for its inability to provide a useful explanation of many common constructions. This includes, for example, adjectival modification and complex categorization, which the classical model can only treat as cases of simple conjunction of two categories: for example, striped apples are seen as an intersection of the categories of striped things and apples (Lakoff [1987] 1990: 143). This explanation can fit only a very limited set of expressions, and cannot account for the complexity of normal adjectival use, as Lakoff shows. Lakoff calls attention to modern research suggesting that categories are instead characterized by fuzzy boundaries, and often overlap with each other. The mind's system of categorization, Lakoff says, depends on the cognitive models it creates to connect and interpret the data gathered by the senses, providing the structure for the 'mental spaces' described by Fauconnier ([1985] 1994) (discussed in Section 1.6).

ICMs are typically structured around various kinds of prototypes, including 'ideals' (as in 'the ideal house'), 'paragons' (specific, conventionally respected cases; e.g., record-holders or prizewinners), 'generators' (entities relative to which category membership is assigned), 'submodels', and 'salient examples'. Category membership is not necessarily based on similarity to a prototype, but prototypes are usually perceived as being 'better examples' of their categories, and often function as 'cognitive reference points' (Lakoff 1990: 56). To provide a specific example, within one common Western folk model, robins are a more typical example of birds than are penguins, yet both have complete membership in the category *bird*.

ICMs, as idealized mental constructs, do not have a direct correspondence to entities in the 'real world'; they are purpose-built to deal with limited sets of data. Lakoff explains that seemingly contradictory models can be 'true' depending on their intended purposes. People can even hold two such models concurrently: the sun can 'set', while at the same

25

time both remaining stationary relative to the earth, and orbiting the center of the galaxy; none of those statements, even taken all at once, will be judged false. This also explains how time can be conceptualized either as a moving object or as a landscape through which a person moves; either model, or sometimes both, can be 'true', depending on the intended effect.[10] Because of this, Lakoff claims that objectivist scientific attitudes that are restrictive to one system of categorization lead to unrealistic and misleading projections of metaphorical concepts onto the world (1990: 210). Instead, Lakoff recommends an 'experientialist' view which recognizes the effects of our imaginations in interpreting data.

The ability of the mind to hold multiple ICMs helps to account for polysemy and shades of meaning. One word can seem to have different senses when used according to different ICMs: depending on the intended focus, the primary characteristics of a *mother* can, for instance, have to do with genetics, nurturance, or marriage to a father. Word choice can also convey acceptance or rejection of an entire cognitive model: Lakoff's example sentence 'John isn't stingy, he's thrifty' (1990: 132) selects the model that values conservation of money and rejects the one that stigmatizes it. As a theory of contextual meaning, ICMs might partially explain semantic variation across cultures, as well as the development of idiomatic uses of language within subgroups of one culture. Chapter V of the current dissertation shows how travel-related terms like *path* and *walk* have acquired specific shades of meaning within the context of religious language, and have developed even more divergent uses within specific religious subcultures (see p. 154). ICMs may provide the framework for culturally-salient groups of metaphorical mappings, termed 'main meaning foci' by Kövecses, that contribute to unique conceptual 'flavor' within a culture (see Section 1.8).

Lakoff's observations of the unconscious impact of ICMs on these aspects of language and thought further develop the idea of functional embodiment—that 'certain concepts are … *used* automatically' or 'unconsciously' (1990: 12). ICMs are an important component of conceptual metaphor, providing structure to the domains of experience that are accessed in metaphorical mappings, and in turn gaining structure from new metaphorical mappings. The categorization of religious experience, as shown in this dissertation, is to a large degree motivated by travel metaphors. These metaphors, conversely, are structured in the source domain by a cognitive model of the activity of

---

10 See discussion of metaphors for time in Section 2.2 of this chapter.

journeys, and in the target domain by a cognitive model of the state and experience of being alive.

1.4   *Primary Metaphor Theory*

The Invariance Principle was, by Lakoff and Johnson's later admission (2003: 254), an 'unfortunate' consequence of a 'projection metaphor' on which their understanding of conceptual metaphors at the time was based. A more elegant solution to the problem of seemingly partial transference of mappings was provided by the identification by Grady et al. (1996; Grady 1997) of 'primary' metaphors. These are described by Grady et al. as 'a special class of entrenched associations, based on neither similarity nor analogy' (1999: 4.1). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) earlier proposed that conceptual metaphors act by framing abstract concepts in terms of conceptually more basic or concrete ones. However, rather than casting mental impressions as somehow inherently less basic than physical experiences, Grady's model reflects a pairing between two concepts that are both experientially basic: one physical, or 'sensory', and the other mental, or 'nonsensory'. According to Grady (2005: 1605), primary metaphors are the result of 'recurring correlations between fundamental dimensions of experience'. These correlations occur universally, or nearly universally,[11] early in the development of most healthy humans. Thus, says Grady, in a primary metaphor, the source concept is derived from 'a basic dimension of sensory experience, whether visual, tactile, or in any other modality—heaviness, brightness, forward motion, upright position, etc.', and the target from 'an equally fundamental element of mental experience, but one not primarily associated with a particular sort of sensory impression—effortfulness, happiness, similarity, achievement of a purpose, etc.' (2005: 1606).

In Primary Metaphor Theory (PMT), most of the complex metaphors dealt with at lower levels of generality are the result of compounds of primary metaphors, which occupy the top, or generic level. Grady (2005: 1606) explains that a mapping between two basic, correlated dimensions of experience may be made only if they share the same 'superschematic' structure. That is, the two domains of a primary metaphor must be

---

11 Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 257) claim that many primary metaphors should be universal 'inevitably … because everybody has basically the same kinds of bodies and brains and lives in basically the same kinds of environments'; however, based on comparison of the primary metaphor SIMILAR IS CLOSE across multiple languages, Grady (2005: 1611) concludes that primary metaphor is 'likely but not certain to arise'.

compatible at the generic level: they must both be construable as events, scalar properties, states, actions, etc. As Kövecses (2002: 90) explains, the mappings of complex metaphors are determined by their component primary metaphors. For example (Kövecses 2002: 83) a complex metaphor like AN ARGUMENT (OR THEORY) IS A BUILDING comprises two primary metaphors: LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. The possible mappings of the complex metaphor AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING will be determined by correlated experiences at the level of these two primary metaphors. With reference to the unsuccessful mappings discussed by Lakoff and Johnson above (p. 20), there is, for example, no salient correlation at the generic level between windows (as openings, etc.) and any aspect of arguments. This renders the Invariance Principle redundant, since a mapping between two correlated primary domains may only be created if their structure is fully compatible.[12] Furthermore, Grady argues: 'if image-schemas are most usefully defined as schematic representations of sensory content, then target concepts such as Causation, Similarity, Functionality, Quantity, etc. do not contain and are not structured by image-schemas. They refer to dimensions of mental experience other than those involving image content' (2005: 1606).

Primary metaphors are an important part of an integrated theory of metaphor; they more fully support the principle of mental embodiment theorized earlier in the cognitive movement. Primary metaphors arise from the correlation of repeated basic experiences; this argues strongly for a metonymic basis for all conceptual metaphors, as discussed in Section 1.5. Although PMT appears only in the background for most of the chapters of this dissertation, it is understood that primary metaphors are at work in all of the complex mappings discussed, and that these basic mappings provide the framework that interweaves the larger metaphorical schemata. The LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, specifically, is directly grounded in the two primary metaphors PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS, as discussed in Section 2.1.1, but also regularly interacts with many others, such as CAUSES ARE FORCES, STATES ARE LOCATIONS, or, in the context of religious ideas of heaven, GOOD IS UP. The complex poetic images conveyed in the hymns discussed in this dissertation, though historically removed and culturally distinct from current genres, are, in theory, grounded in the same primary metaphors one would expect to see at work in any culture of healthy human beings.

---

12   Some cognitive semanticists continue to use the Invariance Principle: Kövecses includes it in his
     introduction to metaphor (2002: 103), which also contains the basics of PMT.

1.5 Metonymy

The distinction between metaphor and metonymy has become another important area of research in cognitive semantics. Explanations of the nature of metonymy and the relationship between the two processes have varied widely. Some of this variation is described by Goossens ([1990] 2002), who contrasts a cognitive view with more traditional approaches, such as those of Ullman (1962) and Halliday (1985). The traditional approaches consider metonymy, as they consider metaphor, to be a substitution of words, rather than a conceptual process. In contrast, Barcelona defines metonymy from the cognitive perspective as basically 'a conceptual projection whereby one experiential domain (the target) is understood in terms of another experiential domain (the source) included *in the same common experiential domain'* (2000a: 4). Seto compresses this even further: 'A stands for B with which A is closely related' (1999: 91). Essentially, while metaphor reframes one conceptual domain in terms of another, metonymy deals with two contiguous aspects of the same domain.

This understanding of metonymy is similar to that put forward by Lakoff (1990: 288), who specifies that a metonymic mapping occurs within one conceptual domain, between two elements of a single ICM. To denote a specific instance of metonymy, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) use a small-caps notation similar to that used for metaphor, differing in its use of *for* to express the substitution of one entity for another, rather than *is* or *as*, which in their metaphorical notation shows the cross-domain mapping of an entire conceptual schema. They also later specify that, whereas metaphors typically contain multiple mappings, metonymies only use one (2003: 265).

Types of metonymy-producing relations have been categorized variously. While Lakoff and Johnson (1980) provide lists of individual metonymies,[13] Kövecses and Radden (1998; 1999) recognize two basic categories into which all individual examples fall: relationships between a whole and its parts (including both PART FOR WHOLE and WHOLE FOR PART relationships), and relationships between parts of a whole.[14] Hilpert, following Seto (1999), takes a different approach, classing metonymic contiguity relationships into the categories of 'E-Metonymies' and 'C-Metonymies'. The first category deals with 'an entity

---

13 E.g., PART FOR WHOLE, PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT, OBJECT USED FOR USER, CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED, INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE, PLACE FOR INSTITUTION, and PLACE FOR EVENT (1980: 38-39).
14 Kövecses and Radden's typology depends on Lakoff's theory of Idealized Cognitive Models (ICM) (1990).

and its parts' and includes PART FOR WHOLE, WHOLE FOR PART, AND PART FOR PART, while the second deals with 'categories and subcategories' (2006: 127), and includes SUPER FOR SUB, SUB FOR SUPER, and SUB FOR SUB.[15] Hilpert characterizes the difference between the former and latter types as 'part-of' versus 'kind-of' relations.

Researchers in this field also have differing views as to the nature of the process that characterizes metonymy. Barcelona (2000a) provides a survey of the various approaches taken by current researchers in the cognitive school to the issue of metaphor and metonymy, himself favoring the view of metonymy as a 'special case of … activation' which provides access to a concept within the same conceptual domain (2000a: 4). This 'activation' view, originally put forward by Kövecses and Radden (1998), contrasts with Lakoff and Turner's description of metonymy as a 'mapping' within one domain (1989: 103-104). Kövecses (2002: 148) describes the role of metonymy as redirecting the attention rather than providing detailed understanding; shifting the 'focus' rather than causing a complete reconceptualization based on information from a different domain. By this model, a metonymic relation uses a 'vehicle' to activate a target, rather than mapping a source schema onto it. Others (e.g., Radden 2000: 93; Goossens 2002: 352; Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 265) continue to use the term 'mapping' with regard to metonymy.

Attempts at a viable definition of metonymy have depended on acceptance of the concept of 'experiential domains'. The nature of these, however, has also been a topic of debate. Evans (2007: 61) defines conceptual (or experiential) domains as 'relatively complex knowledge structures which relate to coherent aspects of experience'. The limits of this coherence can be vague, however. Continuing from Lakoff's work, Taylor (2003) has written about the universal need in human thought for hierarchical systems of semantic categorization. He says 'in order to function in the world, all creatures, including humans, need to be able to group different entities together as instances of the same kind' (2003: xi). Categories do not have rigid boundaries, and are fluid in structure; as Taylor observes, they frequently overlap and vary from one context to another, and may always change over time. With respect to metonymy, it is difficult to determine in what regard, or to what extent, two 'experiential domains' must be unrelated in order to be classed as metaphor rather than metonymy. The question also remains as to how wide a scope any one domain

---

15 Seto distinguishes between synecdoche (a 'C(ategory)-related transfer') and metonymy (an 'E(ntity)-related transfer') (1999: 91); Hilpert does not accept this distinction (Hilpert 2006: footnote, p. 127), seeing both relationships as metonymic in nature. Goossens has also described synecdoche as 'obviously … a subtype of metonymy' (2002: 351).

is permitted to have. Given a sufficiently wide scope, a relationship between any two elements of human knowledge might be considered metonymic; with a narrow scope, any mapping might be metaphorical.

It does not seem possible to draw a clear distinction between metaphor and metonymy without also providing a way to isolate individual domains of experience completely, a goal which would be difficult given the fuzzy nature of conceptual categories. Goossens maintains that although metaphor and metonymy 'in principle' are 'distinct cognitive processes' (2002: 350), the two may occur in conjunction with each other. Feyaerts goes further in stating that 'the notion of domain borders is too malleable' to be of use in methodologically distinguishing between metaphor and metonymy (2000: 63), and prefers to view metonymy entirely in terms of contiguity. Allan likewise questions the usefulness of domain-based distinctions between metaphor and metonymy, which depend on demarcations that are 'subjective and difficult' (2008: 11) to assign. She is also dissatisfied with approaches based on contiguity and similarity. Allan points out that definitions of metonymy tend to be framed in terms of its difference from metaphor, a distinction which nonetheless remains unresolved.

The possibility that metaphor and metonymy are related phenomena is the focus of Goossens (2002), and a major theme of the essays collected in Barcelona (2000b). Many conceptual metaphors seem to be based on, or at least motivated by, metonymy, and metonymy seems to be a primary cause of semantic extension. For example, a conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING might result from the gaining of new knowledge imparted by sight; or HAPPINESS IS LIGHT from a direct correlation between sunlight and pleasant feelings. In this sense, the domains of KNOWLEDGE and SIGHT, or of HAPPINESS and LIGHT may be said to be contiguous. Goossens (2002: 350) uses the term *metaphtonymy* as a 'cover term' for all instances in which metaphor and metonymy occur in combination, as opposed to 'pure' instances of metaphor and metonymy, in which he can detect only one of the two processes. Based on results from a database of figurative descriptions of linguistic action and interaction, he describes four such possible instances, grouped into two types of combination. He calls the first type 'integrated metaphtonymy', in which a metonymy occurs within a metaphorical expression, or vice versa; and the second, 'cumulative metaphtonymy', in which one of the two leads to the other. Of the former type, metonymy within metaphor is found to occur fairly frequently, as in sentences like 'Don't shoot your

mouth off' (2002: 364): the metonymic substitution of MOUTH for SPEECH occurs within a metaphor mapping UNCONTROLLED USE OF FIREARMS onto SPEAKING FOOLISHLY. By contrast, metaphor within metonymy is very uncommon. Only one possible example of this existed in Goossens' data: the expression *getting up on one's hind legs* (2002: 366), in which the basically metonymic relationship between STANDING UP TO SPEAK and SPEAKING is complicated by adding the metaphorical element of portrayal of people as animals.

Within the cumulative category of metaphtonymy, metaphor is found to result from metonymy much more frequently than the converse. About one fourth of Goossens' data consisted of metaphorical expressions with a metonymic basis, compared to zero examples of metonymy from metaphor (2002: 360-361). Goossens suggests that our increased perception of 'similarity' between two entities in the same domain forms a 'natural' basis for semantic extension from metonymy to metaphor. Mappings across domain boundaries, however, are not perceived as having a 'contiguous' relationship, making a metonymic interpretation less likely (2002: 368). Many metaphors thus seem to originate in metonymy: the expression *close-lipped* is one such example from Goossens' data. Although originally a metonymic expression substituting a closed mouth for a lack of speech, it has been metaphorically extended to refer to guarded speech, or avoidance of a certain topic.

Barcelona (2000c: 47) writes that when a metonymy develops into a conceptual metaphor, 'the source … is no longer understood as a subschema' of the target domain, but rather as a separate domain. However, CMT presupposes that the mappings in conventional metaphors are still active, even if they are not obvious. It is plausible that elements of metaphors with a metonymic basis might likewise retain a contiguity relation. Recognizing the frequent basis of metaphor in metonymy, and the difficulty in conclusively distinguishing between the two processes, Radden (2000: 93-95) suggests that metaphor and metonymy be viewed as points on a single continuum, citing multiple examples of expressions that seem to fall between the two. One such case is the category of metonymic and metaphorical expressions based on verticality. The metonymic expression *fill her up*, said of a gas tank, accesses the metonymic relationship between the quantity and height of a fluid. The expressions *high* and *rising prices* might be analyzed in terms of the MORE IS UP metaphor, or else understood metonymically, for instance by imagining prices represented vertically on a line graph. This would be an instance of the

metonymy THING FOR ITS REPRESENTATION.[16] Expressions like *soaring* or *skyrocketing prices* are more obviously metaphorical, as Radden says, being 'much more likely to evoke a domain of their own' (2000: 195). Allan (2008: 13) endorses Radden's model of a metonymy-metaphor continuum as 'much more promising' than previous explanations.

Recognition of the metonymic basis for metaphor has also contributed to understanding of primary metaphors. Writing prior to a more widespread acceptance of PMT, Barcelona speculates that an explanation for the perceived effect of partial metaphorical mappings described by the Invariance Principle[17] might lie in the metonymic basis of complex metaphors. Suggesting that all metaphors might have a metonymic basis (2000c: 31), he proposes that Invariance could be 'a consequence of the metonymic precomprehension of domains which both motivates and constrains metaphorical mappings' (2000: 49). This is compatible with the claim made by Taylor (2003: 139) that the process of metonymy is more cognitively basic than metaphor. In light of this, the motivation for primary metaphors might be seen as especially metonymic in nature. The 'structural similarities' proposed by Murphy (1996, 1997) also seem to have much in common with a metonymically-based theory of primary metaphors. The 'underlying conceptual patterns' described by Jackendoff as the 'basic machinery' of complex thought might partially be explained by a metonymy-metaphor continuum. This might answer his call for a 'finer-grained', less metaphor-dependent account (2003: 358). Primary metaphors emerge from correlations between sensory and nonsensory aspects of embodied experience.[18] Examples like PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT are based on discrete coherent observations, for example, the observation that something that is consistently erect over a period of time (a person, a structure, a tree, etc.) *persists* in its position.[19] The primary metaphors in which LIFE IS A JOURNEY is grounded, PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS, arise from the correlated experiences of traveling to a destination in order to achieve a purpose, and moving to complete an action, respectively. The specific grounding of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is discussed in more detail in Section 2 of this chapter.

---

16   These conventionalized forms of graphical layout also presumably incorporate a further metonymic link, similar to the 'gas tank' image, expressing quantity of a substance in terms of its height.

17   See p. 20.

18   See Section 1.4 above.

19   Research by Johnson (1999) on conflation in early language acquisition suggests a slightly different understanding of primary metaphors and their metonymic bases. Johnson's hypothesis is that a typical child develops a 'conflated' sense of a word like *see* which applies to both vision and knowledge. Only over time does a child learn to 'deconflate' the two culturally-defined concepts of this apparently polysemous lexeme. The implications of conflation on PMT are discussed further by Grady (2005: 1609-1610).

1.6 Conceptual Blending

Another significant development in cognitive semantics has been Conceptual Blending Theory (BT), proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (1998, 2002). While metaphor describes a one-way mapping from a source to a target domain, conceptual blending uses multiple mental spaces (as described by Fauconnier ([1985] 1994)) to account for complex situations that cannot be explained by metaphorical mapping alone.[20] Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 80) discuss the example provided by Sweetser of a ritual in which a baby is carried up a flight of stairs for the first time. This is supposed to foretell the course of the baby's life: a successful, smooth ascent of the stairs betokens a similarly successful climb of the social 'ladder'. If the parent stumbles at a certain point on the stairs, this predicts a difficulty the baby will have to overcome at a corresponding point in life. Presumably, worse consequences would ensue should the parent slip on a roller skate.

The motivations behind this scenario can be phrased in terms of conceptual metaphor: GOOD IS UP, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE FORWARD MOTION, DIFFICULTIES IN LIFE ARE OBSTACLES TO FORWARD MOTION, FAILURE IS FALLING, etc. The correspondence of such a scenario to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is also evident: here, the baby's life is being portrayed as a short journey up a staircase, with events in that journey mapped onto events in the baby's life. However, although the conceptual correspondences involved are metaphorical in nature, much of the rich detail of this ritual cannot be captured in a purely metaphor-based account. Metaphorical mappings are generally viewed as being unidirectional: information from a source domain is mapped onto a target, but not vice versa. In this case, the target domain, a successful or difficult life, has been incorporated into the source domain, ascending the staircase, and the baby exists concurrently in both domains. As Fauconnier and Turner put it, the 'effect is contained in the cause'.

Conceptual blends consist of networks of multiple 'mental spaces' connected by 'cross-space mappings'. These spaces may be of several different types, as outlined by Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 40-50). Input spaces, which often correspond to source and target domains in conceptual metaphors, contain the elements of each domain that will be mapped to the blend. In the 'baby's ascent' example, the two input spaces consist of the ascent of the stairs and the baby's life. The first of these contains the baby, the stairs, the

---

20 Lakoff's adaptation of Kay's 'parsimony principle' to explain novel imagery in ICM theory (e.g., 'striped apples') prefigures the more sophisticated theory of blending: 'When a number of ICMs are evoked, make them overlap as much as possible, consistent with your background knowledge' (1990: 147).

parents, and the baby's ascent; the second is a 'schematic space' consisting of someone living a life. This second space shows one of the possible ways in which metaphor can interact with conceptual blending: awareness of the conventional metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY automatically arranges the schema according to a path structure, including its related entailments, such as the idea that DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES.

Another type of space, the generic space, contains the elements shared in common by the input spaces. This similarity provides the blend's higher-level structure,[21] and encapsulates the 'vital relations' (perceived correspondences, similarities, or imaginative mappings) that motivate the blend. Every element in the generic space is mapped onto its corresponding elements in each input space. In the 'baby's ascent', the generic space contains the baby, the 'journey' from both input domains (with an emphasis on discrete 'stages' to the journey), and a goal at the end. Finally, the blended space, the blend's perceived output, contains the relevant elements mapped from the input spaces, arranged according to the generic-space structure. In this space, the baby's ascent and the course of its life are fused into one imagined event, with each step taken to represent a stage of life, and success awaiting the baby's arrival at the top. An important feature of Fauconnier and Turner's model is that 'any space can be modified at any moment in the construction of the integration network' (2002: 49), so difficulties experienced during the literal ascent can be added to the generic space at any point, and a corresponding element in the other input space may be found to map onto the blend.

Fauconnier and Turner argue that, like metaphor, conceptual blending is process that motivates not only language but also thought and culture. Conceptual blends are identifiable by the merger, in one space, of input-schema imagery (or the source and target domains of a conceptual metaphor). They also result in their own 'emergent structure', new information resulting from the blend that is not part of its inputs. Evidence of blends can be seen in images like the Grim Reaper (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 291), where multiple input spaces containing the event of death, a 'pattern of causal tautology' which interprets effects as causes, the image of a human killer, and the image and role of reapers harvesting grain are blended to create an image that cannot exist as a whole in any of the individual input spaces: a skeletal Grim Reaper who both personifies and causes the event of human

---

21 Elements of a conceptual blend's 'generic space' are not necessarily limited to generic-level concepts. Sullivan and Sweetser (2009: 320) discuss blends of two elements of one extremely low-level category ('generic' tissues and Kleenex brand tissues) and show that the generic space needs only to occur at the lowest level of generality that encompasses both elements.

death. Another of the many examples provided by Fauconnier and Turner of the effects of conceptual blending on culture is that of the two-edged sword (2002: 306): as part of a rhetorical argument, the phrase *two-edged sword* is used to describe a tactic that could harm both the user and the opponent. Although the complex conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR[22] accounts for the conceptualization of TACTICS as SWORDS, the source domain would not support the image of a sword with one edge that only hurt its wielder, and another that only hurt the foe.

Conceptual blending and metaphor are related phenomena. Fauconnier and Turner claim that BT describes the mechanism behind conceptual metaphor as well as many other imaginative processes (2002: 90), including mathematics, grammar, and the arts. Metaphors can inspire, as well as result from, individual conceptual blends. According to Fauconnier and Turner's model, an instance of conceptual metaphor corresponds with one cross-space mapping between two input spaces of a blend. For instance, a perceived correlation between arguments and war might lead to a conceptual blend based on those two inputs. A culturally conventionalized metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR might result from frequent repetition of the blend. This established metaphor would in turn provide access to new inferences and blends, which may result in further conceptual metaphors. In the case of a blend between tactics and double-edged swords, the emergent structure will lead to entailments that can be mapped back onto the tactics space. The blended-space image of a sword that wounds both the wielder and the foe, mapped onto the tactics input space, creates the entailment that a certain tactic in an argument will weaken the position of both parties. As discussed above, any of the mental spaces in this blend may be accessed and altered at any time, resulting in readjustment of the generic space, the blend, and its entailments for the input spaces. In many cases, one specific mapping may often appear the most salient within a blend—the current dissertation identifies the complex metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY as one such salient mapping that frequently appears in blends with other compatible mappings.

The virtually infinitely recursive relationship between metaphor and blending, in which metaphors inspire blends and vice versa, might seem reminiscent of a chicken-and-egg scenario. The ability of conceptual blends to compress complicated schemata into a more manageable 'human' scale (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 92) also facilitates this kind of

---

22 Or ARGUMENT IS STRUGGLE; see footnote 12, p. 28.

recursion. Fauconnier and Turner's account implies that blending is a more basic process than metaphor (2002: 90), and proposes that accounts of metaphor that do not include blending are 'false' (2002: 55). In support of this, Fauconnier and Turner discuss several types of blends that are not metaphorical in nature. A photographic representation of a person may be identified as the actual individual (e.g., 'have you seen this man?'). Another example is the compression of cause and effect into a descriptive property, as when someone who characteristically produces loud noises is called a 'loud' person. Fauconnier and Turner also cite Sweetser's observation that even the concept of 'likelihood' involves a complex blending of hypothetical and actual spaces (2002: 318). These cases seem to have a metonymic rather than a metaphoric motivation, compressing two aspects of a single event, or the identity and photograph of one person.

However, Grady (2005) argues that primary metaphor may act as the original inspiration for many types of blends. Primary metaphors are thought to result from correlations established at a neuronal level (2005: 1604), and thus might reasonably be seen as the main motivation for the 'counterpart connections' that inspire blends. Although he acknowledges that metaphorical blends account for only one variety of many, Grady's position is that the motivations for conceptual blending are not yet sufficiently understood. He maintains that primary metaphor may be one such motivation: 'there are types of metaphoric connections between concepts—including primary metaphors as well as patterns of personification and synesthetic metaphor—which operate by their own principles, and are more like inputs to the processes of blending than products of them' (2005: 1612).

Conceptual blends show up frequently in the corpus of hymns used in this dissertation, and are discussed at several points in Chapters V and VI. BT is particularly important in understanding poetic uses of the theological device of typology, in which something that is understood to be real—a historical figure or occurrence, a real-life event, etc.—is also taken as a 'type', or metaphor for an abstract truth.[23] One instance of this is in a hymn written by Wesley for 'Going on Shipboard' (Wes260), in which passengers on an actual nautical journey are encouraged to see their journey as representative of the Christian life.

---

23 This is not to be confused with linguistic typology, a system for categorizing languages. The term *typology* in this dissertation will invariably refer to the theological concept.

Another strong typological image in the corpus, discussed in Chapter VI, Section 2, occurs in representations of heaven and death which refer to the Biblical account of the wanderings of the nation of Israel, and their subsequent crossing of the Jordan river into the promised land of Canaan. These events are understood to be historical, but are also taken as a metaphor for life, death, and arrival of the soul in heaven. In this blend, the input spaces are the Biblical story and Christian life, arranged according to a JOURNEY schema—one which takes into account the possibility of wandering.[24] The generic space contains a people group, the 'journey' from both domains, and a major obstacle, with an ultimate goal on the other side. The blended space is the manifestation of the typology, in which the Christians' life proceeds according to the wandering of the Israelites, with corresponding difficulties and positive experiences. The eventual arrival of Israel in Canaan is taken as a guarantee of the Christians' safe arrival in heaven. This dissertation contributes to BT in its discussion of typological representation, highlighting one area of spiritual experience in which blending is particularly salient, and demonstrating how BT accounts for this theological device.

1.7 Levels of metaphor and 'metaphoricity'

The ideas that metaphor and metonymy may exist on a continuum, or that some blends and metonymies may seem 'more metaphorical' than others, raise the question of varying degrees of 'metaphoricity'. This issue is particularly relevant in discussions of historical metaphor and semantic change. The discussions of words like *way* and *pass* in Chapter V show this effect clearly: each word has had a variety of senses through its history, and in some instances obviously metaphorical senses have led to highly conventionalized ones. Deignan (2005: 39) believes that a system for categorization of metaphoricity would be an essential tool for metaphor analysis in textual corpora. She presents a model for such a system, based partly on studies conducted by Lakoff and Goatly, dividing instances of metaphorical language into 'living', 'dead', and 'historical' types of metaphor. Deignan's model further divides living metaphors into two types, 'innovative' and 'conventionalized'. A paraphrase of Deignan's system, along with examples she has cited from various sources, is provided in Table 1. A version of this model has been used in this dissertation, as explained in Chapter IV.

---

24 See p. 53 for discussion of WANDERING imagery and purposelessness.

Kövecses recognizes several other kinds of metaphorical variation. In addition to degrees of metaphoricity (or 'conventionality') ranging from 'novel' to 'dead', he classifies conceptual metaphors

Living:
1.   Innovative—e.g., *lollipop trees*
2.   Conventionalized—e.g., *grasp*
3.   Dead—e.g., *deep* (color) / *crane* (construction)
4.   Historical—e.g., *comprehend* / *pedigree*
Table 1: Deignan's degrees of metaphoricity

in terms of 'function', 'nature', 'generality', and 'complexity' (2002: 250). I have dealt with levels of generality above in Section 1.2; as mentioned there, Kövecses includes specific and generic as the two levels on his scale of generality, neither discussing nor discounting the possibility of intermediate levels of generality. The discussion of PMT in Section 1.4 includes an overview of levels of metaphorical complexity; the two levels provided by Kövecses are simple and complex. The two remaining categories, function and nature, will now be addressed in more detail.

The first of these, function, was identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who distinguish between three possible metaphorical functions: structural, orientational and ontological. They contrast structural metaphors, in which one concept is 'metaphorically structured in terms of another' with orientational metaphors, which 'organize' systems of concepts 'with respect to one another' (1980: 14). Typical examples of orientational metaphors are those that have directions like UP and DOWN or IN and OUT as their source domains. Ontological metaphors, the final functional group, structure their target concepts in terms of very general source concepts, like OBJECTS, SUBSTANCES, or CONTAINERS. These metaphors provide much less detail than structural metaphors in terms of source imagery, acting merely as a bare framework. An example is the metaphor STATES ARE CONTAINERS, which is behind expressions like *in love*. However, in their 2003 afterword to *Metaphors We Live By,* Lakoff and Johnson propose that these functional categories create an artificial division (2003: 264). They explain that all metaphors, including orientational ones, map structure and 'create target domain entities', and are therefore both structural and ontological as well. Thus, one metaphor may have all three functions. With this understanding, these functional terms are taken to describe properties of metaphor, rather than denoting separate types, and are not discussed further in this dissertation.

Kövecses' second distinction is what he calls the 'nature' of metaphor—denoting, in his usage, the type of knowledge on which a metaphorical mapping is based. According to Kövecses, many metaphors are based on detailed structural knowledge of conceptual

domains, but metaphors may instead sometimes be based on knowledge concerning specific images, mapping 'relatively little from source to target' (2002: 37). This distinction seems to describe an idea similar to function, relating to the motivations behind metaphorical mappings rather than to the mechanism itself. Kövecses says that many orientational metaphors are also image-schema metaphors, indicating a correspondence between these two categories. If one accepts Lakoff and Johnson's belief that the functional categories create a false distinction, Kövecses' two proposed natures of metaphor seem unlikely and superfluous. This distinction is therefore not used in the current dissertation.

1.8 Further applications of CMT

The work of Lakoff and others has provided the valuable insight that metaphor, as a psychological and linguistic process, functions as an important cognitive mechanism behind linguistic and cultural variation. Further weakening the 'pure semantics' position on metaphor, CMT has paved the way for a wide range of interdisciplinary work. Studies in metaphor have bridged the gaps between linguistics, psychology, literature, philosophy, and history. Research has been conducted from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives, and has utilized modern tools like electronic textual corpora to provide broader and more reliable samples of data from a variety of source types (e.g., Sweetser 1990; Allan 2008).

The developments in the integrated cognitive theory of metaphor discussed in the preceding sections, including CMT, ICMs, PMT, research in metonymy, and BT, have provided the foundations for several notable works on which the current study draws. Sweetser (1990) adds the dimension of history to this discussion, testing the synchronic theories discussed in the above sections against historical data, and illustrating the effect of metaphor on language over time. Kövecses (2005) discusses metaphorical variation across cultural as well as diachronic boundaries, and shows how diachronic metaphorical extension can lead to a variety of contextualizations of the same primary metaphors synchronically. Deignan (2005) evaluates the various possible approaches to the use of textual corpora in metaphor analysis, and provides useful guidelines for maintaining objectivity in corpus-related research. Lakoff and Turner (1989) provide an early account of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and show how metaphor in general can provide 'global'

structure to poetic works. Finally, Allan's (2008) study merges many of these issues, providing a model of objective, diachronic research into the role of metaphor in semantic change. The contributions of each of these, both to the current dissertation and to metaphor theory in general, will now be discussed briefly; further discussion of the themes raised here also appears in Section 2 and the following chapters.

Sweetser's work strengthens the position of diachronic research into metaphor, and challenges the real-world validity of truth-conditional semantics. Her discussion of metaphorical extension in sense-perception verbs (1990) presents a case study in cognitive grounding as the trigger for etymological change. Pointing out that 'one cannot automatically expect a synchronic semantic theory to deal naturally with historical change' (1990: 145), Sweetser compares data from separate branches of the Indo-European family of languages, and examines the motivations behind the apparently independent development of parallel senses in cognate words, as well as the basis for relatedness of meanings of polysemous words.

Sweetser's etymological data largely support the perceived effect that metaphor tends to map from concrete to abstract, showing the occurrence of this process over time. She notes the importance of this perceived effect in cognitive research, observing that 'it affects our understanding of cognitive structure to know that spatial vocabulary universally acquires temporal meanings rather than the reverse' (1990: 9). However, Sweetser also discusses historical examples which contradict the universal validity of this assumption, appearing to show development in the reverse direction—most convincingly, the development of the French *entendre* (originally 'understand') into 'hear' (1990: 35). Grady's proposal that both the physical and mental domains are equally 'basic'[25] might partially explain instances like *entendre* that seem to contradict the 'tendency' to map from physical to mental experience. Evidence that this tendency is not universal will necessitate closer examination of our understanding of cognitive structure. These considerations are therefore relevant to discussions of semantic change, the motivation of primary and complex metaphors, and the etymology of specific lexical items. One discussion of the latter type regards the etymological basis and semantic development of the word *run* (Chapter VI.1).

---

25 See Section 1.4.

II. Theory: 1. A Brief History of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Kövecses' (2005) study of cross-cultural variation in metaphor presents another dimension for cognitive research. Kövecses claims that the issue of metaphor variation has largely been ignored by cognitive linguists, and points out that questions of variation and coherence are central to a thorough discussion of embodiment and the universality of primary metaphor. In addition to analyzing cultural variation diachronically, he provides synchronic data which are more directly accessible for further research, and may be viewed alongside studies like Sweetser's for an improved picture of semantic development. Although Kövecses predicts that most primary metaphors are probably universal, he believes that 'cultures greatly influence what complex conceptual metaphors emerge from the primary metaphors' (2005: 4). His study shows how primary metaphors, embedded in specific cultures, develop special cases that vary from one culture to the next, or within a culture diachronically.

One of his major contributions is the concept of predetermined 'meaning foci', which deal with 'ideas associated with a source domain agreed upon by a community of speakers' (2005: 12). A 'main meaning focus', as a group of primary mappings, is not itself universally 'primary', but functions as a 'basic' idea that is particularly salient within a specific culture. Kövecses (2005: 54) finds that the five common metaphors identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 270 ff.) for the self—the PHYSICAL-OBJECT SELF, LOCATIONAL SELF, SOCIAL SELF, MULTIPLE SELVES, and ESSENTIAL SELVES metaphors—are common to English, Japanese, and Hungarian, indicating that the concept of *self* is, if not universal, 'a good candidate for near-universal status' (2005: 63). Kövecses cites another example provided by Yu (1998), the metaphor HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART, which is found in Chinese but not English (2005: 70). Presumably, the primary metaphors behind each of these complex mappings are found in most or all languages, but acquire a different 'flavor' in different cultural settings, as they become associated with other primary and complex mappings. These kinds of variation have been observed in some of the culture groups studied here, including in use of PATH imagery by the Shakers (see p. 154). To a lesser degree, variation may also be expected at an individual level, depending on a person's unique life experiences. Although the primary metaphors PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS (see p. 51) are accessible to all of the authors surveyed in this dissertation, John Wesley's hymn, for instance, features travel imagery based on his specific personal experiences to convey uniquely Methodist ideas.

II. Theory: 1. A Brief History of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

   Electronic corpora have become an important tool for linguistic research in general, and for historical linguistic studies in particular. Textual corpora have long been indispensable for studies of linguistic material predating modern recording techniques, and the translation of this resource to the electronic medium adds the capability to search texts quickly for keywords and collocates, and to generate concordances and statistical reports automatically. Increasing attention is also being paid to electronic corpora as a means of avoiding the bias that can result from using intuitive or elicited data. Deignan's (2005) evaluation of the methodologies available for identifying and studying metaphors within large electronic corpora gives useful guidelines for research in this area. Deignan observes the inability of computers to assign meaning, which limits their usefulness in terms of providing semantic tagging. She expresses the need for an objective 'way in' to the data (2005: 93), as well as for a usable definition of metaphor that human researchers can use in conjunction with automatic searches. One useful outcome of this line of inquiry is her proposed scale of 'metaphoricity' discussed in Section 1.7; another important insight is her distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven research.

   The corpus-based approach uses corpus data selectively, and can be used to support a predetermined point; on the other hand, a corpus-driven study bases both its objectives and conclusions on the data contained in the corpus. A corpus-driven methodology is thus limited to evaluation of linguistic expressions that are chosen objectively from either a quantitative analysis of the corpus data or an external source, such as a thesaurus. The issue of objectivity, which is crucial for linguistic studies, also causes a tension within interdisciplinary studies, like the present one, that combine linguistic, literary, historical, and cultural concerns. A purely corpus-driven study is constrained to consider only data that emerge from the corpus as quantitatively significant. These concerns conflict with the selection and treatment of themes based on literary or cultural salience (whether current or historical), with the result that a balance must sometimes be struck between linguistic and literary methods. A productive example of a somewhat selective, literary style of treatment is found in Lakoff and Turner (1989), especially in their discussion of poems and proverbs. In contrast, Allan (2008) takes a more corpus-driven linguistic approach.

   As well as providing new information about the nature and structure of metaphor, Lakoff and Turner (1989) explore the cognitive grounding of poetic imagery. Using evidence from literature and poetry, they show how some of the metaphors that seem to be

used the most unconsciously, far from being dead, are actually 'the most alive and most deeply entrenched, efficient, and powerful' (1989: 129). The first research question for this dissertation (see p. 8) asks in which contexts and to what extent travel-related vocabulary is used metaphorically in a specific body of historical poetry. Lakoff and Turner's proposal that salient conceptual metaphors can form the basis of a 'global' schema, which can structure individual poems or riddles, was thus central to the objectives of this dissertation. Many hymns in the corpus feature travel imagery, and in several, such as those written by Wesley expressly for use on journeys, it is the central theme. The role of travel metaphors in structuring hymns is discussed further in Chapter V, Section 7.

In terms of data selection, Lakoff and Turner attain a considerable degree of objectivity by analyzing complete works rather than isolated metaphorical statements. They attempt to be as thorough as possible in identifying the relevant conceptual metaphors in each poem or proverb they discuss, while acknowledging that individual interpretations will vary. With this in consideration, they often provide alternative metaphorical readings for the same text. A major drawback to this method is the relatively small set of data that can be analyzed without use of larger textual corpora. Lakoff and Turner's whole-poem approach also contrasts with their topical studies of specific metaphorical systems and literary themes, as in their first chapter on life, death, and time. These discussions, although interspersed with analyses of some complete works, tend to use short poetic selections of a few lines or more, selected from the authors' knowledge of the genre to illustrate specific points about conceptual metaphorical systems. Again, without the use of a textual corpus, Lakoff and Turner's observations do not objectively represent any specific set of linguistic data, and are limited by their intuitions about metaphor usage in literature. The current dissertation avoids this intuitive approach by selecting its data from a textual corpus, based in part on consideration of corpus statistics, but maintains the commitment to considering metaphorical usages within their larger contexts. The analyses of several complete hymns in Chapter V, Section 7 thus continue from the methodology developed by Lakoff and Turner (1989), with the additional support provided by comparison with data from the rest of the corpus.

Allan (2008) is an example of an up-to-date historical corpus study that maintains objectivity in its selection and analysis of linguistic data. Allan's aim is to provide empirical evidence for the effect of metaphor and metonymy in semantic change. Her

study incorporates nearly 20 years of cognitive semantic research since Lakoff and Turner (1989), as reflected in her discussions of PMT and conflation (e.g., 2008: 54) and the metaphor-metonymy continuum (e.g., 2008: 182). The study is corpus-driven and avoids the intuitive selection of examples which she says, citing Steen (1994), is characteristic of Lakoff and Johnson's approach (e.g., 1980, 1999). Allan's objectives are neither 'scientific' (2008: 4) nor 'quantitative' (2008: 20); rather, she attempts empirically to explore 'the variety of … reasons for the emergence of particular mappings in a single semantic field' (2008: 4). She agrees with Deignan on the need for a widely accepted definition of metaphor, and advocates a broader understanding that includes, but is not limited to, mappings that are metonymically motivated, or that occur over time (2008: 66). Allan's study uses data compiled by the *Historical Thesaurus of English* (HTE) project (Kay et al., online resource) at the University of Glasgow, later published as the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED) (Kay et al. 2009). She uses the entries of the WISDOM and FOOLISHNESS sections, grouped under the heading INTELLECT, as a as textual corpus, taking the lexemes found in these sections of the HTE data to correspond to the metaphorical target domains CLEVERNESS and STUPIDITY, respectively, which are contained by the larger domain of INTELLIGENCE. These data are collected in tables, arranged chronologically in 'core concept groups'. With this layout, Allan tracks the historical development of INTELLIGENCE terms in the English language, using a diachronic approach to test the predictions made by various cognitive theories.

While Lakoff and Turner (1989) demonstrate productively the importance of considering conceptual metaphor within its cultural and literary context, Allan's (2008) study, based on quantitative analysis of a selected section of the data for the HTE, shows equally the need for models of corpus-driven historical semantic study. Her table layout objectively identifies and organizes target domain data hierarchically according to 'core concepts' of source domain imagery (2008: 18, 26-29). Allan shows how the HTE can be used as a corpus of linguistic data, reflecting, as it does, the literary examples used to compile the OED. This approach may be taken one step further, using the semantically-categorized data from the HTE/HTOED as a key to identifying metaphors in separate historical corpora. As a way to collect and categorize all of the lexical items in a given semantic field found within a corpus, this method is relevant to the research questions for this dissertation (see p. 8), and forms a part of its methodology, as discussed in Chapter IV.

Deignan has pointed out the tendency of researchers to propose new metaphors, coining their own labels for the mappings they observe: she provides the example of one central mapping that has been identified variously as ACCEPTING SOMETHING IS EATING IT, IDEAS ARE FOOD, and CONSIDERING IS CHEWING (2005: 105). Differing opinions exist as to the proper labeling and classification of metaphors portraying LIFE and ACTIVITIES as JOURNEYS, as observed in Section 2 of this chapter. Deignan suggests that a more realistic method of metaphor identification would take levels of metaphorical complexity into account, rather than depending on the 'classical conceptual metaphor', which 'is probably not the basic unit' (2005: 106). Allan's 'core concepts', derived from HTE headings, provide the basis for a system of assigning consistent mnemonic source and target domain labels, in accordance with a more hierarchical view of metaphor. This system allows for treatment of complex and specific-level metaphors without ignoring their grounding at the most basic level of experience.

The current study seeks to maintain Lakoff and Turner's (1989) and Kövecses' (2005) focus on literary and cultural context while implementing the objective corpus-driven approach advocated by Deignan (2005) and Allan (2008). Like Allan's study, and as stated in the research questions, this dissertation does not seek to be primarily scientific or quantitative, but selects one metaphorical system to trace through a collection of historical texts. This dissertation does, however, aim for objectivity through some quantitative analysis of the corpus, in combination with consideration of the broader literary context in which conceptual metaphors occur. This study is selective in that the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor was chosen based on its salience in Western culture, both current and historical. The individual tokens analyzed in Chapter V were selected on a partially statistical basis, but some discretion on the part of the researcher was necessary, as explained in Chapter IV. As in Allan's study, the HTE/HTOED was used to provide the source and target domain labels by which the data are organized.

1.9 A current picture of CMT

Current accounts of CMT (e.g., Kövecses 2002; Lakoff & Johnson 2003) view conceptual metaphors as mental systems, which are grounded in experience via groupings of primary metaphors, and are reflected in language. Figure 1 provides a visualization of the structure of a complex metaphor as described by Kövecses (2002). A complex

metaphor consists of a set of mappings made between elements of two domains of experience. These mappings may be primary metaphors or other complex metaphors. In the primary mappings, neither element is necessarily more 'basic' or 'abstract' than the other, but mappings tend to be made from the physical to the mental domain, correlating embodied source 'imagery' with mental target concepts. Because they are based in correlated experience, many primary metaphors, perhaps all, have what can be described as a metonymic basis. A complex metaphor may be provided with further detail if existing knowledge of the source domain 'entails' further mappings to elements of the target domain. Similar conceptual metaphors may arise in many cultures; nevertheless, the emphases of even apparently universal conceptual metaphors will most likely differ from culture to culture if a different set of entailments is selected as having central importance. This set of entailments, which Kövecses calls the 'main meaning focus', accounts for the cross-cultural variation caused by the historical development of 'special cases' of primary and complex metaphors. Meaning foci would be expected to vary diachronically as well, and would also account for some of the semantic change observed in the corpus data used in the current study.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) provide an updated theory of metaphor and cognitive grounding, which takes into account the new knowledge of primary metaphor and conceptual blending, as well as recent findings in neuroscience and philosophy. Attempting to provide a more scientifically-based account of the cognitive process of metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson show how embodiment takes place at three levels: physical experience, the structure of the sensorimotor system, and neural instantiation (1999: 73). Based on evidence from studies by Narayanan (1997) and Bailey (1997), Lakoff and Johnson believe that primary metaphors are instantiated both mentally and physically, as 'neural connections learned by coactivation' (1999: 57). They suggest that the same (or very similar) coactivations are most likely universal to normal human experience, and, therefore, that universal conceptual metaphors are not innate, but are learned universally.

Primary metaphors, functioning at the most generic level (Allan 2008: 30), provide the experiential basis—the grounding—for complex metaphors. As discussed in Section 1.8, Deignan (2005) has called for a system of metaphorical identification and categorization that prioritizes generic-level mappings and acknowledges primary grounding and the hierarchical structure of metaphor. She criticizes approaches that

prioritize 'classical' specific-level mappings as inconsistent and often overlapping.
Nevertheless, the human consciousness functions at a 'middle' level of specificity. Lakoff
and Johnson, following Berlin et al. (1974) and Mervis & Rosch (1981), explain that the
specific middle-level concepts like 'cars' and 'chairs' are more cognitively 'basic' than
generic-level concepts like 'entities' or 'containers'—they have 'a kind of cognitive priority'
that makes them easier to distinguish and work with than items at higher levels of
specificity (1999: 27). According to Lakoff and Johnson, a middle-level conceptual
metaphor, as illustrated by the cases of novel mappings and metaphorical idioms, is
therefore not just 'a simple function of the meanings of the parts' (1999: 69).

Figure 1: Complex metaphor structure
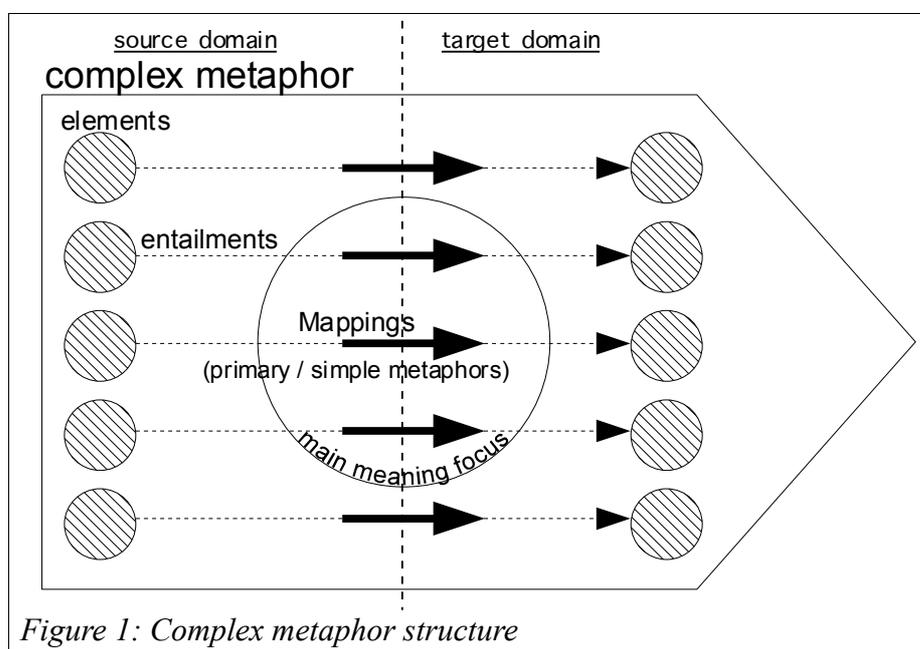
Based on correlations of experience at a neurological, physical, and mental level, the
mind is able to create imaginative, blended 'mental spaces' structured by (often largely
metonymic or metaphorical) ICMs. As Lakoff and Johnson explain (1999: 25),
metaphorical statements are not necessarily false within the cognitive model which
motivates them. This supports the view that meaning can be dependent on context, and
necessitates a view of semantics that takes cultural, historical, and textual concerns into
consideration. Accordingly, the historical and biographical data in Chapter III of this
dissertation are provided in order to situate the corpus texts in their cultural context.
Similarly, analyses of entire hymns in Chapter V aim to contextualize some of the
metaphorical tokens analyzed in this dissertation within complete texts. This dissertation

follows the use of a culturally-salient middle-level metaphor, ʟɪꜰᴇ ɪꜱ ᴀ ᴊᴏᴜʀɴᴇʏ, which it takes to be grounded in the primary metaphors ᴘᴜʀᴘᴏꜱᴇꜱ ᴀʀᴇ ᴅᴇꜱᴛɪɴᴀᴛɪᴏɴꜱ and ᴀᴄᴛɪᴏɴꜱ ᴀʀᴇ ᴍᴏᴛɪᴏɴꜱ. These are motivated metonymically by correlated embodied experiences of motion in order to achieve objectives.

Although the models of conceptual metaphor presented by CMT cannot in themselves account for all of the subtleties of semantic change, complementary studies like those discussed above are constantly increasing the cohesiveness of the individual theories of cognitive semantics as a whole. CMT, as a part of this picture, provides what Fauconnier and Turner would call a 'human-scale' image of a systematic process behind many instances of semantic change, polysemy, and 'figurative' expression. Although discussions of metonymy have called into question the idea of distinct boundaries between target and source domains, these are still useful in describing the start and end 'points' of a pronounced shift in meaning. Lakoff has discussed the validity of multiple concurrent systems of scientific classification.[26] Similarly, CMT, BT, PMT, and cognitive accounts of metonymy each present a valid description of a specific conceptual process: all of these overlap and share central characteristics, and each may be used in conjunction with the others to analyze complex linguistic data.

The truth-conditional approach of formal semantics is inadequate to account for most human creative conceptual processes, including metaphor. The embodied nature of human cognition does not allow for impartial judgments of the external state of the 'real world', only for the evaluation of information gathered by the senses, under the limitations of the brain. Consequently, for cognitive purposes, the human capacity for 'truth' (i.e., accurate description of 'real world' affairs) is only as objective as provided for by the embodied experiences common to most humans.

The insights of cognitive semantics, as outlined in this section, illustrate the shortsightedness of attempts to separate abstract linguistic structures from meaning or context, and confirm the importance of a unified approach to semantics and pragmatics. They have demonstrated the importance of objectivity through corpus-driven research, as well as the value of cognitive semantic theory in selective literary applications. Finally,

---

26 An example of this is his discussion of the unnecessary competition between cladistic and phenetic accounts of biological taxonomy (Lakoff 1990: 119).

these insights highlight the centrality of diachronic data to any well-situated account of meaning. As Lakoff (1990: 111) admonishes, 'there is nothing "mere"' about history.

2 Treatment of Travel-related Concepts in CMT

2.1 LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Lakoff, Johnson, Turner, Kövecses, and others have acknowledged the cultural importance of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and have devoted considerable space in their accounts of metaphor theory to dealing with the effects of travel- and motion-based mappings. Kövecses (2002) begins his introduction to metaphor with a description and examples of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, showing the centrality of this metaphor the human understanding of life. He mentions the prominence of travel metaphors even in nonlinguistic contexts, like movies depicting people's lives as journeys (2002: 57). Travel-related metaphors have played a central part in some accounts of metaphor theory: much of the material from Lakoff and Turner (1989) deals with the themes of life, birth, death, and the passage of time, all of which have strong connections to travel imagery. According to Lakoff and Turner, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is 'one of the most powerful tools we have for making sense of our lives and for making decisions about what to do and even what to believe' (1989: 65). Lakoff and Turner describe a common metaphorical system for life, according to which birth is seen as arrival, life is being present 'here', and death is departure (1989: 1). This metaphorical system, they say, is one of relatively few that we have available for conceptualizing life and death (1989: 26).

One of Lakoff and Turner's main efforts is to illustrate concretely through poetic examples the complexity of the imagery that can be achieved through the overlap of various existing, highly conventional metaphorical schemata: their first chapter consists largely of poetic selections centered around the themes of 'coming' and 'going' into, through, and out of this life. CMT has developed significantly since the publication of their study, and understanding of the grounding and structure of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor has deepened as a result. However, the thematic centrality and methodical exploration of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in Lakoff and Turner's discussion renders their account a convenient framework for comparison with the treatment of travel-related concepts in more recent accounts.

2.1.1 Life and existence

Lakoff and Turner (1989) list a number of 'correspondences' between the experiences of life and journeys that are 'implicit knowledge' to us:

> The person leading a life is a traveler.
> His purposes are destinations.
> The means for achieving purposes are routes.
> Difficulties in life are impediments to travel.
> Counselors are guides.
> Progress is the distance traveled.
> Things you gauge your progress by are landmarks.
> Choices in life are crossroads.
> Material resources and talents are provisions. (1989: 3-4)

These entailments contribute to the structure of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and the overarching JOURNEY schema may be evoked through any of them. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 60-63) update this description of the metaphor, framing it in terms of levels of metaphorical complexity. In their account, the complex metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY consists of a cluster of three submetaphors:

> A PERSON LIVING A LIFE IS A TRAVELER
> LIFE GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS
> A LIFE PLAN IS AN ITINERARY (1999: 61)

This complex metaphor is based on the cultural belief that 'people are supposed to have purposes in life, and they are supposed to act so as to achieve those purposes'. This belief is interpreted in light of the fact that 'a long trip to a series of destinations is a journey' and is grounded in two primary metaphors:

> PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
> ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS (1999: 61)

Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 63) mention the concepts behind the Curriculum Vitae, literally the 'course of life', as one prime example of the pervasiveness of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in our culture. The CV allows peers or potential employers to view a person's academic and professional achievements as points on a journey, and to measure his or her 'progress' against that of others or against an ideal 'map'.

This metaphor affects all aspects of our culture: in the literary field, Lakoff and Turner (1989) illustrate its cultural salience through Robert Frost's poetic image of two

roads diverging in a forest. No metaphorical interpretation is made explicit in the poem, but the mention of roads, decisions, and travel is enough to suggest an interpretation based on knowledge of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY schema. Accordingly, the alternate routes are automatically taken to represent possible decisions in life, and the traveler is the person making the decisions. From this, the reader is able to deduce that the 'less traveled' route is a comparatively unpopular lifestyle choice, which the poet nevertheless believes has been worthwhile. This type of novel extension is also seen in Dante's image of 'life's road' passing through a 'dark wood', indicating, as Lakoff and Turner note, the speaker's condition of being 'lost', 'without clear purpose in life or a clear path to his purpose' (1989: 9). Kövecses (2002: 47) points out that the element of the woods in this example is unconventional, and usually not used in instantiations of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor.

Lakoff and Turner also state that the JOURNEY schema may be evoked metonymically, as through the word *lane* in a poem by Auden:

> And the crack in the tea-cup opens
> A lane to the land of the dead. (cited in 1989: 98)

Although, again, no traveler or actual journey is mentioned,[27] the image of a 'lane' brings to mind the entire JOURNEY schema—with a traveler, a path, and a destination—and evokes the specific metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE. According to Lakoff and Turner (1989: 120-121), this cohesive image of life portrayed in terms of a journey provides much richer knowledge than a non-metaphorical paraphrase would. Even if the reference to the journey is very brief, as in the example by Auden, the instantiation of the JOURNEY schema gives the reader a basis to make further inferences about life.

Further metaphorical detail can be added by combining the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor with other compatible metaphors, as in the following proverb:

> Ants on a millstone
> whichever way they walk
> they go around with it. (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 205)

Here the human journey is implicitly reduced to the scale of ants, in order to give the reader the feeling of increased perspective. The reader can see that the ants' attempts to

---

27 The preposition *to* does, however, imply a destination. See discussion of the metaphor FORM IS MOTION in Section 2.3,

direct their own paths are in vain due to their inability to control circumstances on a much larger scale; he or she can also see that the ants are unaware of their state, and are likely to go on with their efforts indefinitely. Although no target domain is explicitly mentioned, the reader can draw the connections to human life: humans' lack of control over 'the cosmos' as well as their lack of perspective.

Addressing the internal structure of metaphor, Lakoff and Turner discuss the pre-existing 'slots' that are available within a mapping (1989: 63-64). Some slots are required, such as TRAVELER and PATH in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, but others, like the generic concept VEHICLE, are optional. The VEHICLE slot may be used at the generic level, or it may be filled in with a more specific example of the category such as CAR or SHIP, resulting in a special case of the JOURNEY metaphor, as in the expression *life in the fast lane*. Writing in terms of the Invariance Principle,[28] Kövecses (2002: 102) points out that the PATH slot contains the property of fixity, which is not transferred to the target domain: after turning off one road onto another, a traveler may change his or her mind, turn back, and resume the original course. This is not possible in the target domain, Kövecses reasons. If someone watches a bad movie, that person may not unmake that decision and watch a different movie instead. However, although such an action may not actually be possible, I would argue that the metaphorical system allows for such concepts. We can and do regularly use expressions about *starting over* in life, *turning back* on an agreement, or *going back* in time. These are common in the English language, and show how conceptual blending can use source domain imagery to create new conceptual mappings—even to the point of making the impossible commonplace.

Although the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is usually designated a special case of the metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (e.g., Kövecses 2002: 70) or LONGTERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS (e.g., Lakoff 1994) Lakoff and Turner point out that it can also be used to convey purposeless activity: 'wandering without any destination in mind' (1989: 61). Lakoff and Johnson also note the flexibility of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in this respect; though most journeys are undertaken from an initial location to a destination, 'journeys may or may not have prescribed or ultimate destinations' and 'some journeys are just wanderings' (1999: 194). The image of purposeless travel is culturally important and

---

28　See footnote 12, p. 28.

carries a different set of implications about the way a person spends his or her life; this is exhibited in various examples of WANDERING in Chapter V.

As a whole, Lakoff and Turner emphasize that the JOURNEY source domain is 'grounded in what we experience of journeys and in what we learn of journeys through our culture'. This conventional knowledge results in a common understanding of the structure of a journey: 'it has a starting point, endpoint, path, places we want to reach along the way, and, commonly, companions, difficulties, provisions, and so on' (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 113-114). However, Lakoff and Johnson's updated account of CMT[29] holds that 'the grounding of the whole is the grounding of its parts' (1999: 63); that is, a complex metaphor is not directly grounded in experience, but receives its grounding through its component primary metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson explain that 'there is no correlation between purposeful lives and journeys in our everyday experience'. This accounts for our ability to comprehend and use a source domain we have not actually experienced: even if we know nothing about sailing, for instance, we understand the basic implications of movement in a specified direction toward a destination, with the possible necessities of overcoming obstacles, finding guidance or assistance, and passing through multiple locations before arriving. No direct similarity between the experiences of life and journeys motivates the metaphor: on the contrary, the differences between the two result in the additional detailed knowledge imparted by a metaphorical understanding. In the case of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the metaphor's entailments are translated into 'guidelines for life':

> A purposeful life requires planning a means for achieving your purposes.
>
> Purposeful lives may have difficulties, and you should try to anticipate them.
>
> You should provide yourself with what you need to pursue a purposeful life[.]
>
> As a prudent person with life goals you should have an overall life plan indicating what goals you are supposed to achieve at what times and what goals to set out to achieve next. You should always know what you have achieved so far and what you are going to do next. (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 62)

On top of this, as Kövecses (2005) argues, although primary metaphors are universal or nearly universal, and provide the cognitive grounding for complex metaphors, their manifestations differ from culture to culture. Kövecses classifies the metaphor LIFE IS A

---

29 See Section 1.9.

JOURNEY, functioning at the specific level, as a culturally embedded special case of PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS.[30] Comparing the special case with its more generic counterpart, Kövecses says that the former represents an idea which people can 'actually engage in their thought in real cultural contexts', while the latter seems 'lifeless' and 'sounds like an artificial theoretical construct'. Kövecses believes that complex metaphors, thus embedded, are 'more important to cultural considerations' than primary metaphors (2005: 11). PMT has been an important development of cognitive theory, partially explaining the psychological and physiological motivations behind our conceptual systems, but complex, specific-level metaphors are the actual intersection of these motivations with history, art, and culture. The specific 'meaning focus' of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in a given culture provides more information about that culture than an analysis of the metaphor's component (and arguably universal) primary mappings.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) discuss several other metaphors that are related to, or are special cases of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Two common ones are DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO TRAVEL and DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS. The former appears to be a complex metaphor resulting from the combination of the latter with LIFE IS A JOURNEY, yielding the image of burdens that hinder progress on a journey. An example of this image is found in the poem 'The Jasmine Lightness of the Moon' by William Carlos Williams (cited by Lakoff & Turner 1989: 149). Williams describes a church as a 'squat edifice' with an 'oppressive weight': this poem might be read as suggesting, in contrast with many of the earlier cited examples, that institutionalized Christianity is sometimes a burden rather than a help to one's spiritual journey. Another related metaphor is LIFE IS PRESENCE HERE, which depends on the generic-level metaphor STATES ARE LOCATIONS. The example Lakoff and Turner present for this metaphor is Mark Twain's statement that he 'came in' and would 'go out' with Halley's comet (1989: 1).

Anticipating the development of a theory of primary metaphors, Lakoff and Turner (1989: 52) list several 'very general' metaphors relating to existence and action on which the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, like other specific-level metaphors, is dependent. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 83-85) identify these metaphors, including PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, STATES ARE LOCATIONS, and EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, as having an especially strong 'grounding in everyday experience'. In particular, they argue that the three mentioned above are

---

30 This is in contrast with Lakoff et al., for whom purposes are destinations is one of two primary
    metaphors in which LIFE IS A JOURNEY is grounded; see p. 51.

important for the structure they provide to the Life is a journey metaphor. Through purposes are destinations, life is given both a goal and a direction; through states are locations, moments in life are seen as points in the journey; and through events are actions, a person is propelled forward by the decisions and occurrences in his or her life. The combination of these three yields progress is the distance traveled.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 177-234) further explore the metaphorical representation of events (including the extended event of life), recognizing the existence of a more general class of 'Event-Structure' metaphors. This consists of two 'fundamental' metaphors for how we understand events, which they label the Location and Object Event-Structure Metaphors. These are grounded in two primary metaphors: causes are forces and changes are movements. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 179) describe the Location metaphor as providing 'our most common and extensive understanding of the internal structure of events'. It is 'a single, complex mapping with a number of submappings', including the metaphors states are locations and purposes are destinations identified by Lakoff and Turner above, along with several others (numbering and small capitalization added here and elsewhere):

2.1   states are locations

2.2   changes are movements

2.3   causes are forces

2.4   causation is forced movement

2.5   actions are self-propelled movements

2.6   purposes are destinations

2.7   means are paths

2.8   difficulties are impediments to movement

2.9   freedom of action is the absence of impediments to motion

2.10   external events are large, moving objects

2.11   long-term, purposeful activities are journeys   (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 179)

The last of these, long-term, (purposeful) activities are journeys,[31] is the specific-level metaphor of which life is a journey is a special case; for this reason, any instantiation of life is a journey may also make use of the other Location submappings. The Event-Structure metaphor and its submappings do not exist only in English, as Kövecses points

---

31 Lakoff and Johnson omit or include 'purposeful' variously, and purposeless travel is an image that is used sometimes; see discussion on p. 53.

out; Chinese data provided by Ning Yu (1998) and Hungarian data from his own experience show that these mostly primary or 'simple' metaphors do have similar manifestations in unrelated languages.

The relevance of most of these submappings to LIFE IS A JOURNEY is self-evident, and constraints of space do not permit a thorough discussion of each one here; however, Lakoff and Johnson discuss each of them in detail (1999: 180-193), providing examples of their usage and exploring their motivations. They make several interesting points that are specifically relevant to a discussion of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, which will be mentioned here briefly.

Submapping 2.5 of the Location Event-Structure metaphor, ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS, has its own set of entailments, which Lakoff and Johnson list:

2.12   AIDS TO ACTION ARE AIDS TO MOVEMENT
2.13   MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOVEMENT
2.14   CAREFUL ACTION IS CAREFUL MOVEMENT
2.15   SPEED OF ACTION IS SPEED OF MOVEMENT
2.16   FREEDOM OF ACTION IS THE LACK OF IMPEDIMENT TO MOVEMENT
2.17   SUSPENSION OF ACTION IS THE STOPPING OF MOVEMENT (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 187)

Again, the importance of these entailments to the extended LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is self-evident, and is further supported by the multiple examples of instantiations of each mapping provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 188). These will not be discussed in detail here. The metaphors ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS (2.5) and STATES ARE LOCATIONS (2.1) form the basis for what Lakoff and Johnson call the Causal Path Metaphor (or CAUSES ARE PATHS), in which a traveler is already on a path with a predetermined destination, and is likely to continue all the way on that path. This corresponds with an action in life that will usually result in a specific consequence: one example given by Lakoff and Johnson is that 'Smoking marijuana *leads to* drug addiction' (1999: 210). Another related causal metaphor is CAUSES ARE SOURCES, by which a result comes from its cause, for example, the sentence 'She got rich from her investments' (1999: 213).

Submapping 2.8 of the Location Event-Structure metaphor, DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT, is also closely related to ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS. It

has been discussed above (p. 55) in an example from Lakoff and Turner (1989), and is also explored by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) in their description of the major types of metaphorical hierarchies. Special cases of the DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT mapping contribute a large part of the imagery encountered in instances of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. These special cases are based on the subcategories of possible impediments to movement:

    2.18   DIFFICULTIES ARE BLOCKAGES
    2.19   DIFFICULTIES ARE FEATURES OF THE TERRAIN
    2.20   DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS
    2.21   DIFFICULTIES ARE COUNTERFORCES
    2.22   DIFFICULTIES ARE LACKS OF ENERGY [sic] (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 202)

Two of these, 2.19 and 2.20, are especially important to LIFE IS A JOURNEY: the first is behind descriptions of difficulties in life as hills, rough patches, swamps, rivers (crossed by bridges), etc. The second, as discussed above, can combine with LIFE IS A JOURNEY to result in the image of a traveler being hindered on his or her journey by the weight of the load he or she is carrying. For instance, a person might feel so *weighed down* by responsibility that he or she cannot *get anywhere* in a project. Special case 2.22 surfaces in a travel context as a lack of steam, or running out of gas.

One frequently-encountered (if sometimes vague) life goal is to attain a greater degree of freedom. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 190) observe that this abstract idea usually relates to either political freedom or freedom of the will, and is based on the idea of freedom of action. This idea is in turn conceptualized in terms of 'the absence of impediments to self-propelled movement' (see 2.9 and 2.16). Thus, in the context of the JOURNEY metaphor, abstract freedom in life corresponds with the ability to travel unhindered and to set one's own course.

Another interesting point is related to 2.7: the Location submapping MEANS ARE PATHS has resulted in a grammaticalization of the word *way* in English, leading to sentences like 'Do it this way' (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 191). This usage seems to be less common in the corpus data for this dissertation, which tends to use the lexeme WAY either with the 'path' sense or as a more active metaphor, although evidence from the OED supports grammaticalization at a much earlier stage in history. This issue is presented in further detail in Section 1 of Chapter V.

The submapping EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE MOVING OBJECTS (2.10) conceptualizes events that are out of a person's control as objects that can help or hinder the traveler in reaching his or her destination. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 192-193) identify three special cases of this metaphor that are highly salient in English: 'things', fluid, and horses. The first occurs in expressions like 'How are things going for you?' and 'Things are going my way'. This case is interesting historically, as the earliest senses of the word *thing*, dating from early Old English, seem to have as much to to do with meetings, events, affairs, and intangible attributes as with concrete objects, as in the following sense from the OED, and its earliest cited example:

> 3. a. A matter with which one is concerned (in action, speech, or thought); an affair, a business, a concern, a subject. Now usu. in *pl.*: affairs, matters, circumstances.
>
> **eOE** KING ÆLFRED tr. Gregory *Pastoral Care* (Hatton) xviii. 129 Sio giornfulnes eorðlicra ðinga abisgað &git (OED draft rev. Mar 2010)

It is thus difficult to tell whether an 'events' sense of *thing* would have been metaphorical historically, although the metaphorical MOTION aspect appears at least as early as the 13th century, in the *Ormulum*:

> **?c1200** *Ormulum* (Burchfield transcript) l. 3640 All þiss middell ærdess þing Aȝȝ turrneþþ her & wharrfeþþ. Nu upp nu dun.

The second special case, fluids, usually presents external events as a tide or a river with a current that directs a person's movement. In this metaphor, events are viewed as a single cohesive substance rather than as discrete objects. A person encountering this *flood of events* may be able to *go with the flow*, or else may barely be able to keep his or her *head above water*. Often he or she will be *inundated* or *swept away* by the *tide* of events. The imagery of oceanic tidal forces displays prominently in extended metaphors that frame life in terms of nautical journeys; this is observed at several points in Chapters V and VII. Finally, in addition to water, Lakoff and Johnson list the *winds of change* among the types of fluid that are used frequently via this metaphor.

The third special case of submapping 2.10 is the most specific. The historical importance of horses to English-speaking culture is apparent in expressions like 'Hold your horses' and 'try to keep a tight rein on the situation', as well as possibly the exclamation

whoa!, said 'when things start to get out of hand' (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 193). According to Lakoff and Johnson, expressions characterizing external events as horses imply that events can be controlled, but only with intense concentration and effort; the events that are most difficult to control are characterized as *wild horses*. Lakoff and Johnson do not discuss the possibility of combining this metaphor with others. Specifically, as horses historically have been an important means of travel, intersections of this metaphor with LIFE IS A JOURNEY might be expected. Further research into the role of horses in English conventional metaphors might show whether this special case is still productive, or has become idiomatic and restricted to a limited (though possibly large) set of expressions.

The Object Event-Structure metaphor is also central to the conceptualization of life as a journey; Lakoff and Johnson outline this metaphor as consisting of the following submappings:

2.23   ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS
2.24   CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS
2.25   CAUSATION IS TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS
2.26   PURPOSES ARE DESIRED OBJECTS (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 196)

Although these mappings do not by themselves motivate a travel metaphor, the submapping PURPOSES ARE DESIRED OBJECTS (2.26) leads to the inference that ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS ACQUIRING A DESIRED OBJECT. The combination of this inference with ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (2.5 and 2.6 above) results in an added dimension of motion: as Kövecses observes, 'if we want to drink beer, we either have to go to the store to buy beer or to a bar to have one there' (2002: 70). In examples of this combined mapping, someone travels with the hope of reaching not a geographically fixed destination but a moving object. This is the motivation behind the travel dimension in some usages of the word *pursuit*, as in Lakoff and Johnson's examples 'She is pursuing an impossible dream' and 'He has interesting pursuits' (1999: 197). Another instance where this motion dimension might be expected is in one of the special cases of the metaphor ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS ACQUIRING A DESIRED OBJECT listed by Lakoff and Johnson, and one of its submappings:

ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS GETTING SOMETHING TO EAT
TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS HUNTING (1999: 197)

An example of this special case is the phrase *hunting for a job*. A search of the HTE online resource for synonyms of *hunt* yields several other terms with motion aspects that can relate to ACHIEVING A PURPOSE, including *chase, prowl, track down*, and *poach*. Examples of metaphorical uses from the British National Corpus (online resource) include the following (emph. added):

> 2.27 ACR 3249 So rather than *chasing* alternatives, why not 'tune' what we have to minimise smog-producing fractions and maximise catalysable elements?

> 2.28 FPM 1550 'You're after an excuse to go on the *prowl* round those fashion-shops again — isn't that the truth of it?'

> 2.29 A19 699 Despite many years of searching, I have not yet been able to *track down* any other source of reference on the design and construction of valve pre and power amplifiers.

> 2.30 ABE 2704 Firms began to *poach* partners and to recruit dozens of assistant solicitors and articled clerks.

> 2.31 CRB 2386 Among other things, BA staff tried to *poach* passengers from their tiny rival by hacking into Virgin's computer.

Although *chase* appeared as a synonym for *hunt* in the HTE, it does not necessarily carry the sense of pursuit for food; individual interpretations of utterances like example 2.27 may or may not include this detail. The BNC results for *prowl,* used either literally or metaphorically, seem to imply restless or aimless movement in search of an objective, like food or clothing, as seen in example 2.28. Example 2.29 uses the phrase *track down*; although the lexeme TRACK does not itself appear among the HTE results, several results for *hunt,* including *investigation*, *spooring*, *pugging*, and *stalk,* are categorized under the heading 'tracking'*,* and several more, including *spoor*, *ride trail,* and *slot* are categorized under the heading *'*to track'*,* showing that the two ideas are linked. The usage of the word *poach* in examples 2.30 and 2.31 fits sense 7 of the OED entry:

> **7.** *trans.* To take or acquire (esp. a good employee, client, etc.) in an unfair or clandestine way. (OED draft rev. June 2010, 'poach, v.2')

This sense is classified under the second main branch of *poach* (v.2), with the sense 'To take game, etc., unlawfully … '. The metaphorical image evoked by these examples is of employees or clients as food that is highly sought-after and must be procured illegally.

II. Theory: 2. Treatment of Travel-related Concepts in CMT

Lakoff's case study on *there*-constructions (1990: 462-585) addresses metaphors of existence in further depth. The metaphors BIRTH IS ARRIVAL, LIFE IS BEING PRESENT HERE, and DEATH IS DEPARTURE mentioned above (p. 50), are dependent on the more general metaphors EXISTENCE IS LOCATION HERE and NONEXISTENCE IS LOCATION AWAY (1990: 518). Lakoff and Johnson collect these under the primary metaphor EXISTENCE IS BEING LOCATED HERE, which is grounded in the facts that 'objects that exist exist in a location' and that we ourselves are located wherever we exist (1999: 205). Some of the most interesting and important effects of this metaphor on the English language are the uses of the word *there* as an existence deictic and as an existential. Lakoff explains, 'we know that something exists if it is in our presence; otherwise, we cannot be sure' (1990: 518). Consequently, the deictic *there* specifies something's existence by calling into attention its location in space: for example, *there goes our last hope*. The deictic use is interpretable only relative to the context in which it is used. In comparison, the existential *there* has a more general focus, designating a whole conceptual space, rather than a specific location. Its use is not dependent on context, and calls into attention the conceptual existence of an entity, rather than its physical existence, as in the sentence 'There is still hope' (1990: 543).

Another deictic use of *there* is to mark the start of an activity, as in the sentence 'There he goes, meditating again' (Lakoff 1990: 519). Such cases are structured by what Lakoff calls the ACTIVITY-PATH schema, a special case of the basic PATH schema. The PATH schema, which also usually coordinates with a SOURCE and a GOAL schema, is based on the following basic logic derived from life experience:

> If you go from a source to a destination along a path, then you must pass
> through each intermediate point on the path; moreover, the further along the
> path you are, the more time has passed since starting. (Lakoff 1990: 275)

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) add several specific points to this summary of the schema's internal logic:

> If you travel from *A* to *B* and from *B* to *C,* then you have traveled from *A* to *C.*
> If there is a direct route from *A* to *B* and you are moving along the route toward
> *B,* then you will keep getting closer to *B.*
> If *X* and *Y* are traveling along a direct route from *A* to *B* and *X* passes *Y,* then *X*
> is further from *A* and closer to *B* than *Y* is.
> If *X* and *Y* start from *A* at the same time moving along the same route toward *B*
> and if *X* moves faster than *Y,* then *X* will arrive at *B* before Y. (1999: 33-34)

II. Theory: 2. Treatment of Travel-related Concepts in CMT

The SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema structures the metaphor ACTIVITY IS MOTION (and its dependent metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY), as well as PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. It provides the framework to conceptualize the start of an activity as occurring at a source location, its continuation as following a path, and its termination as arriving at a destination. The importance of spatial relations, and specifically of this schema, is discussed in further depth by Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 32-34). They provide a list of elements typically contained by the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema:

> A trajector that moves
> A source location (the starting point)
> A goal, that is, an intended destination of the trajector
> A route from the source to the goal
> The actual trajectory of motion
> The position of the trajector at a given time
> The direction of the trajector at that time
> The actual final location of the trajector, which may or may not be the intended destination (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 33)

These elements are inherited in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, where the trajector corresponds to the person living the life, the source or starting point is usually birth, and the goal or destination is what the person wants or is predicted to achieve in life; in a Christian context, in addition to lifetime achievements, the destination would also usually correspond with a person's expected fate in the afterlife—arrival in heaven or hell. The route corresponds to the sequence of events that make up a person's life, and the trajectory of motion, which in the schema is both left behind the trajector and 'projected forward in the direction of motion', is the person's experience of those events, and expected experiences of future events. The position of the trajector is the person's current status in life—in general, that person's current relationships, endeavors, and socioeconomic situation; more specifically, his or her status at a given moment or day. The direction of the trajector, which is contrasted with the trajectory itself, corresponds to the actions the person is taking that affect his or her future, and will determine what he or she experiences. Finally, the trajector's ending location may be the achievement of a largely successful life, possibly determined by attainment of an eternal reward in the afterlife, or else failure to achieve one's purposes, whether secular or spiritual. In the latter case, the trajector fails to follow its expected trajectory, and ends in an unintended, often undesired location. As Lakoff and Johnson explain, the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema is 'topological': its 'trail' can be overlaid upon any activity, whether short- or long-term. It may be used to structure one's

entire life, a single year, or a brief event. Several examples illustrating both the 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' versions of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema are discussed in Chapter V of this dissertation.

Lakoff (1990) specifically addresses the grounding of the PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS metaphor: the correlation between the two domains is built by the common, repeated experience of needing to be in a location to achieve a purpose. This link is not inherently metaphorical, as Lakoff explains. Rather, 'there is an identity between the domain of purpose and the physical domain' (1990: 277): in this special case, arrival at the destination is part of, or is itself, the purpose. As a result, according to Lakoff, the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema possesses the necessary qualifications that motivate its use as a metaphorical source domain. These qualifications are that the schema must be:

> (a) pervasive in experience
> (b) well-understood because it is pervasive
> (c) well-structured
> (d) simply structured
> (e) emergent and well-demarcated for these reasons (Lakoff 1990: 278)

The PATH schema is also active in Lakoff's case study of the word *over.* The expression to *get over* an event or experience in one's life, meaning to come to terms or be at peace with it, Lakoff says, combines a specific PATH schema with two metaphors. The specific path in use is that leading over a hill: the word *over* implies movement 'above and across' the object, a hill, and the verb *walk* implies continuous contact with the ground. Thus, the trajectory of the path in this schema follows the curve of the hill and occupies the space above it. The expression also uses the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, and another metaphor conceptualizing difficulties as obstacles (1990: 439). Someone wishing to *get over* an event, for example a divorce, sees the divorce as an obstacle that must be crossed, with the added work implied by walking up and down a hill.

2.1.2 Birth and Death

Lakoff and Turner (1989) open their book with a discussion of terms for death, and frequently return to this topic. By contrast, they deal fairly infrequently with birth. They discuss the common conceptual metaphor birth is arrival briefly at the beginning, providing a few examples, including the expression that a baby is *on its way*, and a passage from Shakespeare's King Lear: 'we came crying hither' (1989: 1). The metaphor is

mentioned a few times throughout the rest of the book, as part of the larger domain of life, and is named explicitly only once more, as evidence for the richness of metaphorically-based concepts (see above, p. 52). Lakoff and Johnson (1999) mention the topic of birth once as well, in reference to the metaphor BEING ALIVE IS BEING LOCATED HERE. This is a special case of the primary metaphor EXISTENCE IS BEING LOCATED HERE, and has the following entailments:

> 2.32   being born is coming here
> 2.33   death is going away
> 2.34   causing death is forced removal (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 205)

They provide the example of a new birth referred to as an *arrival,* as well as several examples about length of life and the event of death. The comparative lack of discussion of metaphorical expressions about birth in the accounts of Lakoff et al. may reflect a higher cultural salience for the topic of death than for birth.

The corpus used for this dissertation bears out this trend, with terms related to death occurring more frequently than terms related to birth. Of approximately 415,335 tokens in the corpus, there are 585 occurrences of the noun *death*, 264 of the adjective *dead*, and 374 of the verb *die*. In comparison, there are only 110 hits for *birth* and 177 for *born,* and several of the latter are alternate spellings of the word *borne,* meaning 'carried'. The word *bear*, which also sometimes has the sense 'give birth', occurs 272 times, but almost all of these are instances of the basic 'carry' sense, without any apparent reference to birth. In total, even if *bear* is included, words related to death are more than twice as frequent in the corpus as words relating to birth; these data are shown for comparison in Table 2. The topic of birth has special associations in a Christian context: many of the corpus results for *born* and *birth* have to do with the birth of Christ; others refer to the 'second birth' of salvation. Considering these special associations in the context of the current corpus, one might expect the topic of birth to be less frequent in a more secular corpus, or simply to occur more frequently in different contexts—a comparative study of terms for birth and death in textual corpora would show whether and in which contexts such a cultural emphasis might exist. The higher frequency of reference to death makes sense intuitively —after all, our own births have already occurred and are beyond the reach of memory for most of us. In contrast, death remains to come, and occupies much of our attention as an inevitable but mysterious experience.

The conventionalized metaphor characterizing DEATH as DEPARTURE is described by Lakoff and Turner essentially as involving 'departure away from here, without possibility of return, on a journey, perhaps in a vehicle' (1989: 68). This metaphor corresponds with the entailment 2.33 above, and is related to 2.34: examples of this metaphor provided by Lakoff and Johnson include the euphemistic descriptions of death as *leaving us* and of killing someone as '*getting rid* of him, *taking* him *out*, or *blowing* him *away*' (1999: 206). In the first chapter of their book, Lakoff and Turner (1989) provide literary and poetic examples of imaginative extensions and developments of this metaphor, in depictions of death as the end of life's journey, the beginning of a new journey, or both.

Examples emphasize different aspects of the metaphor: some focus on the event of 'leaving' this life, and others on a person's 'location' afterward. Poems by Tennyson and Keats feature the image of death as a 'shore' forming a border between the journey of life and the afterlife. Yeats depicts it as 'sailing' away, and Horace as 'the eternal exile of the raft'. Death is described as 'home' in Shakespeare and in the Psalms, and Dickinson compares it to her 'father's lodge'. Dickinson's poem 'Because I could not stop for death', is also discussed in depth (1989: 4-6) and reference is made to it at several points in the book. Her poem presents the image of Death personified as a coachman, who gives the poet a tour of the course of her life as a journey from childhood through maturity, culminating in arrival at the grave. Yeats integrates the deaths of others into the personal journey of one's own life in a way that is not typically specified by the conventional JOURNEY metaphor: the gravestones of others, representing their deaths, are monuments to be passed by and forgotten. As Lakoff and Turner (1989: 190) observe, this novel extension of the schema makes the point that others' lives follow a different course from our own, and the end of our journey may still be far away.

token	#	%
death	585	0.14%
birth	110	0.03%
dead	264	0.06%
born	177	0.04%
die	374	0.09%
bear	272	0.07%
death+dead	849	0.20%
birth+born	287	0.07%
death+dead+die	1223	0.29%
birth+born+bear	559	0.13%
Total words:	415335	

Table 2: BIRTH *and* DEATH *in the corpus*

Another example from Rossetti, cited by Kövecses (2002: 44), presents an image of the afterlife as a destination reached at the end of a long, uphill journey that has taken all

day. The poem speaks of a road that winds 'up-hill all the way' to its end; the hills signifying the difficulties of life, but also implying eventual arrival in heaven, via the metaphor DIVINE IS UP. This poem combines the metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and A LIFETIME IS A DAY, resulting in the blended image of an inn, which is both a travel destination and a place to spend the night. At this inn, the traveler may meet others who have gone before. The traveler is also told that there are beds for 'all who come', accessing the idea of the grave as a resting place and the metaphor DEATH IS REST.

From Dickinson's poem, Lakoff and Turner identify five basic-level metaphors for death that are common elsewhere in literature and thought. These are DEATH IS THE END OF LIFE'S JOURNEY, DEATH IS DEPARTURE, DEATH IS NIGHT, HUMAN DEATH IS THE DEATH OF A PLANT, and DEATH IS GOING TO A FINAL DESTINATION (1989: 8). Three of the five are related to the schema identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) as BEING ALIVE IS BEING LOCATED HERE, and also depend on conceptualizations of TIME AS SPACE. Lakoff and Turner propose specific derivations for two of these, reasoning that DEATH IS DEPARTURE is an inference from LIFE IS BEING PRESENT HERE, and DEATH IS GOING TO A FINAL DESTINATION from CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION. Considering that 'being alive' is a state, and that departure from a place necessarily requires a change of location, DEATH IS DEPARTURE and DEATH IS GOING TO A FINAL DESTINATION may be taken to emphasize two aspects of one complex concept; thus, referring to the two as separate entailments of one metaphor accounts for the difference in emphasis. The first of the five metaphors listed above, DEATH IS THE END OF LIFE'S JOURNEY, is not treated further by Lakoff and Turner, but is also related to the idea of departure, and reflects another common emphasis in much of the poetry they discuss.

As Lakoff and Turner point out, death is often personified, and some of these personifications incorporate travel imagery. They mention several characters in particular: Dickinson's coachman; Charon, who operates the ferry over the river Styx; and the 'eternal footman' described by T. S. Eliot (1989: 15). These are instances of conceptual blending similar to the Grim Reaper (discussed on p. 35 above), but with the addition of an input space structured by the DEATH IS DEPARTURE metaphor. These give the personified Death the attributes of someone who assists people on journeys. In the case of Tennyson's 'Charge of the Light Brigade', the inclusion of the metaphor DEATH IS GOING TO A FINAL DESTINATION in the blend results in a depiction of death as a hungry beast whose waiting jaws are the journey's end for the six hundred horsemen:

> Into the jaws of death,
> Into the mouth of hell
> Rode the six hundred. (cited in Lakoff & Turner 1989: 17)

Another complex image of death appears in lines by Blake:

> Ah Sun-flower! Weary of time,
> Who countest the steps of the Sun,
> Seeking after that sweet golden clime
> Where the traveller's journey is done. ('Ah! Sun-flower', in Lakoff & Turner 1989: 95)

Lakoff and Turner aptly analyze these lines as an instantiation of the metaphor A LIFETIME IS A DAY, and observe the metaphorical association of the west with death. In this poem, the sun is personified as a traveler whose journey ends in the west. The sunflower is also given agency: the movements of its face in tracking the sun's progress across the sky are interpreted as a desire to follow, and to arrive in the 'golden clime' of the afterlife; however, as a plant, the sunflower is also understood to be rooted in one place and therefore unable actually to follow.

2.2   Time and space

Metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY structure events in time as points on a path, which the experiencer visits sequentially. This structure depends on the English metaphorical system mapping SPACE onto TIME, which is grounded in a literal, metonymic correlation between these two domains; Kövecses summarizes this correlation as the necessity that 'motion takes place in time' (2005: 53). Thus, expressions like 'I slept for fifty miles' take the distance traveled to represent the time spent in traveling that distance. The idea behind distance measurement of *light-years* is a converse example of this correlation, using time to represent distance. As Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 139) point out, we are not for the most part able to conceptualize time 'on its own terms'; instead, we depend on metaphors. The ability to understand time in spatial terms is a basic component of many of the metaphorical mappings involving change through time, including any with a MOTION- or JOURNEY-related source domain; the generic-level PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS is one example mentioned by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 45). There seem to be two main spatial metaphors for time: Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 141-145) call them the Moving Time and Moving Observer metaphors; in an earlier description, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) label them TIME IS

A MOVING OBJECT and TIME IS STATIONARY AND WE MOVE THROUGH IT. Both schemata involve movement, and both sometimes include a landscape through which the motion occurs.

Although various systems of spatial time exist in other languages, the English-language version generally places the future in front of the observer and the past behind.[32] Kövecses (2005: 48) shows that these metaphors exist in Chinese and Hungarian as well. Thus, we can 'look forward' to Christmas, or 'get further' into the week. However, in Moving Time, time itself is an object with a front-back orientation, moving quickly by the stationary observer from the future into the past. This metaphor allows us to speak of an event in the future as 'approaching' or 'still to come', or an event that has happened as 'past' or 'behind us'. The Moving Time metaphor calls for an observer or observers at a single, fixed location, corresponding with a single present (1999: 142). In contrast, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, which depends on the Moving Observer metaphor, allows multiple travelers on different paths, without specifying a present moment.

The basic structure of the spatial time metaphors allows for a high degree of specialization; for instance, the manner of the movement of time may be specified: time may *fly*, or else the minutes may *creep by*. Shakespeare explores the different paces of time in *As You Like It:*

> Time travels in divers paces with divers persons. I'll tell you who Time ambles withal, who Time trots withal, who Time gallops withal. . . . (cited in Lakoff & Turner 1989: 76)

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 42), the Moving Time metaphor is the primary system for describing time in English, and the Moving Observer metaphor is secondary. In their later account, however, Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 140) regard the arrangement relative to the observer as 'the most basic'. Both metaphors have contributed to the grammar of English: the Moving Time metaphor gives us the basic term *past*, which has become so conventionalized as to describe a grammatical tense. The future time in English, lacking a grammatical tense, is often expressed in terms of a moving observer, with the phrase *going to*. Lakoff and Turner suggest a basis for both metaphors in everyday experience: 'sometimes we move toward objects and sometimes they move toward us' (1989: 45). They also suggest that our perception of the sun's movement provides a model upon which spatial time metaphors are partially based. Our experience

---

32   For an alternative arrangement, see the case of Aymara, in Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 141).

of time is strongly linked to our perception of the sun's position and predicted progress in the sky.

An apparent contradiction, pointed out to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 41) by Charles Fillmore (personal conversation), results from mixing the Moving Time and Moving Observer schemata, yielding sentences such as 'We're looking ahead to the following weeks'. Such a seemingly contradictory sentence is acceptable because both schemata contain an entity with front-back orientation. In the mixed schema, as a future event approaches the observer, the two face each other; when the event is past, its back is to the observer's back. Events can also be described relative to each other, as when we say that one day *follows the next*. This situation is coherent in a non-metaphorical travel context, as when two people pass each other, or when a vehicle with a front and back passes a person: we can describe two people as standing back-to-back, and we can walk forward until we are behind a car, without any perceived situational contradiction.

The existence of these two compatible schemata can still result in ambiguities, however. Kövecses (2005: 21-22) brings up the ambiguity of the words *forward* and *back* in sentences like 'Let's move the meeting forward / back'. Depending on how the listener is thinking about time, either word can be interpreted as meaning 'earlier' or 'later'. He cites an experiment by Boroditsky and Ramscar (2002) which put the role of embodiment in cases like this to the test: researchers told passengers on a train that a meeting originally scheduled for Wednesday had been 'moved forward' two days, then asked on which day the meeting would now take place. More respondents replied that the meeting would take place on Friday than on Monday, indicating that, while traveling, people may be more likely to use the Moving Observer perspective of time.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) discuss Moving Time and describe several special cases of the metaphor. In one case, time runs toward the future instead of into the past. Examples of this version include the expression *racing against time*, and a couplet from *Macbeth:*

    Come what come may
    Time and the hour runs through the roughest day (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 44)

In this version, the observer is still facing toward the future, but time is perceived as moving along with the observer along the same path, with demarcated events (e.g., days,

weeks) forming the landscape through which time and the observer move. In cases like this, Lakoff and Turner argue that 'two metaphoric paths' are involved: 'a purposive path and a time path', which share a direction, and whose starting and ending points are correlated. The two paths are thus superimposed upon each other in a way that would be analyzed by Fauconnier and Turner as a conceptual blend, very similar to their example of the Buddhist monk ascending a mountain (2002: 39-44). In this blend, a monk climbs a mountain one day and descends via the same path on the following day. By imagining the monk's ascent and descent simultaneously, one is able to visualize a scenario involving two monks, superimposed onto the same path, who meet at a specific time of day, at a specific point halfway up the mountain.

Based on this shared-path schema, several other of Lakoff and Turner's examples involve personification: time can be characterized as a runner against whom we race, trying to reach our goals before a deadline (1989: 46). This schema includes the possibility of being 'ahead of time', or of having made more progress toward our goal than we had anticipated. Time may be personified even more specifically as a pursuer who tries to catch us. In this version of the Moving Time schema, eventual capture is inevitable, and capture is equated with death. Examples of time as a pursuer include lines by Marvell and Aeschylus:

> But at my back I always hear
> Times wingèd chariot hurrying near. (Marvell, 'To His Coy Mistress', in Lakoff
> & Turner 1989: 46)

> Time overtakes all things alike. (Aeschylus, Eumenides, in Lakoff & Turner
> 1989: 46)

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) deal in depth with the metaphysics of time with consideration toward the grounding and logic of spatial time metaphors. Because our conceptualizations of the subject of time are almost completely dependent upon metaphorical representations, it is very difficult to discuss time 'literally'. This is evident even in nonlinguistic spheres of experience, in many of the ways we have of keeping track of time. Calendars show time arranged in blocks of space: square blocks representing days are linked together from left to right to form long, thin weeks, which are arranged from top to bottom in repeating cycles to form months. The arrangement of months into the pages of a book, representing a year, adds the third dimension of depth to the conceptualization.

71

Timelines also measure time as progress along a path, with earlier dates to the left and later ones to the right.

Linguistically, directional and spatial prepositions are used to express time grammatically: we arrive *at* a certain time, complete a task *in* a matter of minutes, or quit *before* a deadline, when time runs *out*. Lakoff and Johnson point out that the grammar of causality is related, as our understanding of causality is dependent on time: the spatial metaphor *to* in their example sentences 'I caused the vase to fall' and 'I warmed the milk to body temperature' (1999: 200-201) conceptualizes causation as forced movement from one location to another. In addition, they mention that remaining in a certain state over time can be conceptualized as 'moving in the same direction', and changing as 'turning to a new direction'. This is seen in their examples, 'He *went on* talking' and 'The milk *turned* sour' (1999: 207). Time and causality do not in themselves possess these spatial properties. Calling attention to our common conception that time has a linear structure which can be perceived, Lakoff and Johnson cite Augustine's question: 'Just when … is a time long?', and his answer, that the past, present, and future 'exist in some sort in the soul, but otherwise I do not see them' (1999: 157). They also cite Zeno's paradox of the arrow, which shows that time is not actually a series of sequential instants, as we measure it—it is continuous, as reflected in the common metaphorical representation of time as a river.[33]

Although we are conscious of time, it is unclear exactly what time is or does. Its passage affects concepts in both the source and target domains of time metaphors: it is an important component of all long- and short-term activities, including journeys, lives, careers, and relationships. However, as Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 138) observe, the passing of time cannot be perceived directly, as motion can. In order even to measure it, we must rely on regular iterated events, which can then be compared to other events. These events can and do happen independently of human observation and control, however, showing that time as a metaphysical entity does exist—but this metaphysical time is not inherently or literally locational. Motion is basically a literal concept, but descriptions of time depend largely on metaphor. Thus, Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 159) reason, when we say that time *runs* or *flows* or even *passes*, we are speaking

---

33 Although spatial terminology is not inherently metaphorical, Lakoff and Johnson's reference to the arrow paradox implies a contrast between the granularity of space and time. They do not cite Zeno's dichotomy paradox, which considers space as infinitely divisible. The geometric concept of a *point*, which is a zero-dimensional object, does not exist in actual space, as an 'instant' does not exist in actual time. This suggests that any metaphysical difference between spatial and temporal structure would not be one of infinite divisibility.

metaphorically, conceptualizing time as a moving object or substance. To describe the action of time, whatever it is, as *rapid* or *slow* is likewise to use a motion-based metaphor. This inescapable metaphorical backdrop of spatial time is part of the motivation for a culturally salient JOURNEY metaphor for life, providing the traveler with a direction, and the landscape with one of its dimensions. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 167) argue that independent of the human mind, the concept of *time* is not meaningful. The word *time*, they say, refers to a human concept which is largely metaphorical in nature. There are non-metaphorical aspects to it, such as its basis in the comparison of iterated events, but time as we understand it is a creation of the human mind, based on the experience of our bodies.

2.3 FORM IS MOTION

There is a tendency in the human conceptual system to view an object in terms of the movement that would be required to 'trace' its form or shape. One of the most obvious instances of this metaphorical tendency may be in the language used to describe roads and paths: although a visible path is itself something that remains stationary on the ground, we say that it 'leads' somewhere. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 142) discuss this metaphor, FORM IS MOTION, citing the images of mountains 'rising' to a certain height, roads 'dipping', trees 'tilting' away from the sea, and freeways 'encircling' a city. These objects are all stationary in reality; we interpret their shape or orientation in terms of movement. The FORM IS MOTION metaphor may be grounded partly in the experience of moving one's eyes along a shape until the whole is taken in: this would tie FORM IS MOTION to the metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING, also discussed by Lakoff and Turner. The examples they list can also be analyzed as instances of conceptual blending: perception of a tree as 'tilting' or 'leaning' involves mentally superimposing an image of the actual, non-perpendicular tree with one based on past experience of trees in general, according to which trees are usually upright. To describe a freeway as 'encircling' a city requires a similar imaginative act: one might, for instance, imagine the freeway being built gradually to form a circle, or a person driving in a circle around the freeway, and superimpose either of these actions upon the shape of the stationary structure.

A process similar to the FORM IS MOTION metaphor seems to be at work in many of the applications of the Japanese classifier *hon* discussed by Lakoff (1990: 104-109). As Lakoff explains, *hon's* most common use is to classify long, thin, rigid objects like sticks,

canes, or pencils, although it can also apply to flexible items like ropes or hair. Other applications of *hon* seem to be made by metonymic extension, for example, to a telephone call, traveling over long, thin wires, or to a win in a sword or staff fight, involving the use of a long thin object—the staff or sword. Finally, *hon* can be applied to base hits or home runs in baseball, in which the ball traces a long, curved trajectory. Lakoff brings up similar examples in English that illustrate the possible relationship between long thin things and trajectories: a lamp can *stand up*, or telephone line can *stretch across* a yard.

There is no actual movement involved in these situations, as Lakoff points out: it is different for a road to *run* into the woods than for a man to *run* into the woods (1990: 106). The English examples, however, illustrate what should be (according to early versions of CMT) a one-way mapping from the concrete FORM to the more abstract domain MOTION. The Japanese examples, conversely, seem to map from motion to form. This happens in English as well, and in the same context: the motion of a baseball traces an arc, which can be seen as a static two-dimensional curve, rather than as a trajectory of flight. Lakoff describes this two-way relationship between the TRAJECTORY schema and the LONG THIN OBJECT schema as an 'image schema transformation'; as discussed, a metonymic or metonymically-based metaphorical process seems to be at work in this 'transformation', in both directions. The apparent bi-directionality of this process supports the tenet of PMT that neither domain in a mapping is more basic than the other. In addition, the conceptualization of trajectories as shapes and vice versa resembles, once more, Fauconnier and Turner's (2002: 39-44) example of the Buddhist monk ascending and descending the mountain.[34]

Lakoff and Turner (1989: 156) argue that the metaphor FORM IS MOTION has further abstract applications: they reason that written words and sentences, as well as physical objects, have form and can therefore be interpreted as having movement. They cite expressions like 'This sentence runs on too long', 'This paragraph flows nicely', or 'That paragraph stops abruptly'. In their analysis, the dependence on SEEING IS TOUCHING is especially strong. However, another possible analysis takes into consideration the purpose of writing: to encode and transmit thoughts. As discussed below, thought processes are often portrayed as following a linear course: via metonymy, the consecutive ordering of words and sentences can also be seen as running parallel to the flow of the thoughts they

---

34 See p. 71, above.

represent. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 157) refer to this relationship between the form of a written work and its content as 'iconicity'.

2.4 Thinking is moving

As a kind of purposeful activity, mental processes can also be characterized as journeys. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 158) address this possibility in their discussion of the metaphor THE MIND IS A BODY MOVING IN SPACE. This metaphor, used in conjunction with THINKING IS SEEING, provides many possible motion-based source schemata for conceptualizing the various ways of thinking and reasoning. We can use our imagination to *find* or *look for* a solution, or a *way around* a problem. Logical arguments are often conceptualized in terms of *paths*, with the person making the argument acting as a *guide*; Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) treatment of this metaphor is given more attention in Section 2.4.1.

Sweetser (1990: 28-32) lists several historical puzzles which are resolved by her proposal of the existence of an extensive Mind as Body metaphorical system. She shows how this system has produced consistent semantic shifts in several Indo-European languages, resulting in conventional metaphors that express probability in terms of physical likeness, obeying in terms of hearing, and understanding in terms of physical holding, along with a uniform shift from words meaning 'path' to the equivalent of English 'however'. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 235) cite Sweetser's discovery, providing an outline for the metaphorical system she describes, and detailing several special cases. One of these is the metaphor THINKING IS MOVING, which they say consists of the following entailments:

THE MIND IS A BODY

THINKING IS MOVING

IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS

REASON IS A FORCE

RATIONAL THOUGHT IS MOTION THAT IS DIRECT, DELIBERATE, STEP-BY-STEP, AND IN ACCORD
WITH THE FORCE OF REASON

BEING UNABLE TO THINK IS BEING UNABLE TO MOVE

A LINE OF THOUGHT IS A PATH

THINKING ABOUT X IS MOVING IN THE AREA AROUND X

COMMUNICATION IS GUIDING

UNDERSTANDING IS FOLLOWING

RETHINKING IS GOING OVER THE PATH AGAIN (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 236)

Evidence of THINKING IS MOVING is seen in expressions describing the mind as *racing*, *wandering*, or *getting sidetracked*. Lakoff and Johnson also provide examples showing ideas as locations ('How did you *reach that conclusion*?'), inability to think as inability to move ('I'm *stuck*! I can't *go any farther along this line of reasoning*'), reason as a potentially overwhelming force (causing someone to be *led to* a conclusion), communicating as guiding or following a guide ('You're *going too fast* for me' or '*Where are you going* with this?'), and understanding as following ('I can't *follow* you').

Lakoff (1990) deals further with the conceptualization of discourse in spatial terms. In his discussion of *there*-constructions, he identifies several sets of conceptual metaphors he believes are at work in motivating selection between the deictics *here* and *there*. The most basic set is:

DISCOURSE SPACE IS PHYSICAL SPACE; DISCOURSE ELEMENTS ARE ENTITIES (Lakoff 1990: 517)

This cluster of mappings[35] conceptualizes a discourse as an area that we can navigate, get lost in, or explore. A second set of metaphors adds the dimension of future and past time to the combined schema:

IMMEDIATELY PAST DISCOURSE IS IN OUR PRESENCE AT A DISTANCE FROM US.
DISCOURSE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE IS MOVING TOWARD US. (Lakoff 1990: 517)

Both of these metaphors use the basic time orientation metaphor discussed in Section 2.2 above, with past and present forming a landscape around us. The first metaphor specifies that very recent discourse is still at a close, observable distance from us, in the same landscape: it may be indicated with distal deictics like *that* or *there*, as in the sentences 'That was inappropriate' or 'There was the main point'. The second metaphor presents discourse in the immediate future as approaching our location. These future events may be predicted or introduced with proximal deictics like *this* or *here*, as in the sentences 'Here comes another cliché' or 'This is what I'm really trying to say'.

---

35 Lakoff refers to them as a single metaphor, but as they focus on different entailments of a metaphorical schema, they are treated here as individual, related mappings which are submetaphors of that schema.

The two sets of metaphors discussed here, and thus any temporal use of distal and proximal deictics, are not limited in application to discourse, but also apply to events in general, as Lakoff explains very thoroughly in his case study. Thus, any type of event in the immediate past may be conceptualized similarly, as in sentences like 'That was a loud noise', or 'That was a good party'. Any type of event in the future may be predicted or introduced with a proximal deictic, as in the sentences 'Here comes a bang' or 'This is my favorite part of the film'.

2.4.1 Arguments are journeys

The source domain of JOURNEYS is featured several times in Lakoff and Johnson (1980), mainly in discussions of the metaphors LOVE IS A JOURNEY and ARGUMENTS ARE JOURNEYS. The first of these is presented briefly as an example of the coherence typical of conceptual metaphors (1980: 44). Lakoff and Johnson give several examples of metaphorical expressions of LOVE IS A JOURNEY, describing romantic relationships as being *stuck, off the track*, or *foundering*. From this, they conclude that relationships can be conceptualized in terms of many different kinds of journeys (e.g., car, train, boat), but all share a coherent structure.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discuss their second JOURNEY metaphor, ARGUMENTS ARE JOURNEYS, in considerably more detail. They point out what journeys and arguments seem to have in common: that they both 'have a beginning, proceed in a linear fashion, and make progress in stages toward that goal' (1980: 90), at which they should eventually arrive. They provide several examples of the ARGUMENTS ARE JOURNEYS metaphor, including *setting out* to prove a point, *getting to* the next point, and *proceeding step by step.* Other common entailments from this metaphor are that the ground covered in a journey maps to the content of the argument, that the argument defines a 'path' which can be 'strayed from' or 'followed', and that there may be a 'guide' who presents the argument or 'point[s] out things of interest along the way' (1980: 103). An additional entailment, that THE PATH OF AN ARGUMENT IS A SURFACE, results in examples like 'We've covered a lot of ground' and 'We're getting off the subject'.

Having explored some of the possible results of the ARGUMENTS ARE JOURNEYS metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson proceed to show some of the ways in which this metaphor can overlap with others, often resulting in mixes. One such compatible metaphor is

UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING; just as one sees sights or is guided on a journey, one may also gain knowledge or be guided in an argument. Another metaphor used for structuring the concept of arguments is ARGUMENTS ARE CONTAINERS. Lakoff and Johnson detail some of the cases in which the JOURNEY and CONTAINER schemata can be mixed, as well as some of the cases in which they are incompatible, and a mix would not normally occur.[36] For example, the details of an argument can be described in terms of ground that is covered or as content that is gained. The two metaphorical systems serve different purposes and thus highlight different aspects of arguments: the JOURNEY metaphor highlights the 'direction' or goals of an argument, while the CONTAINER metaphor highlights its 'core' or details. Some possible sentences which feature both aspects of arguments are provided by Lakoff and Johnson:

> 2.35   At this point our argument doesn't have much content.

> 2.36   If we keep going the way we're going, we'll fit all the facts in. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 92)

Lakoff and Johnson also give several examples of ill-formed overlaps that they would not expect to see in actual usage:

> 2.37   We can now follow the path of the core of the argument.

> 2.38   The content of the argument proceeds as follows.

> 2.39   The direction of his argument has no substance.

> 2.40   I am disturbed by the vacuous path of your argument. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 95)

They explain that these sentences are not acceptable because the purposes of the individual metaphors are incompatible with each other in these cases. Although arguments can have both 'direction' and 'contents', the two concepts cannot be directly applied to each other: directions cannot have contents, and vice versa. My intuition is in agreement with Lakoff and Johnson with regard to the ill-formedness of examples 2.37 and 2.39, and example 2.40 would probably not be produced by speakers who retain the 'empty' sense of *vacuous*; however, the phrase *vacuous path* does occur in actual usage, as the following examples from a Google search show:

---

36   See p. 286 for an example of similar overlap in the hymns.

> 2.41   The true beauty of a self-inquiring sentient universe is lost on those who elect to walk the intellectually vacuous path of comfortable paranoid fantasies.[37]

> 2.42   My previous letter, he says … followed a "desolate and vacuous path."

The apparent possibility of this phrase might be explained by considering that paths can be conceptualized as containers: a path might be said to be empty if no one is walking on it. Similar cases of unconventionally-described paths, taken from the historical corpus for this study, are discussed on p. 155. However, taken with the 158 Google results for the phrase *vacuous direction*, these examples might show that for some speakers the word may be losing its 'empty' sense, becoming restricted to a meaning like 'stupid' or 'mentally weak'.

While 2.38 may not be natural for all speakers, it does not seem completely surprising to my intuition. A Google search for the phrase "content of the * proceeds" (where * is a 'wild card' representing any single word) corroborates this judgment, yielding several examples of 'directed content'. These include sentences from lesson plans (2.43 and 2.44) and academic journals (2.45 and 2.46):

> 2.43   The content of the lesson proceeds in a step-by-step fashion.[38]

> 2.44   Beginning with Anglo-Saxon poetry, the content of the course proceeds through Middle English romance and Arthurian legend to an emphasis on Chaucer.[39]

> 2.45   The content of the book proceeds from this abstract level through development of a "descriptive model of tax delinquency" to a consideration of real-estate tax delinquency as an example of city abandonment.[40]

> 2.46   The narrative content of the poem proceeds in the quatrains …[41]

Whatever the individual speaker's rationale for accepting or rejecting an utterance, intuitive judgments of ill- or well-formedness apparently can vary widely; indeed, some speakers may find Lakoff and Johnson's 'possible' examples 2.35 and 2.36 implausible. Such a scenario shows the value of corpus data in getting a more accurate picture of standard

---

37   There are 1,720 Google results for this exact phrase, which is widely attributed to an Internet personality named 'Thunderf00t'. E.g., http://www.happyatheistforum.com/viewtopic.php?f=26&t=1588 (accessed 29/09/10).

38   http://www.ioncmaste.ca/homepage/resources/web_resources/CSA_Astro9/files/documents/LessonPlanContent.doc (accessed 26/06/08).

39   http://www.concentric.net/~acausey/assign09/catlg0001.pdf (accessed 29/09/10).

40   http://www.jstor.org/stable/214192 (accessed 29/09/10).

41   http://www.jstor.org/stable/3722389 (accessed 29/09/10).

usage. While examples like the above show that Lakoff and Johnson's judgments of mixed metaphors might not be universally held, it does not detract from their main point, which is that cohesive metaphorical schemata exist, and often complement each other. The internal structures of these schemata, as well as the links between sets of complementary structurings, are formed by metaphorical entailments.

2.5 Morality and spirituality

The spatial- and motion-related metaphors for thinking, acting, and living discussed above take on special connotations in the contexts of morality, spirituality, and religion. Lakoff and Johnson discuss the common conceptualization of moral restrictions as spatial boundaries: morally permissible behaviors or activities are cast as 'paths and areas where one can move freely' (1999: 304), while behavior that is not permissible is *off-limits*, and someone who engages in this 'deviant' behavior is said to be *straying from a path*, or else following a path that will lead to an undesirable location. Someone may also choose to act apart from social norms and *go* his or her own *way*. These concepts are dependent on the metaphors STATES ARE LOCATIONS (2.1, p. 56 above) and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (2.6, p. 56 above) as well as the derivative Causal Path Metaphor discussed above (p. 57).

Lakoff and Johnson also note the possibility of combining the 'Moral Bounds' image and the mapping FREEDOM OF ACTION IS THE ABSENCE OF IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION / LACK OF IMPEDIMENT TO MOVEMENT (2.9, p. 56 and 2.16, p. 57 above). With this combination, moral limits are unwanted boundaries that encroach on an individual's freedom, and personal rights are seen as 'right-of-ways', which should not be restricted (1999: 305).

Lakoff and Turner present several examples of works featuring the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor that show its impact on religion and spirituality. These include the 'narrow way' in Matthew 7:14 that leads to life after death, the journey of Christian in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the journey described in the twenty-third Psalm—on the paths of righteousness, past still waters, and through the valley of the shadow of death, ending at the house of the Lord. This theme is also addressed in detail by Jäkel (2002), who analyzes the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY as developed in the Old Testament. Jäkel's conclusions are discussed in Section 1 of Chapter VI; his analysis reveals a complex metaphor, LEADING A MORAL LIFE IS MAKING A JOURNEY ON GOD'S WAY, which features unique entailments: there is no

slot for intermediate destinations, only one straight path on which one should travel, and no direct correlation between the distance traveled and progress in life.

In general, the Judeo-Christian *path* image, analyzed in more depth in Chapter V, features a person living a life that follows the path set by God, which constrains the individual to righteous behavior. The method of travel is typically a steady *walk*, emphasizing the idea of constant, daily adherence to the principles of the path. Often, the destination of the path is heaven, which is seen as the actual location the person aspires to reach after death. Thus, the end point of a metaphorical journey is, in this model, an actual location. The spiritual quality of many of these citations reflects the aim of religion and spirituality in general to provide purpose or 'direction' in life: as Lakoff and Turner observe, the Judeo-Christian tradition also takes additional details for granted, such as God's role as a guide, and paths that are good or evil.

The spiritual context adds the dimension of verticality to the JOURNEY schema. The metaphors DIVINE IS UP and MORTAL IS DOWN (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 150-151) reflect the religious idea that God's realm transcends ours. This is reflected non-linguistically as well, for instance, in the upward pointing of a church steeple. Consequently, there is a conventional idea that a soul's destination in the afterlife can be up in heaven, in contrast with the body's last resting place, down in the grave. These metaphors are related to other non-religious schemata of verticality like FREEDOM IS UP and BEING CONTROLLED IS BEING KEPT DOWN (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 149), and are also partly dependent on the primary metaphor GOOD IS UP.

Lakoff and Johnson discuss the ideas that motivate an idea of heaven as a distant physical location, and conclude that an alternative, more 'embodied' system of spirituality is required, which 'begins to do justice to what people experience'. They argue that a common tradition of Christianity views humans as 'essentially disembodied Souls not of this world … inhabiting our bodies only during an earthly sojourn' with an ultimate purpose that is 'to "dwell with God" elsewhere, in heaven, not on earth'. According to this tradition, Lakoff and Johnson argue, 'Christians are commanded to act morally toward others and to be good stewards of the earth, because that is what God requires for their salvation, so that they may go to heaven and be united with God in the realm beyond this earthly world' (1999: 564).

The following chapters explore in more depth the points brought up in Section 2.5. Part of the goal of these chapters is to investigate the concepts of *heaven*, the *moral path*, and the *Christian walk* presented by writers of the Christian tradition in 17th- and 18th-century England, and to see how closely they fit the model described by Lakoff and Johnson. This dissertation proposes that, although an element of mind-body dualism is prominent in English hymns from 1650-1800, the image of the soul is commonly presented as being embodied in some very observable ways. In addition, it proposes that the beliefs of the various authors regarding heaven, its position 'elsewhere', and its status as exclusively the home of disembodied souls, are more complex than indicated by Lakoff and Johnson's two-tradition model.

2.6 Summary

The picture of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor that has emerged from the past three decades of developments in CMT is in some ways more complex, and in others simpler than Lakoff and Johnson's first description. The awareness of hierarchical levels of entailment has revealed extensive systematicity, and levels of metaphorical complexity that were not evident in early observations. It has disclosed the relationships between the special case LIFE IS A JOURNEY and other metaphors based on Event Structure, and helped to explain the extents to which these metaphors are compatible with each other. Increased attention to the mechanism of metonymy and its relation to metaphor has blurred the boundary lines between separate domains of experience and provided partial insight into the motivations behind conceptual metaphor. PMT has likewise revealed the grounding of complex metaphors in simple mappings, based on experiences common to all humans. The primary metaphors behind Event Structure, such as PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and STATES ARE LOCATIONS, are literal correlations between two aspects of human experience, that, taken together, enable us to understand and use complex metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY.

Lakoff et al. have continued to pay attention to this culturally important metaphor, even hinting at a warning, reminiscent of Reddy's 'evil magician', of the questionable influence of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor on our culture. Lakoff and Johnson make the point that 'there are cultures around the world in which this metaphor does not exist; in those cultures people just live their lives, and the very idea of being without direction or missing the boat, of being held back or getting bogged down in life, would make no sense'

(1999: 63). As mentioned in Section 2.5, they also question the basis of certain religious and philosophical traditions, proposing the adoption of an alternative system, specifically *panentheism*, which they believe would have a stronger basis in embodiment. However, if, as they argue, most metaphorical and complex concepts are grounded in embodied experience, it seems unlikely that any one culturally-embedded philosophical or religious tradition would be less grounded in embodied experience than another. Rather, as Kövecses argues, any tradition, having arisen from combined personal and cultural experience, would be expected to manifest its ideas of spirituality in terms of complex, specific-level metaphors, with a main meaning focus emphasizing specific primary metaphors. A religious tradition with such an extended history would more likely develop a highly complex system of metaphorical associations and unique blends of imagery. Such a system would be equally grounded in embodied experience, but, without detailed consideration of historical and cultural context, would be extremely difficult to reduce to its component primary metaphors.

This corpus study aims to provide a clearer view of the cultural and historical context from which its linguistic data originate. The concordance data used in this dissertation are situated culturally by means of historical and biographical discussions, comparison with literature of the same period, and a consideration of the texts as cohesive works as well as raw linguistic data. Cognitive semantics has contributed the linguistic tools that enable researchers to look behind culture and identify the commonly human, as well as the values that recognize the importance of situated evaluation of data—in both embodied and cultural terms. Accounts of metaphor in the past three decades are important to this study in their provision of an increasingly detailed image of the structure, limits, and grounding of LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor and its influence on Western culture, as well as on individual people.

III Contexts and Personalities

Full comprehension of a metaphor is usually dependent upon some contextual knowledge. In dealing with historical metaphors, a knowledge of the broad historical context is helpful in avoiding misreadings leading to anachronistic interpretations—what Lewis ([1960] 1990: 13) has called the 'dangerous sense' of words. The 150-year period of time selected for this study, from 1650 to 1800, is broad enough to encompass several generations and to allow us to realize the impact of the series of drastic changes that befell England, and thus English spiritual and poetic language, in a relatively small amount of time. This chapter will focus on the broad historical context of these corpus texts, situating the linguistic analysis of the following chapters within a cultural framework. It will provide a brief examination of the lives and philosophies of the primary authors of the corpus, and of the prevailing ideas of their time. It is hoped that this discussion will provide a better understanding of their social circles and readership, and of the culture within which they wrote. A discussion of contemporary attitudes toward the place of metaphor in philosophical and religious language will also clarify the intents and goals of the various hymn-writers in their use of metaphors.

1 The English Church

Following the bitter conflict of the Civil War (1642–1651), power was held for several years by Oliver Cromwell and, for a much shorter time, passed on to his son Richard. Subsequently, the Stuarts were restored to the throne, removed, and restored again, finally to be replaced by the Hanoverian dynasty. During this period, many other changes took place: the structure of society changed, due in part to innovations in manufacture and trade, as people began in large numbers to flee the country for cities like London, Bristol, Manchester, and Liverpool, whose sizes grew uncontrollably throughout this period. The nature of work and recreation changed, and new activities and ideas began to emerge. For the first time, the ability to travel was made available to a large section of the population, and travel became a part of work and leisure.

Events were turbulent in the sphere of religion as well: factions and divisions in the Anglican and dissenting churches went hand-in-hand with the unsettled politics of the period, and the discoveries of natural philosophy challenged traditional views of the world. It is beyond the bounds of this overview to dive too deeply into the complications of

religion and politics during and immediately after the Interregnum, but it is plain even from a brief glance that the wide assortment of new labels, sects, and parties, and the high degree of overlap and movement between them can cause confusion in assigning group responsibility for the works produced. Labels like *Puritan* and *Anglican*, *Dissenter*, *Catholic*, and *Nonconformist* are useful for understanding core differences between Christian communities identified as significant within a historical and literary context; however, these labels do not always represent completely cohesive sects with distinct borders. Of specific interest to this study for their production of religious poetry and hymns are the Independents, the Methodists, and the Evangelicals; other notable separatist groups included Presbyterians, Unitarians, Baptists, and Quakers. Figure 2 provides a graphical approximation of the timeline and relationships between these groups.

Figure 2: Church divisions (compiled primarily from Moorman 1953 & Cragg 1960—dates approximate)
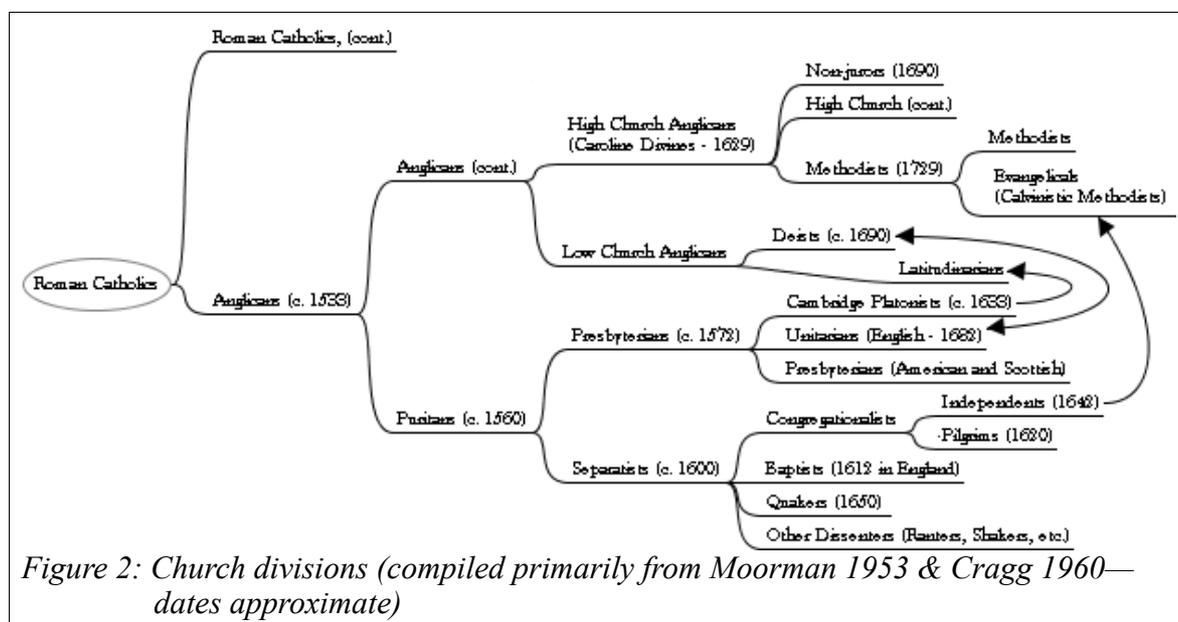
A new dynamic arose in the dealings between Anglicans and Dissenters in the years following the Civil War. The repeal of the Act of Uniformity in 1650 allowed dissenting sects of increasingly diverse beliefs to emerge and to grow in cultural influence. The group of Dissenters known as Independents began to achieve prominence in the 1640s, before the Civil War, and were highly involved in the conflict. Although tracing their roots to the Puritans of the 16th century, the Independents were largely distinct from the Puritans of their own era, who distrusted the Independents' 'enthusiasm'[42] and tended to prefer the order and centralization of Presbyterianism (Moorman 1953: 247). The Presbyterians

---

42   See footnote 44 below.

chose for the most part to remain within the establishment, though they disagreed with the organizational structure of the Church of England, and their acceptance of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination set them at odds with the prevailing Arminian theology of the Anglican church. Presbyterians, in fact, were prominently represented among those removed from Parliament in 1648 for their unwillingness to bring the deposed King Charles I to trial (Lockyer 2005: 356). Even among the Puritans there was disagreement over the ramifications of the new post-war situation. John Milton, himself a prominent Puritan poet, took a dim view of the new Presbyterian church structure, making the famous observation that 'New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large' ([1646?], collected in 1673: 69).

By the year 1660, those in power felt the need for a king and a united Church; the former was fulfilled in the restoration of King Charles II to the throne in 1660, and meetings were held between leading Puritans and the heads of the new Restoration church, to attempt to settle their differences. A primary topic of discussion which received more attention than in previous years was that of Puritan objections to the Anglican structure and teaching. Ultimately, however, little was changed from pre-revolution customs and, in 1662, all Presbyterian ministers, over 1,000 in total, were ejected from the Church (Moorman 1953: 252) by an Act of Uniformity. As of 1670, there were almost no Calvinists left in the Church of England (Cragg 1960: 66).

In the mid-17th century, within the established church, a group of theologians known as the Cambridge Platonists began to advocate an end to bitterness and an increased focus on the effects of one's faith, rather than on strict orthodoxy of belief. They valued the perceptible results of faith upon a person's behavior and actions above absolute conformity. These theologians were the teachers of those who were later called Latitudinarians, the influence of whose philosophy pervaded Anglican thought and writings for the next two centuries. After the confusion of the Restoration, 'Glorious' Revolution, and re-accession of a Stuart monarch, the Hanoverian dynasty offered something of a period of cultural recovery. As Church leaders began to encourage tolerance, Nonconformists and Anglicans were able to participate much more cooperatively in artistic and literary circles. A 'Happy Union' between Independents and Presbyterians, though short-lived, exhibits the attitude of reconciliation that began to take hold in this generation. The Latitudinarian outlook, building upon the philosophy of moderation espoused by the Cambridge Platonists, tended

to emphasize Reason over all as divine. Because of this, the Hanoverian church was in character 'rational rather than mystical' and 'ethical rather than dogmatic' (Cragg 1960:117). Even the English Presbyterian churches, once the stronghold of strict Puritan dogma, became mostly Unitarian, first in theology, then often in name, by the end of the 18th century.[43]

The increasingly prevalent cult of Reason in English religious thought found a natural enemy in *enthusiasm*, originally a term with strongly pejorative connotations for those of a 'reasonable' persuasion, indicating an irrational zeal for direct interaction with the supernatural.[44] On the other hand, Latitudinarianism seemed to many 'enthusiasts' to de-personalize Christianity and to impede spiritual growth. The Methodist movement was a reaction against this enforced restraint; Methodists valued personal inspiration, emotion, and biblical literalism, and wholeheartedly encouraged enthusiasm in daily religious pursuit. John Wesley, who co-founded the Methodist movement with his brother Charles, was the more visible figure—highly charismatic, and claiming God's endorsement of his leadership. Wesley's fervor and conviction of his personal inspiration provoked heated criticism from many quarters, and prompted the well-known quotation from the Anglican bishop Joseph Butler: 'Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing' (collected in Whitehead 1793: 119).

The Methodists' practicality and focus on subjective experience appealed to the lower classes, whom the Latitudinarians tended to ignore, preferring to cater to the higher social groups.[45] The already-existing social strata of class and finance had, in the 17th century, also largely encouraged religious solidarity within distinct social groups; the upper and lower classes were usually Anglican, while the artisans and traders of the middle class were often Dissenters (Moorman 1953: 253). The adoption of Methodism by sizable portions of the lower classes further cemented these strata and promoted the separate development of religious creeds. Methodism had begun as a movement within the Church of England, and John Wesley made his allegiance to the Church clearly known:

---

43 See Cragg (1960: 136).
44 The word *enthusiasm* has undergone significant semantic change. In a 16th- and 17th-century religious context, the OED (2nd ed. 1989, 'enthusiasm') gives the definition:
'1.a Possession by a god, supernatural inspiration, prophetic or poetic frenzy; an occasion or manifestation of these'. or, more critically, '2. Fancied inspiration; "a vain confidence of divine favour or communication" (J.)'.
45 This point is discussed in more detail by Cragg (1960: 151).

> Ye yourselves were at first called in the Church of England, and though ye
> have and will have a thousand temptations to leave it, and set up for
> yourselves, regard them not; be Church of England men still; do not cast away
> the peculiar glory which God hath put upon you and frustrate the design of
> Providence, the very end for which God hath raised you up. ([1789], collected
> in Wesley 1831: 544)

The gap between Anglican and Methodist communities and beliefs eventually became too wide, however, and the Methodist church made a formal split soon after Wesley's death.

The Evangelical revival emerged and developed within the Anglican church during the middle and late 18th century, around the same time as Methodism. The two are frequently confused: although similarly 'enthusiastic' in nature, and sharing a common motivation, Evangelicals tended toward Calvinism, whereas the later Methodists were nearly all Arminian in theology, believing in the conditionality of election and of eternal security. Leading figures of this movement included George Whitefield, the Countess of Huntingdon, and Augustus Toplady, author of the hymn 'Rock of Ages'. Whitefield began in the Methodist movement, as a friend and associate of John and Charles Wesley. Doctrinal differences, chiefly his Calvinism, caused him to break with their movement, though the phrase 'Calvinistic Methodism' is often associated with Evangelicalism. As ministers of the Church of England, Whitefield and the Wesleys were permitted to preach in the open air. This was a privilege that had not been available to earlier Calvinists like Watts, and accounts partly for the Evangelical movement's rapid growth in its beginning stages. Although a few, like Isaac Watts, maintained reservations about Whitefield's special calling (Fountain 1978: 93), many Dissenters, including Philip Doddridge, added their support to Whitefield's ministry and to the growing Evangelical movement.

Selina, the Countess of Huntingdon, became the leading figure in the Evangelical movement after Whitefield's death; because of her title, she claimed the right to appoint Evangelical chaplains for public services. When this claim was disallowed in 1779, she established her own registered Dissenting sect, 'the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion', through which she supported many leading Evangelical and Methodist ministers,[46] and established a college in Wales for their training. The clarity of the distinction between Evangelicalism and Methodism, as perceived by members of those groups, is evident in the

---

46 Her support came with the assumption of extreme authority, including the ability to appoint and dismiss
ministers at will. The minister John Berridge wrote to her: 'You threaten me, madam, like a pope, not
like a mother in Israel'; and 'my instructions … must come from the Lamb, not from the Lamb's wife,
though she is a tight woman'. See Moorman (1953: 306).

occasional verbal hostility directed toward Wesley by prominent Evangelicals. Foremost among these was the acrimonious Augustus Toplady, who in a tract referred to John Wesley as 'that hog in armour' (collected in Toplady 1794: 371), and wrote in 1772 of Wesley's 'satanic guilt … only equalled by the satanic shamelessness' (1794: 387).

2 *The Enlightened Metaphor*

These changes in the religious sphere took place within the wider social and philosophical context of the Enlightenment. The increasing emphasis placed on Reason and empiricism had its effect on language as well: Hobbes and Locke theorized about the nature of thought and speech, and Wilkins and other members of the Royal Society devoted much energy to the clarification and classification of language. A natural topic of discussion for these writers was the nature and proper use (if any) of metaphor and figurative language. Adamson (1999) has discussed the changing attitude toward metaphor before and during this period. During the Renaissance, as she observes (1999: 566-568), metaphor was a highly favored literary device, but its reputation fell during the 17th and 18th centuries, becoming 'the main source of the subversion of literal sense' (1999: 620). As she points out, the idea of metaphor as an imaginative act first began to gain acceptance during this period. As part of this transition, metaphors began to be judged on the basis of clarity of imagery, rather than beauty of language. This had its effect on Enlightenment philosophy and literature; Adamson describes the efforts of Addison and Johnson to limit the use of metaphor to its tamer forms, like personification or explicit simile.

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) expresses definite opinions on metaphors; he views them as deceptive and improper usage, which should be 'utterly excluded' from 'Demonstration, … Councell, and all rigorous search of Truth' (1651: 34). Like Reddy,[47] Hobbes fears that unwitting acceptance of metaphorical speech will often lead one to 'absurd conclusions':

> For though it be lawfull to say, (for example) in common speech, *the way goeth, or leadeth hither, or thither, The Proverb sayes this or that* (whereas wayes cannot go, nor Proverbs speak;) yet in reckoning, and seeking of truth, such speeches are not to be admitted. (1651: 20)

47

The metaphors Hobbes describes here are established and conventional, and not novel or literary usages: his first example is a direct instantiation of the FORM IS MOTION metaphor.[48] This seems to indicate an awareness of the pervasiveness of conceptual metaphors in language. Hobbes allows expressions such as these in 'common speech', but he warns against their use in scientific or technical discourse as inexact or misleading. He believes firmly that all metaphorical expressions are figurative developments of 'some reall ground, that may be expressed in proper words' (1651: 243). It is difficult to say with certainty, then, whether his often noticeable use of metaphors in his own technical writing is meant facetiously or is simply an automatic mode of expression:

> The Light of humane minds is Perspicuous Words, but by exact definitions first snuffed, and purged from ambiguity; *Reason* is the *pace;* Encrease of *Science,* the *way;* and the Benefit of man-kind, the *end.* And on the contrary, Metaphors, and senslesse and ambiguous words, are like *ignes fatui;* and reasoning upon them, is wandering amongst innumerable absurdities; and their end, contentention, and sedition, or contempt. (1651: 21-22)

The theme of *light* is used frequently in writing of the 17th and 18th centuries to represent Reason—a concept Hobbes valued. His acceptance of at least this particular metaphorical correlation is indicated by his reference to concepts like the 'light of natural reason' (e.g., 1651: 172) or 'the light of Nature' (e.g., 1651: 249).

As a group established to advance the cause of science, some members of the Royal Society worked toward a scientific understanding of language, and tried to develop it as a precision tool. Perhaps the most ambitious project of one of its founding members, John Wilkins (1614–1672), was his *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668), in which he attempted to create a universal, artificial language suitable for replacing Latin in scientific and technical use. This language was to be based on a system of categorization into genera and species, with the written form of each word clearly designating its place within that hierarchy. A natural obstacle to this effort was ambiguous language, of which one common cause, Wilkins observes, is metaphor. Expressing his frustration with words which may have 'thirty or forty, and some of them about a hundred several senses', Wilkins blames 'ornaments' like metaphor for this ambiguity and changeability:

---

48   See Section 2.3 of Chapter II.

> … though the varieties of Phrases in Language may seem to contribute to the elegance and ornament of Speech; yet, like other affected ornaments, they prejudice the native simplicity of it, and contribute to the disguising of it with false appearances. Besides that, like other things of fashion, they are very changeable, every generation producing new ones; witness the present Age, especially the late times, wherein this grand imposture of Phrases hath almost eaten out solid Knowledge in all professions (1668: 18).

Wilkins' disapproval seems to be directed mainly at ambiguous and idiomatic metaphorical uses, particularly those that are unique to English. Noticing that some metaphors are more difficult to translate than others, Wilkins allows that there may be others 'of a more general use' that would be 'well enough retained in

Figure 3: The word parent *in the Philosophical Language (from Wilkins 1668: 395)*

a Philosophical Language' (1668: 354). Thus, while his Philosophical Language contained a diacritic to signal metaphorical usage, he did not consider it to be necessary in all instances of metaphor, for example with the word 'Parent' (see Figure 3) in the Lord's Prayer, which he says is 'such a Metaphor as is generally received in other Languages' (1668: 396).
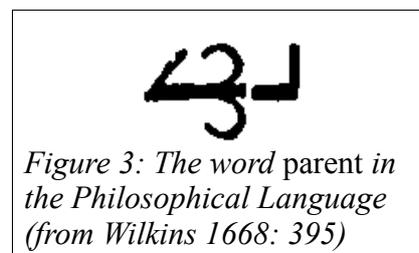
Samuel Parker (1640–1688), an acquaintance of Wilkins and an early (though apparently inactive)[49] member of the Royal Society, is much more harshly critical of metaphors than Hobbes or Wilkins. In his attack on Platonic philosophy (1666), he cites metaphors as one of the greatest sources of 'Obscurity and Ambiguity' in Plato's writing, calling them 'apparently the unfittest signes in the world to express the Train of any mans thoughts to another' (1666: 68). Parker condemns any use of metaphor, which use he says is 'nothing else but to sport and trifle with empty words':

> All those Theories in Philosophie which are expressed only in metaphorical Termes, are not real Truths, but the meer Products of Imagination, dress'd up (like Childrens babies) in a few spangled empty words, such as the Greeks call χενοφωνίαι empty Phraseologies that have not Notion & Thing enough to fill them out. (1666: 75-76)

Parker's description of metaphor as 'spangled' and 'empty', dressed up 'like Childrens babies', shows that he is apparently not above the use of simile and metaphor in his own writing, especially when he is engaging in satirical criticism. Hoyles (1971: 50) compares a passage from the Cambridge Platonist John Smith with a parody written by Parker.

---

49   See Parkin (2004).

Where Smith (1660: 5) speaks of 'filthy vice … climbing up … into the bed of reason' to 'defile it … till it hath sucked out the life and spirit' of our judgment, Parker has the Platonists' 'wanton & luxuriant fancies climbing up into the Bed of Reason', to 'defile it by unchast and illegitimate Embraces' and 'impregnate the mind with nothing but Ayerie and Subventaneous Phantasmes' (1660: 76). Of course, the effectiveness of Parker's parody depends on the vividness of the metaphors he uses to attack metaphorical speech—an irony Hoyles notes.

John Locke (1632–1704), who was also a member of the Royal Society, likewise encouraged the consistent, precise, and constructive use of the English language. The entire third book of his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) is devoted to explaining the use of words, which he regards as arbitrary signs expressing ideas in the mind, and not linked directly to things in the world (e.g., 1690: 197). The issue of categorization is a strong theme in the third book; Locke discusses attempts at dividing ideas into genera and species, raising questions about category membership that are similar to those explored by more recent scholars such as Rosch (e.g., 1975). Locke also discusses the problem of figurative language. Like Hobbes, he allows figurative expressions in their proper place, so to speak: in 'Discourses, where we seek rather Pleasure and Delight, than Information and Improvement'. Nonetheless, he makes quite clear his general impatience with these areas of discourse. He refers to rhetoric as 'the great Art of Deceit and Errour' (1690: 251), and advises parents not to let their children study poetry, which he views as a comparatively useless pursuit:

> I know not what reason a Father can have, to wish his son a Poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other Callings, and Business … For it is very seldom seen, that any one discovers Mines of Gold or Silver in *Parnassus*. 'Tis a pleasant Air, but a barren Soil … (1693: 207)

While admitting that figurative language is often 'a good way and useful in the explaining our thoughts to others', Locke cautions against 'letting the mind upon the suggestion of any new notion, run immediately after similes' (1706: 96). He suggests that it is precisely because of the convenience and versatility of metaphors that they often lead to misunderstanding. The ease and clarity with which metaphors can be comprehended, he believes, should not be mistaken for facility in true understanding:

> Well chosen Similies, Metaphors and Allegories, with Method and Order, do
> this the best of any thing, because being taken from Objects already known,
> and familiar to the Understanding, they are conceiv'd as fast as spoken; and the
> Correspondence being concluded, the thing they are brought to explain and
> elucidate is thought to be understood too. Thus Phansie passes for Knowledge,
> and what is prettily said is mistaken for solid. (1706: 97)

Locke does not completely bar the use of figurative language by 'philosophers and lovers of truth', seeing that such language is often useful in exploring unfamiliar ideas. Like Hobbes, Locke does not seem reluctant to use the salient metaphorical expressions of his period: he speaks of human reason, for example, as 'the Candle, that is set up in us', which 'shines bright enough for all our Purposes' (1690: 3). However, he encourages the use of metaphors only 'to illustrate Ideas that we already have, not to paint to us those which we yet have not' (1706: 98). On the whole, Locke's opinion of metaphor seems to be a slightly tempered version of Hobbes', and much more lenient than Parker's. He permits the use of figurative language in 'popular and ordinary Discourses, where unaccurate Thoughts allow unaccurate ways of Speaking', but prefers in general to avoid metaphorical expressions, which 'seldom terminate in precise Truth'. Taken literally, he says, metaphors 'always puzzle and mislead, rather than inlighten and instruct' (1697: 153).

Locke, in contrast to Hobbes, seems to recognize a difference between novel and established metaphors. As cited above, he observes that a metaphorical understanding is based on 'objects already known'. In his Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Locke also points out the tendency for words expressing abstract concepts to be grounded in 'common sensible Ideas'. Particularly in words with Latin etymologies, he notices

> … how those which are made use of, to stand for Actions and Notions quite
> removed from sense, *have their Original*, and are transferred *from obvious*
> *sensible Ideas; v. g.* to *Imagine, Apprehend, Comprehend, Adhere, Conceive,*
> *Instill, Disgust, Disturbance, Tranquillity*, &c. are all Words taken from the
> Operations of sensible Things, and applied to certain Modes of Thinking. … I
> doubt not, but if we could trace them to their Originals, we should find, in all
> Languages, the names, which stand for Things that fall not under our Senses, to
> have had their first rise from sensible *Ideas*. (1690: 185)

Although he does not here connect this dependence with the process of metaphor, Locke's observation of concrete grounding for abstract concepts has much in common with Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

A final opinion on metaphor comes from James Harris (1709–1780), a writer on philosophy and classical literature, librettist, and later in life, fellow of the Royal Society. Harris takes a much more descriptive stance than the others discussed here. Showing that many prepositions, originally denoting 'Relations of Place … could not be confined to this Office only', Harris describes how they have often 'by degrees extended themselves to Subjects incorporeal, and came to denote Relations, as well intellectual, as local'. He gives the word *above* in describing power relations as an example:

> Thus because in Place, he who is above, has commonly the advantage over him
> who is below, hence we transfer Over and Under to Dominion and Obedience;
> of a King we say, he ruled Over his People; of a common Soldier, he served
> Under such a General. (1751: 268)

Recognizing such processes as metaphorical in nature, Harris sees them as a basic process in human development, and not simply as ornaments of speech. He goes so far as to propose that 'there is indeed no Method to express new Ideas, but either this of Metaphor, or that of Coining new Words', a method he attributes primarily to 'Philosophers and wise Men' (1751: 269).

Harris believes that abstract words with prepositional prefixes, whether borrowed from Classical sources or native to English, retain something of their prepositional quality. As he explains:

> … Prepositions commonly transfuse something of their own Meaning into the
> Word, with which they are compounded; and this imparted Meaning in most
> instances will be found ultimately resolvable into some of the Relations of
> Place, as used either in its proper or metaphorical acceptation. (1751: 270)

To translate Harris' model of metaphorical extension into current terminology, mappings are based on correlated experiences, with a connection persisting between source and target nodes. This model has more in common with Primary Metaphor Theory and Deignan's degrees of metaphoricity[50] than it does with the contemporary opinions of Hobbes, Parker, and Locke, who viewed metaphors as a rhetorical device: entertaining at best—certainly not for use by Philosophers.

During the Enlightenment, the intersection of religion, politics, science, and philosophy was a hotly contested area. Hobbes' discussions of the role of the state in

---

50 See Sections 1.4 and 1.7 of Chapter II, respectively.

religion (e.g., in 1651) and Locke's treatise on the *Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures* (1695) were notable efforts of this period to apply the faculty of Reason to Christian beliefs; other influential figures in this area were John Tillotson and Samuel Clarke. As shown below, the linguistic and philosophical aims of those like Locke and the Royal Society played a large part in the efforts of 18th-century hymn writers, especially Isaac Watts, and had a lasting effect on the writing of those who followed.

3 Hymns in the Seventeenth Century

The documents produced by the various Christian sects during the 17th and 18th centuries in many ways reflect the instability of English society and politics of that time. The variety of specialized hymn-books produced for individual sects shows the degree of separation perceived between different branches of English Christianity. At the same time, efforts were made by many to encourage cooperation across these divisions. Figures like Locke sought to promote religious toleration, and Watts attempted to produce materials suitable for use by all Christians (with the possible exception of Roman Catholics). The current section will describe and contextualize some of the authors of hymns in this period; the life spans of several authors are compared graphically in Figure 4.

Relatively few collections of hymns and spiritual poetry seem to have been published between 1650 and 1660, as might be expected during such an unsettled time as this. However, several of the hymn writers after 1660 had been involved in the Civil War in one way or another, and the political events through which they lived provoked them to contribute writings to aid others struggling with attacks on their beliefs. After 1660, the production of hymns and devotional poetry by members of the Nonconformist community began steadily to increase.

John Milton (1608–1674) was probably the best-known Puritan writer of this period. Though not a hymn writer as such, he set a standard for quality and style by which later Dissenters judged and were judged. Milton's contributions to collective worship were largely in the form of metrical Psalms, though others of his poems have served as sources for hymn material. Milton's poetry has not been included in the corpus used in this study because its date of production was earlier than 1650, and because, aside from metrical Psalms, his poetry was not intended for collective worship.

One of the earliest collections of spiritual poetry in this period was written by a Royalist and devout Anglican, Henry Vaughan (1621-1695). His *Silex Scintillans: or Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations* was published in 1650. *Silex Scintillans* went through two editions, the second of which added 57 poems to the work's original 76. Vaughan's writing was inextricably connected with his political conscience, its spiritual language often reflecting more immediate, earthly desires. In some poems Vaughan's vision of the heavenly country is no doubt strengthened by a desire for an England at peace; in others may be observed recurring images of hiddenness—especially in regard to 'secret growth' in plants—some of which have been interpreted as indicative of 'buried royalism and Anglicanism waiting for their potentialities to be actualized' (Rudrum 2004).[51] These are images with which a Royalist readership would have identified. Vaughan fought in the Civil War on the side of the Royalists, and his poems show a desire for peace, strong leadership, and a safe home:[52]

> My Soul, there is a Countrie
>   Far beyond the stars,
> Where stands a winged Centrie
>   All skilfull in the wars,
> …
> If thou canst get but thither,
>   There growes the flowre of peace,
> The Rose that cannot wither,
>   Thy fortresse, and thy ease;
>
> Leave then thy foolish ranges;
>   For none can thee secure,
> But one, who never changes,
>   Thy God, thy life, thy Cure. (Vau65, 1650: 47)

This poem contains extensive reference to travel and travel-related imagery, making allegorical use of the conceptual metaphors HEAVEN IS A DESTINATION and LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The word *ranges* here is probably to be read as a metonymical representation of armies and war,[53] which he says will never provide true security. Vaughan blends novel literary metaphors with established religious imagery, for instance, working the 'flower of peace' into the landscape of heaven. Vaughan also used medical terminology in his poems (for instance *cure* in line 12 above), a literary side-effect, noted by Watson (1997: 76), of his

---

51 Dates of access for articles cited from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB) are provided in the Bibliography.
52 This point is observed by Watson (2002).
53 OED definition: 'A row, line, file or rank, of persons (spec. of hunters or fighting men)' (2nd ed. 1989, 'range, n.1').

'interest in medicine'. Interestingly, it is likely that Vaughan was practicing as an unlicensed physician from c. 1655 onward (Rudrum 2004).

A preeminent figure among Puritans immediately after the Restoration was Richard Baxter (1615–1691), an Anglican minister who was cast out of the Church in 1662. During the Civil War, Baxter acted as chaplain to a regiment of Parliamentarian troops; he was actually opposed to Cromwell and hoped to calm the fervor of those whose intent, he now perceived, was 'to subvert both Church and State' (1696b: 50). Baxter had previously turned down an invitation from Cromwell to be the chaplain of his original troop, and regretted having missed the opportunity to argue early for the importance of reason, when it might have had the greatest effect (Keeble 2008). After the Restoration, Baxter was ejected from his church in Kidderminster and prevented from returning, even as an unpaid lecturer. Afterward, although officially considered a nonconformist, he claimed none (or all) of the sects of Christianity, and fought against the exclusivity and divisiveness he perceived in the church, writing in 1681 that 'You could not (except a Catholick Christian) have trulier called me, than an Episcopal Presbyterian-Independent' (1681a: 110).

Baxter's poems are concise and clear, with a strong theme of world-weariness, setting the tone for later hymns by Watts and other Dissenters. Despite occasional 'infelicities and awkward moments' (Watson 1997: 117) resulting from Baxter's unpolished style, his poems have appealed to later hymn writers, and have in some cases been converted into hymns for congregational use. The best-known of these is 'Ye holy Angels bright':

> Ye holy angels bright,
>   Which stand before God's Throne,
> And dwell in glorious Light,
>   Praise ye the Lord each one.
>   You there so nigh
>   Are much more meet
>   Than we the feet,
>   For things so high. (1681b: 84)

The most noticeable imagery in this poem is that of LIGHT, symbolic of purity, truth, and knowledge, in which the angels exist and partake, dwelling in God's presence. In addition to this, there is a consistent theme of proximity and directionality supplied by words like *high* (employing the GOOD IS UP metaphor), *before*, and *nigh*. Humans, characterized as

'feet', are thus distanced from God, the head of man.[54] Conceptual metaphors using the PROXIMITY source domain (e.g., 'You there so nigh') appear frequently in hymns from the corpus, and are sometimes difficult to classify. Of the conceptual metaphors listed in George Lakoff's catalogue, the best fit for these is probably EMOTIONAL INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS (e.g., 'he is very near and dear to her', Lakoff 1994). Alternatively, Kövecses (2002) offers the mapping INVOLVEMENT IS CLOSENESS. In this case, a more appropriate target domain might be CARE or DEVOTION, with the source domain NEARNESS selected from the HTE.[55]

The Anglican minister John Mason (1646?–1694) was another significant hymn writer of the period. Mason personally encouraged the singing of hymns rather than psalms in church (Watson 2002: 107). Although his hymns were not in wide use within churches in general, his 1683 hymnal *Spiritual Songs* was popular as personal devotional material, and went through sixteen editions in its first eighty years (Harvey 2004). A second hymnal, *Penitential Cries* (1696), went through twenty editions (Escott 1962: 78). This hymnal was written mostly by Mason, but is thought to have been completed by his friend Thomas Shepherd. Though an Anglican, Mason was respected by Nonconformists, and his hymns were even sung in some Nonconformist churches. Some of his works, along with Baxter's, were included in the 1694 *Collection of Divine Hymns*, which Escott cites as possibly the 'first Independent hymn-book' (1962: 78). Influenced by the Cambridge Platonists, Mason's hymns are frequently concerned with Reason, and Enlightenment imagery is evident in lines like 'Praise him ye Saints in Light' (1699: 5), or, of the Scriptures, 'This Heaven-inspired Volume doth avow / What reason may embrace or must allow' (1699: 19). Mason's writing was also notable for its graphic use of novel metaphors and typologies; in one hymn, for instance, casting 'Huge Hosts of sins' as the Egyptian army drowned in the Red Sea of God's mercy; i.e., the blood of Christ (1699: 4). Mason's hymns were among the works studied later by Isaac Watts, inspiring him in his own hymn writing efforts.

---

54 See 1Cr 11:3. Here and elsewhere, Biblical sources are provided for reference, to distinguish original or English traditional imagery from Biblical imagery.

55 See Appendix B for an index of conceptual metaphors used in this thesis, structured by source domain according to the HTE.

Key:
Add: Joseph Addison	*Ken: Thomas Ken*	*Ste: Anne Steele*
Bax: Richard Baxter	*Mas: John Mason*	*Top: Augustus Toplady*
Bun: John Bunyan	*Mil: John Milton*	*Vau: Henry Vaughan*
Byr: John Byrom	*New: John Newton*	*Wat: Isaac Watts*
Cen: Cennick, John	*Oli: Thomas Olivers*	*WeJ: John Wesley*
Cow: William Cowper	*Pop: Alexander Pope*	*Wes: Charles Wesley*
Dod: Phillip Doddridge	*Sma: Christopher Smart*	

Figure 4: Lifespans of significant authors, 1650–1800
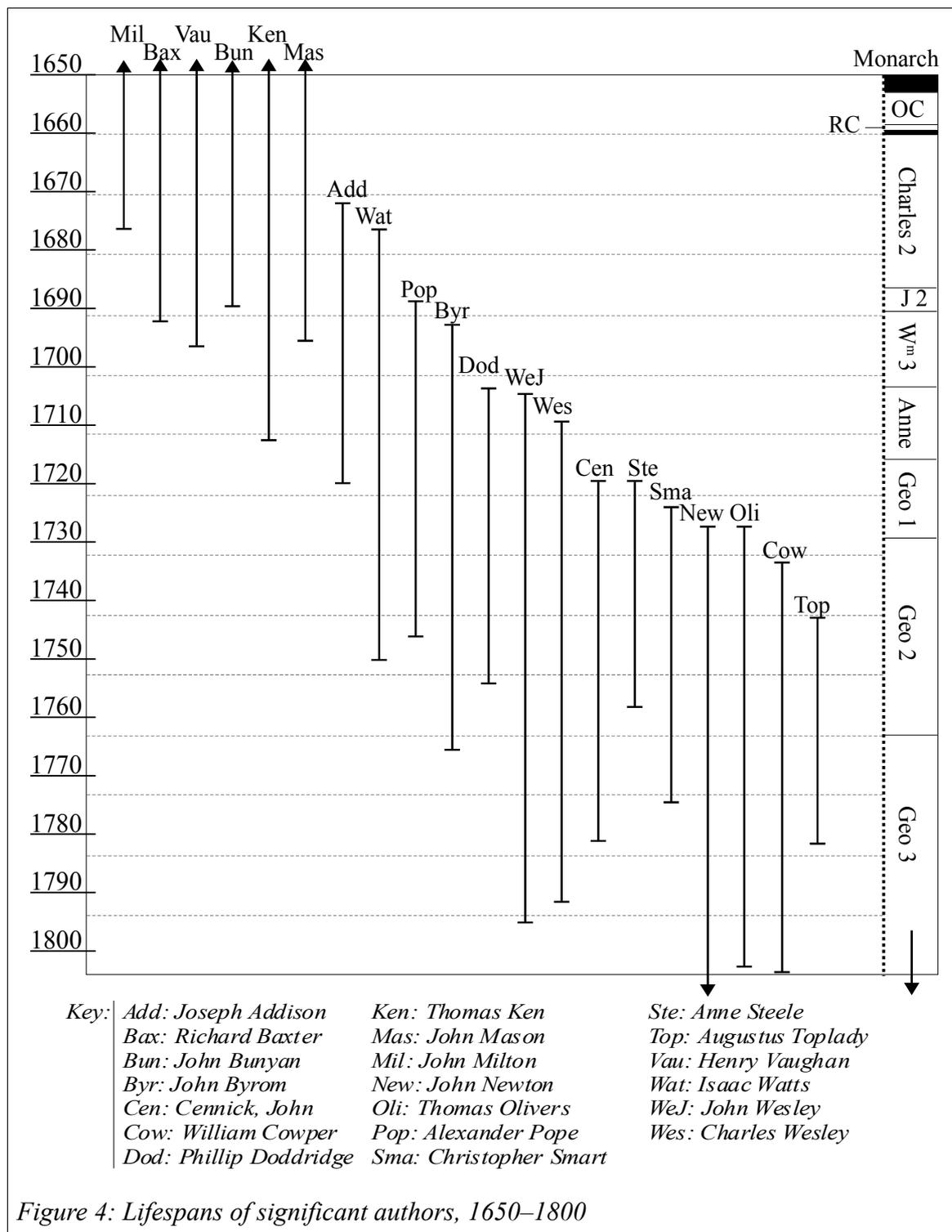
4 Isaac Watts

In the history of the English hymn, the Independent minister Isaac Watts (1674–1748), is arguably the most significant figure. Though in quantity his hymns are far surpassed by those of Charles Wesley,[56] Watts' hymns were among the first to be widely accepted as useful for public worship in churches. Prior to this, very few churches in England allowed the singing of anything other than paraphrases of the Psalms.[57] Before 1707, the Geneva Psalter 'dominated Reformed worship' (Northcott 1964: 23). At present, Watts is remembered mainly as a hymn writer, and many of his hymns are still in use; the most widely-known include 'Joy To The World', 'O God Our Help in Ages Past',[58] 'When I Survey the Wondrous Cross', 'I Sing the Mighty Power of God', and 'Alas and Did My Savior Bleed' (commonly known as 'At the Cross'). His most significant collection of hymns was *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, written in 1707. *Hymns* was sufficiently popular from the start to ensure publication in 1709 of an expanded edition, and sales of both Watts' hymnals continued to be extremely high from the late 18th century through the whole of the 19th (Rivers 2004). A book of children's hymns, *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children,* was published in 1715; additional works that contained hymns include *Sermons on Various Subjects* (1721), *Reliquiae Juveniles* (1734, but containing poems written in his youth) and the posthumously published *Remnants of Time*.

Watts acknowledged the usefulness of his hymns, and keenly felt the need for more relevant and better-written church music: however, he saw his own hymn writing attempts as a side-project. Many of Watts' hymns were included, uncredited and with frequent alterations, in John and Charles Wesley's *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (1780). This, in addition to their inclusion in the traditional American *Sacred Harp* hymnal, has further contributed to their continuing popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. Though Watts was a skilled poet, he believed his primary calling to be in theology and philosophy. Throughout his life, he remained a highly respected pastor and writer, with a devoted and wide readership, and he was recognized during his own lifetime more for his theological and philosophical writing than for his hymns.[59]

---

56 Wesley is said to have written 6500 hymns (Moorman 1953: 305), in comparison with Watts' c. 700 (Fountain 1978: 102).

57 See Escott (1962: 67, 99) and Hoyles (1971: 239).

58 One of Watts' Psalm paraphrases; the first line originally began 'Our God our help' … but was altered by Wesley in the Methodist hymnal (Watson 2002: 144).

59 This is noted by Hoyles (1971: 143-144).

Early in his career, from 1694 to 1696, Watts retreated to his father's house for a period of seclusion and self-directed study, concentrating on Church history and all available commentaries on the Psalms. It was during this period that Watts became interested in a serious reform of church-music, and wrote most of his hymns between 1694 and 1695 (Rivers 2004). He had devoted much of his time to studying the works of previous English hymn-writers, including John Mason, Richard Baxter, Joseph Stennett, Samuel Bury, and Joseph Boyse (Escott 1962: 31). Watts may have been particularly encouraged by the efforts of Mason, who, as an Anglican minister, encouraged toleration between Christian sects and promoted hymn singing in church.

It is clear from his comments in the preface to the second edition of his *Horæ Lyricæ* (1709a), a collection of poems, that he felt the current selection of church music was inadequate. He believed that people, for the most part, were not only satisfied with, but preferred inferior writing:

> They submit indeed to use [verse] in Divine Psalmody, but they love the dryest
> Translation of the Psalm best. They will venture to sing a dull Hymn or two at
> Church in Tunes of equal Dulness; but still they perswade themselves and their
> Children that the Beauties of Poetry are vain and dangerous. All that arises a
> Degree above Mr. Sternhold[60] is too airy for Worship, and hardly escapes the
> Sentence of unclean and abominable. (1709a: vi)

Watts is said to have published *Horæ* as a test of his poetical skill before releasing his simpler *Hymns* to the public (Rivers 2004). Escott (1962: 37) perceives in the title, however, Watts' assurance to his Puritan readership that the work represents only 'leisure-hour pursuits', lest he be thought 'too idle on the flowery banks of Parnassus'.

Escott (1962: 99) and Hoyles (1971: 207-208) both suggest that a major factor in Watts' unique role as a reformer in church music was his combined status as a Dissenter and a philosopher. Mainstream distaste for perceived 'enthusiasm'[61]—particularly some Dissenting sects' claims of direct divine inspiration—increased throughout the 18th century as the Anglican church grew more temperate. Escott argues that Watts, as a Dissenter (though a temperate one), was sufficiently individualistic to attempt what an Anglican would not. He points out that, historically, most hymn-writers were nonconformists; the Psalms were considered sufficient by most Anglican churches. Hoyles also discusses the

---

60 i.e., Sternhold & Hopkins (1565).
61 See footnote 44, p. 87 above.

absence of imposed mental and philosophical boundaries in Dissenting academies. Watts felt that his religious upbringing allowed his 'genius' to be unfettered, a sentiment he expressed in a poem from *Horæ Lyricæ* addressed to Queen Anne:

> … Here [i.e., in the Anglican church] a solemn Form
> Of ancient Words keeps the Devotion warm,
> And guides, but bounds our Wishes: There [i.e., Dissent] the Mind
> Feels its own Fire, and kindles unconfin'd,
> With bolder hopes … (1709a: 163)[62]

Watts' personal sense of individual freedom in comparison to his Anglican countrymen also comes through in his comparison (replete with TRAVEL and NAVIGATION imagery) of his countrymen to 'little Skiffs along the mortal Shores', who

> With humble Toyl in Order creep,
> Coasting in sight of one anothers Oars,
>   Nor venture thro' the boundless Deep.
>   Such low pretending Souls are they
> Who dwell inclos'd in solid Orbs of Skull;
>   Plodding along their sober way,
> The Snail o'ertakes them in their wildest Play,
> While the poor Labourers sweat to be correctly dull.
>
> Give me the Chariot whose diviner Wheels
>   Mark their own Rout, and unconfin'd
>   Bound o'er the everlasting Hills,
> And lose the Clouds below, and leave the stars behind.
>   Give me the Muse whose generous Force
>   Impatient of the reins
>   Pursues an unattempted Course,
>   Breaks all the Criticks Iron Chains,
> And bears to Paradise the raptur'd Mind. (1709a: 211-212)

Watts was raised an Independent, but his exposure and attraction to the ideas of the Cambridge Platonists led him to balance his Dissenting views with Latitudinarian sentiments. Hoyles (1971: 175) comments that Watts' embrace of 'inward witness' is the effect of his Dissenting heritage; it is the deeply personal revelatory aspect of religious experience that became to the Quakers the most important part of faith—the 'inner light'. It was this sort of thinking that the Latitudinarians in the Anglican church would decry as enthusiasm, and which Watts counterbalanced with his emphasis on 'rational defence'. Watts was deeply interested in, and wrote copiously on, the subjects of logic and reason.

---

62   This version of the poem first appears in the revised second edition of *Horæ Lyricæ*.

His aims were primarily utilitarian, suppressing literary and artistic innovation in favor of supplementation of the 'basics' of instructional and devotional material.

4.1 Watts and the Enlightenment

Watts' early educational background conditioned him to be a proponent of Enlightened thought and religious toleration. Between 1690 and 1694 he studied at an Independent academy run by Thomas Rowe, probably in London, which was notable for an extremely liberal learning atmosphere. Among the distinguishing traits of its curriculum were Cartesian physics, experimental science, and politics taught as a science.[63] This education exposed Watts to the most current thinking on science and philosophy, and gave him an enduring respect for the ideals of the Royal Society.

In his poetic as much as in his instructional writing, Watts shows several characteristics typical of the English Enlightenment: his language is concise (sometimes scientific), he appeals to classical sources and aesthetics, he resists absolutism, and he encourages religious toleration. His acceptance within his period can be seen in the wide audience his work attracted: Dr. David Jennings claimed in his sermon at Watts' funeral that 'there is no Man now living of whose Works so many have been dispersed, both at Home and Abroad, that are in such constant Use, and translated into such a Variety of Languages' (1749: 28). Another of Watts' readers, Dr. Samuel Johnson, credited Watts with teaching the Dissenting community 'that zeal and purity might be expressed by and enforced by polished diction' (1793: 161). He also enjoyed Watts' *Improvement of the Mind*, writing, 'Whoever has the care of instructing others, may be charged with deficiency in his duty if this Book is not recommended' (1793: 163). Johnson was less taken with Watts' devotional poetry, lamenting the 'paucity of its topics', which 'enforce[d] perpetual repetition', and wishing for more 'ornaments of figurative diction'; nevertheless, Johnson concludes that 'it is sufficient for Watts to have done better than others what no man has done well' (1793: 165).

Watts' dedication to Enlightenment ideals can be seen in his devotion to the protection of axiomatic truths; for him, these included both scientific and scriptural concepts. Watts expresses his concern, should 'obvious and known Truths … be bandy'd about in a Disputation'. He fears this will lead to 'a Habit of opposing all Evidence', or of

---

63 See Hoyles (1971: 166).

acquiring 'a Spirit of Contradiction*'*, which will 'insensibly injure the Mind, and tends greatly to an universal Scepticism' (1741: 187). He also encourages his readers to consult sacred writings 'only to find out the Sense, and understand the true Meaning of the Paragraph and Page', trusting that 'our Assent then is bound to follow when we are before satisfied that the Writing is Divine'. In the same passage, however, Watts shows that he also respects the individual's reasoning powers, reminding readers not to blindly trust 'the Composures of Men', because 'it is not their Reason but your own that is given to guide you…' (1741: 63). Having established the source of basic truths, Watts fully approves of seeking further knowledge by the consultation of alternative sources:

> Seize upon Truth where e're 'tis found,
>   Amongst your friends, amongst your foes,
> On Christian or on Heathen ground;
>   The Flower's divine where e're it grows:
>   Neglect the Prickles, and assume the rose. (1741: 72)

The degree of freedom he allowed reason to exercise in his own beliefs is seen in a passage by the young Watts from 1696 (collected in 1734: 189):

> My Reason should be used as a necessary Instrument to compare the several
> Parts of Revelation together, to discover their mutual Explication, as well as to
> judge whether they run counter to any Dictates of natural Light.

Watts describes the broad scope of the philosophical wanderings on which his reason took him:

> When I have given my thoughts a loose, and let them rove without
> confinement, sometimes I seem to have carried reason with me even to the
> camp of Socinus; but then St John gives my soul a twitch, and St Paul bears me
> back again … almost to the tents of John Calvin.

Also indicative of Watts' thorough adoption of the Enlightenment mindset is his persistent use of what Hoyles calls 'the catch-phrases of conscious enlightenment', indicating 'a well-considered and serious preoccupation' (1971: 160-162). Particularly significant is the ubiquitous presence of LIGHT imagery. Throughout his poetry one finds the metaphorical mapping WISDOM IS LIGHT: in contrasts between light and darkness, and night and day; references to the sun, candles, sparks, and lamps; and descriptive words like *glimm'ring, glitt'ring,* and *shining.*

Watts' paraphrases of the Psalms, his attempt to modernize the words of David, show his tendency to expand upon the existing imagery, often adding his own references to LIGHT imagery. For example, when the Psalmist writes 'in his law doth he meditate day and night', (KJV: Psa 1:2b), Watts expands: 'He loves t' employ the morning light / Amongst the statutes of the Lord' (1719: Psalm 1). When the Psalmist writes 'I laid me down and slept; I awaked; for the LORD sustained me' (KJV: Psa 3:5), Watts expands:

> But God sustained me all the night:
> Salvation doth to God belong;
> He raised my head to see the light,
> And make his praise my morning song. (1719: Psalm 3)

Where Psa 19:5-6 (KJV) has:

> [The sun][is] as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, [and] rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth [is] from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it: and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.

Watts writes:

> Behold, the morning sun
> Begins his glorious way;
> His beams through all the nations run,
> And life and light convey.
>
> But where the gospel comes
> It spreads diviner light;
> It calls dead sinners from their tombs,
> And gives the blind their sight. (1719: Psalm 19 Part 2)

Particularly in the second stanza of Psalm 19 above, one can see the license Watts has taken in paraphrasing the Psalms in Christian terminology. Favoring the image of the sun, Watts exchanges *heat* for *light*, and extends the metaphor to include the Gospel message.

Watts' philosophical interests led him to publish extensively on the topics of education and logic; another area of particular interest was the interaction between the soul and body, and the function of senses, passions, and appetites. Watts (1733) objects to Locke's denial of innate ideas, believing that humans are equipped with basic reasoning facilities or 'natural logic'. In opposition to the prevailing opinion of his day, Watts accepts the idea of a 'moral sense', which he believes to be the basis of the mind itself. In contrast, others like Berkeley (e.g., 1732: 167 ff.) and Bolingbroke (e.g., 1754: 86) saw this as a re-

surfacing of the 'inner light' brand of thinking, and a dangerous indicator of *enthusiasm*. To these, Watts' balance of reason and piety appeared difficult or impossible to maintain logically. Watts' sermon on 'The Inward Witness of Christianity' (1721) would have been particularly troubling; on the subject of evidence for Christianity, Watts says that the inward witness, a 'Testimony' of the Holy Spirit 'known by being felt and practiced, and not by mere Reasoning … has some Prerogatives above all the external Arguments' (1721: 57), yet it is 'a very rational Evidence also, and may be made out and justified to the strictest Reason'. Christianity, he says, 'is no vain, fanciful, and enthusiastic business' (1721: 62).

A key element of Watts' approach to religion and philosophy was his consideration of the lay person; this applied to both the conceptual and linguistic domains. In the contexts of prayer and worship, Watts' policy of simplicity meant eliminating all showiness, ostentation, and unnecessary drama: in a guide to prayer, Watts advises people to pray in language that is 'grave and decent, which is a Medium between Magnificence and Meanness. Let it be plain but not coarse. Let it be clean, but not at all lofty and glittering' (1715: 109). Speaking particularly to fellow Dissenters, whose often dramatic public prayer and worship provided a basis for the prevalent disdain for *enthusiasm*, he wrote, 'Let your Words be all pronounced distinct, and not made shorter by cutting off the last Syllable, nor longer, by the Additions of Hem's and O's, of long Breaths, affectd Groanings, and useless Sounds, of Coughing or Spitting' (1715: 120). Elsewhere, Watts shares his distaste for the paradoxical phrases of 'mystical divinity': statements about the 'deiform Fund of the Soul,' the 'superessential Life', or claims that 'God is an Abyss of Light, a Circle whose Centre is everywhere, and his Circumference nowhere'. He calls these 'great Swelling-words of Vanity, that Captivate silly People into Raptures, by the mere Sound without Sense' (1715: 107). Watts' desire for succinctness was a new quality for a Puritan to have; he is far removed from Milton, who criticized logicians for often lacking not clarity but 'copiousness of clarity'. This latter is a phrase which Watts would have thought nonsensical.[64]

Watts' eagerness to simplify religious and philosophical language was partly motivated by the linguistic guidelines of the Royal Society, one of whose founders, John Wilkins, Watts highly admired. Watts himself was indirectly linked to Wilkins, via his friend Charles Morton, the founder of the Newington Green Academy, and predecessor of

---

64 This point is observed by Hoyles (1971: 158).

Thomas Rowe (Escott 1962: 26-27). Escott (1962: 28) states that Rowe used Wilkins' books in tutorial, and one copy of Wilkins' *Ecclesiastes,* heavily annotated in Watts' hand, was found among Watts' manuscripts. Watts has quoted Wilkins in his works, and acknowledges Wilkins' influence at several points in his *Guide to Prayer* (1715). The principles Wilkins and the Royal Society applied to the language of natural philosophy are echoed in Watts' attitude toward learning: in his textbook, *The Improvement of the Mind*, Watts says that his first direction for youths is to 'learn betimes to distinguish between Words and Things'. Watts' stance on prescriptive semiotics is rigid: 'Do not content yourselves with meer Words and Names, lest your laboured Improvements only amass a heap of unintelligible Phrases, and you feed upon Husks instead of Kernels' (1741: 194).

One of the most visible applications of Watts' policy of intentional linguistic simplification is in his hymns: Watts says he has intentionally 'sunk' the metaphors 'to the Level of vulgar Capacities' (1707: viii). He undertook several revisions of his hymns over the course of his life, ruthlessly simplifying what he took to be too abstract or metaphorical, welcoming the constructive criticism of his friends and readers. In anticipation of the second edition of his hymns, published in 1709, Watts wrote a letter to his friend Samuel Say, asking him to 'point me those lines … which are offensive to the weak and pious, and shocking or disgustful to the polite, or obscure to the vulgar capacity, or, in short, whatever you think should be mended…' Watts solicited the corrections of several other friends, and, with 'a friend or two … spent a whole day in perusing and considering the remarks', resulting in the alteration of 'near half a hundred lines' ([1708], collected in Milner 1845: 228).

The new edition of *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* was a drastic change from the first, and many words and poetic phrases were completely replaced. Hoyles (1971: 232) observes that Watts, for his second edition, devoted most of his efforts 'to a systemati1c eradication of elements which could be frowned on as erotic or Metaphysical'. Watts is also concerned with expressions that are too familiar or not sufficiently respectful. Watts has perceived change in the language and tastes of polite society since his youth: 'Some Expressions that might appear decent threescore Years ago, would be highly improper, and offensive to the Ears of the present Age' (1715: 112). This change extends even to material inspired from biblical sources: up to Watts' time, the *Song of Solomon* had been an important source of material for devotional material including sermons, songs, and poetry

such as Watts' 'Absence of the Beloved'. However, this sort of 'erotic' writing is a major target of Watts' later revisions (Escott 1962: 54).

One example of this type of change is the removal of references to 'kissing': for instance, the phrase 'And taste the sweetness of those lips' (1707), changes to 'And hear the language of those lips' (1709b). Poetic paradoxes are removed: 'With ecstasy of fear' (1707) becomes 'With most tormenting fear' (1709b). Throughout, Watts tries to replace what is particular, graphic, or difficult to understand with what is general, basic, and unambiguously clear. He appeals less to the visual sense and more to generic concepts: phrases removed include 'our descending God', 'shows his gushing Blood', and the word *Monsters* (changed to *Rebels*).[65] References to the sky are systematically exchanged, often for *high*; Hoyles (1971: 248) suggests that this is not only to simplify the imagery, but to 'modernise theology in the light of Newtonian physics which had abolished the sky'.

Though Watts seems aware that he might have missed some instances of unnecessarily exalted language in his works, he hopes the 'friendly Readers' of his sermons 'will now and then indulge a Metaphor, to one who, from his youngest Years, has dealt a little in Sacred Poesy' (1721: viii). However, Watts' efforts to eliminate metaphor ultimately result in the replacement of novel literary metaphors with structurally consistent, basic and universal conceptual metaphors. At the very least, Watts makes thorough use of metaphors of LIGHT and DARKNESS, as discussed above. Watts' favorite metaphor appears in his advice to developing minds: 'it is not reasonable to put out our candle, and sit still in the dark, because we have not the light of sun-beams' (1753b: 338). The combination of Watts' all-pervading light imagery with other metaphorical domains leads to some interesting statements, as when Watts speaks of such '*Elevations* of Thought and Passion as *illuminate* all Things around us' (1741: 355, emph. added), or describes 'Meridian' light and fervor (1706: Preface).[66] Such combinations in Watts' writing are frequent and complex, sometimes leading to odd instances of travel imagery: for instance, Watts expresses his world-weariness in a poem entitled 'Breathing towards the Heavenly Country' (1706: 108). Finally, Watts could hardly resist including images from the newest innovations of Natural Philosophy, albeit more so in the early *Horæ Lyricæ* than in his hymns*:*

---

65 See Bishop's complete table of textual variants across all editions of Watts' *Hymns* for further examples of Watts' editing practices (Bishop 1962: xxxv-xliii).

66 A secondary theme in Watts' writing is international travel and commerce, and the peculiarities of distant places. This is understandable in his 18th-century context, and it is interesting to observe within the domain of hymns and religious writing, especially as the product of someone whose lifetime travels were limited almost exclusively to the journey from London to Southampton.

> Our Eyes the radiant Saint pursue
> Thro' liquid Telescopes of Tears. (1706: 133)

The impulse to 'sink' religion to a popular level continued after Watts: despite all his attempts to make his writing accessible, no less a theologian than John Wesley appears to have been afraid of Watts' intellectualism. Of Watts' treatise on the 'Glorified Humanity of Christ'[67] Wesley writes, 'It so confounded my intellects, and plunged me into such unprofitable reasonings, yea dangerous ones, that I would not have read it through for five hundred pounds' ([1788], collected in 1830: 415). Elsewhere, Wesley accuses Watts of engaging in controversies that 'neither I nor anyone else understands' ([1780], collected in 1872: 147). Further, Watts' attempts to tame the perceived eroticism of his poems notwithstanding, Wesley is embarrassed by his hymns. He asks, 'Are they not full of expressions which strongly savour of "knowing Christ after the flesh?" Yea, and in a more gross manner, than anything which was ever before published in the *English* tongue. What pity is it, that those coarse expressions should appear in many truly spiritual Hymns!' ([1789] collected in 1800: 118-119).

Hoyles (1971: 174) calls Watts 'an interesting link between the 17th century puritans and the 19th century utilitarians'. His unique perspective as both conservative and Enlightened progressive led him simultaneously to value and to distrust human reason, seeking a balance between the two attitudes. This balance was difficult for the next generation to maintain: those who followed found it uncomfortably complicated and all-encompassing, and Wesley's approach was to insist upon a 'medium between these extremes'. Wesley wrote, 'The good and great Dr Watts has wrote admirably well, both concerning reason and faith. But neither does anything he has written point out the medium between valuing it too little and too much' (collected in 1788: 86). There seems to have been a gradual shift over time from the tolerance and freedom Watts enjoyed to a social pressure for tact and uniformity of belief. The simplifications made to religion in Watts' time began a process that continued long afterwards, and the freedom which enabled Watts to pursue a simplified philosophy outside the confines of 18th century Anglicanism had its ironic outcome in the conforming urge of the following era. As tolerance became a means to its own end, those with views deemed too extreme were pressured to remain silent.[68]

---

67 A definite reference for this work could not be located, but Wesley is likely referring to all or part of Watts (1753a).
68 This is a point raised by Hoyles (1971: 177).

5 *Charles Wesley*

Charles Wesley (1707–1788), Methodism's other co-founder and John Wesley's brother, is central to the history of the English hymn. He participated actively in Methodist ministry for some time, even traveling with his brother to America in 1735. Afterwards, from 1739 to 1756, Wesley essentially lived on the road, touring England, Scotland, and Wales, preaching in the open air, and even writing hymns on horseback. Wesley is remembered primarily for his hymns, of which over 6500 are said to have been written. Some of his best-known include 'And can it be that I should gain?', 'Christ the Lord is risen today', 'Hark! The herald angels sing', and 'Come thou long expected Jesus'. Many of Wesley's hymns appeared in more than one publication, but the most enduring collection has been *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (1780).

It is difficult to determine which of the hymns published by the Wesley brothers were written by Charles, as the Wesleys are thought to have collaborated on many hymns, and did not generally attribute authorship in their publications. Only one hymn, 'How happy is the pilgrim's lot' (WeJ179), can be attributed with certainty to John Wesley;[69] the rest are thought to be primarily Charles' work. The Wesleys' beliefs were similar and their works deliberately complementary, especially in the early years of the Methodist movement. John, as the publisher of the *Collection of Hymns*, had additional creative control over which hymns were included or excluded, and how they were organized. The hymnal was intended to be taken as a whole, and as a tool rather than a work of art; credit for the contributions of the individual authors was neither sought nor given. It is thus justifiable, as well as more convenient, to treat the Wesleys' hymns as stemming from a single source, as they are presented, rather than to attempt to divide them and extract Charles Wesley's contributions.[70]

Charles Wesley's publications were almost completely limited to hymns, poetry, and some sermons, although his journals and letters were published after his death. Thus, his opinions on language, stylistics, and natural philosophy may only be inferred from his actual practice in writing. Marshall and Todd (1982: 64) characterize Wesley's hymns as

---

69 This hymn uses a common development of the JOURNEY schema, describing the speaker's life in terms of a pilgrimage or wandering in the wilderness, with a heavenly home awaiting him at the end of the journey. Butterworth And Brown (1906) credit Wesley's 1746 journey from Bristol to Newcastle with at least partly inspiring the hymn.

70 As discussed above, however, subsequent additions, John Wesley's translations, and works by authors with no direct link to the hymnal (like Watts and Addison) have been removed.

'theatrical and dramatic', in contrast with Watts' 'neat, cohesive presentation'. Wesley's hymns are often written in subjective terms, concentrating more on feeling than on objective observation. Marshall and Todd (1982: 88) also observe in Wesley's hymns an espousal of 'naturalistic expression', with 'broken speech patterns and accumulations of imagery', characteristic of contemporary novels. They point out that, where Watts' Independent congregations would often have been members of the middle class, and educated to some degree, Methodism was largely a movement of the lower classes. Much of Wesley's intended audience would be uneducated, and probably illiterate. For this reason, they claim, the hymns' imagery and arguments tend to function on a line-by-line basis, rather than being developed in more depth at the level of the stanza. Wesley's ability to write in personal, intensely physical language can be seen in one of his hymns:

> Come, O thou Traveller unknown,
> Whom still I hold, but cannot see;
> My company before is gone,
> And I am left alone with thee;
> With thee all night I mean to stay,
> And wrestle till the break of day. (Wes113, 1742: 115-118)

Though Wesley's prodigious contribution to hymnody offers a wide variety in subject matter and poetic style, this hymn is not atypical of his work.[71] Wesley's familiarity of address to God is in direct opposition to Watts' predilection for pomp and majesty, and was sometimes too casual for his brother John, who frequently removed verses in publication, or sometimes left out entire hymns (Watson 2002: 176). The travel imagery here is interesting: God is addressed as 'thou Traveller unknown', though the anonymous wrestler in the hymn's biblical basis, the account of Jacob wrestling with God,[72] is called simply 'a man'. The phrase 'my company before is gone' refers to the fact that Jacob had sent his household ahead of him to meet Esau, though Wesley may here be using the Biblical account metaphorically, mapping the imagery of SOLITUDE onto CONCENTRATION or an ABSENCE OF DISTRACTIONS, or else implying the death of one or more loved ones.

6 John Newton and William Cowper

The minister John Newton (1725–1807), previously involved in the slave trade, began to gain prominence in the Evangelical community in the later part of the 18th

---

71 This hymn is based on the account in Gen 32:24-29 of Jacob's wrestling match with God.
72 See Gen 32:24-29.

century. His colorful history is one which remains well-known, and is often told in connection with discussions of his most famous hymn, 'Amazing Grace'. After spending much of his early life at sea, Newton was forced by illness to return to England, after which he became involved in the Evangelical revival. Newton attempted several times to apply for orders in the Anglican church, but was unsuccessful, having been identified by those within the Church as a Methodist. Upon one instance of rejection, the Archbishop of York's secretary wrote, 'His Grace thinks it best for you to continue in that station which Providence has placed you in' (collected in Page 1896: 173). Newton considered applying to the Independents, Methodists, and Presbyterians, and at this time began work upon an autobiography, which was intended to function as a curriculum vitae.[73] However, in 1764, seven years after his first application to the Anglican church, he was granted deacon's orders and then priested, and made curate-in-charge of Olney, Buckinghamshire. Following his ordination, Newton went on frequent preaching tours around the country, and maintained his friendships with Dissenters and Methodists, though he did not exchange pulpits with non-Anglican ministers. He came to regret his involvement in the slave trade, and became a supporter of the abolition movement, writing a tract in 1787 called *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade,* and supporting William Wilberforce's campaign.

In 1767 the poet William Cowper (1731–1800) moved to Olney to be nearer to Newton, and in 1771 the two began collaboration upon a hymnbook, published as *Olney Hymns* (Newton 1779). Their collaboration was sometimes problematic, and Newton's assertive Calvinism and personal forcefulness are sometimes considered to have been a strain on Cowper, who suffered from emotional instability (Hindmarsh 2008). Newton writes in his preface to the *Olney Hymns* that his personal contribution to the project was originally meant to be much smaller, but that 'We had not proceeded far upon our proposed plan, before my dear friend was prevented, by a long and affecting indisposition, from affording me any farther assistance' (1779: vi). Despite Cowper's complicated life, the two remained friends until Cowper's death.

William Cowper's life was equally turbulent, if less adventurous than Newton's. Over its course, he struggled with major bouts of depression, spent time in a mental

---

73 Newton's autobiography, *An Authentic Narrative of some Remarkable and Interesting Particulars in the Life of —,* published in 1764, was a strong seller, and went through ten British and eight American editions before 1800.

hospital, and attempted suicide multiple times. His depression was exacerbated by a 'sometimes stormy' personal relationship with his cousin Theadora (Baird 2008), with whom he was in love. Cowper's mental state only worsened when he missed his only opportunity, provided by his uncle, to propose to Theadora. Despite attempts at a legal career, literature remained Cowper's primary interest, and in 1765, Cowper resigned his only official position in London and moved to Huntingdon. There he moved in with the family of Morley Unwin, an Anglican minister, whose wife Mary was an Evangelical. Cowper continued living with the Unwins after Morley's death in a riding accident, and moved with Mary and her daughter to Olney in 1767, after Mary decided that the family would benefit from proximity to John Newton. Newton soon persuaded Cowper to collaborate with him on a hymnal for the use of the inhabitants of Olney. However, Cowper was unable to complete his contribution, and most of the hymns contained in the work are by Newton. Nevertheless, several of Cowper's hymns have remained popular, including 'Praise for the Fountain Opened' (beginning 'There is a fountain fill'd with blood) and 'Light Shining out of Darkness' (beginning 'God moves in a mysterious way').

Later in life, during a period of particularly intense depression brought on by a failed engagement to Mrs. Unwin, Cowper had dream in which a voice told him '*Actum est de te, periisti'* ('Your case has been decided; you have perished'). This persuaded him, as Samuel Greatheed said at Cowper's funeral sermon, that, despite his continuing belief in the 'general truth' of the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional salvation, he was 'the only person that ever believed with the heart unto righteousness, and was notwithstanding excluded from salvation' (1800: 20). Cowper remained convinced of the truth of Christianity throughout his life, later writing several religious poems and tracts, including one 'upbraiding the English for their national apostasy' (Baird 2008), and continued in friendship with Newton, Mrs. Unwin, and other evangelicals. However, for the rest of his life, he never prayed or entered a church, and retained an unshakable certainty of his own eternal condemnation.

Cowper gradually recovered from his depression, and afterwards spent much time gardening and writing poetry. In 1782, Cowper's friend Lady Austen, to cheer him up, told Cowper a favorite story from her childhood, about a linen draper. This inspired Cowper to write what has been described as 'the most popular poem of the decade' (Baird 2008), *The Diverting History of John Gilpin*. Lady Austen moved to Olney, and in 1783, again

sensing Cowper's sadness, challenged him to write a poetic history of the sofa, thinking it might distract him from his melancholy. As Cowper wrote, he found the poem lengthening until it became a 6000 line autobiographical work, which was published to great acclaim under the title *The Task.*

In a letter to Newton in Sept. 1788, following a recent visit, Cowper writes a characterization of his own life, describing it in terms of a 'style of dispensations' by God, characterized by 'sudden, violent, unlooked-for change', which has contributed to his ultimate pessimism and resignation to a life of tragedy:

> When I have thought myself falling into the abyss, I have been caught up again; when I have thought myself on the threshold of a happy eternity, I have been thrust down to hell. The rough and the smooth of such a lot, taken together, should perhaps have taught me never to despair; but through an unhappy propensity in my nature to forebode the worst, they have, on the contrary, operated as an admonition to me never to hope. A firm persuasion that I can never durably enjoy a comfortable state of mind, but must be depressed in proportion as I have been elevated, withers my joys in the bud, and, in a manner, entombs them before they are born: for I have no expectation but of sad vicissitude, and ever believe that the last shock of all will be fatal. ([1788], collected in Southey 1836: 206-207)

The *Olney Hymns* reveal the character of their authors: Newton for his conviction and voice of personal experience, and Cowper for his devotion and humility. Newton, because of his colorful past, informality, and lack of 'clericalism', was able to relate easily to common 'sinners' (Moorman 1953: 307). Though Newton's self-education left him with the ability to appreciate, and probably to generate well-crafted language, he targeted his hymns toward the uneducated majority, usually trusting his ideas to the Evangelical idiom or 'jargon'. Davie (1993: 125) proposes that Newton's persona of a 'bluff and forthright sailorman' was sometimes purposely emphasized: 'Newton's simplicity and artlessness are partly authentic, partly assumed'. Davie cites the following stanza of one of Newton's hymns as an example of Newton's frequent but intentional 'mawkishness':

> Blest inhabitants of Zion,
> Wash'd in the Redeemer's blood!
> JESUS, whom their souls rely on,
> Makes them kings and priests to God. (1779: 76)

The rhyme of 'Zion' with 'rely on', Davie argues, is hardly tasteful, but elsewhere Newton shows a strong poetic ability that could not come 'by inspired accident' (Davie 1993: 124).

His strong organizational skills and deliberateness are also evident in his consistent use of a formulaic 'three-part sermon-hymn' structure; his hymns overwhelmingly consist of three sections, in the same order: first text, then explanation, then prayer (Marshall & Todd 1982: 93). Furthermore, many of his hymns have an identifiable simile structure: a first stanza, beginning 'As …', and introducing a metaphorical image, is followed by a 'so …' or 'thus …' stanza, relating the image to a spiritual concept. One such hymn is New262, beginning:

> As when the weary travell'r gains
> The height of some o'er-looking hill;

and continuing two stanzas later:

> Thus, when the christian pilgrim views
> By faith, his mansion in the skies;

Newton went to some pains to emphasize his supposed lack of taste and cultivation, however. Discussing the condition of a carpet, for instance, Newton wrote:

> Carpets and such fine things lie outside of my department. The path through
> this wilderness to the Kingdom of Glory is not spread with carpets; if it were,
> shoes of iron and brass would be unnecessary, and if they were not needful, the
> Lord would not have provided them.
> But he knows the way is rough, and provides accordingly. (1825: 35)

Elsewhere, Newton discusses his writing philosophy, maintaining the importance of writing hymns in simple language: 'Hymns, not Odes, if designed for public worship, and for the use of plain people' (1779: vii). He contrasts his supposed lack of skill with Watts' natural poetic ability, but arguably has in mind similar goals to those of Watts: to produce 'sunk' language that ordinary people could understand.

> The late Dr. Watts, many of whose hymns are admirable patterns in this species
> of writing, might, as a poet, have a right to say, That it cost him some labor to
> restrain his fire, and to accommodate himself to the capacities of common
> readers. But it would not become me to make such a declaration. It behoved
> me to do my best. But though I would not offend readers of taste by a wilful
> coarseness, and negligence, I do not write professedly for them. If the LORD
> whom I serve, has been pleased to favor me with that mediocrity of talent,
> which may qualify me for usefulness to the weak and the poor of his flock,
> without quite disgusting persons of superior discernment, I have reason to be
> satisfied. (1779: viii)

Newton does not seem to be opposed to figurative language, however: he appreciates the power of metaphor to clarify abstract concepts and 'lower' them to a human level of understanding. In one of his sermons, he observes that 'Heavenly truths are represented by images taken from earthly things', and that 'the metaphors of eyes and hands are used in the scriptures, to raise our thoughts to some due apprehension of [God's] infinite knowledge, his omnipresence, and his almighty power' (1798: 1-2).

Newton's bluntness and directness can sometimes seem harsh and stern, and often results in a strong sense of separation of the speaker from his audience:

> Stop, poor sinner! stop and think
>   Before you farther go!
> Will you sport upon the brink
>   Of everlasting woe?
> Once again I charge you, stop!
> For, unless you warning take,
> Ere you are aware, you drop
>   Into the burning lake! (1779: 309)

Newton here portrays a LOSS OF CONTROL in directional terms as FALLING, and combines a mapping of BEHAVIOR onto FORWARD MOTION ('farther go') with PUNISHMENT IS A HARMFUL LOCATION ('brink / Of everlasting woe') to produce a complex mapping, DESTRUCTIVE BEHAVIOR IS MOTION TOWARD A HARMFUL LOCATION. The word *sport* might be interpreted either in the OED's second, intransitive sense: 'To amuse or entertain oneself, esp. by outdoor exercise or activity; to play in a lively, energetic way' (draft rev., June 2010); or else in the sense of *disport*: 'to cheer, divert, amuse, or enjoy oneself; to occupy oneself pleasurably; now *esp.* to play wantonly, frolic, gambol, sport' (2nd ed. 1989, 'disport, v.'). Either sense conveys an image of irresponsible or unpredictable behavior on the edge of a dangerous precipice.

Cowper's poetic style provides a strong contrast to Newton's. Whereas Newton's sermon-style hymns are clearly written from a minister to his congregation, Cowper's are 'from the pew not the pulpit' (Davie 1993: 141). Like Wesley's and Newton's, Cowper's poetic style is plainer than the 'ceremonious' hymns of Isaac Watts. Watts notably wrote in one hymn: 'We are a Garden wall'd around' (1709b: 57). Despite Watts' attempts to appeal to the whole spectrum of English Christianity inclusive of 'doubting and heterodox Christians' (Rivers 2004), this hymn is generally taken as evidence that Watts still had in mind a restricted community of the faithful. Davie (1993: 149) contrasts Watts' 'walled

garden' with Cowper's use of the word *we* in his hymns, apparently indicating his solidarity with 'the dispersed company of hesitant and demoralized worshippers'. Cowper's best-known hymn, 'Praise for the Fountain Opened', displays his ability, by writing subjectively, to be inclusive of other 'demoralized worshippers'; the conviction in the hymns is a result of Cowper's very personal expression of guilt, gratitude, and relief.

> There is a fountain filled with blood
> Drawn from EMMANUEL's veins;
> And sinners, plunged beneath that flood,
> Loose all their guilty stains.
>
> The dying thief rejoiced to see
> That fountain in his day;
> And there have I, as vile as he,
> Washed all my sins away.
> …
> E'er since, by faith, I saw the stream
> Thy flowing wounds supply:
> Redeeming love has been my theme,
> And shall be till I die. (Newton 1779: 98)

Watts himself had no qualms about including blood and gore in his hymns,[74] as in the lines:

> His dying Crimson, like a Robe
> Spreads o'er his Body on the Tree (1707: 189)

However, Davie (1993: 43) has argued that Watts' treatment is more reverent, or more ceremonious, turning Christ's blood into a 'robe', while Cowper's is more blunt and plain. His subjectiveness and high valuation of 'feeling' is one trait he has in common, as an Evangelical, with the 'enthusiastic' Methodists. In his hymns, Cowper blushes, has his heart broken, and confesses his personal weakness. His chief fear is that he will one day 'find I cannot feel' (Newton 1779: 81).

7 Summary

Though Methodism and Evangelicalism both began as movements within the Church of England, the Countess of Huntingdon (in 1781) and the Methodists (after John Wesley's death in 1791) followed the traditions of earlier Dissenters when they made their formal breaks with the Anglican church. These movements had become increasingly large; the

---

74 See Davie (1993: 39-47) for a discussion on Watts' 'atrocity hymns'.

Methodists numbered 70,000 in the British Isles and 60,000 in America (Moorman 1953: 315). Their increase in size did not necessarily signal their universal popularity: Evangelicals who remained in the Church of England were often objects of public derision, and Evangelical clergy were in some places prevented from holding ministerial positions. Evangelicals did not altogether lose their prestige, however: a group called the Clapham Sect formed after 1792 to devote themselves to philanthropic work. The most famous member of this sect was William Wilberforce, the Member of Parliament and leader of the anti-slavery movement.

The wide variety in ideas and philosophies held by the hymn writers across this period affects all aspects of their self-expression. Each new movement generated its unique idiom, borrowing from those of earlier and contemporary religious movements, as well as from those developed within the emerging disciplines of natural and political science. Their language itself, used for speaking, writing, or singing, often reflects their views on how to relate to each other and to God, and on how they are meant to use the gifts of life and knowledge. This segment of the present study has focused on contextualizing English hymnology, within and outwith the Anglican church, by drawing attention to the development of the Church of England and the Dissenting sects, as well as by outlining the lives of several individuals whose work will be more closely analyzed in the following sections. The LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, which occurs throughout the corpus, manifests itself uniquely in the hymns of each author as a result of the constant variation in ideas and philosophies throughout the period in question. It is hoped that comparison of the differences and similarities in the unique realizations of this culturally important conceptual metaphor, viewed within the context provided here, will provide insight into its semantic development and its implications for both historical and present cultures.

IV Methodology

The aim of the current study, as stated in Chapter I (p. 8), is is to examine the semantic progress of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in the historical context of English hymns from 1650-1800, and to explore the effects of metaphorical extension on the semantic development of this category. This diachronic survey of travel metaphors has required a representative corpus of hymns, and a system for identifying, organizing, and analyzing the conceptual travel-related imagery found within that corpus. As discussed in Chapter II, and like Allan (2008), this analysis is not primarily quantitative, but rather explorative, providing a survey of one lexical category within a specific collection of works. The work consisted of three stages; a preliminary study of hymns collected in Watson (2002), a primary phase of selection and analysis of complete hymns, and a secondary phase of corpus-based token analyses. This chapter will discuss the selection of an appropriate historical period for study, the selection of works to form the corpus from which the database materials were drawn, the compilation of a database from the corpus materials, and the analysis of materials from this corpus.

This project continues from a pilot study conducted as an MLitt thesis for the University of Glasgow,[75] which focused on spiritual language from the Old English period. The field of Old English literature was selected for that project because of the prominence of travel imagery in Old English writing, as exemplified in poetic works such as *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*. Instances of travel metaphor were collected from several elegiac poems, as well as from the sermons and other texts of the Vercelli book. In Old English writing, the relation of journeying to spiritual life is presented much more typologically than is common in the present day. While descriptions of life as a journey retain a figurative quality in the literature, heaven and hell are often presented as physical destinations that can be reached by means of an actual journey from (middle-) earth. This difference in treatment of 'figurative' material became evident in the pilot study, and prompted questions about 'literalness' that have become central to the inquiry of the current study.

---

75 Shaver (2006).

1 Preliminary Study

An important part of the current study was the initial identification and collection of travel metaphors drawn from English hymns from a specific historical period. The years between 1650 and 1800 were identified as a period of political and spiritual upheaval and displacement in England and America, during which both geographical and socioeconomic mobility for a greater portion of the population increased. It was proposed that these unique conditions would have had a noticeable effect on the usage of TRAVEL imagery in spiritual writing within this period. This factor, in combination with the availability of large amounts of written material, led to the selection of the period for this study. This study was limited mostly to self-identified collections of hymns, and excluded works considered to fall under the broader category of spiritual or devotional poetry. For the purposes of this study, a hymn is defined generally as a poem, capable of being set to music, and intended for use in corporate worship.[76] This intended corporate application, in contrast with poetry intended for private reflection, encourages authors to express universally acceptable (within the community) sentiments in universally apprehensible metaphorical imagery.

A procedure for collecting and analyzing travel metaphors was established via a preliminary study, carried out upon a smaller selection of texts representative of the entire period in question, provided in Watson's *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns* (2002). Watson's anthology was chosen for the preliminary study because it presents and examines selections from the broad history of English hymnody, including hymns from all major branches of the Church in England, and provides detailed sections on Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley, two very prominent hymn writers of the period. Watson's survey provides a diverse sampling of exemplary texts within each category, and, as a result, was ideal for this stage of the research. His commentary and choice of hymns also aided in identifying authors and traditions whose works should be represented in the corpus. The preliminary study consulted chapters 2-7 of Watson's *Anthology,* dealing with the years 1600–1800. Watson's parallel work *The English Hymn* (1997), which provides further commentary and biographical detail, was also consulted for historical context.

---

76 The OED 's primary definition of a *hymn* is 'a song of praise to God; any composition in praise of God which is adapted to be chanted or sung; spec. a metrical composition adapted to be sung in a religious service; sometimes distinguished from *psalm* or *anthem*, as not being part of the text of the Bible' (2nd ed., 1989).

IV. Methodology: 1. Preliminary Study

The initial collection of metaphor tokens involved reading through all the hymns in the aforementioned section of Watson's *Anthology* and evaluating any word or phrase that, in its context, was identified as fitting within the JOURNEY schema described in Chapter II, Section 2. This included any word signifying the acts of *travel*, *arrival*, or *departure*; points of origin or destination; or the concept of a *path*, *route*, or *trajectory*. Upward or downward travel were included, considering the schema representing HEAVEN and GOOD as UP, and EARTH, HELL, and DEATH as DOWN. When occurring in a context implying travel, images pertaining to spatial relations (including directional prepositions),[77] distance, difficulty or obstacles to travel, or 'scenery' (i.e., mountains, valleys, rivers, and landmarks) were also noted. These tokens were collected regardless of any obvious metaphorical interpretation and later categorized by the process outlined in Section 3 of this chapter.

In this study, the terms *travel* and *journey* are often taken to relate to the same concept. It is acknowledged that the concept of a *journey* represents a specific type of TRAVEL, and that the LIFE (or LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY) IS A JOURNEY metaphor is dependent on a generic-level mapping from EVENTS to ACTIONS. However, the concept of a *journey* is a very salient element of the more generic category of TRAVEL in English as well as in other languages. This specific-level concept has a well-recognized schematic structure (discussed at length in Chapter II), and frequently acts as a focal point of TRAVEL-related conceptual metaphors. Metaphors with source domain concepts like WANDERING or DIRECTIONLESS TRAVEL do not conform to the typical JOURNEY schema, which calls for a starting point, path, and destination.[78] Nevertheless, these metaphors tend to be presented as exceptional, and described in contrast to the typical JOURNEY schema. It is for this reason that earlier explorations of cognitive metaphor tended to focus on specific-level mappings like LOVE IS A JOURNEY, rather than on mappings dealing with more generic forms of travel (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff & Turner 1989). Thus, especially in a context that deals frequently with the topics of life and death, TRAVEL-related terminology is usually interpreted using knowledge of the more specific JOURNEY schema, and, while the terms are not completely interchangeable, they access much of the same imagery.

---

77 See Deignan (2005: 50) on the importance of including 'function' or 'grammar' words in metaphorical analyses.
78 These have been discussed, for example, by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 61); see p. 53.

2 The Corpus of Hymns

2.1 Corpus selection and compilation

The main portion of the study built upon the data compiled during the preliminary stage, but obtained its data from an electronic corpus of hymns. It was necessary, in order to build a sufficiently large corpus within the constraints of this study, to select textual sources that had already been digitized and were therefore electronically searchable. In many cases, the print bases for these works were not the earliest editions; however, the need for electronically searchable text, and the usefulness of normalized spellings in these searches, favored selection of later editions. For the most part, these contained all of the hymns included in the original editions, with some expansions by the authors added in subsequent editions. Once identified, source texts were downloaded and saved in plaintext format to be added to the corpus.

The collected hymns of Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley were the earliest additions to the corpus. Wesley and Watts were prolific and highly influential hymn writers, as discussed in the previous chapter, and Watson devotes a full chapter to each in his *Anthology*. The Christian Classics Ethereal Library (CCEL)[79] provides electronic texts of Christian literature in the public domain, and was the source for the electronic version of the expanded edition of Watts' *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1709b). An electronic version of Wesley's *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People Called Methodists* ([1780] 1889) is made freely available on the Internet by the United Methodist Church's General Board of Global Ministries.[80] Another early addition to the corpus was the *Olney Hymns* ([1779] 1979) by John Newton and William Cowper, also hosted by CCEL. Originally published by Newton, hymns by Newton and Cowper can be found in most modern hymnals, and feature prominently in American hymnals of the shape-note tradition. Newton assures his readers that, of the works included in *The Olney Hymns,* 'the whole number were composed by two persons only' (1779: v). The four authors Watts, Wesley, Newton, and Cowper were identified as especially important to the history of the English hymn, each having written several hymns that are still regularly in use, and were selected for further in-depth literary analysis, as outlined in Section 4 of this chapter, and presented in detail in Chapter V, Section 7.

---

79 URL: http://www.ccel.org/ (last accessed 29/09/10).
80 URL: http://gbgm-umc.org/ (last accessed 29/09/10).

Following inclusion of the works of Watts, Wesley, Newton, and Cowper, the corpus was further expanded to include hymns and poetry from a wider variety of authors mentioned in Watson (2002) and other sources consulted. Searchable, digitized editions of some of these authors' hymn books and spiritual poetry were found on the Early English Books Online (EEBO) website,[81] including Richard Baxter's *Monthly Preparations for the Holy Communion* (1696a), *Poetical Fragments: Heart-Imployment With God and It Self* (1681b), and its supplement, *Additions to the Poetical Fragments of Rich. Baxter* (1683); the Scottish minister William Geddes' *The Saints Recreation* (1683), Benjamin Keach's *Spiritual Melody* (1691), John Mason's *Spiritual Songs* ([1683] 1699) and *Penitential Cries* (1696), and Henry Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans* (1650). Two of these additional works, Baxter's *Poetical Fragments* and Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans*, are not collections of hymns in the strictest sense, but contain several poems that have been adopted into general use as hymns, and are named by Watson (1997, 2002) as influential to later hymn writers like Isaac Watts.

Although not discussed in depth in this dissertation, an edition of Smart's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England* (1765),[82] was found at a late stage of research, and included in the edited corpus used for the token-based analyses in Chapter V. Smart, though admired as a poet, was uninfluential as a hymn-writer during his lifetime: his Hymns 'went entirely unnoticed' at their time of publication (Williamson 2004). Another source added for cultural and historical significance was a set of selections from the first published hymnal of the Shakers, *Millennial Praises* (Wells 1813).[83] *The Sacred Harp* hymnal (McGraw et al. [1844] 1991),[84] the main text used in the shape note singing tradition, was originally added at this stage, but was removed before the second phase of corpus-driven analysis. Though both hymnals were first published after 1800, the Shaker hymnal includes earlier hymns written by founders of the movement, and such a valuable source from a dissenting sect could not be overlooked. The *Sacred Harp* belongs to an ongoing conservative cultural tradition in the American South and Appalachian region, and its texts are derivative of British hymnals, containing many earlier hymns.

---

81 URL: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/ (last accessed 29/09/10).
82 Provided by Literature Online: http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk/ (last accessed 29/09/10).
83 Provided online by Pass The Word Services: http://www.passtheword.org/ (last accessed 29/09/10).
84 Provided online by the Sacred Harp Musical Heritage Association: http://fasola.org/ (last accessed 29/09/10).

One notable collection of hymns from the period, that of Philip Doddridge, was omitted from the corpus. Originally written for the use of his own congregation, several of Doddridge's hymns became popular after their publication and are still in use today. However, his *Hymns, Founded on Various Texts in the Holy Scriptures* (Doddridge & Orton 1755) has been less popular as a volume than those by Watts, Wesley, Newton, and Cowper, and was difficult to find in a usable plaintext electronic edition. At a late stage in the production of this dissertation, an electronic copy ([1755] 1825) digitized by the New York Public Library was found. However, the automatic text-recognition process used at the time of digitization resulted in consistently unreliable text, and insufficient time remained to produce a manually corrected version.[85]

2.2 Corpus preparation and statistics

Once collected, the corpus texts were prepared for use with concordancing software. This preparation consisted mainly of the deletion of portions of text that fell outside the scope of this study. Most of these sections were translations and biblical paraphrases, which were removed from the works of Watts, Newton, and Cowper. Wesley's redactions of other writers and translations of German hymns were also removed.[86] Biblical translations and texts written after 1800 were removed from the Sacred Harp hymnal. Line numbering was applied to the hymnals used for the first phase of analysis, and assisted in cataloging and importing data from those hymns. This numbering was removed for the second phase.

The results of preliminary token searches conducted for the second phase of analysis were of varying usability, as many of the electronic text files included high amounts of extraneous data, including blank spaces for formatting, line numbering (including that added during initial corpus preparation), and authors' notes. In addition, some of the individual hymnals included in previous searches were deemed impractical for use in this segment of the research, as they contained works from multiple authors and from various periods of history, as well as duplicates of several hymns already represented in the corpus

---

85 The machine transcription resulted in lines like 'S by thy Mcred Spirit'9 breath / lundle a holy flame', and 'COVEREIGN of heaven, thine empire spre'; and unusable stanzas like the following:
UR BOuls with reverence. Lor
Strack by the splendours of
Hombled while in thy house we. si
Beneath thy great tremendous hant
86 Although original authors were uncredited in the earliest editions of the Wesleys' hymnal, many later editions (e.g., 1876: 297-306) include indices with citations.

within their original collections. Exclusion of hymnals containing the works of more than one or two authors, like the *Sacred Harp* hymnal, greatly simplified the process of organizing and tabulating the search results, as, for most of the hymns, the name of the token's text file of origin was sufficient to identify the hymn's author and approximate year of composition. Copies of the hymnals selected for inclusion were placed in a single directory, and filtered to remove extraneous data and produce 'clean' versions for comparison. Data like metrical markings (e.g., 'C.M.' or '8,6,8,6') and spaces used for formatting, lineation, and pagination were deleted, as well as most non-poetry portions of the texts, such as prefaces and forewords, authors' notes, and introductory or explanatory data added by the various repositories from which the electronic files were originally accessed. The original files were kept in a separate directory for further use and for citation.

Other than Mason's *Penitential Cries* (containing some hymns by his friend Thomas Shepherd), Wesleys' *Collection of Hymns,* and Newton and Cowper's *Olney Hymns*, only one collection of hymns representing the work of multiple authors was included: the electronic selections from the 1813 Shaker hymnal *Millennial Praises* were left in the corpus because, although individual authors are not credited in the hymnal, the work can be seen as the creative outpourings of a highly cohesive religious collective, whose distinctive tradition and history contributed to the production of a thematically unified body of hymns. As a result of this cohesiveness as a sect, the Shaker hymnal does not contain redactions of hymns written outside of their community, so duplication within the corpus was not an issue. The hymns can be loosely dated to the period between 'Mother' Ann Lee's emigration with her disciples to New York in 1774 and the collection's date of publication 1813, a 39-year span comparable in duration with many individual authors' periods of productivity.

The format of *Olney Hymns* indicates for each hymn whether the author was John Newton or William Cowper, and since only these two authors contributed, separation of their works for this study was fairly simple. As for the Wesleys' *Collection of Hymns*, as previously discussed, works by authors other than John and Charles Wesley were removed from the electronic copies used for this corpus, so aside from John Wesley's one hymn (WeJ179), all hymns included in this hymnal were written by Charles Wesley.

The comparison corpus in its final form consists of 13 text files, representing collections of hymns and poetry by 13 authors, as well as the Shaker hymnal *Millennial Praises* (Wells 1813), containing work by an undetermined number of anonymous authors. The total corpus contains above 400,000 word tokens,[87] and approximately 18,913 individual word types. The statistics for the individual text files are provided in Table 3; the largest work was the Wesleys' hymnal, consisting of 695 hymns after the removal of 331 translations and redactions by other authors.

Collection	Date	Poems	Words
VauSilex	1650	109	19,511
BaxPoetFrag	1681	132	26,052
BaxAddFrag	1683	7	12,675
GedRecreation	1683	8	12,340
KeaSpiritual	1691	222	56,169
MasPenitential	1693	32	7,434
BaxCommunion	1696	12	3,305
MasSpiritual	1699	33	21,607
WatHymnsSpiritual	1709	366	53,471
SmaHymns	1765	35	10,193
NewOlney	1779	348	60,817
WesCollection*	1780	695	117,980
Shaker**	1813	33	13,781
Total:		2,032	415,335

* Orig. 1026 hymns, minus 331 translations and redactions.
** Excerpted from original 140 hymns.

Table 3: Corpus statistics

The 100 most frequent lexical items in the corpus were collected using concordancing software, with the aid of a lemma list modified to include some archaic word forms,[88] and a stop list to filter function words from the results.[89] Explicit TRAVEL imagery is not strongly represented in the results (presented in Table 4), many of which refer to basic doctrinal ideas of Christianity: God, Christ, the soul, love, grace, sin, etc. Lexemes which might be identified as metaphorical in this context include HEART (representing EMOTIONS or MIND),[90] SEE (for UNDERSTANDING), COME (usually as a spiritual invocation or an invitation to mental attendance) and GIVE (of non-physical actions like attention or praise) among others. The lexeme LIGHT is also very common, ranking 51 with 543 occurrences, and providing an important metaphorical source domain for the hymns. These results are consistent with a list of keywords generated by a log likelihood comparison[91] with the Early Modern portion (Section E3) of the Helsinki Corpus of

---

87   The concordance software reports 421,704 tokens, but the word counts for each file, reported by word processing software, total 415,335, as shown in Table 3.

88   The original lemma list is available at http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html (last accessed 29/09/10).

89   The original stop list is available at http://www.d.umn.edu/~tpederse/Group01/WordNet/wordnet-stoplist.html (last accessed 29/09/10). The list used for this thesis was modified to include archaic forms of auxiliaries, possessives, etc. The words *art* and *hymn* were removed: *art* was used mostly as the auxiliary, and *hymn* mostly in titles.

90   This usage might also be interpreted as metonymic or even literal, given that earlier OED citations exist for the idea of the heart as the 'seat of feeling, understanding, thought' than for the purely physiological sense (2nd ed., 1989 'heart, n.').

91   See Rayson and Garside (2000) for a detailed discussion of this method of calculating keyness.

English Texts, containing text from 1640–1710. Like the most frequent lexemes, the most key items in this comparison deal with spiritual topics. The first 50 entries in this keyword list are provided in Table 5.

Of the frequent lexemes presented in Table 4, the only ones definitely signifying movement are COME, ranking 12 in frequency with 1270 occurrences, GO, ranking 43 with 594, and TAKE and BRING, ranking 47 and 48 with 577 and 566 occurrences respectively. These are also present in the keyword list in Table 5. Two more verbs possibly implying movement are FIND, ranking 68 with 472 occurrences, and BEAR, ranking 89 with 360. References to heaven, earth, and hell, which commonly figure in the landscape of the JOURNEY schema, are frequent: variations on the lexeme HEAVEN rank 13 with 1108 occurrences, EARTH ranks 28 with 785, WORLD ranks 58 with 517, and HELL ranks 77 with 414. Additionally, the two adverbs *there* and *here*, sometimes referring to the states of earthly life or existence, and the location of the soul after death, occur 820 and 639 times, ranking 26 and 38, respectively. Other words often denoting common elements of the PATH or JOURNEY schemata are the nouns WAY (ranking 59 with 515), PLACE (82 with 373), and possibly END (97 with 349). However, none of these words is exclusive to the subject of travel—the closest to being so (in the language of the corpus, though not in modern speech) is WAY, discussed further in Chapter V, Section 1. Finally, the adverb *away* can also denote directionality, and, though it does not necessarily involve movement, its earliest senses involve 'motion in place, removal', and its continuing basis in movement at least hypothetical is reflected in its etymological origin: a phrase meaning 'on (his, one's) way' (OED 2nd ed. 1989, 'away, adv.').

The insights of CMT have shown that prepositions—many, if not all, having their basis in physical and spatial concepts—demonstrate the continued tendency for abstract language and thought to be structured in physical terms. Spatial prepositions are one of the main loci at which source and target domain terms are linked linguistically. One of countless examples of this in the corpus is the phrase 'come to life': the motion word *come* is linked with the mental concept LIFE by the highly conventionalized spatial preposition *to*.

Several travel-related prepositions are among the most frequent function words of the corpus, but were filtered from the word list results along with other prepositions. *To* and *from* (with 9861 and 2355 occurrences) are commonly used with origins and destinations

in a TRAVEL schema. Another preposition, *above,* is also very frequent in the corpus (683 occurrences), and is often used, both in its prepositional and adverbial functions, to denote heaven. These prepositions vary widely in their use, and could not be treated in depth due to limited space and time, but are considered in the discussions of hymns in Chapter V, Section 7.

The 100 most frequent word sequences, or n-grams, of three words or more are provided in Table 6. Again, relatively few of these sequences reflect obvious TRAVEL imagery, and many deal with expressly religious or spiritual subjects. As might be expected from the previous results, references to heaven and earth are quite common, with 45 occurrences for each of the sequences *heaven (/heav'n) and earth,* and *earth and heaven (/heav'n).* There are 32 occurrences of the sequence *all the earth,* 34 of *the world and,* and 26 each of *earth and hell,* and *death and hell.* The phrases *from, to,* and *in the skies* appear to be significant, having 25, 25, and 23 occurrences, respectively. The

Rank	Lemma	Freq	Rank	Lemma	Freq
1	god	3030	51	light	543
2	love	2629	52	call	539
3	lord	2582	53	eye	531
4	soul	1903	54	mercy	527
5	let	1593	55	father	525
6	grace	1591	56	holy	525
7	sin	1541	57	hear	519
8	heart	1485	58	world	517
9	make	1459	59	way	515
10	see	1307	60	saint	513
11	now	1296	61	son	508
12	come	1270	62	face	506
13	heaven	1108	63	high	502
14	christ	1089	64	work	502
15	give	1066	65	part	499
16	man	1055	66	long	497
17	jesus	1029	67	good	492
18	know	1019	68	find	472
19	praise	1008	69	peace	471
20	day	983	70	ever	461
21	word	915	71	king	456
22	one	908	72	stand	442
23	spirit	858	73	appear	432
24	power	833	74	glorious	429
25	life	824	75	away	428
26	there	820	76	hope	428
27	name	811	77	hell	414
28	earth	785	78	sweet	414
29	every	767	79	feel	406
30	hymn	747	80	divine	389
31	glory	744	81	eternal	375
32	die	733	82	place	373
33	great	720	83	throne	370
34	still	705	84	rest	369
35	joy	664	85	saviour	368
36	live	656	86	say	367
37	bless	650	87	only	366
38	here	639	88	lie	362
39	faith	635	89	bear	360
40	blood	615	90	angel	357
41	death	599	91	dear	357
42	sing	599	92	shine	357
43	go	594	93	receive	356
44	sinner	586	94	free	352
45	thing	581	95	will	351
46	fear	579	96	cry	349
47	take	577	97	end	349
48	bring	566	98	flesh	344
49	never	563	99	keep	342
50	hand	547	100	mind	341

Table 4: 100 most frequent lexical lexemes in the corpus

second of these, especially, often refers in the corpus to the destination of life's journey in heaven: these phrases, and the idea of a locational heaven in the sky, are discussed in further depth in Chapter VI, Section 2.

The verb *come* appears in two of the sequences: there are 26 occurrences of the exhortative *come let us,* often mapping ATTENTION to the motion of COMING NEAR; and 24 of the sequence *come to thee,* mostly speaking of supplication to God. Finally, two more sequences, *out of the* and *from on high* (27 occurrences each) imply movement: the former occurs with a wide range of

Rank	Freq	Keyness	Lexeme	Rank	Freq	Keyness	Lexeme
1	3024	9155.96	god	26	811	2455.52	name
2	2627	7953.94	love	27	785	2376.8	earth
3	2580	7811.63	lord	28	766	2319.27	every
4	1899	5749.73	soul	29	747	2261.74	hymn
5	1593	4823.23	let	30	744	2252.66	glory
6	1589	4811.12	grace	31	733	2219.35	die
7	1540	4662.76	sin	32	720	2179.99	great
8	1481	4484.12	heart	33	704	2131.55	still
9	1459	4417.51	make	34	663	2007.41	joy
10	1307	3957.29	see	35	656	1986.21	live
11	1295	3920.96	now	36	650	1968.05	bless
12	1269	3842.23	come	37	635	1922.63	art
13	1108	3354.76	heaven	38	635	1922.63	faith
14	1089	3297.24	christ	39	625	1892.35	where
15	1065	3224.57	give	40	615	1862.08	blood
16	1054	3191.26	man	41	597	1807.58	death
17	1029	3115.57	jesus	42	597	1807.58	sing
18	1019	3085.29	know	43	594	1798.49	go
19	1006	3045.93	praise	44	586	1774.27	sinner
20	982	2973.27	day	45	581	1759.13	thing
21	915	2770.41	word	46	578	1750.05	fear
22	908	2749.21	one	47	576	1743.99	take
23	858	2597.82	spirit	48	565	1710.69	bring
24	833	2522.13	power	49	563	1704.63	never
25	820	2482.77	life	50	545	1650.13	hand

Table 5: First 50 Keywords in comparison with Helsinki Corpus Sect E3

objects, such as *fire*, *bush*, *cloud*, and *way*; the latter usually refers metonymically to God as the originator of blessings, and the possessor of divine wisdom and exalted 'perspective' (in modern usage of the term).

The comparative lack of JOURNEY imagery among the most common lexical items does not necessarily signify the unimportance of travel metaphors in the source material. Most of the words included in both the lexeme and n-gram lists do not usually represent metaphorical occurrences of any source domain. Without a realistic method of applying semantic tagging in a project of this scale, it is difficult to determine which source domains are most important numerically in the corpus. The presence of lexemes suggesting vision and light metaphors, and repeated mention of the sky and verticality, suggests that these domains might have particular salience as source imagery to the authors and readers of the corpus materials. The high frequency of directional prepositions in the corpus reflects the frequency with which mental concepts are expressed in spatial terms, but it is doubtful whether this statistic would differ significantly from genre to genre. Ideally, statistics from the corpus of hymns would be compared with those gathered from other corpora,

preferably balanced collections of 17th- and 18th-century texts of several genres, including secular poetry. One existing corpus with which the current corpus might profitably be compared in the future is Section E3 of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, containing text from 1640–1710. The Helsinki Corpus contains text from multiple genres, and was considered for use as a control corpus in the current study.[92] Another textual corpus that might be useful is the Corpus of Late 18c Prose, a collection of letters dated 1761-90, compiled at the University of Manchester.[93]

3 *Metaphor Identification*

Metaphor identification has been a difficult issue for those attempting semantic applications of textual corpora. Deignan (2005: 92-93) has discussed the need for predetermined linguistic formulae in order to search any corpus that is not semantically tagged for metaphor. The Pragglejaz Group (2007) provides the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) as one method of reliably identifying linguistic metaphors in many modes of discourse; however, this method is impractical for application either to large textual corpora or to poetic texts, relying as it does on knowledge of the entire text, and on a perceptible contrast between a word's basic and contextual meanings. As the Pragglejaz Group state, MIP is designed only to identify metaphors in 'natural discourse', and not 'metaphorical utterances' or 'conventional linguistic metaphors that may arise from postulated conceptual metaphors' (2007: 2).

In contrast, poetry and hymns often rely on imagery that is internally consistent, conveying complex conceptual metaphors with 'literal' uses of language. Especially in the context of hymns, written with the express purposes of religious worship or instruction, much of the concrete or physical imagery is not intended to be purely literal, and is rather used to convey abstract or mental concepts. For example, John Wesley's hymn says:

> No foot of land do I posess,
> No cottage in this wilderness,
>   A poor, way-faring man;
> I lodge awhile in tents below,
> Or gladly wander to and fro,
>   Till I my Canaan gain. (WeJ179, 1780: 71)

---

92 A plaintext file of this section was obtained by permission from the Oxford Text Archive:
   http://ota.ahds.ac.uk/ (accessed 4/10/10).
93 See http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/subjects/lel/staff/david-denison/corpus-late-18th-century-prose/
   (accessed 4/10/10).

Although this hymn was reputedly inspired by actual experience,[94] Wesley's hymn is not primarily *about* physical wandering. This is made obvious by his reference to Canaan— not a realistic side trip on his annual London-Bristol-Newcastle preaching circuit. Nevertheless, none of the language in this stanza is inconsistent with the imagery of the stanza as a whole; rather, the whole image must be interpreted as part of a complex conceptual metaphor, with some elements of the source imagery corresponding to specific concepts in a target domain. In this case, the image of a SPIRITUAL LIFE is being described in terms of WANDERING and JOURNEYS.

Because the metaphors in this stanza are conceptual and not purely linguistic, as required for procedures like the MIP, their identification is dependent on some subjective analysis. This is necessarily the case for most poetic metaphors, and has effectively been demonstrated in past studies (e.g., Lakoff & Turner 1989). The context of the hymn makes clear that earthly life is the topic in question, regularly contrasting 'Earth' and 'this wilderness' with a 'country

Rank	N-Gram	Freq	Rank	N-Gram	Freq
1	of the lord	79	51	the day of	29
2	and all the	63	52	the life of	29
3	the god of	63	53	and all our	28
4	the sons of	58	54	and to the	28
5	this is the	57	55	father son and	28
6	of thy grace	53	56	the throne of	28
7	the power (pow'r) of	53	57	the word of	28
8	and all my	50	58	and let the	27
9	of thy love	47	59	day and night	27
10	of all the	46	60	from on high	27
11	at thy feet	45	61	god the father	27
12	heaven (heav'n) and earth	45	62	in thy sight	27
13	earth and heaven	43	63	my heart and	27
14	my soul to	42	64	of sin and	27
15	my god my	40	65	out of the	27
16	the spirit of	40	66	the lord is	27
17	and in the	39	67	with all the	27
18	christ is the	39	68	with one accord	27
19	all in all	38	69	come let us	26
20	and all thy	38	70	death and hell	26
21	the king of	37	71	earth and hell	26
22	the lord of	37	72	faith and love	26
23	to god the	37	73	from sin and	26
24	to the end	37	74	how shall i	26
25	to the lord	37	75	me to the	26
26	of his grace	36	76	o let me	26
27	that i may	36	77	our souls to	26
28	o let us	35	78	thou art my	26
29	the holy ghost	35	79	throne of grace	26
30	thou art the	35	80	and all his	25
31	to all eternity	35	81	and love and	25
32	in my heart	34	82	and make the	25
33	the world and	34	83	from the skies	25
34	to thee i	34	84	he is the	25
35	and let me	33	85	in jesu's name	25
36	that we may	33	86	lift up your	25
37	then let us	33	87	me from the	25
38	all the earth	32	88	to the skies	25
39	in thy name	31	89	and holy ghost	24
40	o that i	31	90	come to thee	24
41	of his love	31	91	more and more	24
42	see thy face	31	92	my soul with	24
43	sin no more	31	93	praise the lord	24
44	glory to god	30	94	the love of	24
45	god of love	30	95	to see thy	24
46	lamb of god	30	96	will not let	24
47	the glory of	30	97	according to thy	23
48	and in thy	29	98	and make me	23
49	in the lord	29	99	in the skies	23
50	of the lamb	29	100	my dear god	23

Table 6: 100 most frequent 3+ word n-grams in the corpus

---

94 See Butterworth and Brown (1906).

in the skies' where Jesus, angels, and 'elder brothers' wait for the speaker's arrival. The broader theme of the hymn is the pilgrim's decision to rejoice in his displacement from his heavenly home, as well as in his spiritual separation from the world. In this stanza, given this information, the image of the *wilderness* and its location *below* can be associated with the EARTH (in a spiritual sense); temporary *lodging*, *wandering*, and *wayfaring* with the present LIFE; and *Canaan*, the Biblical 'promised land' with HEAVEN. The image of *tents* reinforces the ideas of the transience of life and the Christian's spiritual detachment from 'things of this world'. In spiritual language, the JOURNEY schema is common and well-established, and journey-related images in hymns usually can be reasonably read as metaphorical, although it is usually necessary to refer to the context of an image in order to identify its possible target with accuracy.

For the purposes of the present study, all tokens meeting the criteria listed above for TRAVEL-RELATED imagery were collected in a database, whether or not they were obviously metaphorical. This database was not representative of the TRAVEL terminology of the corpus as a whole, and could not be used for statistical comparisons. Rather, the database provided a means of collecting and organizing the tokens analyzed during the course of this study, along with notes and conceptual domain labels. Its intended purposes were to serve as a record of all three phases of research—the preliminary study based on the hymns collected by Watson (2002), the literary analyses of several complete hymns, and the comparison of specific tokens within the corpus—and as a means of compiling the source and target domain labels applied during all three phases, keeping them consistent, and reducing redundancy. The mappings collected in the database, applied to the hierarchical structure of the HTE, provide the data for the index in Appendix B.

Although a token-based database might give the impression that the conceptual mappings in question do not cross the boundaries of individual words, it is recognized that this is not the case: conceptual metaphors are inherently cumulative and schematic. The individual tokens merely provide convenient mnemonics or access-points to nodes in the source schema; the inclusion of contextual data helps to counter this effect. After their addition to the database, the tokens were first read within their immediate context, then, if necessary, their wider context, in order to determine whether their interpretation as nodes of the JOURNEY schema was valid or reasonable. While the interpretive license of this evaluation was constrained by its validity within a well-defined and conventional schema,

some instances of poetic imagery were unavoidably more open to interpretation than others. Especially within the current literary paradigm, a degree of ambiguity is accepted as a desirable quality of poetic language. However, this may be less so within the genre of hymns, intended for general use in a cultural context that increasingly valued Reason and clarity. Where doubt remained as to the metaphorical mapping intended by the hymn's author, note was made in the database.

Due to the hierarchical structure of conceptual metaphors, it was sometimes difficult to identify the most appropriate level of taxonomy to use in assigning source and target labels to each database entry. It was decided that, as a framework of conceptual classification has already been provided by the HTE (Kay et al.), mnemonic domain labels for conceptual metaphors in this project should tend toward the specific rather than the general, with HTE/HTOED to be consulted where extended taxonomy was in doubt. The fine-tuning of source and target domain labels from the database began with a search of the HTE for the token itself, in its 'literal' sense, read only with regard to its function in the context of spatial movement. The conceptual metaphor was listed under the HTE heading that was most specific, and best reflected this sense. The target label was assigned similarly: the HTE was searched for the heading best reflecting the target domain concept that was selected as being most valid, given the token's immediate and extended context, and knowledge of the standard LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphorical schema. This methodology is similar to that used by Allan (2008) in her hierarchical categorization of conceptual metaphors of intelligence; unlike Allan's study, however, which concentrated on a single target domain and multiple source domains, the current study collects examples from the source domain of JOURNEYS (or TRAVEL), and focuses on the specific mapping LIFE IS A JOURNEY. An index of the metaphorical mappings identified and collected in the database, organized by source domain according to the hierarchy of the HTE, is provided in Appendix B.

4 Hymn Analyses

Following compilation of the source material and database, primary analysis of the corpus texts proceeded in two stages: first, discussions of JOURNEY- or TRAVEL-related structural metaphorical schemata in complete hymns; followed by analyses of lexical tokens representative of specific elements of TRAVEL imagery. The first stage continued the

methodology of the preliminary study in collecting source domain nodes from hymns which were considered in their entirety. This stage was aimed at a comparison of the writing styles and metaphor usage of individual authors, considering their use of travel metaphors in conveyance of complex systems of abstract concepts. Like the preliminary study, the first phase concentrated on building an understanding of global schemata in the specific genre of hymns, and familiarity with the corpus texts as literary works.

This phase of analysis considered hymns by each of the four main authors identified above as especially important to the history of the English hymn: Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, John Newton, and William Cowper. The detailed analyses of four of the hymns selected are provided in Chapter V, Section 7; some of the observations from analysis of the other hymns supplement the corpus-based observations comprising the bulk of that chapter. The methodology developed for the studies conducted during this stage consisted of five steps:

1. Token Identification, tabulation, and analysis: Target domain nodes from each line of the hymn were identified and collected, then classified according to the criteria outlined in Section 3 of this chapter.

2. Hymn Background/History: Historical, biographical, or anecdotal information with direct relevance to the hymn, if available, was collected and considered. Useful sources for this step included Watson (1997) and Butterworth and Brown (1906), as well as biographies of hymn authors.

3. Read for General Impression: The hymn was read through in its entirety, and general literary impressions were collected regarding stylistics and themes.

4. Stanza Summary & Analysis: A summary of the imagery in each stanza was written, and the major TRAVEL images were discussed in relation to the rest of the hymn.

5. Theme ID and Analysis: Recurring themes were identified and discussed as 'cues' for interpretation of the hymn as a whole.

These focused studies were both literary and linguistic in their aims, using the insights of CMT discussed in Chapter II to build a thematic analysis of hymns as poetic

texts, while testing these linguistic insights against specific examples of extended, detailed development of the JOURNEY schema within the genre of hymns. The texts selected for analysis were either exemplary in their use of the JOURNEY schema in general, or novel in their application of specialized TRAVEL-related imagery; in a few cases, both criteria applied. The texts were not taken to be necessarily representative of the corpus as a whole in terms of statistical frequency of terminology or imagery, but rather were chosen for in-depth study as a balance to the broader focus of the second, more corpus-driven phase of research. The data observed in this first phase presented detailed pictures of how the JOURNEY metaphor and travel-related imagery can be used in an extended context to structure a poetic work, and can serve as a basis for innovative development of poetic ideas through an established metaphorical mapping.

In its partial literary focus, the first phase of research echoes the goals of Lakoff and Turner (1989). As discussed earlier in Chapter II, Lakoff and Turner have dealt with questions of metaphor in poetry, and have discussed the value of the 'global metaphorical reading' (e.g., 1989: 146) of a poem; that is, the overall conceptual structure created by the accumulation of many small metaphorical mappings within one poem; or the poem's 'larger concerns'. It is often possible to identify one or more source domains or complex metaphors to which an entire poem appeals, and whose available nodes are systematically mapped to nodes of the target domain as the poem progresses, increasing the cohesiveness of the poetic imagery.

As Lakoff and Turner point out, it is rare (and often not desirable) for one poem to have exactly the same 'meaning' to many people: even if all can agree on the pertinent source domain, the target is likely to be disputed. One exception to this rule that they discuss is that of proverbs. Though individual interpretations will always produce variations in 'understanding' of the proverb, there is usually a specific, 'core' result or set of results which the proverb is intended to have upon the hearer. Lakoff and Turner identify two such possible result types: exhortation to take a certain action, or description of a common situation (1989: 182-183).

For hymns, as for proverbs, some specific results are almost always desired and can realistically be expected: Isaac Watts and other hymn-writers in his tradition placed extreme importance on the value of 'simple' metaphors. As far as possible, they

consciously used figurative language only when it would produce consistent results. Indeed, for some authors more than others, hymns combine the subjective aesthetics of poetry with the concrete teachings of sermons: one prominent example of this is the 'three-part' sermon structure of John Newton's hymns discussed above (p. 115). The analyses of individual hymns conducted during this phase of research outlined elements of their overarching metaphorical structure, concentrating on elements of JOURNEY- or TRAVEL-related imagery. The discussions in Chapter V, Section 7 examine some specific ways in which individual authors used travel language systematically to communicate and reinforce abstract concepts about life.

The travel terminology identified during both phases of research for this study, as well as during the preliminary study, was collected in a database, accompanied by immediate context (roughly 50 characters on each side of the token). Each occurrence was also assigned a 'key' number consisting of the first three letters of the author's name, a number identifying the source hymn of the token, and a number identifying the token within that hymn. An example of this is Cow9.1179, representing an occurrence of the word *bark* from the hymn 'The billows swell the winds are high' (shown in Figure 6).[95] The database table of token entries was linked to a separate table in the database that

collected data on each hymn, including the author, source text, and date (see Figure 5). The occurrences of TRAVEL terminology were then evaluated for metaphorical interpretations, and labeled with source and target domains, which were later aligned with existing HTE headings, as described above.

Figure 5: Sample Hymn Index entry

---

95 The term *bark* sometimes has the sense 'rowing boat', but the OED's primary sense is 'a small ship'. In the context of the poem, it is not completely clear which sense is intended, although one of the OED citations for the 'boat' sense is from Cowper: '790 COWPER *Iliad* I. 174 A bark with lusty rowers well supplied' (2nd ed. 1989, 'bark, barque, n.2').

Figure 6: Sample Hymn Occurrence entry

5 Token searches

The second, most extensive phase of analysis used concordancing software to collect all instances of several journey-related lexemes in the textual corpus, including variant spellings, plural forms, etc., with 50 characters of context included on both sides. These results were tabulated and read through, and instances not from actual hymn texts (e.g., from hymn titles or biblical quotations, etc.) were excluded. A basic process for the analyses in this stage, consisting of seven steps, was adapted from the previous phase:

1. Tabulation and analysis: The tokens to be studied were identified, then a corpus search for those tokens was tabulated and analyzed as above.

2. Identify references: Many of the travel images found in the corpus echoed specific biblical or classical images. This step helped to identify original uses of imagery and provide background information for conventional images.

3. Dictionary analysis: The OED and HTE/HTOED were consulted for definitions, etymological data, and citations for each token. HTE/HTOED provided source and target domain data for step 5.

4. Read concordance for general impression: Corpus search results for each token were read in their entirety to determine the tokens' general scope of reference in the corpus.

5. Summary of target groupings: Common target domains for individual travel nodes, collected in step 4, were discussed individually.

6. Theme ID and Analysis: Overarching themes in the usage of individual tokens, if any, were considered.

During the preliminary stages of database construction, primarily from the hymns in (Watson 2002) and the analyses of individual hymns by selected authors, a set of travel-related lexemes was collected in the database, by the methods discussed in Section 1. The more common items in this set are presented in Table 7, supplemented with terminology from the 100 most frequent lemmas presented in Table 4; this is not an absolute list of travel imagery in the corpus, but shows the frequency within the corpus of some of the tokens collected in the preliminary and primary stages of research.[96] Six lexical items—three verbs and three nouns—were selected from this list for further analysis in Chapter VI: these were WAY, PATH, ROAD, WALK, RUN, and PASS. These lexemes occur relatively frequently in the corpus, and retain a strong link to the TRAVEL schema.

The lexemes WAY, PATH, and ROAD were selected from the list of the most frequent lexical items as commonly representing the PATH node in the source-path-goal schema.[97] These images were selected to represent three different levels of conventionality, with WAY being highly conventionalized and ROAD being more obviously metaphorical. However, the lexeme WAY occurred too frequently (515 occurrences) to allow in-depth analysis, and is discussed only at a general level. WALK, RUN, and PASS were chosen as words that frequently represent basic types of movement in the context of travel. WALK, in particular, is highly salient in the Judeo-Christian cultural context, as discussed further in Chapter V, Section 4. PASS is a more generic term for movement than RUN or WALK, but occurred with only slightly more frequency than the much more specific WALK, and with less frequency

---

96 Some important words excluded from the list are largely grammaticalized terms and directional prepositions. For instance, the words *to* and *from* may have a conceptual basis in movement and direction, but act most often as 'function' words and were too frequent in the corpus for analysis in this study. Likewise *before* and *behind*.

97 See p. 63.

than RUN. This seems contrary to earlier observations that generic-level conceptual metaphors are more common than metaphors at the specific level.[98]

As in the first phase, the results of corpus searches for these words were collected in the database with index data: the three-letter

Rank	Lemma	Freq	Rank	Lemma	Freq	Rank	Lemma	Freq
12	come	1270	298	pass	142	711	ascend	56
43	go	594	299	stream	142	735	approach	54
59	way	515	303	walk	141	760	course	52
89	bear	360	334	depart	125	806	step	48
135	seek	275	376	haste(n)	109	808	swift	48
144	dwell	264	395	flee	105	821	stray	47
159	turn	246	399	descend	104	858	flight	44
166	move	237	460	tread	92	862	river	44
168	fly	236	469	path	90	877	motion	43
169	home	235	502	mountain	84	904	road	41
216	far	186	509	abode	82	908	speed	41
238	lead	176	527	hill	80	915	city	40
239	run	175	535	abide	78	929	dwelling	39
246	sea	170	549	follow	76	965	shore	37
249	house	169	600	search	69	1029	wilderness	34
257	land	167	623	delay	65	1073	footstep	31
265	return	162	627	pursue	65	1098	follower	30
291	guide	145	656	stop	61	1100	journey	30

Table 7: Frequency of selected travel images in the corpus

abbreviation for the author of that hymn, the number assigned to its hymn of origin, and a unique ID number for each occurrence.[99] Source and target nodes were identified, categorized, and included in the database, as in the first phase. Where many mappings existed for one target domain, the results were further subdivided by source domain as found in the HTE. These are also provided, organized by source domain, in Appendix B.

In addition to the token, context, key number, and domain labels, the search results were assigned two separate values intended to show the 'strength' of each metaphor. The first, labeled *Content Index* (CI), shows the quantity of words within the token's 100-character context which were judged to fall within or directly reinforce the TRAVEL schema. For instance, occurrence 1219 (p. 162, below) of the word *path* contains within its immediate context six other TRAVEL-related tokens, including directional prepositions: *through*, *way*, *leads*, *to*, *there*, and *walk*. It was speculated that higher concentrations of travel-related words surrounding a metaphorical occurrence might serve as a convenient indicator of the metaphor's relative 'strength' within a schema. The effectiveness of this method would be dependent upon the likelihood of a topic (TRAVEL) being used literally

---

98   Cf. Lakoff and Johnson (1989: 45), which comments specifically on the category of *passing*.
99   The author abbreviation 'Sha' was used for hymns taken from the Shaker *Millennial Praises* hymn-book.

within its wider context (spiritual language, and the genre of hymns). Several factors are present that call into question the relevance of such an index: a word like *highway*, as a subdomain of the specific-level PATH domain, is more specific, and features saliently as travel imagery. *Way*, by comparison, is itself the source domain of a common basic-level metaphor, and probably appears more often (in almost all contexts) as a near-synonym for *method*. The nearby occurrence of *highway*, more than *way*, would contribute to the vividness of the TRAVEL schema in the context of *path*. A greater drawback to this method of estimating metaphorical strength was the 100-character context limit, as many of the themes in the hymns were developed at length, over several stanzas. The degree to which a word contributed to an overarching metaphorical schema could not be measured with such a narrow sample. The CI data was included in the database, but was not used for any actual analysis.

The second value assigned to the search results attempts to determine each token's level of 'metaphoricity' as defined above in Chapter II, Section 1.7. Considering words such as *deep*, used to describe color, Deignan (2005: 39) believes that, although a metaphorical motivation is apparent in the word's etymology, the strength of the underlying metaphor has degraded sufficiently to be no longer considered 'conventional'. Such metaphors as no longer seem to make use of mental imagery Deignan classifies as 'dead'. However, as has been discussed in Chapter II, Section 1.7, metaphors that have been conventionalized to the point of apparent 'death' often nevertheless continue to affect the language around them. Examples like *deep* may in some instances still call upon literal ideas of DEPTH, enhancing the vividness of descriptions like 'the ocean was a deep blue'. A related metaphorical sense of *deep* is used in phrases like *a deep thinker;* here the literal sense of depth, signifying extreme intensity and concentration, is combined with the MIND IS A CONTAINER metaphor. The frequent and systematic occurrence of the concept DEPTH to portray extremity (of color saturation, in Deignan's example) indicates that the conceptual metaphor behind it, though not readily apparent in regular use, is still functioning at some level. Deignan's other example, *crane* (used for construction), does seem to be less figuratively active, and has a much narrower range of possible applications. This would indicate that the metaphor behind *crane* is significantly 'deader' than *deep*. To reflect this perceived complexity within Deignan's 'dead' category, this study will differentiate between metaphors judged to be truly 'dead' for analytical purposes, and those whose

persisting, underlying connection to a metaphorical schema suggests 'dormant' may be a more accurate label.

Additionally, an attempt is made in this study to distinguish between degrees of conventionalization within the 'conventional metaphor' category. The conceptual phenomenon described in CMT by the term *metaphor*, used in this dissertation and the linguistic studies surveyed in Chapter II, is understood to be a basic process used by the human mind to broaden its experience and understanding of its environment. Primary metaphorical mappings enact this process at the most basic level, providing a grounding for mental concepts like TIME and LOGICAL STRUCTURE in physical experience. Innovative, or novel metaphors enact the same process at the conscious level, and the most successful of these are gradually conventionalized, as their use becomes less conscious. Poetry and other artistic genres are characterized by metaphorical innovation, but this conscious innovation is often based in extension of conventional ideas.[100] The exact metaphorical processes that have occurred in the mind of a poet are not directly accessible to the reader, and can only be inferred—a fact which accounts for the inherent subjectivity of poetic analysis. Nevertheless, multiple readers can in many cases reach a consensus, often to the same degree that the metaphorical schemata developed by a poem are conventional or internally consistent.

Thus, figurative themes in poetry are often developed using conventionalized metaphors, demonstrating a conscious effort of the author to exploit subtle imagery for its figurative qualities. The PATH schema is very common in poetry and most other linguistic settings, and the image of Christ as a 'way' or 'path' to salvation is fundamental to the doctrines of Christianity. Therefore, references to this image in the hymns cannot accurately be classed as 'innovative'. However, some metaphorical statements, like the use of *path* in Wat310, although not abnormal, appear deliberate.[101]

> Is he a way? He leads to God,
> The path is drawn in lines of blood;
> There would I walk with hope and zeal,
> Till I arrive at Zion's hill. (Wat310, Watts [1707] 1709c: Hymn 146)

---

100 Lakoff and Turner (1989: 67-72) discuss several specific modes of thought commonly used in poetry.
   They refer to these as *extending*, *elaborating*, *questioning*, and *composing*.
101 This occurrence of *path* is discussed in further depth below, p. 151.

This stanza provides the standard structural elements of the PATH schema: a destination and the idea of movement; but it also extends the schema using specific, vivid imagery, indicating that the path is demarcated on a landscape with 'lines of blood' and terminates at a *hill.* The idea of walking is another conventional, non-innovative image in a Christian context, but its denotation of a specific kind of motion, in combination with these other specific elements, further strengthens the innovative tone of this particular example.

In cases like this, the figurative component is strongly reinforced by development of the PATH image in the surrounding context. The metaphorical presentation of *path* appears much more intentional here than in cases such as in Mas300, where *paths* is used in a general and conventionalized sense to mean 'daily activity'. Though this instance may strengthen an existing TRAVEL theme in the hymn, there are no contextual indications of its particular, conscious development as metaphorical imagery:

> Is not the Hand of God in this:
> Is not this End divine?
> Lord of Success, Thee will I bless,
> Who on my Paths do'st shine:
> I Reap the Fruit of God's Design,
> By Him it was foreseen;
> He thought of this as well as I,
> Or it had never been.

An expansion of Deignan's model that allows for a distinction between apparent conscious exploitation of conventionalized metaphors from either entirely innovative or apparently undeveloped conventional expressions would be useful in analyses of poetry, or of any genre in which figurative language is consciously developed. For this study, instances like Wat310, where a high degree of vivid imagery in the context of a token suggests intentional exploitation of a conventionalized metaphor's figurative potential have been classed as 'Conventional: Explicit' ('ce' in the tables), and instances where the metaphor appears in isolation, or else its figurative component does not appear to have consciously been developed[102] as 'Conventional: Implicit' ('ci'). Applications of this model are to some degree subjective, as they are with Deignan's original model, and a method to produce reliable, empirical judgments of 'metaphoricity' has not yet been developed.[103] Nevertheless, the classical idea of 'dead' metaphors, and the realization by early metaphor

---

102 I.e., where other basic elements of a PATH schema are present but not strengthened with vivid imagery.
103 See Cameron (2003) and Cameron & Deignan (2003), in which the degree to which judgments of an expression's metaphoricity are shown to vary from person to person.

theorists of their continuing importance and activity shows that variations in metaphoricity do exist. The expanded model used in this study is intended to reflect a further level of subtlety in this range: explicitly developed instances of a metaphor that is normally conventional. Such a scale may not be useful in all linguistic applications, and is best suited for discussions of poetic language, where the reader is traditionally encouraged to 'interpret' imagery and infer the author's mental state.

In the tables presented in the following chapter, the categories 'Literal', 'Innovative', 'Dormant', 'Dead', and 'Historical' are abbreviated 'lit', 'inn', 'dor', 'dea', and 'his', respectively. These categories are intended to divide into segments what is really a continuous spectrum reaching from fully active to completely dead metaphor. It is recognized that many instances will not fall cleanly into one category or the other. In this eventuality, factors such as the presence of a salient TRAVEL collocate, or relevant imagery in the word's extended context, can help classify the occurrence.

V Corpus Analysis

1 Way

An initial search for the lexeme WAY returned over 500 results. From a corpus linguistics perspective, such a large set of data is valuable, as it allows for greater consistency and accuracy in statistical analysis. Brief inspection of the concordance results showed a wide variety of possible uses of WAY; most seem to be more or less active travel metaphors, speaking of life or a behavior as a 'way' to a destination, often heaven.[104] Though the highly conventionalized sense of *way* to mean 'method' or 'means' does appear, occurrences are comparatively infrequent. In cases like 'a way to be sav'd' (from the Shaker hymnal) or 'show me the way to shun Thy dreadful wrath' (Wesley), the metaphor might be classed as 'dormant'.[105] Similar uses of *way* appear in more than one definition in the OED, for example:

Freq	Cluster
13	in the way
6	in thy way
3	in this way
2	in my way
2	in perfect way
2	in their way
2	in thy ways
1	in gentler ways
1	in heavens way
1	in his way
1	in his wayes
1	in my ways
1	in our way
1	in sions ways

Table 8: Freq. of hits for 'in#way'*

13. a. A course of action, a device, expedient method, or means, by which some end may be attained or some danger escaped. Const. to with inf. or n., of with gerund.

14. a. Manner in which something is done or takes place; method of performing an action or operation. (2nd ed. 1989)

---

104 One particular usage of *way*, from a poem by Richard Baxter, appears not to be covered by any of the OED's definitions for the word: (Bax252.764) 'The soil is best where there's the deepest way'. From a travel perspective, this is not a viable metaphor, but the mention of 'soil' indicates that the source domain in this occurrence is agriculture, and that *way* might represent the furrow of a plow. The lack of contextual clues does not support an analysis of *way* as an innovative metaphor, but indicates rather that 'furrow' may have been at one point a conventionalized sense of the word *way*. The OED entry for 'way' (2nd ed.1989, 'way, *n.*' 5. b.) does provide the meaning 'wake of a vessel', from which is also probably derived the sense (5. c.) of 'engraving ('parallel paths … hewn'). There are precedents in English poetry of referring to ships as plows; the OED citation for nautical senses of *way* includes one by Marlowe in 1593: *'Dido* 221 Æneas is my name..With twise twelue Phrigian ships I plowed the deepe, And made that way my mother Venus led'. Lewis (1995: 81-83) discusses other literary connections between ships and plows, and the role of metaphor in such cases. Further research may reveal the existence of a historical 'furrow' sense for the word *way.*
105 This more abstract classification corresponds with 11 senses of the word throughout history (meanings 11-22 under the heading 'Course of life or action, means, manner') in the OED's entry for 'way' (2nd ed. 1989, 'way, n.1')
(2nd ed. 1989, 'way, *n.*1'). In comparison, only two senses are listed under the 'Road, path' heading; and seven, both literal and figurative, under the slightly extended 'Course of travel or movement'.

Citations in the OED for the first sense exist from as early as 1175, and for the second from 725; nevertheless, it is possible that in a formalized poetic register, this more abstract sense is not as common. Two subsenses of *way* in the OED seem to indicate a 19th-century shift in meaning; the phrases *in this way*, to mean 'thus'; and (in) one way or (/ and) another are not attested until that time:

> k. *in this way:* in colloquial lang. sometimes used vaguely for 'thus' or 'so', when not the manner of an action but the action itself is in question.

> 1837 D<small>ICKENS</small> *Pickw.* xxviii, I can't let you cut an old friend in this way.

> l. *(in) one way or (or and) another:* by any of various methods, for any of various reasons, in any of various respects. Cf. sense 9e.

> 1861 T. H<small>UGHES</small> *Tom Brown at Oxf.* I. iii. 40 Being a good whist and billiard player, and not a bad jockey, he managed in one way or another to make his young friends pay well for the honour of his acquaintance. (2nd ed. 1989)

A collocate search of the corpus revealed that, after the article *the* and the conjunction *and*, the most likely words to appear within a ten-word span of *way* are the prepositions *to* and *in*. A cluster search for 'in #way*'[106] (Table 8) showed that most of the *in* results access the concept of *directionality* in some way. Of 13 total occurrences of the most common cluster, 'in the way' (Table 9), none appear to have the sense 'with the means', and most appear to be deliberate travel metaphors. The lemma WAY ranks 135th in frequency out of more than 10,000 total lemmas in the corpus.

Despite its high frequency of occurrence, the examples of *way* seem to retain strong ties with the T<small>RAVEL</small> schema—this contrast can be taken as an indication of the degree to which T<small>RAVEL</small> language is entrenched in this body of poetic language, and of the metaphor's partial conventionalization. Further analysis of this token in hymns and spiritual poetry from before, during, and after the period of this study may reveal the same process of semantic extension which *way* had undergone much earlier in less formal contexts. It may be enlightening to ascertain, within these concordance results, whether frequency of the 'means' sense increases across the period. However, it was decided that categorization and detailed analysis of such a large set of results was not feasible within the limitations of the

---

106 In searches conducted for this study, the hash character (#) signifies a 'wildcard' for any complete word, and the asterisk (*) zero or more characters within a word. In this case, a search for 'in#way*' would retrieve 'in the way', 'in your ways', 'in his wayes', etc.

present study. Some of the data collected from the less detailed analysis of WAY is presented for comparison in the following discussion of the lexeme PATH.

Table 9: 'In the way' in the corpus of hymns		
Pre	**Token**	**Post**
ent if thou stay Because dogs bark, or stones lie	IN THE WAY	. If life lay on it, wouldst thou turn again, For
ford. And we thy praises will sing forth, And	IN THE WAY	rejoyce; Nay sing again melodiously With a most
asie to the soul Who does on Christ depend; And	IN THE WAY	we do each day Meet with our dearest Friend.
treight way go, But those born from above. We	IN THE WAY	find all things cheap, Our charges all are born;
earthly things, since we have Springs To drink of	IN THE WAY	, That are so sweet, and make us meet For Christ a
my soul with too much stay Is drunk, and staggers	IN THE WAY	. Some men a forward motion love, But I by backwar
ove By his mild Dove Did shew me home, and put me	IN THE WAY	. Let it suffice at length thy fits And lusts
Creatures no help could give, But Jesus passed me	IN THE WAY	, He saw, and bid me live. Though Satan still hi
trait he saw, and won by kindness, Followed JESUS	IN THE WAY	. O! methinks I hear him praising, Publishing to
hem out by name. 'Tis curiosity Oft brings them	IN THE WAY	, Only the man to see, And hear what he can say; B
pray, At every poor excuse they catch, A lion's	IN THE WAY	! To use the means of grace, how loath! We call t
cry, Thou Son of David, hear! Behold me waiting	IN THE WAY	For thee, the heavenly light; Command me to be br
tempers rise, All the fruits of Paradise. Lead us	IN THE WAY	of peace, In the path of righteousness, Never by

2 Path

The 88 individual occurrences of the lexeme PATH and its variants (which include *paths* and *pathless*) were found to occur as a travel metaphor in many of the same contexts as WAY, though a few instances appear to be entirely literal. The metaphorically dormant 'means' usage does not appear with PATH as it does occasionally with WAY; although many of the 'paths' have abstract states such as 'peace' or 'humility' as their objectives, the surrounding travel imagery is usually sufficiently vivid to ensure a more figurative reading. An attempt was made to determine the target node of each occurrence as with previous sections of this study. In the results collected, the potential target nodes identified for the PATH image seem to describe a gradient from specific to generic types of purposeful activity. The image of a 'path' most often conveys the course of a person's life, an aspect of their habitual behavior, or a mixture of both. *Path* can refer to day-to-day activities or affairs in general, or to a description of someone's nature and motivations (e.g., their 'manner'). The OED entry for 'path, n.' (Draft rev. Dec 2008) includes several 'extended and abstract uses', including one that captures the senses observed above:

> 4. A course of action; a way of proceeding; a mode of behaviour or conduct; esp. a way of life leading to a spiritual goal. Also: a sequence of events or

> operations; the course of a person's life; (occas.) a line of thought, argument, etc.

This one sense matches some of the HTE headings under which *path* occurs, Behaviour/conduct (01.05.05.22), and particularly its subheading '(a) course of conduct/action', which is attested since Old English.

There are several 'literal' or physical senses to which metaphors using the word *path* may refer. The HTE places *path* under two separate subheadings of the more generic 'Route/way' (03.09.02.01): 'Way/passage/ means of access to a place' (03.09.02.01.01) and 'Way/path/track' (03.09.02.01.02). Additionally, *path* appears under the more abstract heading 'Movement in a certain direction' (01.05.08.05), under the subheading 'course/direction of movement'. All three entries date from Old English. As the 'Way/path/track' sense includes the word *path* and seems to refer more to the physical artifact, it is used here in the source domain identifications made for the word *path.* However, most of the corpus results for *path* may draw from any or all of the three senses. All are semantically and experientially related: a physical path is formed due to repetition of a route over time, which is followed by means of movement in a certain direction.

Almost all instances of *path* in the corpus implement one primary metaphor, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS MOTION. At the specific level, several mappings are common in the corpus. Over half (50 of 90) of the target domains identified for the search results of 'path*' fall under the HTE heading of 'Existence' (HTE number 01.05), and several subgroups of this category are especially common, particularly the subheading 'Action/operation' (01.05.05), containing 47 results. Most of these (38) are in a further subgroup dealing with behavior and conduct (HTE 01.05.05.22): either behavior of a general sort in the present or future (Table 10.6), a 'standard of conduct' issued by a spiritual authority (Table 10.7), a self-imposed 'way of life' (Table 10.8) or a 'customary mode of behavior' (Table 10.9). Other examples of more general types of action refer to regular activity or occupation (HTE 01.05.05.02.03). 22 of the 90 total results match entries from Section 3 of the HTE, dealing with 'Society': many of these have to do with morality and religion, including seven results portraying sin (HTE 03.07.00.24.08) as a PATH, and seven referring to Christian identity and belief in Christ (classified under the HTE heading 'Christianity': 03.07.01.02). A further eight results match entries from Section 2 of the HTE, dealing with 'The Mind'. Only six results map directly to the HTE heading of

'Life' (01.02), with one more mapping to the more specific heading 'Youth' (01.02.00.07.01). Finally, fewer than a tenth of the data (seven results), were judged to be literal occurrences of *path,* showing that the primary sense of this term within a spiritual context is metaphorical, rather than designating a purely physical path. The results of a cross-corpus search for 'path*', grouped according to HTE categories, are presented in Table 10 below.

The low number of mappings of PATH onto LIFE is surprising at first, given the generally accepted cultural salience of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. However, the HTE places the 'Existence' and 'Life' headings in different sections, as the abstract concepts of *life* and *existence* (along with that of *action*, an HTE subheading of 'Existence') given no context, are not necessarily related—many non-living objects can truthfully be said to *exist.* In the context of spirituality, however, Christian *behaviors* and *way of life* are salient aspects of *life* as a Christian. In addition, for sentient beings, it is natural to conflate *existence* with *life*, since the latter is required to be aware of the former. Even in other contexts, when the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor has been discussed, the target domain is not merely the abstract property of *being alive*, but rather usually the complex concept of specifically human life, and all the past, present, and future experiences it encompasses. For this reason, some of the examples interpreted as referring to a 'way of life' (Table 10.8) —like 1259, referring to the 'narrow path'—might also refer to Christianity (Table 10.17); and vice versa.

The system of semantic categorization of the HTE/HTOED is thorough and consistent, but, as with any thesaurus, it represents only one of probably an infinite number of ways to divide up the human experience of the universe. The HTE/HTOED takes an objective approach that matches the current scientific and folk paradigm, categorizing ideas as abstract and independent of human experience. Although the system of cognitive philosophy advocated by Lakoff et al. (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1999) would probably call for a more experientially-based arrangement, it is difficult to see how a thesaurus could usefully be categorized in such a way.

It was often difficult to be specific as to where in the all-inclusive domain of LIFE an occurrence fell—whether it referred to a specific aspect of life, or to the whole experience. The image of the path in example 1238 (Table 10.1), where God 'watched o'er my path',

could portray the course of the speaker's life, his daily activities, his general behavior, or God's personal direction in his life (i.e., his destiny). In comparison, the objective of the path in 1250 (Table 10.3) appears to be more concrete in its nature, describing the speaker's destiny, or events and decisions in his future. The phrase *each perplexing path of life* in 71 (Table 10.1) implies that one life may consist of many paths. As is to be expected, the source and target labels assigned according to HTE categories and provided in Appendix B cannot capture all of the complexities involved in these metaphorical mappings. For instance, all three of these examples deal with the subject matter of life, but 1250 seems more specifically concerned with events in the traveler's future. This is contrasted with examples like 1232, which deals with a future course of action, emphasizing a person's intended behavior rather than simply his or her fate. While both 71 and 1238 map the source domain JOURNEY onto the target domain LIFE, the former example concentrates on the idea of life as one journey, made on one path, while the latter presents the events of life as a collection of smaller journeys made along many paths.

One example that deals with future actions, 1197 (Table 10.6) was particularly difficult to classify at first. This occurrence is from a poem in Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans*, speaking of Christ's choice of the one 'path' that he knew would ultimately lead to his suffering the full wrath of God:

> In what deep anguish
> Didst thou languish,
> What springs of Sweat, and bloud did drown thee!
> How *in one path*
> Did the full wrath
> Of thy great Father
> Crowd, and gather,
> Doubling thy griefs, when none would own thee! (Vau280, emph. added)

This reference to Christ's night of prayer in the garden of Gethsemane, immediately prior to his crucifixion,[107] uses the PATH image to represent a course of action, with the 'wrath' of God represented as a SUBSTANCE that 'crowds' or fills the PATH.

In the concordance results, a difference is often noticeable between what is denoted by the singular *path* and the plural *paths*. *Paths* seems to signify a range of behaviors or activities, including the generic class of habitual or day-to-day affairs, and tends to

---

107 Specifically the version in Luke ch 22.

encompass a broad span of human activity. For example, 1214 (Table 10.4), using the phrase 'the paths wherein I tread', refers to a person's usual activities or occupation (HTE 01.05.05.02.03). References to nature's paths (e.g., 1261, Table 10.9) deals with a person's natural mode of behavior (HTE 01.05.05.22.03). *Path* is more likely to represent a long-term movement toward a single goal or purpose, often taking place over the span of a person's life. This is often the Christian life, as in example 833 (Table 10.1), referring to the 'dear path to thine abode': the main purpose is of reaching heaven by following God. *Path* usually indicates only one means to an end: whether a destination, like HEAVEN or HELL, or a desired state like PEACE. Though the option of two or more paths may be present, only one leads to the goal. *Paths* occurs several times in phrases of the form 'all (PRON) paths', meaning roughly 'anything (someone) habitually does'. Though *path* and *paths* can both signify any kind of purposeful activity, from a specific behavior to the course of a person's life, *paths* is more likely to indicate more specific types of behavior. The images of multiple paths and the single path are not incompatible in the source domain, which allows for the possibility of several legs to one journey, or a journey that follows many paths over its course.

Examination of the concordance list for *path(s)* showed that in many cases the token favors certain environments or specific collocates. In most instances, some form of contextual cue is present, providing information that assists arrival at a valid reading and a corresponding target domain label. Such cues might be expected to occur more frequently in hymns, where the metaphorical imagery is usually designed for ease of interpretation, than in other genres of poetry. Although these cues are often characterized by recurring syntactic structures (e.g., prepositional phrases beginning in *to* or *through),* analysis of these formations revealed systematic semantic relationships as well. Paths are often described in terms either of their progress *to* or *through* a location or state, their attribution to or characteristicness of someone or something, or their possession of a certain attribute or quality. These cues were taken into consideration in discussion of the concordance data.

A physical path, the human artifact, serves the purpose of directing travelers from one location to another; thus, occurrences were expected that depict LIFE as a PATH leading in a certain direction, i.e., toward certain goals. The frequency of 'way(s) to ___' constructions in the corpus (44 occurrences) led to the expectation that 'path(s) to ___' would be similarly frequent. In the whole corpus, however, there are only eight examples

of paths leading *to* a goal or destination such as heaven, hell, or God. Of this set, most were interpreted as referring to certain behaviors, actions, or 'ways of life' as 'leading to' eternal consequences, reward, or death. These deal with the course of a person's life, inclusive of that person's decisions and activities, but emphasize a trend toward salvation or damnation. In a Christian spiritual context, as seen in more detail in Section 7 of this chapter, the journey usually begins at the point of conversion and ends with arrival in heaven, the Christian's eternal reward. If these uses of *path* are analogous to the JOURNEY schema as a whole, it is to be expected that anything at the end of the path should be an eternal state: for example, 1217 (Table 10.8), speaking of a 'path that leads to peace', was understood in context to refer to a 'Way of life' (HTE 01.05.05.22.02). However, it could also be interpreted in terms of eternal reward.

Example 1216 (Table 10.6) speaks of those who 'affect' the path to hell. This example portrays a projected course of action or continued behavior as a path leading forward to a certain destination. The word *affect* used here appears in the HTOED with the sense '(.tend/lead to/conduce to)', listed as active from 1612–1850. According to the OED, the etymology of *affect* lies in the Anglo-Norman *affecter* 'to seek after'. Though *affect* rarely carries an overt travel sense in English, the OED's primary definition uses directional terminology like *make for* and *aim at,* showing how *affect* could be used as a travel word with this sense:

> 1. To aim at, aspire to, or make for (something); to seek to obtain or attain.
> (draft rev. Dec 2008 'affect, v. 1')

The PATH image in its application to Christ and the Christian life is explored in 1219 (Table 10.17), taken from Wat310, 'Go, worship at Immanuel's feet':

> Is he a way? He leads to God,
> The path is drawn in lines of blood;
> There would I walk with hope and zeal,
> Till I arrive at Zion's hill.

This hymn explores, as Watts says, various 'Characters of Christ; borrowed from inanimate things in Scripture'.[108] In this stanza, the image of Christ as 'the way' to God, taken from

---

108 Following an introductory section, each stanza of this hymn examines and expands on one scriptural metaphor for Christ, e.g. 'wine or bread', a *rose*, or a *vine*.

V. Corpus Analysis: 2. Path

John 14:6,[109] is conflated with the image of the ᴘᴀᴛʜ of salvation, leading to heaven. However, Watts' use of *path* distinguishes Christ, the 'way', from the 'path' where he leads: a life spent in following his example. Wesley develops the image similarly in example 1264:

     2.1-1264   Thou wilt the path of life display, And lead me in thyself the way.

The 'path of life' image,[110] referring to righteous behavior, is interpreted as a typological reference to Christ, the 'way'.

    Far more common than instances of 'path to / through ___' are paths attributed to, or described as being *of* someone or something. Though the construction 'way(s) of ___' (23) is less frequent in the corpus than 'way(s) to' (43), occurrences of 'path' do not follow this pattern. Of 42 total cases of this type, 20 are attributed to a person or people, usually to God or the speaker. Again, these cues help to identify a target domain for each occurrence. Typically, references to 'my path' and 'our path' seem to be mapped to the speaker's (or speakers') actions, behavior, destiny, or life, often in relation to God's guardianship or personal intervention in events in the speaker's life. Interestingly, all of the examples in the first person plural are from hymns by William Cowper, a fact that fits with perceptions of his hymns as written 'from the pew', for communal edification. One of his usages of 'our path' (1232, Table 10.6), interpreted as referring to an intended course of conduct, draws from Psalm 119:105: 'Thy word [is] a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path' (KJV), combining the ᴛʀᴜᴛʜ ɪs ʟɪɢʜᴛ metaphor with ʟɪꜰᴇ ɪs ᴀ ᴊᴏᴜʀɴᴇʏ.

    Six more examples refer to the *paths* of God, mostly via pronouns like *his* or *thy*, though one uses *my,* speaking from God's perspective. These all use *paths* in the plural, and tend to address behavior characteristic of, or recommended by God (i.e., 'godly') as an exemplar or guide (HTE 'standard of conduct': see Table 10.7) for humans. One reference to God's paths (1272, Table 10.4)[111] refers to the inscrutability to humans of God's behavior, describing his paths as 'dark'. This use is a more specifically ᴛʀᴀᴠᴇʟ-based interpretation of the concept expressed in Isaiah 55:8, as well as in many of the hymns, with *way*:

---

109 'Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me' (KJV).
110 From Psa 16:11.
111 This reference draws from Psa 77:19: 'Thy way [is] in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known' (KJV).

> For my thoughts [are] not your thoughts, neither [are] your ways my ways,
> saith the LORD. (KJV)

22 cases of *paths* are attributed to abstract concepts or qualities, of which *peace* and *duty* are the most common. Paths are also linked with *darkness*, *disappointment, humility, life, pleasantness* or *pleasure*, *quietness*, *righteousness*, *sin*, and *wisdom*. The 'path of __' construction tends to signify behavior that consciously exemplifies the specific attribute named, especially when such behavior requires effort. For example, someone treading or running in the 'path of duty' (as in examples 1224, 1229, and 1253, Table 10.14) is making a conscious decision to continually seek out what duty requires and to ('boldly') act upon it. Figure 7 illustrates a process by which the image of a PATH might be linked metonymically to MOVEMENT ON A PATH in the source domain of this complex mapping, and DUTIFUL BEHAVIOR might be linked metonymically to the requirements of DUTY (or a PEACEFUL BEHAVIOR to PEACE, etc.) in the target domain: thus, the occurrences classified under the target domains of WISDOM (Table 10.10) or

Figure 7: Possible 'paths of __' mapping
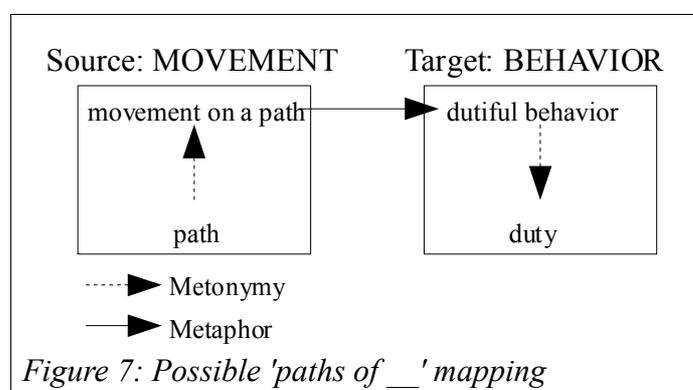
RIGHTEOUSNESS (Table 10.15), for instance, might more generally be categorized under BEHAVIOUR/CONDUCT (Table 10.6) as well. The same mapping could occur for the 'paths of God' examples discussed above, resulting in an interpretation of 'godly behavior'. The effort was made to determine in each case whether the PATH image itself referred to a specific type of behavior, or else to behavior in general, attributed to a type of person or personification. For example, 1252 (Table 10.16) clearly portrays the idea of sin as a path. In contrast, 1210 refers to 'sinners paths', not portraying sin itself as a path, but referring to the general type of behavior characteristic of sinners.

With nine occurrences within a five-word context, *peace* is the most common lexical word to collocate with *path*. The HTE lists the word *peace* under several headings; the most relevant seems to be 'Freedom from trouble/care/sorrow' (02.02.19.06), dealing with internal, mental, spiritual peace, although 'Absence of dissension/peace' (03.01.04.05.03), dealing with external, interpersonal peace, also fits the context. Four of these instances (1245, 1262, 1265, and 1271, Table 10.12) occur in the form 'path(s) of (heavenly) peace'

(all from hymns by Wesley), and another (1257, Table 10.15) in a line that parallels the 'way of peace' with the 'path of righteousness', signifying habitual behavior that is peaceful. In comparison, one occurrence (1217, Table 10.8) is in the phrase 'path that leads to peace', describing a way of life resulting in peace. Another construction that appears in the concordance is the three-word cluster 'paths are peace', which seems to emphasize peacefulness as a defining feature of someone's behavior, more strongly than the 'path(s) of peace' construction. All three occurrences refer to standards of conduct (Table 10.7): 1244, by Wesley, refers to personified Wisdom and her 'flowery paths'; this image is retained from its biblical source, in Proverbs 3:17. The other two, 1235 and 1241, are by Newton and Cowper respectively, referring to God's paths. These both appear in the Olney hymns, in two versions of effectively the same couplet, and retain variations of the 'ways of pleasantness' from the original source, referring to Wisdom. Newton and Cowper's concurrent use of the phrase in reference to God is likely an effect of their collaboration on the hymnal.

Another type of helpful contextual cue describes a *path* directly as having certain attributes, using adjectives or past participles. There are several examples of paths' being 'trodden' or passed over previously, as well as being 'marked' or indicated in some other way. Five previously 'trodden' paths (see Table 10.8) occur in hymns from the Shaker hymn-book citations. The total length of the *Millennial Praises* citation is 76,306 characters, which is much shorter than most of the other works. The collected hymns of Watts amount to 294,828 characters, and Wesley's hymns contain 639,739 characters. For the Shaker citation to contain so many more references to this image, despite its comparatively small size, may indicate its specific relevance to the Shaker community. A clear example of this use is in number 1275, 'the way that leads to God, The path which we ourselves have trod', which equates the 'way' to salvation with the distinctive beliefs and lifestyle adopted by the Shaker community. Emphasis on the same path's use in previous times, most importantly by Christ, would seem to indicate the importance to the Shakers of establishing precedence for their decisions. Examples 1276 and 1277 are similar, but the 'leader' in whose path they follow is Mother Ann Lee, the founder of the Shaker movement. Lee was believed by the Shakers to be the second appearance of Christ, who 'taught the living way' and trod 'the self-denying path'. A strong association of Shaker cultural identity with a sense of history via the PATH image may have contributed toward an assurance of the

authority and validity of a tradition followed by the members of a very separate and unconventional faith community.

The adjective most commonly used to modify *path* is *narrow*, in reference to Mat 7:14.[112] The attribute *narrow* applies equally well to either *path* or *way*, to indicate that a course of action is unpopular or difficult. The image is well-established in the corpus: *narrow(er)* collocates eight times with *way*, and with *path* four times. Following *narrow*, the most frequent adjectives used to describe *path* are *right*, an attribute that is viable in both the target and source domain; and *rough*, to represent DIFFICULTY (HTE 01.05.05.11). A wide range of other descriptions are applied to the PATH image: though the PATH mapping is a conventional metaphor, the use of adjectives like *clean* (1207, Table 10.6), *hideous* (1198, Table 10.6), and *painful* (1237, Table 10.1) represent innovative extensions upon the established mapping. *Painful path* could be arrived at by a metonymy of PATH FOR TRAVEL ALONG A PATH, as could *hideous*, for which the OED (2nd ed., 1989 'hideous, a. (adv.)) lists the primary sense of 'horrible'.[113] *Clean* is a modifier that, though possibly applicable, might seem out of place in the description of a physical path. All three seem rather to be describing the target domain experience of LIFE in metaphorical terms that are not derived purely from a TRAVEL schema. These occurrences seem to be the result of a conceptual blend, in which several input spaces are used, including the typical PATH schema, the metonymic connection of SIN to HORRIBLENESS, and the metaphorical mappings of PAIN onto intense spiritual or MENTAL SUFFERING (HTE 02.02.20) and CLEANNESS onto RIGHTEOUSNESS (HTE 03.07.00.24.07.03).

Several other phrases were interpreted as indicating the concept of sin (Table 10.16). Some phrases, like 'paths of sin' (1252), seem straightforward. Others, like 1273, use the source-domain image of DARKNESS to represent sin. The extended context of 1236, using the phrase 'pleasure's path', shows that this occurrence refers to self-indulgent, sinful behavior, in which the speaker had persisted. The term *by-paths* is found in lines by Keach and Geddes (1209 and 1204, respectively). Both examples refer to sinful events in the past that have led the speaker away from proper spiritual goals, though each of the two does carry a slightly different sense. Keach, accessing the aspect of *path* that marks where one has been, speaks of these 'by-paths' as sinful actions which the repentant Christian must

---

112 'Because strait [is] the gate, and narrow [is] the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.' (KJV)
113 Cf. HTE 02.02.30.10.03. The OED notes that the original sense was of 'causing dread or horror'.

confess. Geddes sees the 'by-paths' rather in terms of where they lead, casting them as false guides or teachers, who have 'deceived' his soul.

Of the instances of *path* in the corpus interpreted as literal, some were obviously so, but a few others required some interpretation. These are all presented in Table 10.18. Example 1239 mentions the biblical event of Moses' rod parting the water (creating a 'path' across the Red Sea). 1234 refers to a 'shining path' to heaven that Christians ascend after death. This image may be taken as literal, figurative, or a mixture of both—while death is often metaphorically represented as a journey, the Christian tradition considers Heaven to be an actual location. This image could possibly represent a literal path into heaven, or it could stand for the abstract concept of *arrival in heaven*. The latter interpretation is a logical extension to the sense of PATH reflecting a Christian LIFE: the final steps of the Christian's JOURNEY, taken between death and arrival in heaven; thus, this interpretation would fit the basic JOURNEY schema.[114] Finally, there are two instances of the term *pathless* (1226 and 1243)*, taken from hymns by Newton, describing Israel's journey through the desert after the Exodus. In both cases Newton uses the example of God's leadership of Israel through the literally 'pathless' wilderness as an illustration of God's willingness to provide guidance through an apparently equally pathless life on earth:

> Just so the true believer's path
> Through many dangers lies;
> Though dark to sense, 'tis right to faith,
> And leads us to the skies. (New315)

The possible figurative uses of *path* and *way* in the hymns corpus show a degree of overlap, but each word seems to have several senses not available to the other, particularly the 'method' sense in which *way* is sometimes used. None of the instances of 'path' in the concordance were found to be innovative metaphors, but are all either literal or conventionalized uses, expressing some sort of PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY. From the high number of results and consistency in metaphorical mapping of PATH, it appears that the image has been conventionalized in the context of spiritual language at least to the point at which overt development is not needed to produce a metaphorical reading. However, the frequent tendency of authors to exploit *path* for poetic imagery also points to its liveliness as a metaphor in comparison with *way*, which appears more frequently without any travel imagery in its immediate context, and shows signs of abstraction to the 'method' sense in

---

114 Chapter VI, Section 2 further discusses the concept of heaven in the Christian tradition.

the poetic register. Additionally, the strong collocation of *path* with words like *tread/trod* and *peace* is evidence that *path* is a highly active concept in both its physical and metaphorical uses, and provides a strong conceptual link between the two. A great many of the specific 'path' and 'way' images are directly biblical, frequently from the Psalms and Proverbs. Such a thorough absorption and development of this imagery highlights the degree to which biblical conceptual metaphors have impacted the semantic development of TRAVEL language in a spiritual context, and possibly beyond.

Table 10: Concordance of ᴘᴀᴛʜ in the corpus of hymns

Source domain: Way/path/track (See Appendix B, HTE 03.09.02.01.02)

Table 10.1: ʟɪꜰᴇ **(HTE 01.02.00)** ɪꜱ ᴀ ᴘᴀᴛʜ **(6)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
71	Dod	Of their succeeding race! Through each perplexing	PATH	of life Our wandering footsteps guide; Give us	ce
833	Wat	With dangerous waters flow. Yet the dear	PATH	to thine abode Lies through this horrid land; Lord!	ce
1050	New	Though snares and dangers throng my	PATH	, And earth and hell my course withstand; I triumph	ce
1228	New	The evils that beset our	PATH	Who can prevent or cure? We stand upon the brink	ci
1237	New	ost, benighted, struck with dread, What a painful	PATH	I tread! Then, my soul with terror hears Worse t	ce
1238	New	through. Determined to save, He watched o'er my	PATH	, When Satan's blind slave, I sported with death;	ci

Table 10.2: ʏᴏᴜᴛʜ **(HTE 01.02.00.07.01)** ɪꜱ ᴀ ᴘᴀᴛʜ **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
4	Add	whom those comforts flowed. When in the slippery	PATHS	of youth Thine arm, unseen, conveyed me safe,	ce

Table 10.3: ꜰᴜᴛᴜʀᴇ ᴇᴠᴇɴᴛꜱ **(HTE 01.05.04.01)** ᴀʀᴇ ᴀ ᴘᴀᴛʜ **(3)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1227	New	ed to save his own. Just so the true believer's	PATH	Through many dangers lies; Though dark to sense,	ce
1250	Wes	For thou art always nigh. Ten thousand snares my	PATH	beset; Yet will I, Lord, the work complete Which	ce
1270	Wes	at could hope and confidence afford To tread that	PATH	, but this, Thou knowest, Lord? Thou knowest, not	ci

Table 10.4: ᴀᴄᴛɪᴠɪᴛʏ/ᴏᴄᴄᴜᴘᴀᴛɪᴏɴ **(HTE 01.05.05.02.03)** ɪꜱ ᴀ ᴘᴀᴛʜ **(8)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1208	Kea	ool, Yet stumbling-blocks do lay In your own	PATHS	, and others too, And so expose God's Name To grea	ce
1213	Mas	ise, And bring those Prisoners to their Doom; Its	PATHS	are Mysteries. Great is thy Truth, and shall	ci
1214	Mas	Charge. Lord, in the day thou art about The	PATHS	wherein I tread; And in the Night, when I lye dow	ce
1215	Mas	ne? Lord of Success, Thee will I bless, Who on my	PATHS	do'st shine: I Reap the Fruit of God's Design, By	ci
1247	Wes	mercy cry, And groan to be renewed. Far from the	PATHS	of men, to thee I solemnly retire; See, thou who	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1254	Wes	very moment waits To render me secure, And all my	PATHS	with ease besets, To make my ruin sure. But thou	ci
1267	Wes	y to reap. Who seed immortal bears, And wets his	PATH	with tears, Doubtless he shall soon return, Bring	ci
1272	Wes	thy wonders in the deep. 'Tis here thine unknown	PATHS	we trace, Which dark to human eyes appear; While	ci

Table 10.5: QUIETNESS/TRANQUILITY **(HTE 01.05.05.09.01)** IS A PATH **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1274	Sha	we may possess A meek and lowly mind; For in her	PATH	, there is no wrath, Nor ought but what is kind.	ci

Table 10.6: BEHAVIOUR/CONDUCT **(HTE 01.05.05.22)** IS A PATH **(11)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1198	Vau	e Comfort, take no more these wayes, This hideous	PATH	, And I wil mend my own without delayes, Cease tho	ce
1206	Kea	ll disciplined, And very skilful be, And in right	PATHS	and foot-steps tread, And truly follow thee.	ce
1207	Kea	He dryes up all our ways so foul, And makes our	PATHS	more clean; He makes a holy gracious Soul, Which	ce
1210	Kea	uns the Snare Of wicked Mens advice, Whom Sinners	PATHS	, or Scorners Chair By no means can entice: B	ci
1218	Wat	uld thy bride appear like one That turns aside to	PATHS	unknown? My constant feet would never rove, Would	ce
1231	New	d hour. Come forth, he says, no more pursue The	PATHS	that lead to death; Look up, a bleeding Savior vi	ce
1251	Wes	st me still my course to run, And still direct my	PATHS	to thee. Oft hath the sea confessed thy power, A	ce
		.A COURSE OF CONDUCT/ACTION **(4)**			
1197	Vau	gs of Sweat, and bloud did drown thee! How in one	PATH	Did the full wrath Of thy great Father Crowd, and	ci
1216	Mas	ircle of Eternity. You who affect the pleasant	PATH	to Hell, And love Damnation in its Causes well, L	ci
1223	New	will provide. When Satan appears To stop up our	PATH	, And fill us with fears, We triumph by faith; He	ci
1232	New	His word a light before us spreads By which our	PATH	we see; His love a banner o'er our head, From har	ce

Table 10.7: A STANDARD OF CONDUCT **(HTE 01.05.05.22.01)** IS A PATH **(15)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
218	Wat	While the long cloud of witnesses Show the same	PATH	to heav'n.	ce
1200	Vau	me; O be pleas'd To fix my steps, and whatsoever	PATH	Thy sacred and eternal wil decreed For thy bruis'	ce

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1201	Bax	against the Rod; Not daring to accuse thy narrow	PATH	; But humbly bold to deprecate thy wrath. Is it th	ce
1205	Ged	e a distance between me and GOD: For in his right	PATH	I have not abode. His stroke is still ready to ki	ce
1211	Mas	e, That I may plainly see and know, The very	PATH	where I should go; And may at night rejoycing, sa	c
1233	New	did and said, And suffered for us here below; The	PATH	he marked for us to tread, And what he's doing fo	ce
1235	New	cease; His ways are truly pleasant, And all his	PATHS	are peace. Our time in sin we wasted, And fed up	ci
1241	Cow	ease; All his ways are pleasantness, And all his	PATHS	are peace: Nothing JESUS did or spoke, Henceforth	ci
1244	Wes	ays are ways of pleasantness, And all her flowery	PATHS	are peace. Happy the man who wisdom gains, Thric	ci
1248	Wes	Whoe'er to thee themselves approve, Must take the	PATH	thy word hath showed, Justice pursue, and mercy l	ci
1256	Wes	ealous for his glorious name, We ought in all his	PATHS	to move, With holy fear and humble love. That wi	ci
1258	Wes	u art; O never let me leave thy side, Or from thy	PATHS	depart! I lift my eyes to thee, Thou gracious, b	ce
1263	Wes	teous ways, Nor suffer me to slide, Point out the	PATH	before my face; My God, be thou my guide! All th	ce
1266	Wes	acher saith, for ever nigh) "Nor let thee from my	PATHS	depart, But guide thee with my gracious eye: "On	ci
1269	Wes	And house, and friends above. Father, the narrow	PATH	To that far country show; And in the steps of Abr	ce

Table 10.8: way of life **(HTE 01.05.05.22.02)** is a path **(10)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1199	Vau	A longer stay Is but excus'd neglect. To mind One	PATH	, and stray Into another, or to none, Cannot be lo	ce
1217	Wat	Star arise, Ye that in darkness sit; He marks the	PATH	that leads to peace, And guides our doubtful feet	ce
1240	New	freed By the Redeemer's grace; A rough and thorny	PATH	we tread, In hopes to see his face. The flesh di	ce
1259	Wes	The precipice on either hand, While in the narrow	PATH	I stand, And dread to venture on. Shall I, throu	ce
1268	Wes	ing the blind by ways unknown. If thou direct my	PATH	aright, If thou before thy servant go, The darkne	ce
1275	Sha	n abide. This is the way that leads to God, The	PATH	which we ourselves have trod; And you, like us, m	ce
1276	Sha	lood Of sin, and make our way to God, In the same	PATH	our leader trod, To hate a carnal nature. But the	ce
1277	Sha	God, She taught the living way, The self-denying	PATH	she trod, And many did obey. Her soul contain'd	ce
1278	Sha	ir offspring and lead them to God In that blessed	PATH	which the Saviour has trod, Instruct them in kind	ce
1279	Sha	of God; The humble soul is blest with grace; This	PATH	our Saviour trod. Henceforth I'll meekly bear t	ci

V. Corpus Analysis: 2. Path

Table 10.9: CUSTOMARY/HABITUAL MODE OF BEHAVIOUR **(HTE 01.05.05.22.03)** IS A PATH **(2)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1255	Wes	s, I fain would walk in thee, From nature's every	PATH	retreat; Thou art my Way, my leader be, And set u	ce
1261	Wes	me of pride Or selfishness we meet; From nature's	PATHS	we turn aside, And worldly thoughts forget. We me	ce

Table 10.10: WISDOM, SAGACITY **(HTE 02.01.08.02)** IS A PATH **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1242	New	ace presides To form the future life! In wisdom's	PATHS	the soul she guides, Remote from noise and strife	ce

Table 10.11: PLEASANTNESS/PLEASURABLENESS **(HTE 02.02.19.01)** IS A PATH **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1260	Wes	en, and wife, and servants seize, And through the	PATHS	of pleasantness Conduct them all to heaven.	ce

Table 10.12: FREEDOM FROM TROUBLE/CARE/SORROW **(HTE 02.02.19.06)** IS A PATH **(4)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1245	Wes	YE simple souls that stray Far from the	PATH	of peace, That lonely, unfrequented way To life a	ce
1262	Wes	Purge in the refining flame: Lead us through the	PATHS	of peace, On to perfect holiness. Let us all tog	ce
1265	Wes	. He in sickness makes me whole, Guides into the	PATHS	of peace; He revives my fainting soul, Stablishes	ci
1271	Wes	ll his griefs and troubles cease, And through the	PATHS	of heavenly peace To life eternal lead. Cover hi	ci

Table 10.13: DEJECTION **(HTE 02.02.20.08)** IS A PATH **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1106	New	In search of fancied good we range; The	PATHS	of disappointment tread, To nothing fixed, but love	ce

Table 10.14: DUTY/OBLIGATION **(HTE 03.05.00.01)** IS A PATH **(3)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1224	New	end. His saints should stand prepared In duty's	PATH	to run; Nor count their greatest trials hard, So	ce
1229	New	orm: Without dismay he boldly treads Where'er the	PATH	of duty leads. The haughty king in vain, With f	ce
1253	Wes	eed, And rise to purity of heart; Through all the	PATHS	of duty move, From humble faith to perfect love.	ci

Table 10.15: RIGHTEOUSNESS **(HTE 03.07.00.24.07.03)** IS A PATH **(2)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1249	Wes	k, And lead me on from grace to grace, In all the	PATHS	of righteousness; Till, throughly saved, my new-	ce
1257	Wes	of Paradise. Lead us in the way of peace, In the	PATH	of righteousness, Never by the sinner trod, Till	ce

Table 10.16: SIN **(HTE 03.07.00.24.08)** IS A PATH **(7)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1204	Ged	thy threats, and Saints example. The many by-	PATHS	have my Soul deceived; And have me of my Saviour	ce
1209	Kea	r God, And let it be with grief confess'd What By-	PATHS	you have trod; For if we do our sins confess	ce
1221	Wat	upply. From the highway that leads to hell, From	PATHS	of darkness and despair, Lord, we are come with t	ce
1236	Cow	tows! Long unafflicted, undismayed, In pleasures	PATH	secure I strayed; Thou mad'st me feel thy chast'n	ci
1246	Wes	de us by the light of grace! Whene'er in error's	PATHS	we rove, The living God through sin forsake, Our	ce
1252	Wes	k herein!" O may I hearken and obey, And shun the	PATHS	of sin! Thou seest my feebleness; Jesus, be thou	ci
1273	Sha	eous, Mount Zion's glories share, Then quit those	PATHS	of darkness, Where satan laid his snare! Come f	ce

Table 10.17: CHRISTIANITY **(Incl. Christ) (HTE 03.07.01.02)** IS A PATH **(7)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1202	Bax	tacle of wrath, To frighten commers from the holy	PATH	. Be silent flesh! my God is Wise and Just; Has	ce
1212	Mas	d agree Thy glorious Name to raise, When they the	PATH	to Heaven see, They come with Songs and Praise.	ce
1219	Wat	ert through.] [Is he a way? He leads to God, The	PATH	is drawn in lines of blood; There would I walk wi	ce
1220	Wat	walk together there; But wisdom shows a narrower	PATH	, With here and there a traveller. "Deny thyself,	ce
1222	Sma	d was cast, And for the prize I threw; And in the	PATH	by thousands past The Lord shall make me new. O	ci
1225	New	his will be done. With Jesus for our guide, The	PATH	is safe though rough The promise says, "I will pr	ce
1264	Wes	I have That thou wilt raise me up. Thou wilt the	PATH	of life display, And lead me in thyself the way,	ce

Table 10.18: Literal uses: PATH **(HTE 03.07.01.02) (7)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1196	Vau	at pleasures should my Journey crown, What silent	PATHS	, what shades, and Cells, Faire, virgin-flowers, a	lit
1203	Bax	an dwell; In peace by crowds they travel the same	PATH	, And being dead annoy none by their smell. The	lit

V. Corpus Analysis: 2. Path

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1226	New	By fire and cloud their way was shown, Across the	PATHLESS	sands; And Amalek was overthrown, By Moses' lifte	lit
1230	Cow	kly stalk, But not the fruitful ear. The beaten	PATH	and highway side Receive the trust in vain The wa	lit
1234	New	re, My rescued soul shall sing, As up the shining	PATH	I soar, "Death, thou hast lost thy sting." Dear	lit
1239	New	Moses' rod, by faith upreared, Through the sea a	PATH	prepared; Jericho's devoted wall, At the trumpet	lit
1243	New	When Israel by divine command The	PATHLESS	desert trod; They found, though 'twas a barren la	lit

3 Road

The token 'road*' appears in many of the same contexts as 'path' and 'way' in the corpus of hymns, usually accessing the metaphorical PATH schema, also implying a SOURCE and a GOAL. Most occurrences of the word indicate an identifiably marked route between locations, in contrast with *way* and *path*, which can also refer merely to the direction or course an individual has taken. In general current usage, if enough people's paths (courses) cover the same stretch of ground, an identifiable path (visible artifact) will be worn into the ground. Though the OED treats the 'course' sense of *path* as an extension of an original 'way or track' sense, both are attested from early Old English use. *Road* is not thought to have arisen in its current sense until comparatively recently, having developed from a much earlier sense (attested from about 888 to 1613 in the OED):[115]

> I. 1. a. The act of riding on horseback; also, a spell of riding; a journey on horseback. (*OED*, 2nd ed.1989, 'road, *n.*')

From here, *road* underwent a gradual process of metonymic extension by which the 'journey' sense was gradually extended to include the route taken, leading to what became the primary sense:

> 4. An ordinary line of communication used by persons passing between different places, usually one wide enough to admit of the passage of vehicles as well as of horses or travellers on foot.

This sense ('road' in Figure 8) is cited from about 1596. Several related senses developed around the same time ('route', 'way', and 'path' as shown in Figure 8), and a figurative meaning 'course of conduct/action' was in use from about 1599. From c. 1623, the OED shows a transitive verbal sense of *road* meaning 'to traverse a way'. Figure 8, based on the data available in the *HTE/HT*OED and the OED, provides a visual representation of the semantic history of the word *road*.

As with *path*, *road* is classified under several HTE headings, including 'Route/way' (03.09.02.01) and 'Way/path/track' (03.09.02.01.02). Again, one HTE heading (03.09.02.01.02.04) refers to the road as a visible artifact, and, although several readings are possible in most examples, this is the source domain label selected to represent these

---

115Turville-Petre (2008) proposes that the word *road* does occur in Old English with a 'linear clearing' or 'track' sense, and is derived from a feminine noun **rodu* rather than *rād*, as the OED suggests.

occurrences in the database. The target domain concepts most frequently accessed via the ROAD image in the corpus have to do with following a specific way of life (HTE 01.05.05.22.02), usually the Christian one (HTE 03.07.01.02). As seen in the previous sections, WAY and PATH also commonly refer to this concept. However, several of the other senses they convey are not found in the occurrences of road; namely, those of destiny or future events (HTE 01.05.04.01), activity or occupation (HTE 01.05.05.02.03), and habitual behavior (HTE 01.05.05.22.03). In general, in contrast with WAY and PATH, occurrences of ROAD always describe a single process or activity, whether brief or protracted, rather than a repeated or habitual process or activity. This is reflected in the complete absence of the plural *roads* in the corpus.

In current literal usage, as in that of the hymns, *road* does not generally carry the same ambiguity as *path*. A road, as a physical artifact, normally comes into being only by deliberate establishment, or visible demarcation, and, as a route, is generally premeditated. Uses of *road* to refer to a personal 'course' of travel or action fall under sense *7a* of *road* in the OED*:*

> A way or direction taken or pursued by a person or thing; a course followed in a journey. Freq. with possessive pronouns

Only a few such uses are present in the corpus. Two literal uses (i.e., uses describing physical travel) seem to fit this sense, and these will be discussed below (p. 171); it was less straightforward, however, to identify nonsensory extensions of this sense. Several corpus occurrences figuratively convey the sense of someone's habitual behavior or 'manner' by attributing a path or paths to that person.[116] Only four occurrences of *road,* however, were attributed to people. One (1282, Table 12.4) speaks of God's predetermined standards for living, and two (1036 and 1309, Table 12.5) refer to the experience of life as a Christian. The fourth, 1305, is a literal reference to the route taken by the Israelites in their exodus from Egypt. Aside from 1036 and 1309, all occurrences of *road* in the corpus seem to place a clear emphasis on the pre-establishment and demarcation of the 'road' in question. This emphasis contrasts with *path*, which requires neither that movement be deliberate nor demarcated, although demarcation (whether physical or imagined) often results from following a path.

---

116 See above, p. 152.

Of the authors represented in the corpus, Isaac Watts makes by far the most frequent use of the word *road*: of 41 total hits, 17 are from Watts, in comparison with Newton's nine and Wesley's four. The difference between Watts and Wesley is surprising given that Watts' hymnal is less than half the size of Wesley's. Watts also makes wider use of the available senses of *road*; a few results are particularly interesting from the perspective of current usage. His use of the preposition *amidst* in the phrase 'amidst the heav'nly road' (example 169, Table 12.5) is possibly striking to a modern reader, and his statement in example 1291 (Table 12.10) about the use of wings to 'climb the heav'nly road' may cause some confusion. *Amidst* tends to be reserved in modern usage for settings with a group of objects, rather than one large object. The OED (2nd ed. 1989, 'amidst, prep.') provides the following primary prepositional sense:

1. In or into the middle or centre of. a. with sing. n.

The latest example cited for this sense is from George MacDonald in 1878, though the cited phrase, 'amidst a circle of friends', as well as the earlier examples in the same sub-group of citations (labeled *γ*) still imply a plurality of objects to be amidst. The previous sub-group (*β*) seems to have a much more 'singular' meaning, but its latest citation is from 1607:

1607 Topsell *Four-footed Beasts* (1673) 131 They plunge amids the water and passe the stream with their pawes.

The OED also provides a secondary, figurative sense:

2. Of state, condition, or surrounding circumstances: Amongst, in the course of.

This entry is accompanied by several, more convincing later citations, in which *amidst* appears with both singular and plural nouns. Though a lack of Modern English citations in the OED for literal uses with semantically (as opposed to grammatically) singular nouns is not sufficient evidence for an argument of the obsolescence of this usage by the later 18th century, there are fewer such usages in the later hymns in the corpus. In fact, only Watts produces lines like

Behold the glories of the Lamb
Amidst his Father's throne;

or

> One day amidst the place
> Where my dear God hath been.

The closest Wesley comes to this is to use *amidst* with singular nouns describing groups of people, like an 'angelic multitude' or a 'ghastly band', or with mass nouns like 'general fire' (also, 'amidst the flame')—fire being, like water, a mass noun, replaceable by component units (e.g., 'waves' or 'flames'). Newton, likewise, uses *amidst* with 'a murd'rous crew' and 'the waves', otherwise reserving the singular *amidst* for figurative use (e.g., 'amidst reproach and strife'), and *Millennial Praises* has only 'amidst the throng'.

Example 1291 (Table 12.10), also by Watts, uses *road* in a way that results in complicated and possibly problematic imagery:

> Had I the pinions of a dove,
> I'd climb the heav'nly road

The confusion appears to be the result of a conceptual blend, utilizing several complex metaphors and metonymies as input spaces. These include HEAVEN IS UP, LIFE IS A JOURNEY (and its entailment that a ROAD/PATH represents the course of life), DEATH IS DEPARTURE, and THE SOUL IS AN ANIMAL.[117] The portrayal of the soul as a winged creature, often a bird, is not uncommon in the corpus: a search for the token 'soul' within ten words of 'wings' yielded several other examples of this image.

Table 11 shows 'winged souls' from the corpus of hymns, in which the souls fly away from earth or earthly trouble. Portrayals of souls as birds occur in texts from as early as Old English,[118] and the symbolism arising from frequent use of the dove in the Bible (by Noah, to find dry land; for sacrifices; and as a representation of the Holy Spirit, etc.) suggests it as an appropriate vessel for the human soul. The inspiration for much of the imagery portraying the soul as a dove, especially in example 1291, is from Psalm 55:6:

> And I said, Oh that I had wings like a dove! [for then] would I fly away, and be
> at rest. (KJV)

---

117 See also p. 275.
118 For example, the '*anfloga*' or soul as a sea bird in the poem *The Seafarer.*

Figure 8: Historical branches of 'road' (OED)
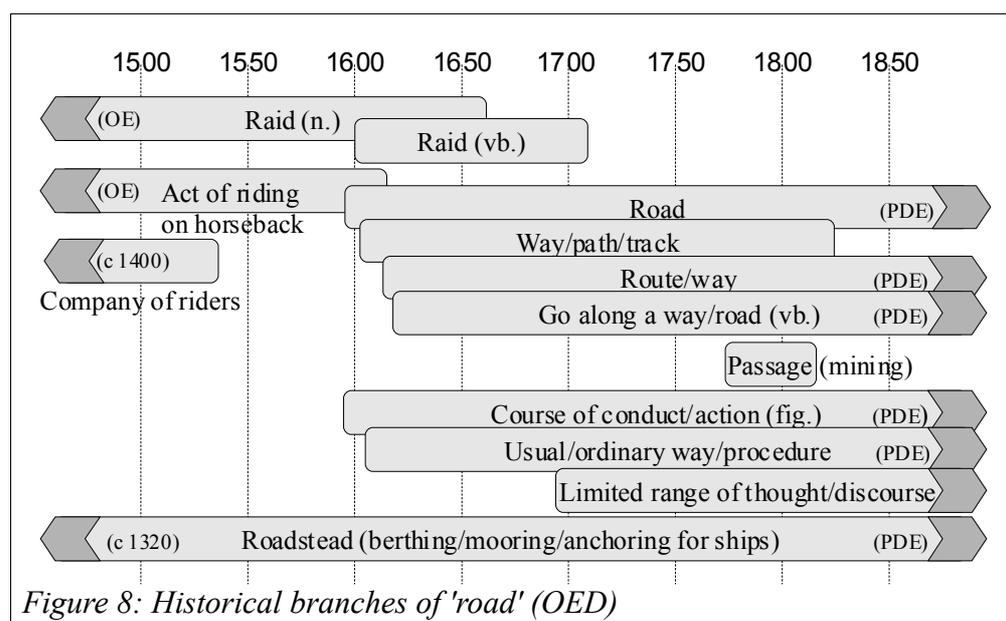
Under the HEAVEN IS UP schema, flying straight upward would be the most direct route to God, who is in heaven. The upward direction or course leading away from earth into heaven conceptualized as a ROAD, can be blended with the image of a flying bird, representing the soul. In some cases this 'flight' can symbolize an attempt to be 'near' or particularly devoted to God. In many other instances, however, it is a flight away from life, through death, to heaven. This is the case in the first example from Watts in Table 11, in which the soul of a dying person willingly leaves the body and flies fearlessly through the 'gate' of death, to heaven. The second Watts citation in Table 11, like example 1291, uses the ambiguity of the word *climb* to speak of 'climbing' toward heaven, here with either feet or wings.

Mas	My SOUL doth leap; but O for WINGS , The Wings of Noah's Dove! Then should I Flee far hence away...
Kea	O SOULS ascend! but O for WINGS , The Wings of Noah's Dove!
Wes	My SOUL shall then outstrip the wind, On WINGS of love mount up on high, And leave the world...
Wat	My SOUL should stretch her WINGS in haste, Fly fearless through death's iron gate...
Wat	Absent from flesh! then rise, my SOUL , Where feet nor WINGS could never climb, Beyond the heav'ns...

Table 11: Winged souls in the corpus of hymns

As with PATH and WAY, uses of *road* are often directional, with a clear destination given in the immediate context of the token. In the hymns, *roads* most commonly lead to heaven (five

168

occurrences), but can also lead to God or Christ (and therefore to heaven as well), or to death and hell. Although a large number of 'path' occurrences are attributive (i.e., describing a path 'of' someone or something), there are few similar examples of attributive roads. In three (referenced above, p. 165), a metaphorical ROAD is clearly attributed to a person or people. Examples 1281 (Table 12.8) and 1308 (Table 12.2) refer to 'salvation's road' and 'destruction's dangerous road'. These are indicative of the road's destination; the culmination of a behavior or lifestyle leading to salvation or destruction. Other occurrences of *road* indicate a destination using descriptive adjectives: examples include *heav'nly'* (169, Table 12.5), *celestial* (1313, Table 12.5), and *downward* (1290, Table 12.7) roads.[119]

Several other examples in the corpus use descriptive adjectives to give positive or negative evaluations of the ROAD image, describing it as 'dangerous', 'sacred', 'thorny', 'chaste', 'narrow', or 'pleasant'. Danger and discomfort, however, are not always to be avoided. Though the cluster 'dangerous road' occurrs five times, these occurrences do not all refer to the same concept. Three deal with the 'dangerous' risks of sinful and destructive behavior, but the other two, both in hymns written by Isaac Watts, are observations on the difficulty and hardship to be expected by Christians while living on earth: their path is no less dangerous for being the right one. Elsewhere, the description of Christianity and the Christian way of life as a 'strait', 'rough and thorny', or 'narrow' road (164 and 1307, Table 12.5; and 1312, Table 12.9, respectively), likewise, reflects the more difficult and less enjoyable aspects of Christian life. Despite the difficulties, however, the road to heaven is well-lit (1300 and 1301, Table 12.9), clearly marked (by sense and grace: 1311, Table 12.4 and 1293, Table 12.9), and is the only one that leads where the travelers want to go (1284, Table 12.4). The dangers are temporary; the road is ultimately safe and, to Newton and Cowper, pleasant (1036 and 1303, Table 12.5).

Finally, three specific manifestations of *road* show that some degree of conventionalization has taken place, mostly late in the corpus period. In addition to the more typical adjectives attributed to the ROAD image, the description of a road as 'chaste' in example 1286 (Table 12.6), from the 1813 Shaker hymnal *Millennial Praises*, indicates

---

119 It is striking that, within this set, all four of the examples of 'heav'nly' roads were found in hymns by Isaac Watts, and all with an apostrophe representing an omitted letter *e*. The token 'heav'nly' appears 147 times in Watts' hymnal, as well as infrequently throughout the rest of the corpus, but does not appear in Wesley's hymns, by far the largest text. Although the corpus for this project uses somewhat normalized editions, having been compiled with semantic, rather than orthographic considerations in mind, a search of the first edition of Wesley's hymns (1780) via the ECCO database confirms that the lexeme always occurs in non-contracted form in that text. The corpus text of Wesley's hymns contains 156 instances of 'heavenly', but Watts' hymnal only two.

that, as with 'path',[120] combinations of *road* with adjectives that do not readily fit a general TRAVEL schema have arisen. Two further examples, 1126 and 1285, use *road* as an image for life as a Christian, but provide less immediate context than might be expected for such a specific image. Example 1126 (Table 12.9) is taken from Cow13, 'What thousands never knew the road', and is discussed in more detail in Section 7.4 of this chapter; although the first line begins with a reference to a 'road' without any immediate explanation, the travel schema quickly emerges to structure the hymn: the 'road' is not described in the immediate context of its first occurrence, but the next stanza provides an eventual destination of 'joys on high', or heaven.

The second, example 1285 (Table 12.3), is another selection from *Millennial Praises.* The travel schema does not figure strongly in the hymn as a whole, but one stanza makes particular use of a spatial time schema and JOURNEY imagery (emph. added):

> The soul that this gospel embraces,
> From all other bonds must be free;
> And while *towards Zion* he *faces*,
> No object *behind* will he see;
> But those that keep *looking behind* them,
> Are only like *blocks* in the *road*;
> Then let us *go on* and not mind them,
> And *press* for the Kingdom of God.

In the third line of this stanza, the Christian soul is suddenly embodied and placed on a landscape, facing in a specific direction. The act of looking 'toward Zion' is representative of the Christian's hope of eventual arrival in heaven and focus upon spiritual matters, in renunciation of the earthly life left 'behind'. The next two lines introduce the idea of 'looking back' upon earthly life or events in the past. The image of 'looking back' is common as a metaphor for being hesitant or fearful about the future, and wishing for a return to some idealized past condition. The expression recalls biblical passages like Lot's wife looking back upon Sodom and Gomorrah during their hasty journey out of the city,[121] and Jesus' warning to would-be followers against making half-hearted commitments— putting one's hand on the plough and 'looking back'.[122] In a spiritual context, and with a partial basis in these biblical passages, 'looking back' is regarded as an unhelpful and

---

120 See discussion on p. 155 above.
121 See Gen 19:26.
122 See Luk 9:62.

distracting activity, indicating a lack of faith or commitment. The author William Mason (1719–1791) expands on the passage from Luke:

> No man can serve two such opposite masters. If thou hast chosen Jesus for thy portion and thy all, wherefore dost thou look back to the world? (1765: 258)

Earlier in the same book, Mason contrasts a worldly with a spiritual attitude toward looking back:

> 'O, it is the most comfortable thing, in a dying hour, to look back upon a well-spent life,' say many. It is most comfortable to 'forget the things that are behind, and to look forward, and press towards the mark of the prize of our high-calling of God in Christ Jesus,' saith the christian, Phil. iii. 14. What a delightful prospect to view a reconciled God, a glorified Jesus, and a kingdom prepared for us from the foundation of the world! (1765: 90)

It is this same attitude toward life that is shared by the hymn's author, who compares those looking back to 'blocks in the road' in the sixth line. Here the ROAD image is first directly incorporated, making explicit the TRAVEL schema that has up to now been implicitly accessed via LANDSCAPE imagery and references to cultural gestalt concepts involving travel. The singers or readers of the hymn, now characterized as travelers, are next encouraged to press onward, ignoring those who have come to a stop in the middle of the 'road', that is, halted in their spiritual progress. The image of the ROAD is not developed any further, and its significance is left unexplained, as is that of the landscape. Though the hymn up to this point makes no systematic use of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the metaphor has been accessed indirectly via the use of imagery like 'looking back' and 'pressing on'. These images are sufficiently salient to activate the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in any context, even without the specific biblical and cultural resonances they have here. The introduction of the item ROAD poses no difficulty to interpretation, as it fits the existing PATH schema, a requisite feature of the specific-level source domain of JOURNEYS. Although OBSTACLES are also a standard element of the PATH schema, the specific portrayal of lapsed Christians as blocks in the road is an innovative blend, combining the images of OBSTACLES and fellow travelers who have stopped to look backward.

The corpus contains five uses of the word *road* that are understood to be literal (Table 12.10), four of them references to biblical passages. Example 1287 refers to a fulfillment of prophecy in Edom.[123] The phrase *Idumean road* is another example of the

---

123 See Isa 34:5-6. 'Idumea' is otherwise known as 'Edom'.

171

type discussed above, where the road's destination (or possibly general location) is provided by a modifier. Example 1296 refers to Abraham's journey to Canaan, using the *road*, or his route, metonymically to represent his whole experience of the journey. Of the literal uses of *road* in the corpus, this example is the one that most nearly fits the 'course' use of *road* discussed above. Another possible instance of this sense is example 1302, regarding the biblical account of the Philistines' capture, possession, and return of the ark of the covenant. Here *road* refers to the route taken by the oxen pulling the cart that carried the ark; however, in the passage from 1 Samuel 6:12, the presence of an actual marked road which the oxen 'took' is made clear (emph. added):

> And the kine took the *straight way* to the way of Bethshemesh, [and] went along the *highway*, lowing as they went, and turned not aside [to] the right hand or [to] the left … (KJV)

The fourth (1305), briefly discussed above on p. 165, refers to the 'cloudy pillar' by which God led the Israelites in their flight from Pharaoh to Canaan.[124] The word *way* is used in the biblical passage to describe the route the Israelites followed through the wilderness. Although no physical road existed (necessitating the pillar of cloud), there was a specific route which God intended them to take and 'marked' for them. Thus, this sense of *road* is closest to OED sense 7a, discussed above, appearing here with the possessive pronoun specified by the entry. The word *road* is itself not found in any of the biblical passages that were the bases for these lines; it occurs only once in the King James Bible,[125] and this in the sense 'the act of riding with hostile intent against a person or district' ('raid' in Figure 8). This sense was active until about 1650, and does not occur in the corpus. Finally, 1291, discussed above on p. 167, appears to describe a literal road to the gate of heaven, although there may be many valid figurative interpretations as well.

Overall, uses of *road* in the corpus seem to retain a still stronger link to travel imagery than either *path* or *way*. They are much more likely to refer to a demarcated pathway used for travel, giving a stronger and more solid image. The relatively recent development of the current sense of *road* probably accounts partially for the strength of ROAD as a more obviously metaphorical travel image. The higher frequency of occurrence in Watts' hymns might also be due to the overlap in currency of some newer senses with

---

124 See Exd 13:21.
125 1Sa 27:10: 'And Achish said, Whither have ye made a road to day? And David said, Against the south of Judah, and against the south of the Jerahmeelites, and against the south of the Kenites' (KJV).

older ones that may have faded later in the century. This possible shift in currency is not indicated in the date charts of the OED and HTE (also represented in Figure 8 above), which do not (and are not intended to) reflect things like frequency of use; further corpus-based analysis, in coordination with refinement of a diachronic approach to semantic research in historical corpora, will be required in order to supply a less grainy image of semantic change. Finally, many of the travel-related images that appear in these hymns have their origins in biblical passages. In the KJV, these passages appear in an earlier form of the English language, in which *road* would have meant something entirely different: a 'raid' or a 'ride'. The images from these passages, incorporated as metaphorical mappings in the religious cultural gestalt, represent a wide variety of spiritual concepts that could be accessed quickly via travel terminology, within spoken and written spiritual language. The authors' choice to convey these concepts by means of the word *road* shows that, by the early 18th century, a more modern understanding of the word had become primary. This sense of 'road' was integrated into the travel schema, and inherited metaphorical mappings from the cultural gestalt that were previously used with other, older words like *path* and *way*. It is likely that the variety of uses of *road* in the hymns reflects one process, probably at work in a wider context, by which the biblically-based travel imagery is conventionalized at the same time as the semantic extension of *road* is encouraged.

Table 12: Concordance of ʀᴏᴀᴅ in the corpus of hymns

Source domain: Road (See Appendix B, HTE 03.09.02.01.02.04)

Table 12.1: ʟɪꜰᴇ **(HTE 01.02.00)** ɪꜱ ᴀ ʀᴏᴀᴅ **(2)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1288	Wat	er and our friend; Nor leave us in this dangerous	ROAD	, Till all our trials end. may our feet pursue th	ce
1292	Wat	O Lord! our drowsy sense, To walk this dangerous	ROAD	; And if our souls be hurried hence, May they be f	ce

Table 12.2: ᴅᴇꜱᴛʀᴜᴄᴛɪᴏɴ **(HTE 01.05.02.02)** ɪꜱ ᴀ ʀᴏᴀᴅ **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1308	New	ew that shall he saved? Destruction's dangerous	ROAD	What multitudes pursue! While that which leads th	ce

Table 12.3: ʙᴇʜᴀᴠɪᴏᴜʀ/ᴄᴏɴᴅᴜᴄᴛ **(HTE 01.05.05.22)** ɪꜱ ᴀ ʀᴏᴀᴅ **(4)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1289	Wat	t against my grace rebel Seek death, and love the	ROAD	to hell."	ce
1298	Wat	stian, the hypocrite, and apostate. Broad is the	ROAD	that leads to death, And thousands walk together	ce
1299	Wat	he distance well; With haste we run the dangerous	ROAD	That leads to death and hell. And can such rebel	ce
.ᴀ ᴄᴏᴜʀꜱᴇ ᴏꜰ ᴄᴏɴᴅᴜᴄᴛ/ᴀᴄᴛɪᴏɴ (1)					
1285	Sha	looking behind them, Are only like blocks in the	ROAD	; Then let us go on and not mind them, And press f	ce

Table 12.4: ᴀ ꜱᴛᴀɴᴅᴀʀᴅ ᴏꜰ ᴄᴏɴᴅᴜᴄᴛ **(HTE 01.05.05.22.01)** ɪꜱ ᴀ ʀᴏᴀᴅ **(4)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1282	Sha	y heart, and never part, 'Till I have learn'd thy	ROAD	.	ci
1283	Sha	the work that we must do? Or is there not another	ROAD	, That we may try and go to God? "Nay, nay, inde	ce
1284	Sha	e true and living way; And sure there is no other	ROAD	, That ever led a soul to God." They also cry'd,	ce
1311	Wes	ale to heaven shall be, Sense shall point out the	ROAD	, The creatures all shall lead to thee, And all we	ce

Table 12.5: WAY OF LIFE **(HTE 01.05.05.22.02)** IS A ROAD **(9)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
164	Wat	True, 'tis a strait and thorny	ROAD	, And mortal spirits tire and faint; But they	ce
169	Wat	Nor tire amidst the heavenly	ROAD		ce
837	Wat	Lord! we would keep the heav'nly	ROAD	,	ce
853	Wat	We trace the sacred	ROAD	;	ce
1036	New	end, in view; Supported by his staff and rod, My	ROAD	is safe and pleasant too, I travel through a desert	ce
1297	Wat	ir. Now he persuades, "How easy 'tis To walk the	ROAD	to heav'n;" Anon he swells our sins, and cries, "	ce
1307	New	rs to his praise. Though rough and thorny be the	ROAD	, It leads thee home, apace, to GOD; Then count th	ce
1309	New	ne'er be overthrown. Though many foes beset your	ROAD	, And feeble is your arm; Your life is hid with CH	ci
1313	Wes	be, And lead my faithful family In the celestial	ROAD	. Lord, if thou didst the wish infuse, A vessel f	ce

Table 12.6: REGENERATION **(HTE 03.07.00.24.01.02)** IS A ROAD **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1286	Sha	arents begot us anew: While regeneration's chaste	ROAD	they have trod, Through travail of soul they have	ce

Table 12.7: SIN **(HTE 03.07.00.24.08)** IS A ROAD **(3)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1290	Wat	and'ring in a diff'rent way, But all the downward	ROAD	. How dreadful was the hour When God our wand'rin	ce
1306	New	dreadful abode, Each madly persues The dangerous	ROAD	; Though God give them warning They onward will go	ce
1310	Wes	, Why will ye folly love, And throng the downward	ROAD	, And hate the wisdom from above, And mock the son	ce

Table 12.8: SALVATION, REDEMPTION **(HTE 03.07.00.24.09)** IS A ROAD **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1281	Mas	ho they be numerous and great, I'm in Salvation's	ROAD	; They cannot pass the blood of Christ; Which is t	ci

Table 12.9: CHRISTIANITY (HTE 03.07.01.02) IS A ROAD (11)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1097	New	For all our toil while on the	ROAD	.	ce
1126	Cow	What thousands never knew the	ROAD	!	ce
1280	Mas	God And his alone will be, I triumph I am in the	ROAD	To true felicity. Lord, all is spread before thy	ci
1293	Wat	ed with love; While grace stands pointing out the	ROAD	That leads our souls above. His goodness runs an	ce
1294	Wat	e dangers that we meet In travelling the heav'nly	ROAD	. Lord, when I leave this mortal ground, And thou	ce
1295	Wat	, My roving feet command; Nor I forsake the happy	ROAD	That leads to thy right hand.	ce
1300	Cow	alm and heav'nly frame; A light to shine upon the	ROAD	That leads me to the Lamb! Where is the blessed	ce
1301	Cow	nd serene my frame; So purer light shall mark the	ROAD	That leads me to the Lamb.	ce
1303	Cow	erciful restraint I scorned And left the pleasant	ROAD	; Yet turn me, and I shall be turned, Thou art the	ce
1304	New	sfy. Come, set your faces Zion-ward, The sacred	ROAD	enquire; And let a union to the LORD Be hencefort	ce
1312	Wes	h thy truth and light, To point us out the narrow	ROAD	, And guide our steps aright: To steer our danger	ce

Table 12.10: Literal uses: road (03.09.02.01.02.04) (5)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1287	Wat	God, Comes travelling in state, Along the Idumean	ROAD	, Away from Bozrah's gate? The glory of his robes	lit
1291	Wat	d I the pinions of a dove, I'd climb the heav'nly	ROAD	; There sits my Savior dressed in love, And there	lit
1296	Wat	d the promised land, And fired his zeal along the	ROAD	.	lit
1302	New	of all The kine unguided went By the directest	ROAD	; When the Philistines homeward sent The ark of Is	lit
1305	New	e resource in God. A cloudy pillar marked their	ROAD	, And screened them from the heat; From the hard r	lit

4 Walk

Having developed a profile of the common travel-related nouns *way*, *path*, and *road* in their roles within the corpus of hymns, the same methodology was next applied to three words that typically occur as verbs: namely *walk*, *run*, and *pass*. These three words (or lemmas) occur with similar frequency in the corpus, with between 100-300 occurrences each. This section catalogues occurrences of the first verbal token, 'walk*', discusses the word's semantic development and general usage, and attempts to draw an outline of its presence and unique connotations in the corpus and in spiritual language.

Excluding hymn titles, the corpus contains 146 instances of the search token 'walk*', which are provided in Table 13 below. One further occurrence, 392 (Table 13.9), from a hymn by Wesley included in Watson (2002), was also retained from the database and is included with the corpus results. Other forms of the lexeme WALK are represented in the data, including *walking*, *walke*, and *walketh*. WALK

Figure 9: Historical branches of 'walk, v.' (OED)

seems more likely than the words PATH and ROAD to occur in set phrases: the most common is *walk* with God*, with nine occurrences in the corpus; *walk* in the light* also occurs five times, and the two phrases *walk by faith* and *walk with * in white* each occur four times. These phrases will be discussed later in this section.

WALK may occur as either a verb or a noun. Though the noun form does occur in the corpus, the verb is much more common. The OED entry for 'walk, *v.'* (draft rev. Mar 2009) describes the historical development of the verb form in terms of four 'branches' (shown in Figure 9):

    I. To roll, toss, turn over.
    II. To move about, journey, circulate.
    III. *intr.* To pass one's life, conduct oneself, live, be in a certain condition.
    IV. To move about on foot, and related senses.

The OED's citations show that the first branch is the oldest; it is attested from Old English, and disappeared before the end of the 15th century. The second branch became active
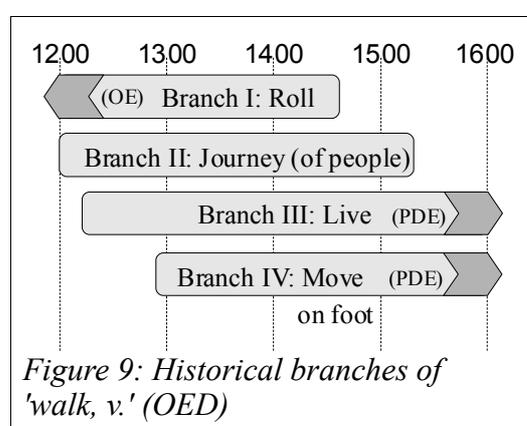
around 1200, and the other two followed within the next century. The third branch is

particularly important to the discussion of this word in the context of religious language, as

shown by subsense *a* of its first, figurative sense:

> **(III.7) a.** Chiefly after biblical usage: to pass one's life; to conduct oneself,
> behave (well, badly, wisely, unwisely, etc.). Often with reference to a
> metaphorical 'path' or 'way'.

This sense is reflected in the HTE heading 'Behaviour/conduct' (01.05.05.22), one of

several HTE headings under which the word *walk* is categorized. The 'behavior' sense is

by far the most common in the corpus, accounting for 59 occurrences, roughly 40% of the

total 147 (see Table 10.8). The OED entry explains further that branches II and III are 'in

most senses now taken as an extended use of branch IV'. However, the less specific branch

II sense of WALK, having to do with movement and journeying, is the older sense, from

which III and IV arose. It is likely that semantic developments in literal uses of WALK are

reflected in uses of travel imagery within a spiritual context; this possibility will be

explored in the current section.

Most of the uses of WALK found in the hymns fit one or more senses under the latter

three branches of WALK's historical development. Of the senses applicable to people, many

seem to overlap, even across 'branch' boundaries. The OED listing makes distinctions

between several senses that, upon first reading, seem very similar. The intransitive sense

4a (listed under branch II) was active from 1200 to the end of the 16th century:

> (II) 4. *intr.* a. Of a person: to go from place to place; to journey, wander. Also
> *trans.*: to go (one's way), travel across or over (a country, etc.).

The latest cited example of this sense is from R. Robinson in 1576:

> *Certain Sel. Hist. Christian Recreations* sig. Aiii^v Confused he shall walke his
> waie.

Many of the more modern intransitive uses of WALK for traveling match senses *9a* and *b*;

and transitive ones, *9d*, and *10a* and *b*:

> (IV) 9. To move or travel at a regular and fairly slow pace by lifting and setting
> down each foot in turn, so that one of the feet is always on the ground.
> a. *intr.* Chiefly with adverb or adverbial phrase (as about, along, †forth, home,

on, past, up and down, etc.) or with preposition and following noun indicating the manner, direction, or location of such movement.
… b. *intr.* To move about or go from place to place on foot for exercise or recreation; to take a walk or walks. Also with abroad.
… d. *trans.* To traverse or cover (a distance) on foot. Also occas. with semantically related object, as journey, walk

(IV) 10. *trans.* a. To travel on foot over or through (an area, country, city, etc.). Also *fig.*
b. To travel on foot on or along (a road or path). See also to walk the street(s) at STREET n. and adj. Phrases 3.

This separation places grammatically distinct, but semantically similar, uses like the following in different categories:

(9a) **1883** *Harper's Mag.* Mar. 538/2 Crowds were walking in the middle of the roadway—merry and well-tempered.

(9b) **1978** A. Maupin *Tales of City* (1989) xlviii. 161, I used to walk on the beach looking for carnelians.

(9d) **1836** Dickens *Criminal Courts*, They walked a few paces, and paused.

(10a) **1869** R. Browning *Ring & Bk.* IV. X. 17 When man walks the garden of this world For his own solace.

(10b) **1824** W. Irving *Tales of Traveller* I. 207, I cannot tell you how vain-gloriously I walked the streets.

The system of categorization in the OED is useful for identifying separate grammatical uses of walk, but is overspecific for semantic identification of most uses of walk in the corpus. The entry for sense *9a* above, which according to the OED sometimes expresses 'manner' of movement, includes the following citation:

1796 E. Inchbald *Nature & Art* I. xi. 62 He walked into the room, not with a dictated obeisance, but with a hurrying step.

There is a strong similarity between this sense and sense *16b*:

(IV)16. With emphasis on the gait or pace.
… b. *intr.* Of a human being or other biped, contrasted with run, hop, etc.

which includes this citation:

> **2007** *Eye Spy* No. 48. 17/1 Other exhibits..including..an 'artificial leg' that could help the user run or walk more quickly.

For the most part, the examples cited by the OED clarify the distinctions between these senses, but many instances of WALK in the corpus seem to fit multiple OED senses equally well. For instance, it is difficult to find a semantic difference between the uses of *walk* in examples 4.1 and 4.2:

> 4.1-1390   The fearful soul that tires and faints, And walks the ways of God no more

> 4.2-1405   … souls to Jesus joined, And saved by grace alone, walking in all his ways …

These two senses, taken literally (especially given the surrounding travel context of 4.1) would be categorized as separate senses (*10b* and *9a*, respectively). Taken figuratively, however, both would fall under sense *7a* of branch III, dealing with behavior, which includes both transitive and intransitive uses. In contrast, the HTE/HTOED headings emphasize semantic content rather than grammatical usage; examples 4.1 and 4.2 both use the physical image of 'Walking' (HTE 01.05.08.03.02) to convey the mental idea of 'Behaviour/conduct' (see Table 13.9).

The OED entry for *walk, v.* cites two set phrases, *to walk with God* and *to walk (in) the way of the Lord*, as exemplary of the single sense *7a*. In the present analysis, however, the phrase *walk* with God*, although implying a resulting effect on a person's behavior, seems itself more nearly to imply a close association or fellowship with God, similar to sense *7b* in the OED, emphasizing the communal aspect of spiritual life:

> (III 7) b. To be associated, work or get along together, act harmoniously *with*. Now *rare*. In later use chiefly with reference to an individual's or group's relationship with a church.

The OED discussion of the set phrase *to walk with God* shows how the ideas of association with God and living in godliness are inextricably combined.[126] Sense 7b, reflected in the HTE heading 'Association/fellowship/companionship' (03.01.04.01), if references to walking with God are included, accounts for the second largest section of corpus results for WALK: 35 results, or roughly 24% (see Table 13.10). This high rate of occurrence even in

---

126 See discussion of biblical phrase origins on p. 183 below.

Wesley's hymns shows that, at least within a spiritual context, the rarity of this sense has been a more recent development.

Sense *7c* refers to obedience to some form of authority:

(III 7) c. To direct one's conduct *by*, *after* a rule, etc.

Walk is listed with this sense under the HTE heading 'A standard of conduct' (01.05.05.22.01). There are eight instances of walking *by* something, and, though all refer to behavior in general (see Table 13.9), they imply enablement to live or behave in a certain way, rather than obedience to a rule. This is seen in a couplet from Wesley, in which faith is prerequisite to walking on water, and keeps believers from sinking beneath the waves:

4.3-1018	Bid them walk on life's rough sea;
1022	Bid them come by faith to thee

Five of the examples in which someone walks *by* something (1373 and 1377, Table 13.9; 1031, Table 13.1; 1384, Table 13.4; and 1409, Table 13.10) refer to the concept of 'walking by faith', two to walking by 'light' (1329 and 1399), and one to walking by the Holy Spirit (1327).

The concept of 'walking by faith' is biblical, and occurs throughout Christian spiritual language, sometimes with interesting variations, as in the image of *sailing* by faith in a hymn by Watts (Wat254 in the database). The origin of the phrase is 2 Corinthians 5:7: 'For we walk by faith, not by sight' (*KJV*), and Paul's metaphor has become thematic in spiritual contexts. A precedent for this attitude is in John 20:29: 'Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed [are] they that have not seen, and [yet] have believed' (*KJV*). Though Jesus and Paul insist on faith *instead* of sight, the direct substitution of one for the other nonetheless explains faith in *terms* of sight. The shared context implies that the two have similar functions and results, and that they are directly linked somehow: faith is possibly another, alternative sense, or else a navigational tool that provides direction independent of human judgment. Paul's reference to 'sight' itself is not completely literal, but invokes an UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING metaphor which persists in the hymns: the Christian 'walk', or life, depends on faith, rather than on judgments based on human understanding.

The OED's observation regarding the tendency of the figurative branch III of *walk* to be 'taken as an extended use of branch IV' could be understood to imply that modern (and presumably early modern) intuitions as to the derivation of figurative WALK are in some way inaccurate, even in their contemporary settings. If this is so, then the applicableness of examples 4.1 and 4.2 to two historically distinct branches of WALK is difficult to explain. Cases like example 4.4 can also be taken literally or figuratively, as emphasizing community or obedience, and thus could be placed under *9a,* or *7a, b,* or *c,* especially as the context hints at a figurative extension of *rock*.

> 4.4-1351 … Christ is the rock on which we walk …

This usage also has much in common with sense *15*, which, though transitive, the OED associates with the phrase *walk on water*:

> (IV) 15. *trans*. To move on foot upon (a surface, the ground, the sea, etc.); to tread. Cf. *to walk on water …*

However, figuratively, it seems to fit sense *7d* as well:

> †d. With *upon*. To proceed on, act on the basis of. *Obs*.

which is accompanied by citations like the following:

> **a1653** H. BINNING *Serm*. in *Wks*. (1735) 166 If the most holy Man comes not in among ungodly Sinners, if he do not walk upon the Grounds of his own extream Necessity, and Christ's Sufficiency, he cannot come to Jesus Christ.

Again, example 4.4, referring to continued righteous behavior, has been classed in Table 13.9.

In the corpus hymns, the link between nonsensory uses of WALK and their sensory origins is very strong, and is often directly exploited, both in the immediate context and in the thematic imagery of the hymns. This complicates attempts to define the nonsensory senses of WALK as separate from sensory ones. It is also left uncertain whether apparent branch III examples like these, or others (such as 4.6 discussed below), where walking is contrasted with running, or reinforces closeness of community, should be taken as metaphorical extensions of branch II or IV. An analysis of spiritual language around the end of the 16th century, when most senses of branch II began to disappear, might show

whether a transition occurred in the source imagery of metaphorical uses of WALK from the 'journey' to the 'motion on foot' sense.

Ultimately, most senses in branch III of 'walk, *v.*' seem to be derived from or related to biblical uses. Specifically, the OED notes that the phrases *to walk with God* and *to walk (in) the way of the Lord* come from parallel set phrases in Hebrew via Latin versions:

> **to walk with God** [after post-classical Latin *ambulare cum Deo* (Vulgate), itself after Hebrew *hālak et-ha'ĕlōhīm*, lit. 'to walk with God' (Genesis 5:22, 5:24 …)]: to lead a godly life; to have intimate communion with God. **to walk (in) the way of the Lord** [after post-classical Latin *ambulare in via Domini* (Vulgate), itself after Hebrew *hālak bĕ-derek 'ădōnāy*]: to lead a life of righteousness.

The profound importance of this image in Jewish religious culture is illustrated in the Hebrew name for the collective body of Jewish religious law, the *halakhah* (derived from the Hebrew word for 'to walk'). Additionally, the phrase *vehalachta bidruchov*, 'you shall walk in His ways', occurs, with moderate variation, throughout the Old Testament, occurring nine times in Deuteronomy.[127]

It is from this ideal that the Christian conception of *imitatio dei* ('imitation of God') is derived,[128] and the continuing link between pursuit of *imitatio dei* and the image of walking with God can be seen throughout the Christian tradition. 'Miss B.' expanded on this inherited imagery from the Christian tradition in a letter to John Wesley in 1761:

> I want not only to walk in the way, but in the highway of holiness: so that every breath I draw, every word I speak, every drop of my blood, and every grain of my strength, may be holiness to the Lord. (Miss B 1781: 336)

Thus the originally Hebrew 'ways' of God have been repurposed as a characteristically Methodist highway to holiness. There are 20 total instances in the corpus of the idea of walking with God or Christ, signifying devotion to and association with God in daily life. As mentioned above, these are classified as conveying association with God, and are grouped in Table 13.10. Many writers, like Miss B, frame the old injunction *vehalachta bidruchov* in terms of the New Covenant, as in example 4.5, by John Newton:

---

127 See Deut. 5:33, 8:6, 10:12, 11:22, 13:5, 19:9, 26:17, 28:9, and 30:16. The results of a search for 'walk in ways' in the KJV Bible (35 total matches) are provided in Appendix C.
128 This is discussed in further detail by Roth (2007: 82).

> 4.5-1031 By faith in CHRIST I walk with God, With heav'n, my journeys'-end, in view

This combines two common themes in one line: walking 'with God', representing association with God; and the New Testament phrase *walk by faith*. Charles Wesley also combines the Old Testament walk with a New Testament image of racing,[129] a journey again ending in heaven:

> 4.6-475 And run my course with even joy, And closely walk with thee to heaven.

Others, such as 35, 1056, and 1348, interpret 'walking together' as representing devoted friendship with God. This friendship runs two ways, and four examples from hymns by Wesley—1429, 1447, 1448, and 1449—refer to God's walking 'with me', providing direction and protection from danger.

A variation on the image of walking with God/Christ is the New Testament phrase *walk with him* [Christ] *in white*. The origin of this phrase is Rev 3:4:

> Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy. (KJV)

Here and elsewhere in the Bible,[130] 'white' or 'clean' garments signify holiness and purity of the soul. The 'walking' that takes place in heaven, however, is different from that undertaken while on earth: those in heaven have already reached their final destination, and have no further to travel on their journey. Any 'walking' done there will presumably be of a more recreational type, related literally to OED sense *9b*. This usage might be interpreted as a metonymic reference to literal presence with Christ (see Table 13.8); as well as being descriptive of communion with Christ, after OED sense *7b*, or of the normal state of life in heaven, as in sense *8a:*

> 8. a. Of a person: to go about in public, be alive, live (in a certain place or region).

Another set of occurrences draws from the story of Enoch in Genesis, in which Enoch first 'walked with God … three hundred years', then finally 'walked with God: and he [was] not;

---

129 See Hbr 12:1, 1Cr 9:24, and 2Ti 4:7; also see discussion of RUN in the next section.
130 See also Rev ch. 4 and 7.

for God took him' (Gen 5:22-24, KJV). These two occurrences (1337, Table 13.1, and 1338, Table 13.10) are from one line of a hymn by Mason:

> 4.7-Like Enoch, let me walk with God, And thus walk out my day

This line evokes both the Biblical narrative and the idea of association and fellowship with God such as Enoch enjoyed during his life, but also the concept of 'living out' the remainder of one's life as walking through the days that are left. Only two other occurrences were interpreted as referring to life in the most general sense. One (1381) is a request to God for assistance in living what can often be a dangerous life, and the other (1419) refers to the safety of a person who depends on Christ.

The apparent tendency of WALKING imagery to appeal simultaneously to multiple figurative and literal senses of WALK, and the difficulty that arises in attempts at definitively tying occurrences of WALK to specific senses, lie in the senses' semantic relatedness to each other. Via natural semantic processes like extension and specification, new meanings for WALK arise from the frequent combination of walking with other activities, such as talking or recreation. People who enjoy each other's company are likely to physically walk together from time to time, whether purposefully or recreationally. In the Gospels, several of Jesus' most important conversations with his disciples were conducted while walking from town to town. As an older example, God is described in the book of Genesis as having enjoyed walking in the Garden of Eden with Adam and Eve.[131] This use is extended to the Christian community as well, as seen in OED sense *7b* and corpus examples like 4.8 and 4.9 (by Keach and Watts, respectively), where walking together is representative of association and companionship:

> 4.8-1331 … delight in such Who do Christ Jesus own; And walk with them in
> the same way, If that they be sincere …

> 4.9-1375 Nor blush nor fear to walk among The men that love the Lord.

Thus, 'walking with [Christ] in white' combines Christian ideals of recreation, association and communion of the saints with Jesus; holiness (from the white garments); and devotion to God; in addition to the metonymic interpretation of being in Christ's company, and possibly taking a walk with him.

---

131 See Gen 3:8.

Another corpus phrase, which only occurs in hymns by Charles Wesley, is to *walk in Christ*. This phrase, like the others discussed above, has a clear biblical source, after Colossians 2:6:

As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, [so] walk ye in him (KJV)

The phrase *in Christ* occurs 77 times in the New Testament (KJV)*,* in reference to multiple subjects, including *life*, *faith*, *consolation*, and *love* in Christ. The conceptual metaphor activated when an entity (such as an emotion) is represented as being 'in' a person is usually PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS:[132] this is the case, for example, when a person is 'filled with grief', or does not 'have it in him' to make a difficult decision. Linguistically, the phrase *in Christ* seems to portray Christ metaphorically as a CONTAINER. The concept of living 'in Christ', however, also draws from the STATES ARE CONTAINERS conceptual metaphor. The idea conveyed is that existence 'in' Christ, as a state, is a combination of Christ's perpetual presence with, protection of, and influence upon a person. This existence may even be combined with a seemingly paradoxical indwelling of the Christian by Christ. Christ himself charges his disciples: 'Abide in me, and I in you', explaining that 'He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing' (Jhn 15:4-5 KJV). The apostle Paul combines these images as well, instructing people to 'walk … in him: Rooted and built up in him…' (Col 2:6-7 KJV). The 'abiding' and 'walking' are to be done with a permanent connection to Christ: the Christian is to maintain links of communication, devotion, and dependency with Christ; acting with the same motivation as Christ. John Wesley's *Explanatory Notes Upon the New Testament* paraphrases 'walk in him' and 'rooted in him' from Colossians 2:6:

V. 6. *So walk in him*—In the same Faith, Love, Holiness.
V. 7. *Rooted in him*—As the vine: *built,* on the sure foundation. (Wesley 1755: 538)

This automatic recourse to Christ's teachings and personal support is intended to enable and strengthen the individual's relationship with him. In return, God uses the believer's 'connection' to Christ to 'bring forth fruit': the actions, character attributes, and spiritual maturity desirable for the Christian. In the hymns, this concept may be

---

132 As used by Lakoff and Johnson (e.g., 1980: 30-32) and Kövecses (2003: 90-92); in Lakoff's online catalogue (1994), the closest fits are 'Abilities Are Entities Inside A Person' and 'Emotions Are Entities Within A Person'.

manifested, as in example 4.10 (also 1440 and 1446, Table 13.9), through direct appeals to Christ:

>   4.10-1426 'I fain would walk in thee'.

The concept of a state of living 'in' Christ may also be combined with the image of Christ as a path, as discussed previously (pp. 141 and 151). Wesley's use of *walk* in examples 1425 and 1440 is similar to his request in 1264 (Table 10.17) to 'lead me in thyself the way'.

>   4.11-1425 His voice behind me may I hear, "Return, and walk in Christ thy
>   way … "

>   4.12-1440 In thee, the Life, the Truth, the Way, To walk, and perfectly to obey
>   Thy sweet constraining love …

Discussion of the concept occurs in English works prior to the Wesleys, and seems to refer generally to the same or similar interpretations, for example in George Fox's open letter to leaders in the British Isles:

>   All you bearing the name of Christian magistrates, my desire is, that you may
>   all be found in Christ … and be walkers in Christ. (Fox et al. 1694: 281)

An even earlier example is from a translation of a sermon of John Calvin:

>   … wee abhorre all that euer Satan can set afore vs, and haue none other guyde
>   than only our Lord Iesus Christ, who hath told vs, that he is the lyght of the
>   world, and that whosoeuer walketh in him, cannot stray.   (Calvin 1577: 141)

The phrases *walk in Christ* and *walk in him* (all referring to Christ) are present in the EEBO collections, indicating their currency in Christian literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. A survey of the first several pages of EEBO results for *walk in him*, the more common phrase, shows that most uses of the phrase either cite Colossians 2 directly or refer to the rest of the verse ('As ye have … received Christ … '). This could be taken to indicate a non-integration of the 'walking in Christ' image into the 16th-, 17th-, and 18th-century Christian gestalt, despite familiarity with the image. However, far more of the occurrences of *walk in Christ* make innovative development of the image, which seems to argue the contrary. It is possible that, within the corpus, the exclusivity of this phrase to Wesley's hymns shows an emphasis on the 'method' of Methodism: the continual striving to

live according to Christ's teachings. Instances of the concept in other Methodist documents support this theory; the Methodist preacher George Story speaks of 'walking' in Christ as 'continuing' in his faith:

> [The Lord] likewise showed me that as I had received Christ Jesus so I must walk in him that the same faith by which I entered into rest must be continued in order to be established in that liberty. (Story [1791] 1837: 219)

Likewise, in his journal, John Wesley quotes a letter from a Ralph Erskine, regarding the salvation and continuing dedication of new converts:

> When they are brought by the saving arm of God to receive Christ Jesus to have joy and peace in believing and then to walk in Him and give evidence that the work is a saving work at length whether more quickly or gradually accomplished … (Wesley 1829: 208)

It does seem likely that Charles Wesley's seemingly greater tendency to use and develop this image in his hymns would reflect a personal priority on this evidence of long-term commitment to the Christian life. Nevertheless, the phrase does appear in at least two other roughly contemporary hymns from outside the corpus. One is from the the Independent Cornish minister Andrew Kessell's 1787 *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, and the other is an anonymous hymn found in John Dobell's 1810 supplement to Watts:

> O that worldlings knew our pleasure!
> While we walk in Christ the Way; (Kessell 1787: 34)

> O may you then no longer stray,
> But walk in Christ, the good old way. (Dobell & Watts 1810: 151)

If development of the phrase *walk in Christ* is in fact a signature feature of Wesleyan imagery, these two citations show that the image was nevertheless accepted and in use in traditions other than Methodism.

The Hebrew derivation of the noun *halakhah* from its verbal source is paralleled by some English usages of *walk* as a noun, and the four branches of 'walk *n*.' in the OED, like the verbal entry, include both literal and figurative senses (shown in Figure 10):

> I. Senses relating to rolling or turning over.
> II. The action or an act of travelling or moving, esp. on foot.

III. A place or path for walking.
IV. A course of conduct or action. (draft rev. Mar 2009, 'walk, n.1')

As with 'walk, *v.*', branch I did not survive past Middle English; also, branch II seems to combine the two understandings of *walking* classified under branches II and IV of 'walk, *v.'* branch IV is closely related to branch III of 'walk, *v.*', and includes most of the figurative

Figure 10: Historical branches of 'walk, n.' (OED)
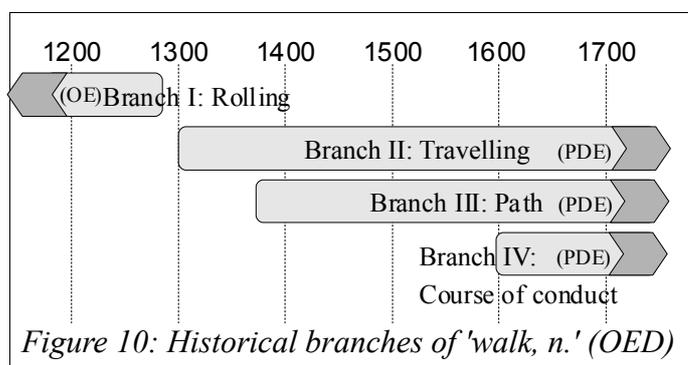
or spiritual meanings, though non-religious figurative uses are much more likely to appear with WALK as a noun than as a verb:[133]

(IV) 18. a. In religious language (cf. WALK *v.* 7a): (in early use as a mass noun) manner of behaviour, conduct of life; (later also) a particular choice or course of conduct, esp. in relation to spiritual or moral matters.

Confusingly, another very similar figurative development of a branch II sense (*3d*) has remained with its literal origin:

(II) 3. Travelling, wandering, movement. Cf. WALK *v.* II.
d. The course of a person's life, esp. in one's walk through life.

Most metaphorical uses of WALK as a noun taken from the corpus would likely be classed under branch IV, though some could arguably be interpreted as matching sense *3d.* Examples include 4.13, by Newton, and 4.14, by Cowper:

4.13-1394 … And witnessed by a gospel walk, Will not a true profession prove.

4.14-1392 O! for a closer walk with God, A calm and heav'nly frame;

In especially the first case, the noun *walk* is used, as *path* or *way* can be, to refer to the course of one's life, with added emphasis on the journey, or the act of walking on foot. Example 4.13 falls semantically under the HTE sense relating to conduct and behavior (see Table 13.9), while 4.14 refers more to association with God (Table 13.10). The metaphor

---

133 The three other senses of branch IV, as well as subsense *18b,* are non-religious. They include senses 21 ('walk of life') and 22 ('A branch or variety *of* a specified activity or interest, as trade, literature, science, etc.; a speciality'.).

in these cases has its literal source in branch II, describing 'an act of travelling' (although whether this is on foot is impossible to tell). Vaughan makes more graphic use of travel imagery:

> 4.15-1360… my spring Meere stage, and show, My walke a monstrous, mountain'd thing …

Here, Vaughan portrays a worldly way of life (see Table 13.6) as a journey filled with difficult obstacles. The amplitude of source domain imagery makes the metaphor less apparent without recourse to the extended context of the poem, but the metaphor as a whole is strengthened by the increased level of detail. It is also difficult to assign this (arguably) figurative usage to one literal origin: although, figuratively, Vaughan is describing the course of life or faith *(3d* or *18a),* in the source imagery, *walke* could refer to the traveler's personal course, as defined in branch II, sense *4a,* or to the path itself, as in branch III, sense 15:

> (II) 4. a. An act or spell of walking or going on foot from place to place; esp. a short journey on foot for exercise or recreation.

> (III) 15. A course or route chosen for walking.

The phrase *daily walk* does not occur in the KJV Bible, but occurs twice in the corpus, and frequently in the EEBO collections. Of the earliest results (mostly from the 17th century), many either are verbal uses with the *daily* before the verb. Of the EEBO noun uses, some describe a 'daily walk' as a recreational activity; many others refer to the devoted Christian life; and the greatest number are direct citations of Henry Scudder's 1627 book *The Christian's Daily Walk.*[134] In a Google Books search for the phrase *daily walk* in 18th-century works, only eight results refer directly to Scudder, and uses of the phrase are mostly original. The verbal usage is less common in this period, and uses of the noun are split between literal, recreational walks and the spiritual, devotional one, with the latter seeming somewhat more frequent. At least in spiritual contexts, *daily walk* seems to have become a set phrase sometime in the late 17th or early 18th century. The two results from

---

134 Full title: *The Christian[s] daily vvalke in holy securitie and peace Being an answer to these questions, 1. How a man may doe each present dayes worke, with Christian chearefulnesse? 2. How to beare each present dayes crosse with Christian patience? Containing familiar directions shewing. 1. How to walke with God in the whole course of a mans life. 2. How to be vpright in the said walking. 3. How to liue without taking care or thought in anything. 4. How to get and keepe true peace with God; wherein are manifold helpes to prevent and remove damnable presumption: also to quiet and to ease distressed consciences. The first three intended onely, for priuate vse; but now (through importunity) with the fourth, published for the common good. By Henry Scudder preacher of the word.* (Scudder 1627)

the corpus may reflect such a change; the earlier one, from Baxter, speaks of a pastime among friends:

> 4.16-1316 My friends and I would in our daily walk Of Love's Delights and Entertainments talk:

But the second example, by John Newton, seems to have the spiritual connotations more common in later uses:

> 4.17-1397 May I not instruction gain, Helpful, to my daily walk?

Two examples are not sufficient evidence for a conclusive statement about *daily walk* as a set phrase, however: further investigation of its occurrences from the 16th century onward would be valuable in documenting the phrase's development and status.

Aside from set phrases, WALK *(v.),* as might be expected, occurs in many repeated contexts. People in the hymns walk *in, by, with, through,* and *over* a wide variety of objects. People are frequently exhorted to walk in a *way* or *ways*, variously identified as belonging to wisdom or God: this is similar to the PATH imagery discussed on p. 152. The idea of walking 'in light' is also very common, and has biblical origins, appearing in both the Old and New Testaments.[135] Metaphors representing wisdom or knowledge as LIGHT are present throughout the Judeo-Christian tradition, but LIGHT imagery plays a central role in intellectual and spiritual language of the 18th century. Whereas the LIGHT of Enlightenment usage generally signifies knowledge and liberty of information, a biblical interpretation, as seen in the above verses, would additionally include life, righteousness, and God's holiness. There are six corpus examples: three are from *Millennial Praises* (1350, 1353, and 1356, Table 13.9) and concentrate on LIGHT as righteousness, life, and resurrection; and two from Wesley (1414 and 1450) emphasize the light of God's presence. The final one (1387), is from Watts:[136]

> "Ye sons of pride, that kindle coals
> With your own hands, to warm your souls
> Walk in the light of your own fire,
> Enjoy the sparks that ye desire:

---

135 See Psa 56:13, 89:15, and 1Jo 1:7.
136 See Isa 50:10-11.

> "This is your portion at my hands;--
> Hell waits you with her iron bands;
> Ye shall lie down in sorrow there,
> In death, in darkness, and despair."

Watts' poetry relies heavily on LIGHT imagery (as discussed on p. 108), and this negative use of LIGHT, produced in the midst of the Enlightenment, might be taken as a deliberate redirection of Isaiah's message to philosophers of his day, in a reminder of the importance of humility. Additional types of behavior may be implied by references to walking in God's sight (1423) or downward, toward death and the tomb (1383, p. 198). Walking in or through fire (1415 or 1430, Table 13.5), hostile ground (1384), or dark deserts (1424), can signify endurance through adversity or affliction (HTE 01.05.05.18).

Aside from fairly clear figurative uses of WALK, the corpus contains 15 (apparently) completely literal uses (see Table 13.14), describing walks through gardens, groves, and fields; as well as routes or physical paths. Additionally, many uses appear to be either metonymic or metonymically-inspired metaphors: for example, 1370 (Table 13.4) refers to God's 'walking houre', a literal image from Genesis[137] that is applied to the general activity of God at Sunday church meetings—his interaction with humans.

Other of the corpus occurrences fall under OED sense *8a*, discussed above, dealing with life or public presence (see Table 13.8), and reflected in the HTE heading 'Presence' (01.05.07.04.03). This sense seems to derive metonymically—walking being a kind of activity for which presence in a location is required. Corpus occurrences of this sense refer mostly to the presence of God or Christ on the earth (e.g. 1364), but can also refer to the presence of humans, for instance, in heaven (186). One (1374, Table 13.7) extends this sense, indicating that 'slaughter' and the 'devouring sword' of God will 'walk the streets around', or spread in their effect on the world.

Two further OED subsenses of sense *8* are related to *8a,* and seem to be metonymically inspired. Subsense *8b* denotes 'a state or condition in which one (habitually) finds oneself or puts oneself in', and 8c deals specifically with existing or living '*in* a certain condition of health'. Both of these senses are reflected in the HTE heading 'State/condition' (01.05.01.07, Table 13.3). The former occurrs in the corpus in references to walking 'in disguise' (1355), walking 'secure' (1431), and walking in 'dangers

---

137 See Gen 3:8.

… every hour' (1320). Two occurrences (1323 and 1330), from Geddes and Keach, refer to an ability to walk 'abroad', meaning 'at large'. This is contrasted with a previous inability to do so, because of illness or vulnerability to attack, and thus metonymically implies health and safety. Similarly, three more occurrences use the image of walking to portray freedom or liberty (see Table 13.12).

Three further occurrences convey the idea of rule or subjection (HTE heading 'Authority', 03.04, see Table 13.11): example 1382 proclaims 'glory to God that walks the sky', blending the metaphor DIVINE IS UP with a metonymic mapping of the image of WALKING on something for SUBJECTING it to power. The other two refer to the power of Christ (and others, through faith) to walk upon the 'stormy sea'. This literal image[138] is used once purely literally (1359, Table 13.14), and several times typologically in the corpus, for instance in reference to endurance through adversity (1413 and 1417, Table 13.5).

Finally, two examples from Henry Vaughan (1365 and 1366, Tables 13.13 and 13.14, respectively) were found to contain highly complex imagery, making analysis difficult. The former, which speaks of 'walking' away from one's 'first love', comes from Vaughan's poem 'The Retreate'. This poem has been analyzed as addressing either the innocence of childhood (e.g., Martz 1963: 48) or the possible existence of the soul prior to life, so the image of walking may refer to sin, or a loss of innocence.[139] Beliefs about the soul's location after death (or before life) will be discussed in further detail in Chapter VI.2. Example 1366 is more difficult. Written in reference to the death of the poet's brother William Vaughan,[140] the poem uses the image of someone in a cave, who leaves his lamp behind and walks into the darkness. The phrase 'walking from his sun' seems to reflect William's journey away from life and into death. As mentioned earlier (see p. 123), *Silex Scintillans* as a whole was not written as a hymnal, and was not strictly intended for collective worship: thus, it is perhaps not surprising that it contains these innovative metaphorical images, which are not as readily 'interpretable' as those usually found in works written as hymns.

This analysis of WALK has concentrated primarily on biblically-based usages, as they compose the bulk of the material. This set of data, however, can be used to comment on

---

138 See Mat 14.
139 Clough has stated: 'The whole poem, it is hardly necessary to point out, has about it nothing whatsoever of a Romantic nostalgia for childhood …' (1933: 20).
140 See notes in Cummings (2000: 448-449).

language and philosophy in the 17th and 18th centuries. Modern uses of travel imagery come as part of a continuous progress: the hymns contain references to and developments upon ideas of walking in the New Testament, which in turn borrows imagery from earlier traditions. Authors like Watts, Wesley, and Newton combine Old and New Testament imagery to send new messages and express the thoughts of their times. This section has shown the manifestations in 17th- and 18th-century spiritual language of biblical or biblically-based set phrases like *walk with God* or *walk in light*, and of figurative adaptations of biblical imagery like 'walking on water'. It has also raised questions about the proper interpretation of the data from a cognitive perspective. If, as the OED implies, metaphorically or metonymically motivated figurative uses of WALK for spiritual or mental journeys ultimately arose, not from the specific 'journeying on foot' sense of walk (branch IV of 'walk, v.'), but from the more general 'move about' or 'journey' sense (branch II), any 'on foot' imagery represents later developments on the figurative side that parallel the historical change of literal usage. Furthermore, the translation of the Authorized King James Version of the Bible occurred during the waning years of most branch II senses of WALK. Further comparative study of 17th-century works outside the area of hymns would shed more light on period understandings of KJV WALK, the term used in translation of the Hebrew *halak*, Latin *via*, and Greek *peripateo*, among others. This would in turn provide valuable insight into the 17th- and 18th-century motives, and the subsequent development, of English Protestant sects.

Table 13: Concordance of WALK *in the corpus of hymns*

Source domain: Walking (See Appendix B, HTE 01.05.08.03.02)

Table 13.1: LIFE **(HTE 01.02)** IS WALKING **(3)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1338	Mas	th me; Like Enoch, let me walk with God, And thus	WALK	out my day, Attended with the Heav'nly Guards Upo	ce
1381	Wat	nk of death! Waken, O Lord! our drowsy sense, To	WALK	this dangerous road; And if our souls be hurried	ce
1419	Wes	fright A soul that walks with Christ in light, He	WALKS	and cannot fall; Clearly he sees, and wins his wa	ce

Table 13.2: DEATH **(HTE 01.02.02)** IS WALKING **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1366	Vau	Fixeth a solitary lamp, To brave the night, And	WALKING	from his Sun, when past That glim'ring Ray Cuts	inn

Table 13.3: STATE/CONDITION **(HTE 01.05.01.07)** IS WALKING **(5)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1320	Bax	at once thy Soul devour: What dangers dost thou	WALK	in every hour? Yet thou art safe, and hear'st the	ci
1323	Ged	suppling Oyle keepes me from toyle, And makes me	WALK	abroad. If I be Tongue-tyed, He'll unty My	ci
1330	Kea	charge To keep thee day by day, That thou mayst	WALK	abroad at large With safety in thy way; For	ce
1355	Sha	led by the blind. Those antichrist teachers who	WALK	in disguise, Will always the meek and low despise	ci
1431	Wes	ar, No devouring beast is there, There the humble	WALK	secure; God hath made their footsteps sure. Jesu	ce

Table 13.4: ACTIVITY/OCCUPATION **(HTE 01.05.05.02.03)** IS WALKING **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1370	Vau	ower; The narrow way; Transplanted Paradise; Gods	WALKING	houre; The Cool o'th' day; The Creatures Jubil	ci

Table 13.5: BEING IN ADVERSITY/AFFLICTION **(HTE 01.05.05.18)** IS WALKING **(10)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1333	Kea	way, For his alone Name's sake: And tho' I	WALK	in Death's dark shade It shall me not dismay; For	ce
1380	Wat	our souls afraid, If God be with us there; We may	WALK	through its darkest shade, And never yield to fea	ce
1384	Wat	by sight. 'Tis by the faith of joys to come We	WALK	through deserts dark as night; Till we arrive at	ce
1401	New	uish and dismay; Through what distresses they had	WALKED	, Before they found the way. Ah! then I thought	ce
1413	Wes	thy grace my heart. Give me faith to hold me up,	WALKING	over life's rough sea, Holy, purifying hope Still	ce
1415	Wes	I stand, and admire Thine outstretched arm, I	WALK	through the fire, And suffer no harm; Assaulted	ce
1417	Wes	thee, (Good as thou art, and strong to save) I'll	WALK	o'er life's tempestuous sea, Upbourne by the unyi	ce
1424	Wes	arth, and hell. Into a world of ruffians sent, I	WALK	on hostile ground, Wild human bears on slaughter	ce
1430	Wes	all entire; We now thy guardian presence own, And	WALK	unburned in fire. Thee, Son of man, by faith we	ce
1432	Wes	tyrant's ire, Nobly scorned to bow the knee, And	WALKED	unhurt in fire; Breathe their faith into my breas	ce

Table 13.6: A WAY OF LIFE **(HTE 01.05.05.22.02)** IS WALKING **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1360	Vau	ght perceiv'd my spring Meere stage, and show, My	WALKE	a monstrous, mountain'd thing Rough-cast with Roc	ce

Table 13.7: SPREADING/DIFFUSION **(HTE 01.05.07.02.01)** IS WALKING **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1374	Wat	alone. "Slaughter and my devouring sword Shall	WALK	the streets around, Babel shall reel beneath my	ci

Table 13.8: PRESENCE **(HTE 01.05.07.04.03)** IS WALKING **(9)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
186	Wat	d sweets, Before we reach the heav'nly fields, Or	WALK	the golden streets. Then let our songs abound	ce
1328	Kea	can we go? His Eyes do search all places out, He	WALKETH	to and fro Through the Earth, where can we	ce
1341	Mas	Gay; Amidst his Golden Candlesticks, My Saviour	WALKS	this day. He walks in's Robes, his Face	ce

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1342	Mas	Candlesticks, My Saviour walks this day. He	WALKS	in's Robes, his Face [...]unes bright, The Stars	ce
1364	Vau	eir Lord with thee had most to doe; He wept once,	WALKT	whole nights on thee, And from thence (his suff'r	ce
1367	Vau	heav'ns gate opens, when this world's is shut.	WALK	with thy fellow-creatures: note the hush And whis	ci
1395	Cow	re upright; These my Father's face shall see, And	WALK	with me in white: When in judgment I appear, They	ce
1428	Wes	their heaven begun below, And here thy glory see!	WALK	in all the works prepared By thee, to exercise th	ci
1435	Wes	allotted space, And answer all thy great design;	WALK	in the works by thee prepared; And find annexed	ci

Table 13.9: BEHAVIOUR/CONDUCT (HTE 01.05.05.22) IS WALKING (59)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
315	Wes	r armour bright, Attend with constant care, Still	WALKING	in your Captain's sight, And watching unto prayer	ci
392	Wes	And witnesses that Thou art true, And in the Spirit	WALKS	and lives. Not to a single Age confin'd, For every	ci
732	Kea	and living way, Prepared 'twas by blood; O	WALK	in it, don't go astray, The way is very good.	ce
1018	Wes	Bid them to each other cleave; Bid them	WALK	on life's rough sea; Bid them come by faith to thee	ce
1316	Bax	should twist. My friends and I would in our daily	WALK	Of Love's Delights and Entertainments talk: My wo	ci
1317	Bax	ho made him and his Word their chief delight, And	WALKT	in uprightness, as in his sight! Approv'd their	ci
1321	Bax	elent? A heart more fit to Meditate and Pray? And	WALK	exactly, and God's Laws obey? A clearer Light, wh	ci
1324	Ged	ough the World stray; With Noah I will stay, And	WALK	in perfect way; Thou shalt me save. And with	ce
1325	Kea	live in Unity; So thou delights to see thy Saints	WALK	in sweet Harmony. He ever does o'relook the	ci
1326	Kea	hould believe, And how depend on thee; And how to	WALK	, (who Truth receive,) That saved we may be, The	ci
1327	Kea	eive from hence. By him you live, by him you	WALK	, Without his help can't we Do any good; O therefo	ci
1329	Kea	be, 'Tis that by which we live, By which we	WALK	, by which we work, And all things else we do; All	ci
1332	Kea	nd for a while Not see each other here; So let us	WALK	, that when Christ comes, With him we may appear	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1334	Kea	nd no good thing with-hold will he From them that	WALK	upright. Lord God of Hosts, whose Glory reig	ci
1350	Sha	g, Of their outrageous foes. By doing right, we	WALK	in light, Christ's precepts we obey; And by this	ci
1351	Sha	st Adam wrought. Christ is the rock on which we	WALK	, And as his words declare, This rock will bind th	ce
1352	Sha	ease, And every step are sure, That we, forsooth,	WALK	in the truth, Because the way is pure: O the way!	ce
1353	Sha	he was made upright, While in that situation, He	WALKED	in the light: As he was male and female, The man	ci
1354	Sha	Whose life is undefile'd, Who daily in obedience	WALKS	, And never acts nor thinks nor talks, But like a	ci
1356	Sha	But the saints with Christ have risen, And are	WALKING	in the light, Loosed from that gloomy prison, Whe	ci
1357	Sha	parrow is forgot, My God will mercy show. While	WALKING	in a lowly place, I find the gifts of God; The hu	ce
1373	Wat	power of God are kept Till the salvation come; We	WALK	by faith as strangers here, Till Christ shall cal	ce
1377	Wat	rnest of the place, Has his own Spirit giv'n. We	WALK	by faith of joys to come, Faith lives upon his wo	ci
1378	Wat	he path is drawn in lines of blood; There would I	WALK	with hope and zeal, Till I arrive at Zion's hill.	ce
1383	Wat	our certain doom? And are we still secure? Still	WALKING	downward to our tomb, And yet prepare no more?	ce
1386	Wat	the Lord, "That wait and tremble at my word, That	WALK	in darkness all the day? Come, make my name your	ci
1387	Wat	dle coals With your own hands, to warm your souls	WALK	in the light of your own fire, Enjoy the sparks	ci
1388	Wat	or despair. Now he persuades, "How easy 'tis To	WALK	the road to heav'n;" Anon he swells our sins, and	ce
1389	Wat	ad is the road that leads to death, And thousands	WALK	together there; But wisdom shows a narrower path	ce
1390	Wat	and. The fearful soul that tires and faints, And	WALKS	the ways of God no more, Is but esteemed almost a	ce
1391	New	very sense; And there with his descending LORD He	WALKED	in confidence. But O! by sin how quickly change	ce
1394	New	ed with faith and love, And witnessed by a gospel	WALK	, Will not a true profession prove. Without the	ci
1396	New	wn. Now, freed from bondage, sin, and death, We	WALK	in Wisdom's ways; And wish to spend our every bre	ce
1397	New	May I not instruction gain, Helpful, to my daily	WALK	? All this plenty of the field Was produced from	ci
1399	New	when Jesus is in view, Cheerful I my way pursue;	WALKING	by my Savior's light, Nothing can my soul affrigh	ce

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1402	New	ssor says, Offends the righteous Judge's ear. To	WALK	as children of the day To mark the precepts' holy	ci
1404	New	he weak. Furnish us all with light and pow'rs To	WALK	in Wisdom's ways; So shall the benefit be ours, A	ci
1405	Wes	souls to Jesus joined, And saved by grace alone,	WALKING	in all his ways they find Their heaven on earth	ci
1411	Wes	ed cross, Which thou, my Lord, hast borne before;	WALK	in all thy righteous laws, And go and sin no more	ci
1412	Wes	give, Give me thy only love to know. In thee to	WALK	and live. Fill me with all the life of love; In	ci
1414	Wes	eople that can Be joyful in thee! Their joy is to	WALK	in The light of thy face, And still they are talk	ci
1420	Wes	pless, as a child, Only seeing in thy light, Only	WALKING	in thy might. Then infuse the teaching grace, Sp	ci
1421	Wes	hear; "Come back! this is the way, Come back, and	WALK	herein!" O may I hearken and obey, And shun the	ce
1422	Wes	more may fall, Or give to sin or Satan place, But	WALK	in all thy righteous ways. O wouldst thou, Lord	ci
1423	Wes	le at the word Of reconciling grace. Still may I	WALK	as in thy sight, My strict observer see; And thou	ci
1425	Wes	ray, His voice behind me may I hear, "Return, and	WALK	in Christ thy way, Fly back to Christ, for sin is	ce
1426	Wes	in my loving heart reside. Jesus, I fain would	WALK	in thee, From nature's every path retreat; Thou	ce
1427	Wes	se may I display, By shunning every evil way, And	WALKING	in the good. O may I still from sin depart! A	ce
1433	Wes	fficient grace, My God in Christ thou art; Bid me	WALK	before thy face, Till I am pure in heart; Till,	ci
1434	Wes	ed us in his blood. We are now his lawful right,	WALK	as children of the light; We shall soon obtain th	ci
1436	Wes	HOW shall I	WALK	my God to please, And spread content and happines	ci
1437	Wes	his gifts improve, Carry on the earnest strife,	WALK	in holiness of life; Still forget the things behi	ci
1438	Wes	Jesu's grace, Speak we by our lives his praise;	WALK	in him we have received, Show we not in vain beli	ci
1440	Wes	above! In thee, the Life, the Truth, the Way, To	WALK	, and perfectly to obey Thy sweet constraining lov	ci
1441	Wes	we would fulfil, Would in all thy footsteps go,	WALK	as Jesus walked below. While thou didst on earth	ce
1442	Wes	fil, Would in all thy footsteps go, Walk as Jesus	WALKED	below. While thou didst on earth appear, Servant	ci
1443	Wes	tread, And show his praise below. O may we ever	WALK	in him, And nothing know beside; Nothing desire	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1446	Wes	ds obey, The pattern trace which thou hast given,	WALK	in thee, the Truth, the Way, The Life, and heaven	ci
1450	Wes	pturous flame, The sight beatific they prove, And	WALK	in the light of the Lamb, Enjoying the beams of	ci

Table 13.10: ASSOCIATION/FELLOWSHIP/COMPANIONSHIP (HTE 03.01.04.01) IS WALKING (35)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
35	Bax	Friends that hath thy Love, And may converse and	WALK	with thee: And with thy Saints here and	ci
475	Wes	given; And run my course with even joy, And closely	WALK	with thee to heaven.	ce
1031	New	By faith in CHRIST I	WALK	with God, With heav'n, my journeys'-end, in view;	ce
1056	New	Be this my choice, O Lord, to	WALK	With thee, my Guide, my Guard, my Friend.	ce
1315	Bax	rd and Spirit guide Thy Servant in thy way; May I	WALK	closely with my God, And run no more astray.	ce
1318	Bax	ased face. May but my Soul dwell near my God, And	WALK	with him in Faith and Love, No matter where be my	ce
1322	Ged	did cry. As Enoch most religious Did ever	WALK	with GOD, And after caught to Heav'n, where He Et	lit
1331	Kea	delight in such Who do Christ Jesus own; And	WALK	with them in the same way, If that they be sincer	ci
1335	Mas	rd and Spirit guide Thy Servant in thy way, May I	WALK	closely with my God And run no more astray.	ce
1336	Mas	each other, O that as Friends we might agree, And	WALK	and talk together. Thou knowest my Soul do's dear	ci
1337	Mas	them, O let it talk with me; Like Enoch, let me	WALK	with God, And thus walk out my day, Attended with	ci
1343	Mas	I to God may rest; Now let me Talk with God, and	WALK	With God, and I am blest.	ci
1344	Mas	fear, Who once have felt his Love; And they that	WALK	with God below, Shall dwell with God above: Rage	ce
1345	Mas	Soul, with God, Into another Room; Thou who hast	WALKED	with him here, Go see thy God at Home: View Death	ce
1348	Mas	nd both Night and Day; Come Lord, let us together	WALK	, Let us together stay. Come let's go see wha	ce
1358	Sma	ate recede, And work a boist'rous madman mild, To	WALK	with Jesus like a child. To give a heart of trip	ce
1375	Wat	Our lips profess his word; Nor blush nor fear to	WALK	among The men that love the Lord.	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1379	Wat	n.] [My bright Example and my Guide, I would be	WALKING	near thy side; let me never run astray, Nor follo	ce
1385	Wat	Abram, by divine command, Left his own house to	WALK	with God; His faith beheld the promised land, And	ce
1392	Cow	O! for a closer	WALK	with God, A calm and heav'nly frame; A light to	ci
1393	Cow	thy throne, And worship only thee. So shall my	WALK	be close with God, Calm and serene my frame; So	ci
1403	New	Again a life divine he feels, Despises earth, and	WALKS	with God. And what, in yonder realms above, Is	ci
1406	Wes	Father is, And Jesus is our friend. With him we	WALK	in white, We in his image shine, Our robes are ro	ce
1408	Wes	rning bright, Worthy, in your Saviour's worth, To	WALK	with him in white: Jesus bids your hearts be clea	ce
1409	Wes	howed, Justice pursue, and mercy love, And humbly	WALK	by faith with God. But though my life henceforth	ci
1410	Wes	faith shall make me whole. I too with thee shall	WALK	in white, With all thy saints shall prove What is	ce
1416	Wes	riumphs end, Till we take our seats above. Let us	WALK	with him in white, For our bridal day prepare, Fo	ce
1418	Wes	Not all the powers of hell can fright A soul that	WALKS	with Christ in light, He walks and cannot fall;	ce
1429	Wes	verse be! So will the Lord his follower join, And	WALK	and talk himself with me; So shall my heart his	ce
1439	Wes	received, Show we not in vain believed. While we	WALK	with God in light, God our hearts doth still unit	ci
1444	Wes	ts unite, And still he keeps our spirits one, Who	WALK	with him in white. O let us still proceed In Jes	ce
1445	Wes	pirit remove To Zion above, Triumphant arise, And	WALK	with our God, till we fly to the skies.	ce
1447	Wes	ightily defend, And love and save me to the end.	WALK	with me through the lions' den, Walk with me thro	ce
1448	Wes	to the end. Walk with me through the lions' den,	WALK	with me through the floods and fires, In form of	ce
1449	Wes	arthly care, And see thee, Saviour, as thou art.	WALK	with me through the dreadful shade, And, certifie	ce

Table 13.11: AUTHORITY (HTE 03.04) IS WALKING (3)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1376	Wat	preads the skies, And seals up all the stars. He	WALKS	upon the stormy sea, Flies on the stormy wind; Th	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1382	Wat	Glory to God that	WALKS	the sky, And sends his blessings through; That te	ci
1451	Wes	we are his; With him we reign above the sky, We	WALK	upon our subject seas. We boast of our recovered	ce

Table 13.12: FREEDOM/LIBERTY (HTE 03.04.10.03) IS WALKING (3)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1319	Bax	can confine a holy Soul: The Streets of Heav'n it	WALKS	about; None can its Liberty controul. Alas, my	ce
1340	Mas	d's Prisons lie, Bound with Afflictions Chains, I	WALK	at large, secure and free From Sickness and from	ce
1400	New	hen the poor pris'ner through a grate Sees others	WALK	at large; How does he mourn his lonely state, And	ce

Table 13.13: SIN (HTE 03.07.00.24.08) IS WALKING (2)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1314	Bax	ells out of Sight, They Sin forsake not. Man	WALKS	in a vain shew, They know, yet will not know; Sit	ci
1365	Vau	a white, Celestiall thought, When yet I had not	WALKT	above A mile, or two, from my first love, And loo	inn

Table 13.14: Literal uses (14)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
WALKING (HTE 01.05.08.03.02) (11)					
1339	Mas	I see blind People with mine Eyes, To Hospitals I	WALK	; [...] hear of them that cannot hear, And of the	lit
1346	Mas	When he himself doth shew; Methinks I in a Garden	WALK	, Where Flowers and Spices grow: When he doth my	lit
1347	Mas	lies Exercise Their Graces freely given, The King	WALKS	in those Galleries, As in another Heaven. My	lit
1359	Sma	gospel of his peace Upon the still profound--- He	WALK'D	the waves---and at his will, The fish to pay th	lit
1361	Vau	MY God, when I	WALKE	in those groves, And leaves thy spirit doth still	lit
1362	Vau	decreed He must be found, where he did bleed; I	WALKE	the garden, and there see Idaea's of his Agonie	lit
1368	Vau	Bush, and Cel, Each Oke, and high-way knew them,	WALK	but the fields, or sit down at some well, And he	lit

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1369	Vau	he Sun, And soars, and shines; But e'r we sup And	WALK	two steps Cool'd by the damps of night, descends	lit
1371	Vau	ir flock, and in a busie talk All towards Bethlem	WALK	To see their souls great shepheard, who was come	lit
1372	Vau	I	WALKT	the other day (to spend my hour,) Into a field Wh	lit
1407	Wes	dear Lord, And follow the Lamb; The halt they are	WALKING	, and running their race; The dumb they are talkin	lit
ROUTE/WAY **(03.09.02.01) (1)**					
1363	Vau	His fathers flaming ministrie, He heav'nd their	WALKS	, and with his eyes Made those wild shades a Parad	lit
PATH **(03.09.02.01.02) (2)**					
1349	Mas	his Flattering Glass, his Fancies dye; His Garden-	WALKS	must him no longer know, The Life-tree in his Gar	lit
1398	New	e, And drove the rebel thence. Oft as the garden-	WALK	we tread, We should bemoan his fall; The trespass	lit

5 Run

The fifth search term in this study is the lexeme RUN, including all forms of the word *run,* as well as the compounds *forerunner* and *out-run.* Like WALK, RUN commonly appears in set phrases or with collocates, which, when available, were helpful in organizing the occurrences in Table 14. In the hymns, 'running' is frequently tied to a general TRAVEL schema, and refers to the greater spiritual JOURNEY discussed in this dissertation. RUN differs significantly in use from WALK, however; like WAY, in a long history of metaphorical extension, it has developed several highly conventionalized, originally metaphorical or metonymic senses—the OED (2nd ed. 1989) lists 82 separate senses for 'run, *v.',* compared to 40 for the next most diverse of the six search terms, 'way, *n.1'.* According to the OED, the word has been used to describe the movement of liquids since the earliest stages of the English language. Citations for the 'flow' sense are provided from as early as Old English, but the sense is also present in cognates of RUN in other Indo-European languages, indicating its extreme ancientness.[141] In fact, although the OED entry indicates that the primary sense of RUN is 'to move the legs quickly', this sense is first attested from c. 888, over a century after the first liquid-related usage. From Old English onward, metaphorical senses continued branching off and becoming conventionalized. The signification section of the OED entry for *run* is grouped into two branches with several sub-branches each, illustrating this ongoing process of conventionalization:

> I. Intransitive Senses
>> ** Of persons and animals, in literal or fig. senses.*
>> *** Of inanimate things in rapid motion.*
>> **** Of liquids, sand, etc. (or vessels containing these).*
>> ***** Of time, money, practices, or other things having course, continuance, or extension.*
>> ****** Of things passing into, assuming, or maintaining a certain condition or quality.*
>
> II. Transitive Senses
>> ** To traverse, accomplish, aim at or avoid, etc., by running.*
>> *** To cause to run, move rapidly, or extend.*
>> **** To cause to flow or come together.*

---

141 Cf. ON *rinna* 'flow, run'; OHG *rinnan* 'flow, run, swim'; OInd *raya-* 'stream, run, haste' (Mallory & Adams 1997: 388). The modern Swedish word *rinna* is also 'the primary equivalent of *run* in the sense "for liquid to move"' (Viberg 1998: 351) .

The two major branches do not represent distinct historical developments of RUN, and the sub-branches of the transitive heading correspond to sub-branches of the intransitive heading. The sub-branches, however, are arranged loosely in historical order within their branches, and the latter sub-branches of both headings can be taken, from a cognitive perspective, as generally derivative of the earlier ones. For instance, the elapsing of TIME is frequently conceptualized as the flowing of a liquid—often the current of a RIVER—which has long been described as 'running'. The continuing currency of all three senses of RUN means that, despite the antiquity of both the 'flowing' and 'elapsing time' senses of RUN,[142] the link between these senses persists, and the historical metaphor ostensibly behind their formation cannot be classified as truly dead.

Several literal instances of RUN (see Table 14.30) describe biblical events or hypothetical situations in which people could be expected to run, in the primary sense. A few other instances use the word in reference to the movement of animals (i.e., 1474). Example 1459, by Baxter, speaks of 'lines which they may read that run'. Here, *run* is used literally, but the phrase as a whole has a metonymic implication of a necessity for CLARITY. The OED notes that this set phrase (listed under sense *1e,* which is attested from 1672 onward) is 'an alteration of Habakkuk ii. 2, "That he may run that readeth it"', a minimum size requirement for the letters to be used in a prophecy written down for dissemination by courier. It is also used in a later hymn from John Keble's 1827 hymnal *The Christian Year:*

> THERE is a book who runs may read
> Which heavenly truth imparts
> And all the lore its scholars need
> Pure eyes and Christian hearts (Keble [1827] 1837: 79)

Many literal or near-literal uses convey further meaning via metonymies. In the same way as WALK, RUN can metonymically represent the more general idea of BEING ALIVE (see also examples 648, 1540, and 1590), as being alive is prerequisite to either form of travel:

> 5.1-649   The Corps which now lies Dead, did Ride & run …[143]

---

142 The earliest citation for the OED 'time' sense of *run* is under meaning 26:
   26. a. Of a period of time: To come to an end, be complete, expire. Only in pa. pple
   *a*1000 *Phœnix* 364 Oþ þæt wintra bið þusend urnen

143 The OED sense *1c* of 'run, v.' lists instances contrasted with 'ride' as limited to Scottish, as in the example: *'a*1700 *Gaberlunzie-Man* vii, O fy gar ride, and fy gar rin, And haste ye [etc.]' However, examples 648 and 649, by Baxter, along with 1540 (Table 14.30) by Vaughan suggest some extent of use in 17th-century English writing as well.

Although ostensibly referring to the ability or propensity of humans to run and engage in other physical activities, these examples use TRAVEL imagery to contrast the fast-paced motion of a busy life with the sudden stillness of death. In comparison with a life of moderation and steadfastness (often conceptualized as WALKING), the exaggerated speed of running represents the futility of a hurried life dedicated to worldly pursuits. A different motive for RUNNING in life may yield a more favorable, metonymically-derived interpretation: in cases like people running to put out a fire, John and Peter's race to Christ's tomb,[144] or the Samaritan woman's speed in telling others about him,[145] the haste of running is taken to represent a commendable eagerness:

> 5.2-1463   … leave their Trades, and all together run, Trying to quench the Fire where it begun

> 5.3-1456   As he that to Christ's Sepulchre first run, Excites the LOV'D Disciple to do better

> 5.4-1582   She saw and heard, believed and loved, And ran to tell her neighbors round.

RUNNING can also be resultant to and representative of FEAR, as in Adam's flight from God:

> 5.5-1468   When to tentation He did yield: He trembling run himselfe to hide: Gods presence He could not abide

The metonymic extension of RUN to produce examples like these has also resulted in highly conventionalized conceptual metaphors where the concept RUNNING stands, for example, for zealous or earnest enthusiasm (see Table 14.23), devoted care or attention to duty (Table 14.12), or love (Table 14.24). The OED mentions a phrasal verb, *run after*, meaning 'to follow, take up with, eagerly'; this sense is reflected in the HTE heading 'Zeal/earnest enthusiasm' (02.02.14). Several instances refer to people zealously running 'after' Christ in eagerness and devotion (1612, Table 14.23, but Baxter also speaks of 'running after things terrene' (1460) and running 'for shadows' (620). There are many examples in the corpus of LIFE discussed as running (see Tables 14.3 and 14.13, respectively). One example (1194, from Cowper) refers to a life currently in progress as

---

144 From Jhn 27:3-8: John and Peter run to Christ's tomb. John (the 'lov'd disciple') outruns Peter, but does not enter the tomb (and so believe in the Resurrection) until after Peter.

145 From Jhn 4, specifically verse 28. The biblical account does not specify the action of RUNNING; the woman instead 'went her way into the city' (KJV). Her haste can be inferred from the detail of leaving her waterpot behind.

running, but several others use the past participle, as in 1594, indicating that the running, and therefore the life, is finished:

> 5.6-1594   Yes, the Christian's course is run, Ended is the glorious strife

Two examples use running to refer directly to death (see Table 14.4), one (1557) expressing willingness to 'run if I were called to go', and another (1559) to running up 'the shining way' to heaven.

As mentioned, the image of running can describe a variety of behaviors: those seeking help are encouraged to 'run' to God (e.g., 1616 and 1579, Table 14.9) for spiritual refuge. By contrast, people engaged in destructive behavior may be described as running into hell (e.g., 1508, Table 14.13), and those incurring serious consequences as running into ruin (1604, Table 14.6) or into debt ('the score', 1501). Another image is accessed in the phrase *run astray*, denoting WANDERING in life, which shows up in several hymns, contrasting foolish, impulsive behavior (see Table 14.13) with a more careful WALK:

> 5.7-1453   May I walk closely with my God, And run no more astray.[146]

> 5.8-1548   I would be walking near thy side; let me never run astray, Nor
>   follow the forbidden way!

This kind of devoted behavior can also be combined with the Old Testament implementation of the PATH schema, representing God's standard of conduct:

> 5.9-1491   O then, ye Saints, run you apace In ways of Piety …

> 5.10-1609   … run the way of his commands, And keep it to the end.

> 5.11-1577   … saints should stand prepared In duty's path to run …and

God, as well as humans, is capable of running forward in quick action (Table 14.11) or in attack (Table 14.10), though not away in fear:

---

146 The four lines surrounding this instance are the same as four lines from a hymn in Mason's posthumously published *Penitential Cries* (1696, first edition 1693), which includes additions by Thomas Shepherd. Baxter's hymn was also published after his death, in *Monthly Preparations for the Holy Communion* (1696a). Baxter died in 1691, only three years before Mason; both were widely read, and were active in writing throughout their lives. It cannot be said with certainty with which writer the lines originate, nor indeed whether Mason or Shepherd was responsible for the hymn in *Penitential Cries*. Doubt has even been expressed as to the attribution of *Monthly Preparations* solely to Baxter: Orme (1830: 752) has suggested that a notetaker may have 'furnished' Baxter's manuscripts to produce a publishable book. Perhaps coincidentally, the 1696 editions of both books were published by Thomas Parkhurst in London.

> 5.12-1471   … do not mourn, ye godly ones, When on you God does run, He
> pities you, and hears your moans, In mercy will return …

> 5.13-1564   He ran to our relief. Down from the shining seats above …

The former results from the metonymic substitutions of RUNNING for ATTACKING, and ATTACKING for PUNISHMENT; while the latter combines RUNNING FOR RESCUE with RESCUE for SALVATION. With this action Jesus is also credited:

> 5.14-1599   Jesus to our rescue ran, And God appeared below.

Because of his ascension to heaven, Jesus is also often characterized as a forerunner (Table 14.15), who has already experienced the course of a devoted life, and is waiting for his followers:

> 5.15-867   There Jesus the forerunner waits, To welcome trav'llers home![147]

> 5.16-1617   As forerunner, He's gone before Those mansions to prepare …

Instances are also present where John the Baptist (1524), Moses (1619), or Christians (1618) are represented as forerunners of Christ.

The New Testament model of the Christian life as a race[148] presents a particularly strong biblical basis for reinforcement of the metaphorical representation of eagerness, zeal, devotion, or careful attention as RUNNING. The strength of this model is shown by the abundance of RACE imagery in the corpus. Some hymns use the model exactly as provided by the biblical texts; more provide original applications and variations upon the imagery. Newton (1576, Table 14.12) speaks of a desire for 'fresh strength to run' the race, and Keach emphasizes the importance of following a correct route:

> He that would win the Prize also,
> Must know what way to run;
> And must hold out, not weary be,
> Until the Prize he's won (1486, Table 14.20, shown here with extended context)

This hymn, entitled 'The spiritual runner', is written as an expansion upon the RACE image from 1 Corinthians 9, and enumerates the requirements for running successfully.

---

147 For further discussion of Wat254, see p. 268.
148 See Heb 12:1 and 1Cor 9:24-26.

Elsewhere in the hymn, Keach draws a contrast between running an earthly (1489, Table 14.30) and a heavenly (1497, Table 14.3) race. In this hymn, the 'race we all are running' (1615, Table 14.12) can be interpreted as diligence or careful attention, and has been described by the 18th-century biblical commentator Matthew Henry ([1706] 1806: 324) as persisting 'constantly, and diligently, and vigorously, in your course'. Watts explores further the idea of a race to heaven, comparing the strength required in an uphill climb to the dedication and carefulness (Table 14.12) of the devout believer:

> 5.17-1574   We shall be strong to run the race, And climb the upper sky

Christopher Smart develops the RACE image further, casting St. Stephen (the first biblical martyr) as the greatest and most devoted runner:

> Soon as the Lord resum'd the skies,
> He put up his immortal prize,
> And in a full maturity of soul,
> Great Stephen ran the first, and past the goal. (1526, with extended context)

Although etymologically unrelated,[149] the homonym of RACE meaning 'a group of people, animals, or plants, connected by common descent or origin', or 'the class of humans; mankind' (*OED* draft rev. Mar 2009 'race, n.6', senses *1a, 3b*) may also overlap with the 'running' sense in some instances where the term refers to LIFE (see Table 14.3). The following, referring to a 'mortal race', could be read either as deliberate plays on words, or as evidence of a partial merger of the two senses of RACE:

> 5.18-650   … lengthen Mortals Breath; Till one short Race be run …

> 5.19-1586   … Who their mortal race have run

Whether this overlap of the two homonyms is a pun or an actual shift in meaning, these examples present a unique development of the LIFE IS A RACE image in English that appears to have become a trend in following decades. The progress of this trend can be observed in the results of two searches on the Google books website.[150] A search for the phrase 'run * mortal race' (where * is a wildcard indicating one or more words) in all works from before

---

149 According to the OED entry, this 'group' sense entered the language through Middle French in the mid-15th century, and is derived from the Italian *razza*, 'kind, species'.
150 http://books.google.com/, last accessed 2/14/2010.

1800 yields nine results, and 'run * human race' only one, from the private correspondence of James Elphinston, the 18th-century educationist (and spelling reformer):[151]

> Dhe wordhy man, dhus, amplifies hiz space;
> And joys to' run aguen dhe human race. (Elphinston 1791: 13)

After 1800, however, use of both phrases seems to have increased. There are 151 total results for 'run * mortal race' from 1800–1900, which include a large number of examples of the phrase 'run his/her/my mortal race', almost all in poetic texts. Co-occurrences of *run* and *human race* are still infrequent between 1800 and 1900, but sometimes appear in phrases like *the human race has run its course*. The existence of examples like the following shows that the idea of creatively combining the senses had its proponents:[152]

> … Mose, the cow-boy, who boasted of having run the "human race" in chasing a pole-cat, … (William Thomas Roberts Saffell: 'Hail Columbia, the Flag, and Yankee Doodle Dandy'. *Yankee doodle,* 1864, p. 68)

> … the course run by the human race has been the development of the highest reason … (*Bibliotheca sacra and theological review*, 1868, p. 734)

> Be it enough to observe that for six thousand years the human race appears to have run its course in double file, and this happy equality between the sexes … (*The eclectic magazine of foreign literature, science, and art*, 1860, p. 232)

> His word is bound and bound up : his human race is run ; and we cannot say with the Psalmist : " Open thou our lips," for he has shut both them and his own, … (Sidney H. Morse, Joseph B. Marvin: *The Radical*. 1867, p. 291)

> … when the great human race has been run, you will be crowned as victors, … (*The Missouri Dental Journal*. 1880, p. 172)

> … of the Creator was only commenced, has thence continued to the present hour, and will not be folly completed till the human race has run out its course. … (James Gracey Murphy: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Genesis*. 1867, p. 73)

> Will they be continuously reproduced, and thus, like the human race itself, run ever on? Quien sabe? Eras of barbarism have overtaken civilizations as … (William Cowper Brann, J. D. Shaw: *Brann, the Iconoclast: A Collection of the Writings of W. C. Brann*. 1899, p. 254)

---

151 A similar search on the ECCO database likewise returns Elphinston's usage as its only relevant result. ECCO also returns nine results for 'run mortal race', including a further line by Elphinston, with the phrase 'hwen man haz run hiz mortal race' (1791: 95).

152 Citations are taken directly from the search results, as full text was not available for all entries.

> No more is redemption to be offered, for the human race has run its cycle ; and no more is it to be partially enjoyed … (David Nevins Lord, ed. *The Theological and literary journal.* 1857, p. 221)

Further developments of RACE imagery in the hymns center around the course followed by a race. Several hymns access this part of the schema, in reference to Christian behavior (see Table 14.13) or to a completed life (Table 14.3):

5.20-479   … And run my course with even joy, And closely walk with God …

5.21-1589   What! when a Paul has run his course, Or when Apollos dies …

Aside from the single example by Cowper (5.21), most uses of *course* in reference to a person's entire life are by Charles Wesley, although Keach employs *stage* to similar effect:

5.22-1485   So must we all with patience wait Till we have run our stage.

Not all instances of RUNNING A COURSE refer to the course of life: Christopher Smart uses the image of RUNNING A COURSE innovatively to represent pregnancy (see Table 14.5):

> She that was as barren reckon'd,
> Had her course completely run,
> And her dumb-struck husband beckon'd
> For a pen to write a son.[153] (1523, with extended context)

Additionally, Newton speaks of FAITH running a course every day, implying steady reoccurrence of faithful behavior (see Table 14.13):

5.23-1591   … from that boundless source, Derives fresh vigor every hour, To run its daily course.

This cyclical, repeated race may be related to another development of the RACE image in English: its applications in astronomy (see Table 14.2). Sense *9a* of RUN in the OED deals with the movement of heavenly bodies through space. The earliest cited example, from the Vespasian Psalter in c. 825, is the Old English translation of David's personification of the sun as a runner in Psalm 19:

---

153 This stanza refers to the birth and naming of John the Baptist, in Luk 1

> (xviii. 6)   ȝefaeh swe swe ȝiȝent to earnenne on weȝ.
>   ([The sun] rejoices as a giant to run on [his] way)[154]

Example 5.24 is from Watts' versification of the same psalm, with the same application of David's RUNNER imagery:

> 5.24-817   And like a giant doth rejoice To run his journey through the skies.

As this is clearly a figurative usage, taken directly from the Psalms, this instance does not present convincing proof of a special astronomical sense of RUN in Old English. Many of the later citations also employ personification, and the earliest example of a specialized (i.e., not obviously figurative) astronomical sense is from the Trinity manuscript of *Cursor Mundi*, in about 1425:

> 23590 Sonne, mone, watir, & stern, þat now renneþ in cours ȝern.

This example includes the COURSE image, but is also linked to the running of water, providing further illustration of the strength of the water image in the early development of RUN. It is possible that some of the earliest astronomical uses of RUN owed at least as much to the imagery of RUNNING WATER as to that of RUNNING HUMANS. This observation and its implications for CMT are discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.1. In the corpus, Baxter also writes of the earth and sun running COURSES:

> 5.25-1457   … whether the Earth or Sun So swift and unperceiv'd a course doth
>   run?

Heavenly bodies in the corpus tend to run *circuits* slightly more frequently than *courses*, with three instances:

> 5.26-1473 Stars that day and night Do their long circuits run: The Moon too in
>   her monthly flight …

> 5.27-1562 For us the skies their circles run, To lengthen out our days.

> 5.28-1525 Mazaroth his circuit runs, With Arcturus and his sons

The SKIES in example 5.27 may additionally refer via metonymy to the OBJECTS IN THE SKY. The third example, 5.28, personifies the star Mazaroth (also called Sirius), as a person

---

154 The translation *giant* is also used in the Douay-Rheims version, while the KJV has *strong man*.

running a circuit. Classically, constellations and heavenly bodies are frequently portrayed as people, and the sun and planets have been characterized as members of the Græco-Roman pantheon.

As we have seen, the personification of the sun is not a new idea in Western thought, having classical as well as biblical roots. However, three stanzas of one of Wesley's hymns (Wes560), expand the image of the racing Sun (emph. added):

> Jesus, let all thy lovers shine
> Illustrious as the sun;
> And, bright with borrowed rays divine,
> Their glorious *circuit run*: (1606)
>
> Beyond the reach of mortals, spread
> Their light where'er they go;
> And heavenly influences shed
> On all the world below.
>
> As giants may they *run* their *race*, (1607)
> Exulting in their might;
> As burning luminaries, chase
> The gloom of hellish night:

Here, Wesley combines the entire schematic image of the sun as a racing giant from Psalm 19 with the 1 Corinthians image of life as a race. This innovative combination produces a completely new set of entailments. The brightness of the sun is mapped to intense love for Christ, manifested in 'borrowed rays': attributes and strengths endowed by Christ for the benefit of others. The sun's circuit, encompassing the whole world, represents the travels and 'reach' of Christians, whom Christ has commanded to 'go … and teach all nations' (Mat 28:19 KJV). Its altitude above the earth puts it 'beyond the reach of mortals', and enables it to illuminate large areas; this is mapped to Christians' 'closeness' to heaven (and thus to God), and to the magnitude of 'influence' they may have upon the world. With their light, they are enabled to 'chase' the darkness of evil. It is interesting, but not explicitly mentioned, that this model contains a continuing cycle, as well as multiple suns. Christians, as small suns, are empowered to fight, but not to finally defeat evil. The last stanza of the hymn, however, makes a more conventional reference to Christ as the original 'sun of righteousness',[155] with whose assistance the smaller suns' brightness will grow 'unto the perfect day'.

---

155 See Mal 4:2.

Roughly a quarter of the corpus results for RUN (41 of 183) represent or are arguably derived from the 'flow' sense. These include diverse conventionalized images representing QUALITIES as RIVERS, or THOUGHTS as a 'running' CURRENT. Usages like these have proved difficult to classify in terms of their degree of metaphoricity: they represent usually conventionalized, sometimes innovative conceptual metaphors whose locus is a usage based upon a now-dormant (or mostly dormant) historical metaphor. The 'flow' sense of run is built into the language, and does not represent any significant semantic development of TRAVEL imagery within the period in question. Although the travel imagery is mostly dormant in 'flow' usages of RUN, instances like 1510 (Table 14.1, shown here with extended context), from a hymn by John Mason in which Christ addresses the Church, show that some ambiguity still exists:

> Disguised to the World thou *go'st*,
> Heav'n in a Mystery;
> To me thou *Run'st*, to me thou *Flow'st*,
> None knows thy worth but I

In this verse, the presence of the concepts GO and FLOW imparts both TRAVEL and FLUID imagery to the representation of the Church, with RUN providing a cognitive link between the two.

Other senses of RUN, arising from combinations of the word's early available senses, apply to words, thoughts, and concepts.[156] These are common in the corpus, and include usages of *run through* to mean 'continue/endure', 'be transferred', 'be present', or 'be published/spread abroad' (see Tables 14.21, 14.20, 14.19, and 14.29, respectively):

5.29-1546   Through all our lives let mercy run; So God forgives our num'rous faults …

5.30-1547   Their priesthood ran through several hands, For mortal was their race …

5.31-1551   Triumph and joy run through the place …

5.32-1565   … thy deathless fame Through the wide world shall run, And everlasting ages sing The triumphs …

---

156 Cf. discussion of THINKING IS MOVING, Ch. II, Section 2.4.

Most of these, especially 5.30, can be interpreted partially with the 'liquid' sense, but many also draw upon travel imagery, possibly involving a metonymy substituting NEWS (word) FOR THE BEARER OF NEWS. Further, the 'flow' of thought, or of lines of text, is also described in terms of RUNNING (see Tables 14.22 and 14.28):

> 5.33-1543   My busy thoughts at first On their salvation ran …

> 5.34-1520   Yet all the Scriptures run That God is great and one …

The 'word' is also an image representative of Christ in Christian tradition;[157] example 5.34 may also be interpreted as referring to Christ, the 'forerunner', gradually gaining his 'way' as his kingdom is established on earth. Similarly, uses of RUN in the 'flowing liquid' sense (see Table 14.1) can further be applied to emotions and human feelings: intense emotion, especially, may 'run over' (OVERFLOW) a CONTAINER[158] or 'run high':

> 5.35-1498   Where streams of joy most sweetly flow, Which run and never
>   cease.

> 5.36-1613   Mak'st my cup of joy run o'er.

> 5.37-1502   But since my Love has wore that blot, Repentance runs the higher.

One more sense of RUN features strongly in the hymns: that referring to the course of time (see Table 14.14). Cognitive linguistic theory generally accepts the spatial representation of time as a basic-level conceptual metaphor that is probably universal to human experience.[159] Specifically, Lakoff (1993: 216-219) details two 'special cases' of the basic metaphor, according to which TIME is usually represented as either a LANDSCAPE (compatible with the image of people running through life) or as SOMETHING THAT MOVES ACROSS A LANDSCAPE (compatible with time itself running). Most corpus collocations of TIME with RUN involved uses related to the 'liquid' sense of *run*: time runs in a way suggestive of a river's current, or 'runs out', like sand in an hourglass (based on a perception of sand flowing like a liquid). Examples 5.38 and 5.39 illustrate the former kind of running time, and 5.40 and 5.41 the latter:

> 5.38-1550   … And yet my moments run.

---

157 Cf. Jhn 1:1: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.' (KJV).
158 This may be the BODY, in a blended image.
159 See Appendix A, Heading 01.05.08 (p. 356) for expressions of spatial time in current accounts of
     metaphor. Also see Chapter II, Section 2.2 for discussion of spatial time schemata.

> 5.39-1552 … strive To lavish out their years. Our days run thoughtlessly
> along, Without a moment's stay …

> 5.40-1458 … those precious daies, Which once run out in pleasures and
> delaies?

> 5.41-1506   … thine Eternity possest, Before Time's Glass did run.

References to individual minutes or days 'running out' seem generally to parallel descriptions of the running of grains of sand (see Table 14.16). The sand image, in turn, is one which seems to be based on the 'liquid' sense of RUN discussed above. However, a few references to time seem to derive from other senses of RUN. Example 5.42 could refer to either the 'liquid' or the 'inanimate things' senses:

> 5.42-1542 the Much of my time has run to waste, And I perhaps am near my
> home …

Also, two instances make reference to wheels or circles:

> 5.43-1592 … Long as the wheels of time shall run, And to eternity.

> 5.44-1541 … while endless years Their everlasting circles run.

The 'wheels of time' are referred to elsewhere in the corpus, by Watts:

> How long, dear Savior! O how long
> Shall this bright hour delay?
> Fly swifter round, ye wheels of time,
> And bring the welcome day.

In these cases, the 'wheels of time' seem to represent the 'movement' of time, on which roll the actual vehicles—individual hours and days—possibly carrying the person along with them. This image is borne out by contemporary sources:

> You load the wheels of time and prevent it from carrying you along smoothly
> (Blair 1792: 277)

> Good Heav'n retard for thine the pow'r
> The wheels of time that roll the hour (Bell 1790: 32)

> Whirl fast around ye radiant globes of light
> Roll on ye hours add rapture to your flight

> Till he returns then stop the wheels of time
> In one fair morn eternal and sublime (An American Lady 1795: 259)

This image both conflicts with and is related to that of time as one large wheel, possibly a spinning wheel, as in lines from two of Mason's hymns:

5.45   Mark how the Wheel is turn'd, the time is come

5.46   One is a turning Wheel, that Spins out time

In any case, the image of time as a wheel (or wheels) doubtless derives at least partly from the courses 'run' by heavenly bodies, as in example 5.44, where years run 'everlasting circles'. In addition, emotions or attributes, whose running would generally be taken as the liquid type, can be combined with the circuit image of time, or time transpiring to infinity:

5.47-1555   … And pains and sins run through the round Of threescore years
                      and ten.

5.48-1560   … His goodness runs an endless round …

In its more active corpus occurrences, RUNNING signifies behavior carried out in eagerness. Sometimes this is viewed positively, as with an increased sense of devotion; other instances imply foolishness, carelessness, fear, or unnecessary haste. As a conventionalized image representing fervency of devotion, a core aspect of the devout Christian life, RUNNING can be combined with other images, either with fairly conventional results, like that of Christ as a forerunner, or with more novel applications, as in Wesley's characterization of Christians as running, shining suns. The ancient, dormant conceptual metaphor FLOWING IS RUNNING and its derivatives also figure strongly in the corpus, as in all applications of the English language, and permeate the terminology used to discuss time, thoughts, words, and abstract concepts like existence and continuation. At times, these dormant or highly conventionalized metaphors are reactivated by the use of other travel images in close context; this is one method sometimes used to add poetic depth to the hymns, which tend to avoid obscurity of expression. Most importantly, as these examples show, the image of RUNNING coordinates with other TRAVEL-schema elements like WALK, WAY, and PATH to form an integral part of the JOURNEY schema. Whether or not it is surrounded by a travel context, this image generally stands for one of a conventionalized set of concepts accepted by the wider Christian community of the period.

Table 14: Concordance of ʀᴜɴ in the corpus of hymns

Source domain: Going swiftly on foot (See Appendix B, HTE 01.05.08.04.01.01)

Table 14.1: ꜰʟᴏᴡ/ꜰʟᴏᴡɪɴɢ **(HTE 01.01.05.08)** ɪѕ ɢᴏɪɴɢ ѕᴡɪꜰᴛʟʏ ᴏɴ ꜰᴏᴏᴛ **(22)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1454	Bax	wn the Sun? Destroy the Earth? or Rivers cease to	RUN	? Reason taught Heathens that their Country's good	dor
1475	Kea	grace and peace, Nay it does overflow; Its waters	RUN	, and never cease, The like's not here below.	dor
1476	Kea	not here below. A vent is made, and it does	RUN	, And sends its waters forth; The streams this way	dor
1477	Kea	Vessels hast thou fill'd Since first the Fountain	RUN	! And many thousands more wilt fill Before that th	dor
1478	Kea	ye Sinners, wash your souls! See how the waters	RUN	!	dor
1479	Kea	of a River now will sing, A Stream that sweetly	RUNS	; And praise the high and glorious King, That he	dor
1480	Kea	sweetly soaks the Earth Where-e're its streams do	RUN	, And plenteously he will pour forth His waters e'	dor
1481	Kea	This River when it swiftly	RUNS	With an impetuous stream, It drives the Soul to	dor
1492	Kea	we may with Angels all Unto eternity. Here	RUN	the Chrystal streams of Life Quite thorough all o	dor
1494	Kea	my Lamb be slain. O let his precious Blood	RUN	out, For to them it I'll give, Or else they'll pe	dor
1498	Kea	ce, Where streams of joy most sweetly flow, Which	RUN	and never cease. Thou hast o'recome us with	dor
1507	Mas	his day God doth his Vessels broach; His Conduits	RUN	with Wine; He that loves not this days approach,	dor
1510	Mas	World thou go'st, Heav'n in a Mystery; To me thou	RUN'ST	, to me thou Flow'st, None knows thy worth but	dor
1516	Sha	as a vast healing quality, From heaven's fountain	RUNNING	free, To keep the tree a growing: As clear as cry	dor
1534	Vau	ife, And lest I should lack for Arrears, A spring	RAN	by, I told her tears, But when these came unto th	dor
1537	Vau	restless, vocall Spring All day, and night doth	RUN	, and sing, And though here born, yet is acquainte	dor
1573	Wat	with living juice, The fountain flows above, And	RUNS	down streaming for our use, In rivulets of love.]	dor
1578	New	lls; Before he filled the fountains That feed the	RUNNING	rills; In me, from everlasting, The wonderful I A	dor

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1595	Wes	ll commotions rest! When war's and tumult's waves	RUN	high, Removed above the storm they lie, They lodg	dor
+ STRONG FEELING/PASSION (HTE 02.02.15) IS FLOW/FLOWING (3)					
1502	Mas	But since my Love has wore that blot, Repentance	RUNS	the higher. O might those days return again, How	dor
1539	Vau	Odors, and Myrth, and balm in one rich floud O'r-	RAN	my heart, and spirited my bloud, My thoughts did	dor
1613	Wes	v'st me all I ask, and more, Mak'st my cup of joy	RUN	o'er. Love divine shall still embrace, Love shal	dor

Table 14.2: MOVEMENT OF HEAVENLY BODIES (HTE 01.01.10.04.01) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (7)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
817	Wat	To	RUN	his journey through the skies.	ce
1457	Bax	rth or Sun So swift and unperceiv'd a course doth	RUN	? Or knew the course and order of the sphears? Or	ce
1473	Kea	Stars that day and night Do their long circuits	RUN	: The Moon too in her monthly flight, Also the glo	ci
1525	Sma	eir names and places known. Mazaroth his circuit	RUNS	, With Arcturus and his sons; Pleiad twinkles o'er	ce
1532	Vau	th'Earth stands fast; Above are restles motions,	RUNNING	Lights, Vast Circling Azure, giddy Clouds, days,	dor
1562	Wat	his reviving rays; For us the skies their circles	RUN	, To lengthen out our days. The brutes obey their	ci
1606	Wes	with borrowed rays divine, Their glorious circuit	RUN	: Beyond the reach of mortals, spread Their light	ce

Table 14.3: LIFE (HTE 01.02) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (11)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
650	Bax	o lengthen Mortals Breath; Till one short Race be	RUN	, Which would be ended, When it is but begun, If	ce
1194	Cow	I'll gaze upon it while I	RUN	,	ce
1484	Kea	race; O let it burn and ne're go out Till we have	RUN	our race; That in thy sight we may see light	ci
1485	Kea	e, So must we all with patience wait Till we have	RUN	our stage. The Heir is likely richly cloath'	ce
1497	Kea	Grace These special drawings find; Then shall we	RUN	our heavenly Race With a sweet raised Mind.	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1517	Sha	His hidden life begin to share, And when they've	RUN	th' appointed race, They'll meet in the same hidi	ce
1585	New	rough the former year, Many souls their race have	RUN	, Never more to meet us here Fixed in an eternal	ce
1586	New	we now no longer see, Who their mortal race have	RUN	; Seemed as fair for life as we, When the former	ci
1589	Cow	ould soon be made his own. What! when a Paul has	RUN	his course, Or when Apollos dies; Is Israel left	ci
1594	Wes	ring are no more. Yes, the Christian's course is	RUN	, Ended is the glorious strife; Fought the fight,	ci
1610	Wes	to pray and labour on, Till our earthly course is	RUN	, Till we, on the sacred tree, Bow the head and di	ci

Table 14.4: DEATH **(HTE 01.02.02)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(2)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1557	Wat	uld renounce my all below, If my Creator bid; And	RUN	, if I were called to go, And die as Moses did.	inn
1559	Wat	leave this heavy clay At that transporting word,	RUN	up with joy the shining way T' embrace my dearest	inn

Table 14.5: PREGNANCY/GESTATION **(HTE 01.02.03.03.16.06)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1523	Sma	was as barren reckon'd, Had her course completely	RUN	, And her dumb-struck husband beckon'd For a pen	ci

Table 14.6: BRINGING SOMETHING UPON SOMEONE (INCURRING) **(HTE 01.05.03)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(2)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1501	Mas	eming Love? How oft I did repeat my sin, And	RAN	upon the score, Tho' Conscience loudly did disswa	dor
1604	Wes	thou, O Christ, my wisdom art! I ever into ruin	RUN	, But thou art greater than my heart. Foolish, an	ci

Table 14.7: CONTINUING IN ACTION/OPERATION **(HTE 01.05.05.05)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1531	Vau	behind. A sweet self-privacy in a right soul Out-	RUNS	the Earth, and lines the utmost pole. To all	ce

Table 14.8: CEASING AN ACTION/OPERATION **(HTE 01.05.05.08)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1482	Kea	always in his Hand, Doth make hi[...] Enemies to	RUN	, A Battel will not stand. The Third Part.	inn

Table 14.9: REQUESTING HELP **(HTE 02.08.03.12)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(3)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1566	Wat	the Lord." My soul obeys th' almighty call, And	RUNS	to this relief; I would believe thy promise, Lord	ce
1579	New	heavy on their head; To this almighty Rock they	RUN	, And find a pleasing shade. How glorious he! ho	ce
1616	Wes	screen my naked head. To thee for refuge may I	RUN	From sin's alluring snare; Ready its first approa	ce

Table 14.10: HOSTILE ACTION/ATTACK **(HTE 01.05.05.17.02)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1471	Kea	do not mourn, ye godly ones, When on you God does	RUN	, He pities you, and hears your moans, In mercy wi	ci

Table 14.11: RAPIDITY/SPEED OF ACTION/OPERATION **(HTE 01.05.05.20.05)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(5)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1500	Kea	t-stretched Arms, And yearning Bowels dear, To us	RUN	out for sweet support, That so we might not fear.	ce
1564	Wat	helpless grief; He saw, and, O amazing love! He	RAN	to our relief. Down from the shining seats above	ce
1598	Wes	near; Me thy bowels yearned to see, Me thy mercy	RAN	to find, Empty, poor, and void of thee, Hungry,	ce
1599	Wes	an, Sinking into endless woe, Jesus to our rescue	RAN	, And God appeared below. God, in this dark vale	ci
1601	Wes	spoke the word. In the strength of God I rise, I	RUN	to meet my foe; Faith the word of power applies,	ce

Table 14.12: CARE/CAREFULNESS/ATTENTION **(HTE 01.05.05.20.07)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(20)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
168	Wat	Awake and	RUN	the heavenly race	ce
638	Bax	and creep, Christians with joyful hope, believe &	RUN	. But will Christ to such Sinners Saviour be,	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1466	Bax	Glory of your Place. But lest in vain I hope and	RUN	, Lord perfect what thou hast begun.	ci
1487	Kea	will God's blessed Kingdom see. Such who do	RUN	a race, sometimes Have many Lookers on; Both Men	ce
1491	Kea	all Crown'd be as a King. O then, ye Saints,	RUN	you apace In ways of Piety; Gird up your Loyns, a	ce
1495	Kea	Man, O how unable's he To act or do, much less to	RUN	, Until he's drawn by thee! We, Lord, have no	ce
1499	Kea	love thee; And being drawn, Lord, from above, We	RUN	continually. Therefore we sing unto thy Name	ce
1515	Sha	o put off the old nature, And in new obed'ence to	RUN	, Till each has grown up to the stature Of a perfe	ci
1518	Sha	moment as it flies, Now in this blessed day; So	RUN	that we may win the prize, There's danger in dela	ce
1526	Sma	ze, And in a full maturity of soul, Great Stephen	RAN	the first, and past the goal. His therefore is	ce
1530	Vau	contraction Can heat rocks; Call in thy Powers;	RUN	, and reach Home with the light, Be there, before	ce
1574	Wat	sprinkled with his blood. We shall be strong to	RUN	the race, And climb the upper sky; Christ will pr	ce
1576	New	from all their pow'r: Fresh strength they gain to	RUN	their race, By waiting at the throne of grace.	ce
1587	New	ast thy work begun, Give new strength the race to	RUN	; Scatter darkness, doubts and fears, Wipe away th	ce
1593	Wes	follow the Lamb; The halt they are walking, and	RUNNING	their race; The dumb they are talking Of Jesus's	ce
1596	Wes	is the living God. Patient the appointed race to	RUN	, This weary world we cast behind; From strength	ce
1603	Wes	ng Providence I see: Assist me still my course to	RUN	, And still direct my paths to thee. Oft hath the	ce
1607	Wes	shed On all the world below. As giants may they	RUN	their race, Exulting in their might; As burning	ce
1611	Wes	all thy pleasant ways, And, armed with patience,	RUN	With joy the appointed race! Keep us, and every	ce
1615	Wes	, They will not stay behind. The race we all are	RUNNING	now; And if I first attain, They too their willin	ce

Table 14.13: BEHAVIOUR/CONDUCT **(HTE 01.05.05.22)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(20)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
15	Add	With heedless steps I	RAN		

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
479	Wes	And	RUN	my course with even joy	ce
838	Wat	And	RUN	at thy command.	ce
1453	Bax	in thy way; May I walk closely with my God, And	RUN	no more astray. All they that sit down with	ce
1465	Bax	ng in the Dark; Never so bold as when most Blind;	RUN	fastest when the Truth's behind. No Heresies with	inn
1470	Ged	pure love. Give me that gracious Oyle I'll	RUN	thy way; Serve without any toyle, And never stray	ce
1486	Kea	would win the Prize also, Must know what way to	RUN	; And must hold out, not weary be, Until the Prize	ce
1488	Kea	and Angels view the Saints, And mind how they do	RUN	. They who do run an earthly race, run for so	ce
1504	Mas	nt in thy way, May I walk closely with my God And	RUN	no more astray. Shall Simon bear thy Cross a	ce
1508	Mas	enter'd Me, and into Hell I quickly should have	RUN	; But O! kind Heav'n laid hold on Me, Heav'n is in	ce
1513	Sha	O the way! The holy way, Which our first parents	RAN	! The only way, in this last day, That God will sh	ce
1548	Wat	e, I would be walking near thy side; let me never	RUN	astray, Nor follow the forbidden way!] [I love	ce
1549	Wat	nd Still keep me near thy side: let my feet ne'er	RUN	astray, Nor rove, nor seek the crooked way.] [I	ce
1568	Wat	hem as he please.] If light attends the course I	RUN	, 'Tis he provides those rays; And 'tis his hand	ce
1571	Wat	om God, And love the distance well; With haste we	RUN	the dangerous road That leads to death and hell.	ce
1577	New	is saints should stand prepared In duty's path to	RUN	; Nor count their greatest trials hard, So that hi	ce
1583	New	raise, The blind their fight receive; The cripple	RUNS	in wisdom's ways, The dead revive, and live! Re	ce
1584	New	ith a will, afford me strength In all thy ways to	RUN	.	ce
1591	New	ndless source, Derives fresh vigor every hour, To	RUN	its daily course. The truth and goodness of the	ci
1609	Wes	earts and hands, Each to love provoke his friend;	RUN	the way of his commands, And keep it to the end.	ce

Table 14.14: TIME (HTE 01.05.06) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(10)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1458	Bax	I give now for those precious daies, Which once	RUN	out in pleasures and delaies? O had I liv'd a str	dor
1527	Vau	it were Day! One everlasting Saboth there shall	RUNNE	Without Succession, and without a Sunne. Epigrap	dor
1541	Wat	es, while endless years Their everlasting circles	RUN	. From thee, the overflowing spring, Our souls sh	ci
1542	Wat	fresh memorial of his grace. Much of my time has	RUN	to waste, And I perhaps am near my home; But he	dor
1550	Wat	hou length'nest out my thread, And yet my moments	RUN	.] Dear God, let all my hours be thine, Whilst I	dor
1552	Wat	ainly strive To lavish out their years. Our days	RUN	thoughtlessly along, Without a moment's stay; Jus	dor
1556	Wat	years and ten. Well, if ye must be sad and few,	RUN	on, my days, in haste; Moments of sin and months	dor
1558	Wat	nal Father's hand. Now shall my minutes smoothly	RUN	, Whilst here I wait my Father's will; My rising a	dor
1561	Wat	d, and God our sun; Swift as the fleeting moments	RUN	, On us he sheds new beams of grace, And we reflec	dor
1592	New	song shall be, Long as the wheels of time shall	RUN	, And to eternity.	dor

Table 14.15: ANTECEDENCE (HTE 01.05.06.08.04.03) IS GOING FIRST/IN FRONT (01.05.08.03.05.01) **(9)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
867	Wat	There Jesus the	FORERUNNER	waits,	ce
1191	Cow		FORE-RUNNER	of the sun,	inn
1524	Sma	ng to his earth, Prophet of the Lord Messias, And	FORE-RUNNER	of his birth. He too martyr'd, shall precede him	ci
1533	Vau	play not away Thy glimpse of light. View thy	FORE-RUNNERS	: Creatures giv'n to be Thy youths Companions, Tak	inn
1617	Ged	the living streams Do flow, my Soul to cure. As	FORERUNNER	, He's gone before Those mansions to prepare, Wher	ce
1618	Wes	grace. Christ, my Master and my Lord, Let me thy	FORERUNNER	be; O be mindful of thy word; Visit them, and vis	ce
1619	Wes	e thy works proclaim Omnipotently good: Moses thy	FORERUNNER	came, And mighty works he showed; Minister of wra	ci
1620	Wes	y there, In thee our Head, we are; With our great	FORERUNNER	we Now in heavenly places sit, Banquet with the D	ci
1621	Wes	oon my spirit, in his hands, Shall stand where my	FORERUNNER	stands.	ci

Table 14.16: PASSING THROUGH (OF SAND IN HOUR-GLASS) (HTE 01.05.06.06) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(2)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1506	Mas	thine Eternity possest, Before Time's Glass did	RUN	. Thou needest none thy Praise to Sing, As if thy	dor
1588	New	to some their last; The sands of life may soon be	RUN	, The day of grace be past. Think, if you slight	dor

Table 14.17: EXTENSION IN SPACE (HTE 01.05.07.02) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1529	Vau	ad choakt the Corne. Thus by the Crosse Salvation	RUNNES	, Affliction is a mother, Whose painefull throws	ci

Table 14.18: SPREADING/DIFFUSION (HTE 01.05.07.02.01) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(2)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1514	Sha	like a flame in stubble, From house to house it	RAN	: A few at first receiv'd it, And did their lusts	dor
1538	Vau	eat on my resolutions, As flames about their fuel	RUN	And work, and wind til all be done, So my fierce	dor

Table 14.19: PRESENCE (HTE 01.05.07.04.03) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(6)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1551	Wat	othes all heav'n in bright array; Triumph and joy	RUN	through the place, And songs eternal as the day.	dor
1554	Wat	iety in heaven. Raise thee, my soul, fly up, and	RUN	Through every heav'nly street, And say, there's	inn
1567	Wat	Lord, and let our joys Through the whole nation	RUN	; Ye British skies, resound the noise Beyond the	dor
1570	Wat	His chosen heirs to heav'n. Pleasure and praise	RUN	through their host, To see a sinner turn; Then Sa	dor
1572	Wat	sed, and brake: What love through all his actions	RAN	! What wondrous words of grace he spake! "This is	dor
1575	Wat	ss praise And glory due. The Father's love shall	RUN	Through our immortal songs; We bring to God the	dor

Table 14.20: TRANSFERENCE (HTE 01.05.08.06) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1547	Wat	away For ever all our guilt.] [Their priesthood	RAN	through several hands, For mortal was their race;	dor

225

Table 14.21: CONTINUITY/UNINTERRUPTEDNESS **(HTE 01.06.03.03.05)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(9)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1461	Bax	Which multiply'd into a thousand more! Which hath	RUN	parallel with all my daies; For which I owe thee	dor
1464	Bax	by resisting carnal inclination. Fleshly desires	RUN	with speedy course, And need not Faith's or Reaso	ce
1503	Mas	fice, My highest thanks I humbly pay, For Mercies	RUNNING	night and day. O Lord, thy Pardon I implore,	dor
1512	Sha	nd Eve. Through all generations this nature has	RUN	, Diffusing corruption from father and son, Till	dor
1545	Wat	lion of one man Through all his seed the mischief	RAN	; And by one man's obedience now Are all his seed	dor
1546	Wat	all our thoughts, Through all our lives let mercy	RUN	; So God forgives our num'rous faults, For the dea	dor
1555	Wat	und That Heav'n allows to men, And pains and sins	RUN	through the round Of threescore years and ten.	ci
1560	Wat	he road That leads our souls above. His goodness	RUNS	an endless round; All glory to the Lord! His merc	ce
1563	Wat	rist. From thee, my God, my joys shall rise, And	RUN	eternal rounds, Beyond the limits of the skies, A	ce

Table 14.22: IDEA, NOTION, CONCEPT **(HTE 02.01.07.04.01)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(2)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1543	Wat	l. "My busy thoughts at first On their salvation	RAN	, Ere sin was born, or Adam's dust Was fashioned	dor
1580	New	needful, and but one, Why do thy thoughts on many	RUN	? How oft are we like Martha vexed, Encumbered,	dor

Table 14.23: ZEAL/EARNEST ENTHUSIASM **(HTE 02.02.14)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(13)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
620	Bax	will not know; Sit still when they should go, But	RUN	for shaddows: While they might tast and know The	ce
1452	Bax	dig for Hell beneath, They Labour hard for Death,	RUN	themselves out of Breath To overtake it. Hell is	ce
1460	Bax	at as might my head-strong thoughts restrain From	RUNNING	after things terrene and vain: Yet were they not	ce
1467	Ged	rue! My sin is great, yet is thy mercy greater: I	RUN	to thee, there is no Savior better. Thou pas	ci
1493	Kea	en With thy strong Cords of Love, And we will all	RUN	after thee As fast as we can move: And in th	ce
1496	Kea	With thy strong Cords of Love, And then will we	RUN	after thee As fast as we can move. Shall we	ce

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1505	Mas	rist is by? Thy Saints enjoy a lively Frame,	RUN	cheerfully to God, Their Heav'nly praises shew th	ci
1509	Mas	bled me; O draw me with the Cords of Love! I will	RUN	after Thee: Thou hear'st, thou draw'st, I come, I	ce
1522	Sma	s, and most sweet, To meet her Saviour Christ she	RAN	, And gently stoopt to wash the poor man's feet;	ce
1535	Vau	sin, and death Put us quite from, Lest we should	RUN	for't out of breath, Faith bring us home; So that	ce
1553	Wat	ever hast'ning to the tomb, Stoop downwards as we	RUN	. How we deserve the deepest hell, That slight th	ce
1608	Wes	revere thy rod; And turn, with zealous haste, and	RUN	Into the outstretched arms of God.	ce
1612	Wes	Drawn by thy uniting grace, After thee we swiftly	RUN	, Hand in hand we seek thy face: Come, and perfect	ce

Table 14.24: LOVE **(HTE 02.02.22)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1455	Bax	before the Sun, And it in speed and constancy out	RUN	: Love as my Life should fill up all my daies; Des	inn

Table 14.25: SQUANDERING/PRODIGALITY **(HTE 02.07.11.02)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1472	Kea	ell, no need was there Of any Surety. But we	RUN	out, and wasted all, Which was a mighty store; An	ce

Table 14.26: CUT OF SHARP WEAPON **(HTE 03.03.16.05.03)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1521	Sma	she built; And for that great victorious man, Who	RAN	profane oppression to the hilt; Born HIS sublime	dor

Table 14.27: REFORM/AMENDMENT/CORRECTION **(HTE 03.05.00.04.03.01)** IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1602	Wes	I my destruction shun? How can I from my nature	RUN	? Answer, O God, for me! One only way the erring	ci

Table 14.28: EXPRESSION (HTE 03.08.01) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (1)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1520	Sma	suff'rings of the Lord. Yet all the Scriptures	RUN	That God is great and one, Or else there is no ca	dor

Table 14.29: PUBLISHING/SPREADING ABROAD (HTE 03.08.05.07) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (5)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1536	Vau	e's Comming! fil the sky? Shall it in the Evening	RUN	When our words and works are done? Or wil thy all	dor
1565	Wat	thy deathless fame Through the wide world shall	RUN	, And everlasting ages sing The triumphs thou hast	dor
1569	Wat	te, In works of vengeance or of love. His orders	RUN	through all their hosts, Legions descend at his	dor
1600	Wes	and feeble was his day; Now the word doth swiftly	RUN	, Now it wins its widening way; More and more it	dor
1605	Wes	JESU, the word of mercy give, And let it swiftly	RUN	; And let the priests themselves believe, And put	dor

Table 14.30: Literal uses (22)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
648	Bax	mad worldlings drive, They talk, they ride, they	RUN	, contend & fight; With craft they plot, with frau	lit
649	Bax	Joints, The Corps which now lies Dead, did Ride &	RUN	, All did perform what Lust and Pride appoints, Ma	lit
1456	Bax	the Sun: As he that to Christ's Sepulchre first	RUN	, Excites the LOV'D Disciple to do better; The cer	lit
1459	Bax	the Sun, I saw in lines which they may read that	RUN	, That Endless things are All, when we compare, An	lit
1462	Bax	id as they; The common fury and their lusts obey:	RUN	with the Herd: Mirth and the Rables noise, Drown	ci
1463	Bax	the same, Do leave their Trades, and all together	RUN	, Trying to quench the Fire where it begun; And th	lit
1468	Ged	dam When to tentation He did yield: He trembling	RUN	himselfe to hide: Gods presence He could not abi	lit
1469	Ged	is day to you a Saviour's sent. To Bethlehem	RUN	and Him behold, Of whom the Prophets have fortold	lit
1474	Kea	her in thy mind. And as a Hart is swift to	RUN	, And can the Mountains climb; So thou art swift	lit
1483	Kea	strong, and nothing fears, And swift they are to	RUN	, Angels are cloath'd with mighty strength, And fl	lit
1489	Kea	aints, And mind how they do run. They who do	RUN	an earthly Race, run for some earthly thing; But	lit

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1490	Kea	hey who do run an earthly Race,	RUN	for some earthly thing; But ev'ry Saint that gain	lit
1511	Mas	left their Snarling to their Masters Face; They	RAN	, and Lazarus gently did embrace. He was the pity'	lit
1519	Sma	time his voice is heard. And ev'n as John, who	RAN	so well, Confess upon our knees The prince that	lit
1528	Vau	him out, grown up a Man? To Egypt hence I fled,	RAN	o're All her parcht bosome to Nile's shore Her ye	lit
1540	Vau	ever restless and Irregular About this Earth doth	RUN	and ride, He knows he hath a home, but scarce kno	lit
1544	Wat	saw the rebel come, And all his bowels move. He	RAN	, and fell upon his neck, Embraced and kissed his	lit
1581	New	e." His father saw him coming back, He saw, and	RAN	, and smiled; And threw his arms around the neck O	lit
1582	New	found; She saw and heard, believed and loved, And	RAN	to tell her neighbors round. O come, this wondr	lit
1590	New	schemes we form, what pains we take! We fight, we	RUN	, we fly, we fall; But all is ended when we wake,	lit
1597	Wes	our, art thou pacified? Whither shall my vileness	RUN	? Hide me, earth, the sinner hide! Let me sink int	lit
1614	Wes	WHITHER shall a creature	RUN	, From Jehovah's Spirit fly? How Jehovah's presenc	lit

6 Pass

The final token considered in this study is the lexeme PASS, including variants like *passed*, *passing*, and *passage*, derivatives like *passover* and *surpass*, and the (now) archaic forms *passe* and *past* (as a past tense verb or past participle), the latter of which has developed a specialized adjectival and nominal sense (i.e., 'the past'). PASS and its derivatives show, to an even greater degree than WAY and RUN, the importance to language of conceptual metaphors involving motion, as will become clear in this analysis. In total, PASS accounts for 309 corpus tokens, excluding occurrences in hymn titles and biblical citations. As with the previous tokens, the lexeme PASS collocates frequently with certain other words—often spatial or directional prepositions like *by*, *for*, and *over*. The presence of these collocates often seems predictably to affect which of the many senses of PASS will be implied. Although these frequent collocations do not necessarily represent conventionalized metaphorical extensions of PASS, the spatial or directional natures of these prepositions do relate to the MOTION or TRAVEL source schemas, and contribute to nuanced target domain interpretations.[160] The corpus results for PASS are collected in Table 16, below (p. 250), arranged according to target domain associations.

Analyses of OED entries for WALK and RUN in previous sections have shown some difficulties that arise in attempting to establish etymologies from a cognitive framework. Cognitive theories of metaphor generally describe a unidirectional model by which the abstract is always conceptualized in terms of the concrete. However, the coexistence of both 'abstract' and 'concrete' senses of words like RUN in even the earliest sources of English complicates the issue. Recent findings in PMT have challenged the assumptions of the basic 'abstract from concrete' cognitive model in many versions of CMT (see Chapter II, Section 1.4). The histories of words like *run* also show that 'concrete' senses can continue to develop alongside 'abstract' ones, and developments of either type of sense can spur innovative concrete usages of the other; this is compatible with PMT's emphasis on correlation between sensory and nonsensory concepts. PASS may present such a case. The

---

160 Hoey (2005) proposes a linguistic theory which unites the traditionally separate fields of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. This theory shows how words are 'primed', largely through collocation, to occur with specific other words, in specific grammatical positions, and with specific semantic associations and pragmatic functions. It also promotes the idea of language as a collection of 'mini-systems' (e.g., 2005: 181) built through the experience of the speaker and 'harmonised' at the collective level, rather than as one cohesive system, existing abstractly and independently of language users. Such an inclusive and thorough account might go a long way toward clarifying difficult linguistic issues, like the distinctions between literal and figurative language, or between metaphor and metonymy, which traditionally have been considered 'fuzzy' or problematic.

OED entry for 'pass (*v.*)' is split into 11 branches (with a twelfth for 'other uses'), in rough order of earliest attested use:

> I. To excel or surpass.
> II. To proceed, move forward, depart; to cause to do this.
> III. To go by or move past; to cause to move past. …
> IV. To get through, across, or over; to cause to do this.
> V. Law. Used with reference or allusion to process of law. In quot. 1545 in pass. with the prepositional object of the active verb as subject.
> VI. To omit, decline.
> VII. To transfer, to be transferred.
> VIII. To allow, be allowed; to approve.
> IX. To circulate, have currency.
> X. To emit, give out, utter.
> †XI. To care.

The earliest branch, with the sense 'excel or surpass', presents what, cognitively, would be interpreted as relatively abstract uses; it is attested in OED quotations from c. 1200–1225. Branch II, bearing the 'concrete' senses, appears only slightly later, in c. 1230, but the earliest examples are likewise figurative, having to do with death or 'spiritual destination'. The first truly spatial use, with the sense 'to cause … to go or proceed' (*7a*), appears in c. 1325. The presence of nonsensory senses earlier than sensory ones is partially explained by the word's importation from Anglo-Norman, having brought with it a variety of meanings from its language of origin:

> Anglo-Norman *passer, paser, pascer, passir, passier* and Old French, Middle French *passer* (French *passer*) to get across, to cause or enable to get across, to carry over, (of time) to pass by, elapse (*c*1050), to go beyond, exceed (*c*1100), to pierce (*c*1100), to pass from sight (*c*1120), to undergo, endure (*c*1120-40), to disregard (1130), to surpass (1130), to depart life (*c*1165), to be allowed or tolerated, to be approved or ratified (*c*1220), to omit (*c*1245), to sift, filter (*c*1250), (of a verdict) to be given or pronounced (1293 or earlier in Anglo-Norman), to give a verdict (1311 or earlier in Anglo-Norman), to escape (*a*1325 or earlier in Anglo-Norman), to sanction, ratify (*a*1400), to leave, depart (*c*1400 or earlier in Anglo-Norman), to become qualified as (*c*1450), to come to an end, abate (1530), (in conjuring) to cause to disappear (1549), to judge as satisfactory in an examination (1607) … (*OED* draft rev. Mar 2009 'pass, *v.*')

Most of the French senses, taken chronologically, correspond with English senses (Table 15 offers a visualization of this correspondence), although some corresponding English senses appear much later. For example, the use of PASS[161] to mean 'pierce' was

---

161 The label PASS is taken in the following paragraphs to include all related early French and Anglo-Norman forms as well as the English lexeme PASS.

current in French before the word's introduction to English, but Table 15 shows that the first occurrence of the sense in English was in 1588. This may indicate a continued link between French and English usage of PASS after the word's early use in English, although the 'pierce' sense may have developed independently from the 'pass through' sense in each language. Stronger evidence of a continuing link is provided by the word's legal uses: the earliest cited French legal uses of PASS date from 1293, several decades after the establishment of PASS as an English word, with English adoption of the sense occurring by 1325.

Despite the relatively late entry of some sensory uses in comparison with early nonsensory uses, they all have in common the physically grounded sense of an object or person in motion, the motion being measured with reference to a point. This is borne out by the validity of still-current, graphical metaphors and metaphorical expressions grounded in physical senses of PASSING. To excel is still to 'pass a mark'; to judge or approve of something is to allow it to pass to the next stage; to disregard

English		Anglo-Norman / French	
branch	**earliest citation**	**sense**	**earliest citation**
I. Excel, surpass	1225	exceed	1100
		surpass	1130
II. Proceed, move forward, depart	1230		
(6 a: go to spiritual destination or b: die)	1230	depart life	1165
(9 go away, leave)	1330	pass from sight	1120
		leave, depart	1400
III. Go by or move past	1300	escape	1311
(11 TIME uses)	1325	elapse	1050
		come to an end	1530
IV. get through, across, or over	1300	get across	?
(18 fig. 'go through' or 'undergo')	1588	undergo	1120-40
(23 sift)	1530	sift, filter	1250
(24 'Of a weapon: to pierce …')	1588	pierce	1100
V. With reference to law	1325	give verdict	1293
VI. Omit, decline (including disregard)	1382	disregard	1130
		omit	1245
VII. Transfer, to be transferred	1387		
VIII. Allow, be allowed; to approve	1400	be allowed or tolerated, approved	1220
		sanction, ratify	1325
(40 be successful)		become qualified	1450
		judge as satisfactory	1607
IX. Circulate, have currency	1400		
X. Emit, give out, utter	1528		
XI. Care	1534		
Phrasal Verb 2: 'pass away': 'disappear'	1325	cause to disappear	1549

Table 15: Comparison of English and French senses of PASS

something is to 'pass it over'. Occurrences of *pass* in the corpus are here grouped into a wider range of semantic categories than presented by the OED branches. Metaphorical uses of *pass* tend to refer to topics of time, existence, completion of action, and cognition. Whereas the OED would class 'death' as a figurative sense under the same branch as actual 'walking', 'death' is here presented separately (see Table 16.3) as a conventionalized sense, and senses indicating physical travel are classed as 'literal' (see Table 16.33).

There are some literal usages of PASS in the corpus: one example (1653) refers to passage through a door; another (1717) refers again to the passage of the cows bearing the Ark of the Covenant; two more (1720 and 1740) are in reference to Israel's passage to and through the Red Sea, respectively. A literal 'ocean passage' (1678) comes from a Shaker hymn referring to the emigration—the 'shining passage'—of the original Shakers to America from England. Example 6.1 presents a literal usage of PASS that also instantiates a conceptual metonymy:

6.1-1750   … did he his help deny? Whom in his days of flesh pass by?

As mentioned earlier,[162] Jesus frequently walked long distances, and used this time for fellowship and teaching. Many of his healing miracles were also reported to have been performed while he was walking from place to place, healing those with illnesses or handicaps as he passed. Thus, 'passing by' refers literally to Jesus' walking past the people he healed, but also metonymically to his focusing of attention upon them as he passed; elsewhere in the corpus, the originally metonymic 'attention' sense of PASS is used metaphorically for God's attention to those who worship him, as seen with WALK. Further uses of PASS to deal with attention will be discussed below.

Historical derivations from physical uses of PASS, specifically the terms *trespass* and *Passover,* are also collected in Table 16, in subtables 28 and 30. *Trespass* is a classic historical metaphor of the 'pedigree' type:[163] the word *trespass* entered the English language as a noun referring to legal offenses or personal transgressions. Although its etymological origins are in the Old French for 'passing across, passage' (*OED* 1989 'trespass, *n.*'), the metaphor was no longer active at the time of the word's introduction to English. *Trespass* did eventually gain a verbal sense, and its 'pass' element may now contribute to its verbal

---

162 See p. 185.
163 See Deignan's levels of metaphoricity, Ch. II, Section 1.7.

use to refer to land incursions. However, *trespass* occurs in the corpus only as a noun, with no explicit development of travel imagery. This fact confirms the historicity of the travel metaphor at the time of the hymns' composition; consideration of later developments may reveal a reawakening of this dormant image in more recent times. The proper noun *Passover*, the name of the Jewish feast, derives from Exodus, where God 'passes over' the homes of the Israelites and punishes only the Egyptians.[164] The event itself is referred to in the hymns by the phrase *pass over*, as in example 6.2 (Table 16.33):

> 6.2-1712   … He passed the tents of Jacob o'er …

It is also described simply as 'passing', as in 6.3:

> 6.3-1732   Then thy peoples' doors he passed, Where the bloody sign was
>   placed

The feast of Passover, initiated to commemorate this event, is mentioned several times; once directly, as in 6.4, but also as a metonymic representation of the sacrificed Passover lamb, itself seen as a typological image of Christ's personal sacrifice (6.5):

> 6.4-1643   Desiring with us first to keep, A Passover before thy sleep

> 6.5-1713   Jesus our passover was slain, And has at once procured Freedom …

Senses directly related to the passage of time and events make up nearly half of the corpus results. 62 occurrences, about 20% of the results, deal with the subjects of present events (Table 16.5), time (Table 16.15), spending time (Table 16.16), or the past (Table 16.17). A further 67, or 22%, deal with ending and conclusion (Table 16.22); and 4 (1%) with progress (Table 16.7) or continuity (Table 16.23). This is not surprising, as discussion of any kind of continuous action, whether physical movement or abstract thought, assumes the passage of time; many of the other target domains identified in Table 16 also have a strong temporal aspect. The most basic TIME usage is in reference to the passage of time, or units of time (see Table 16.15):

> 6.6-1700   In vain these moments shall not pass, These golden hours be gone
>   …

> 6.7-1751   Pass a few swiftly-fleeting years …

---

164 See Exd 12:13 and Exd 12:23.

Instances of this type are more likely than some others to include figurative development of the PASS image, like 'swiftly-fleeting' in example 6.7, or *pass away* in example 1738. An alternative usage of PASS is to indicate 'spending time' or 'experiencing' (Table 16.16):

> 6.8-1702   Well, we shall quickly pass the night To the fair coasts of perfect light
>
> 6.9-1776   Thus may I pass my days Of sojourning beneath …

This usage reflects the second of Lakoff's two 'special cases' (discussed above, p. 215), in which it is the experiencer, not time itself, that moves across a landscape. Such cases are therefore naturally suited for imaginative development of travel imagery, as may be seen in the above examples and the others cited in Table 16.16.

The highly conventionalized use of adjectival (from the 14th century) *past* is common in the corpus; however, *the past* in its nominal use (from the 16th century) is comparatively rare. The corpus contains a total 121 occurrences of the word *past*—just under 40% of the total amount of occurrences of PASS—but about a third of these (38) occur as predicates with the perfective auxiliary BE, possibly indicating a closer tie to the past participial form for these instances. The past participle, in the form *passed,* seems to be less common in the corpus, occurring nine times with the auxiliary BE, but refers explicitly to the passage of time (Table 16.16), as in example 6.11:

> 6.10-1704 But ere one fleeting hour is passed, The flatt'ring world employs …
>
> 6.11-1846 Now is the hour of darkness past …

6.11, apparently a predicative adjective, seems more strongly to imply ending or conclusion of an event or period (Table 16.22), and occurs in a very similar grammatical slot to the participial 6.10. PASS is used frequently to convey ideas of transience or conclusion: along with periods of time, experiences such as storms (e.g., 1869, 1900, 1903) or periods of suffering (e.g., 1914, 1915, 1916) may be 'past'; this represents the brevity of individual troubles in life, or of the struggle of life itself (e.g., 1891, 1892, 1893). These occurrences seem to overlap with the target domain idea of NON-EXISTENCE (Table 16.4), discussed below in further detail.

Another common image in the hymns is the passsage of earth and 'all its relations' (e.g., 1681), a biblical image of the conclusion of all worldly events.[165] Jesus uses the image of PASSING to contrast the world's transience with the permanence of his promises:

> Mat 24:34-35: Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. (KJV)

This image is reflected in two hymns from the corpus:

> 6.12-1665   For ever he establish'd them, Gave Statutes which pass not away.

> 6.13-1682   What the Saviour once predicted, In no wise can pass away, Every thing must be expected, And fulfil'd …

Although many occurrences of the 'conclusion' type use the adjectival form 'past', these concentrate on the subjects' conclusion or ending, and differ from other examples in which PAST is mostly an adjective of time, referring to the subject's historicity (see Table 16.17). It is difficult to draw a line between the two categories, however, and judgments on individual assignations might vary.

The use of BE as a perfective auxiliary began to wane in the 15th century (Kytö 1997: 19); partly because of this, many of the 'BE *past/passed'* constructions seem to have taken on the adjectival sense indicating completion during this period, while the preferred auxiliary for the verbal uses indicating TIME has begun to shift to HAVE.[166] The 'conclusion' sense is discussed in further detail below. Compared to the 47 instances having the structure 'BE *passed/past'*, only six use the auxiliary HAVE, including these two by Newton:

> 6.14-1716   … Many years have passed since then, Many changes I have seen

> 6.15-1864   another year is gone! Quickly have the seasons past …

The OED classes all of the 'BE *past'* usages discussed up to this point as adjectival, noting, however, that the adjectival use was 'originally the past participle of PASS v. in a non-finite clause'. It is impossible to draw a clear line of grammatical demarcation between past

---

165 See 1Cr 7:31.

166 The transition was a long one: Kytö (1997: 19), citing Rydén and Brorström (1987), says that 'it was only in the early 19th century that *have* finally superseded *be'*.

participial and adjectival uses: rather, these two overlap. The earliest OED citations of the adjectival usage are from the 14th century, first as a predicate, and later as a postmodifier:

> **c1300** *St. Brendan* (Harl. 2277) 211 in C. Horstmann *Early S.-Eng. Legendary* (1887) 225 Tuelf-monþ hit [is] ipassed nou þat ȝe gonne out wende.

> **1340** *Ayenbite* (1866) 59 On is preterit..of þinge ypassed.

The earliest cited use of a PASS derivative as a premodifier is from c. 1429; but with the 'past' spelling, 1781:

> **c1429** *Mirour Mans Saluacioune* (1986) l. 4305 The passid chapitle shewed vs the last examynacioune.

> **1781** W. Cowper *Truth* 491 Past indiscretion is a venial crime.

Its earliest cited use as a grammatical term is from 1729, but after 1753, all the OED citations have the 'past' spelling, possibly indicating the stabilization of *past* as an adjective.

> **1729** T. Cooke Tales 204, I am certain that the passed Tenses of sit and see, which are sat and saw, will not be well sounding if this Rule is observed.

> **1753** J. Bevis *Pocket Dict. or Compl. Eng. Expositor* 10 The past tense generally ends in -ed as, I danced.

According to a Google Books search, however, as late as 1850, the grammarian James Brown was writing of the 'passed tense' as

> the power which the verb exerts in taking a point of time by itself and representing it to be fully passed off—out of our presence … (Brown 1849: 168)

Whether this represents a current usage of the time or a conservative archaism is difficult to say, but the scarcity of Google Books results for 'passed tense' compared with 'past tense' (around 15 results in total, versus over 2,000 results between 1800 and 1900 for 'past') indicates that *past* had become almost completely specialized by this time. The following corpus citations from Vaughan and Newton (respectively) provide an example of *past* in much more apparently adjectival usage, indicating completion of the day (Table 16.22):

6.16-1843   … The past daies accidents do summe With, Thus wee saw there …

6.17-1879   Sometimes the mind beholds again The past days business in review

Their prenominal position increases the likelihood (at least to present-day readers) that these instances of *past* will be taken as adjectives rather than as participles. The participle / adjectival use can also be applied to events or situations from past times:

6.18-1834   The sole original and cause Of all heroic actions past …

6.19-1890   Made, by past experience, wise, Let me learn thy word to prize

Such examples are attested throughout the period of the corpus. The later authors do not necessarily seem conscious of the underlying travel metaphor, but immediate contexts of three citations by Baxter (see Table 16.22) contain cues that might indicate a participial rather than an adjectival usage. Example 6.20 coordinates things that are 'past' or ended with sins 'cast behind'—possibly a conscious development of the travel imagery; examples 6.21 and 6.22 speak of 'calling back' the past and 'calling up' that which is 'gone'. In addition, all three use a variation of the auxiliary BE.

6.20-1813   Freely I did forgive thee what was past And all thy deadly sins behind me cast.

6.21-1806   … None can call back what's past / Judgment delays not …

6.22-1812   And wilt thou now call up what's past and gone?

Watts, as well, develops this imagery on one occasion, although he waits until the beginning of the next stanza:

6.23-1852   … never say, "They're here," But only say, "They're past"] [Our life is ever on the wing …

The nominal use of *past*, resulting from the adjective, is infrequent in the corpus, occurring only 11 times, and never earlier than Isaac Watts (see Table 16.17). Even in the usage of Watts, it is unclear whether *past* is used as a noun or as an adjective. In both of his examples, *past* and *present* may also be read as coordinating adjectives, modifying the noun *injury* in example 6.24 and *minutes* in 6.25:

6.24-1849   … lets the present injury die, And long forgets the past

6.25-1851   … like a tide our minutes flow, The present and the past

As with the adjective, the nominal *past* is often used in conjunction with the terms *present* and *future*:

6.26-1878   looks through Creation's wide extended frame; The past and future in his view …

6.27-1898   … though my life henceforth be thine, Present for past can ne'er atone

Unlike the adjective, the nominal rarely occurs on its own. In the corpus, only Newton and Wesley speak of 'the past' as a noun without appealing to either 'present' or 'future', and, for Newton, these may be implied by 'the rest':

6.28-1873   (New) upon thy breast! Help us to praise thee for the past And trust thee for the rest.

6.29-1919   (Wes) We thank thee for the past

As these examples show, the idea of 'a past' (thus expressed) had taken hold during the period of the corpus, but seems still to have been under development.

A final TIME usage of PASS as a noun is in the set phrases *come to pass*, meaning 'to occur' or 'happen', and and *bring to pass,* meaning 'to cause to happen'; these deal with the idea of present events (Table 16.5). There are two occurrences of each phrase, one of each from Baxter and from Keach. The OED entry for 'pass, n. 3' (draft rev. Mar 2009) has citations of the phrases from as early as 1481, occurring in a slightly different form:

1481 CAXTON *Reynard* (Arb.) 108 The wulf..threw the foxe al plat under hym, which cam hym evyl to passe.

Citations continue until 2001, meaning that the phrase was current throughout the period of the corpus, but the lack of examples from the writings of any of the later authors, from whom most of the corpus data is taken, may indicate that the phrase was on the decline except as an archaism: the OED's etymological note for the entry supports this, commenting that *'to pass* is now usually apprehended as the infinitive of the verb'.

V. Corpus Analysis: 6. Pass

Of all the uses of PASS in the corpus, the TRAVEL imagery is most explicit in cases dealing with life (see Table 16.2), death (Table 16.3), and various types of action and experience, such as progress (Table 16.7), escape (Table 16.8), and endurance of adversity or affliction (Table 16.11). As with WALK and RUN, uses of PASS can instantiate the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, with those who live and die completing, or passing, various stages of a journey. These descriptions can include nautical journeys as well as those undertaken on land. The imagery is obvious in the following citations (Table 16.2):

6.30-1633 Yet still looks further as I forward pass: And towards my End, the nearer Heav'n I go …

6.31-1703 While we pass through this barren land …

6.32-1727 Their passage lies across the brink Of many a threat'ning wave;

As has been shown in previous sections, the image of LIFE AS A JOURNEY opens the possibility of overt typological comparison with literal, biblical journeys. One hymn describes life in terms of Israel's wanderings in the desert:

6.33-1736 Like them we pass a desert too, But Israel's God is ours. …

Another refers to Israel's passage through the Red Sea (see Table 16.33), and later applies the image typologically to the Christian's experience of and deliverance from adversity in life (Table 16.11):

6.34-1769 A way no more expected, Than when thy sheep passed through the deep, By crystal walls protected.

6.35-1770 And we, even we, Have passed the sea, And marched triumphant over.

In contrast to the steady movement of WALK and RUN, uses of PASS seem to highlight the encountering and overcoming of individual obstacles; the smaller movements that make up a larger journey. At a more abstract level, in much the same way as people 'pass' the individual minutes or hours, they 'pass' the experiences or trials they meet along the way (see Table 16.11):

6.36-1795 Humbly I pass my trial here, And ripe in holiness appear …

6.37-1911   What troubles have we seen, What conflicts have we past …

More original applications of ᴘᴀss imagery exist in the corpus as well; people pass through fire, or fiery gates, and human life is described by Vaughan as the passage of a shuttle through a loom (Table 16.2):

6.38-1800   While in affliction's furnace, And passing through the fire …

6.39-1680   … The gate of self-denial; Yet not a few are passing through, And stand the fiery trial.

6.40-1698   Man is the shuttle, to whose winding quest And passage through these looms God order'd motion …

The last obstacle to be passed is death (see Table 16.3). That this is a major obstacle is shown by the fact that more corpus occurrences of ᴘᴀss seem to refer mainly to death than to life (22 vs 17, in the classifications used here); although, as has been shown, many other occurrences deal with specific aspects of life and the human experience. In current usage, the phrases *pass away* or *pass on* are a popular euphemisms for death. The OED (draft rev. Mar 2009, 'pass, v.') gives the relevant subsense of the phrasal verb *pass away*:

c. intr. In early use: (of a person's soul or life) to depart from the body. Later: (of a person) to die.

Although the OED citations indicate that a phrasal verb with the preposition *away* was in use by 1400, this exact phrase is used only once for ᴅᴇᴀᴛʜ in the corpus, rather abstractly, by Geddes:

6.41-1819   For when this clay is past away And turned into dust …

This example seems less explicitly to describe death than dissolution, as described under a different subsense:

a. intr. Of a thing: to cease to exist; to perish or disappear; to be dissolved.

Baxter uses the phrasal verbs *pass on* or *pass forth* of death (see examples 791, 1627, and 1635, p. 251), but the more common usage indicates the direction or destination of passage with longer prepositional phrases. These vary, emphasizing different aspects of death. Pᴀssᴀɢᴇ can end in or lead to death, or through death to the afterlife and its rewards:

6.42-1623　All the vexations, strife, & stir they make, They know is but in passing to the Grave.

6.43-1644　Weary of Earth, thou took'st thine Ease, passing into the Land of Peace

6.44-1810　… And past to everlasting Joy and Rest!

6.45-1650　Death's but to me a gate therefore, And passage unto rest …

6.46-1705　… Fly fearless through death's iron gate, Nor feel the terrors as she passed …

6.47-1742　… resign our breath; And our souls be called, to pass Through the iron gate of death Let us now our day

In the last three examples, the theme emerges of death as a gate, possibly of iron, signifying the impossibility of return, but also coordinating death with entry to heaven, also usually accomplished through a gate. The combination of the GATE image with the implications of PASS reinforces the portrayal of death as an obstacle to be overcome, then left behind.

PASS also sometimes refers to existence or presence in general: of inanimate objects and visible phenomena, or of abstract concepts and attributes. For instance, example 6.48 (Table 16.5) illustrates the enactment of ideas as a passage from one state to the next— thoughts becoming deeds; and PASSAGE represents their occurrence in time. Alternatively, attributes, conceptualized as possessions existing statically, can (or cannot, as in example 6.49, Table 16.20) be transferred from one person to another.

6.48-1798　… the thoughts that thence proceed, Not one shall pass into a deed …

6.49-1753　… Our inheritance above Cannot pass from heir to heir.

These descriptions of various states of existence are motivated by metonymy, as illustrated in the following examples from Vaughan (Table 16.19):

6.50-1687　Then I that here saw darkly in a glasse But mists, and shadows passe …

6.51-1693　Ther's not a wind can stir, Or beam passe by, But strait I think …

The source domain imagery in these examples is metonymically inspired: an appearance of motion attracts the observer's notice to an object's presence or existence. This metonymy can be linked to a conceptual metaphor like THINKING IS SEEING, by which, for example, the realization of a fact is described in terms of the perception of an object. Several variations of this type occur in the corpus. The character of the soul, in one of Vaughan's hymns, observes a 'preserving spirit' that passes through, or pervades the body (example 1686, Table 16.18), and Wesley requests a visual demonstration of God's goodness (Table 16.19):

> 6.52-1754 Before us make thy goodness pass, Which here by faith we know;
>   Let us in Jesus see thy face …

Wesley also uses a similar complex metaphor, developed across two stanzas of a hymn, to describe aspects of God's grace (Table 16.6):

> Thy sovereign grace to all extends,
> Immense and unconfined;
> From age to age it never ends;
> It reaches all mankind.
>
> Throughout the world its breadth is known,
> Wide as infinity;
> So wide, it never passed by one,
> Or it had passed by me. (1763 and 1764, shown in extended context)

This is the Arminian doctrine of universal atonement expressed in spatial terms: God's grace extends infinitely in every direction, and in all literal and metaphorical dimensions; physical, temporal, and spiritual. God's omnipresence in both space and time allows his grace to apply everywhere, to all people, throughout history. Its infinite extent implies metaphorically its unlimited effectiveness: in the source domain imagery of the schema presented by Wesley, a substance or object of infinite width, passing by one point, will of necessity pass by all points; thus, in the target domain, God's grace, infinitely applicable, cannot affect one person without affecting all.

Some occurrences clearly describe something becoming nonexistent (see Table 16.4). Such usage overlaps with the 'time' and 'conclusion' senses of PASS, as well as with descriptions of mortality and existence. Although cessation of any state or process is dependent upon the passing of time, these occurrences emphasize that something which

previously existed is no longer there. In the following cases dew evaporates with the rising sun, and hope (like water in a stream) dries up, ceasing to exist in the mind at all:

> 6.53-1664   … Or like unto the Morning-Dew, Doth pass when Sun doth rise

> 6.54-1797   My hope in a Saviour unknown, It passes away like a brook Dried up in a moment and gone!

In addition to *passing away*, events or experiences can *pass* beyond or exceed marks, abilities, or expectations (Table 16.9):

> 6.55-1630   These are LOVE's Methods, passing tongue & pen

> 6.56-1835   Great Stephen ran the first, and past the goal.

Example 6.56, discussed earlier (p. 209), describes St. Stephen's martyrdom, exceeding the requirements placed upon most Christians. The use of PASS for 'exceed' provides a metaphorical basis for what is now, and was probably during the period, the primary interpretation of the word SURPASS. Taken directly from the French *surpasser;* both its literal and figurative meanings were imported and remained in use until the late 19th century. The OED provides the following as the primary definition, though now labeled '*obs.* or *arch.*', for 'surpass, *v.*' (2nd ed.1989):

> 1. *trans.* To pass over, go beyond, overstep (a limit): often in fig. context; also, to go beyond (a certain period of time).

Citations for this sense begin in 1588. However, a figurative sense is attested from 1555:

> 3. To go beyond (another) in degree, amount, or quality; to be or do more or better than; to be greater than, to exceed; to be superior to, to excel.

Another is attested from 1592:

> 4. To be beyond the range, reach, or capacity of; to be more than can be attained, achieved, or apprehended by; to be too much or too great for; to transcend.

Although citations of the primary definition are given for as late as 1839, only the metaphorical uses are present in the corpus. Sense *4* is slightly more common than sense *3*, occurring in the usage of authors throughout the corpus period:

6.57-1629   True formal Knowledge doth man's mind surpass No Thoughts or
Names are adequate to Thee

6.58-1684   When thou seest thy Saviour's cures, So surpassing human thought
…

6.59-1778   … The thing surpassing all my thought …

Many of the corpus results deal with the processes of THOUGHT and SPEECH. Just as two
dominant schemata exist for conceptualizing TIME, both of which may be expressed in
terms of MOTION,[167] thought and speech can be described either as motion of the thinker /
speaker in terms of the object, or as motion of the object in terms of the thinker / speaker.
Words and thoughts can 'pass' through the mind or from the mouth, or the mind can 'pass'
by or over its thoughts. The image of the mind personified, moving past people and ideas
as it considers them, is frequent in the corpus, primarily in discussion of mental judgment
and attention. Many of the cases in which PASS deals with 'care' or 'attention' (Table 16.12)
clearly refer to consideration of some object: example 1691 calls the reader to 'peruse' his
or her past days and years, and observe 'as we passe' the sins that 'on every minute fall'.
Some of the occurrences indicating 'outdoing' or 'surpassing' (Table 16.9) have a mental
component: someone may 'pass' through 'the veil of outward things' (1755, Table 16.9),
transcending a basic understanding of God. Alternatively, words or thoughts themselves
can PASS or BE PASSED from a person. This includes judgments (Table 16.26), statement of
promises (Table 16.31), words that are published or spread (Table 16.32), or interpretation
of meanings (Table 16.24):

6.60-1639   Can the same voice now pass so sad a doom …

6.61-1885   Has he not his promise past Will he then regardless stand …

6.62-1672   A sad and a Rebuking Eye, On which this sense I pass'd; Dost thou
my Patience thus requite …

Even within one schema, the portrayal of THINKING AS MOTION can result in ambiguity:
there are several examples in the corpus of someone *passing by* something, but this phrase
can have very different meanings. In the source domain, this action is generally viewed
not as an instantaneous act but as a process, but there is also generally a point at which the
object has been fully PASSED BY. While continuously passing by something, a person will

---

167 See Chapter II, Section 2.2.

have some time to look at and consider it. Once it has been passed, it is behind the person, out of sight, and is no longer an object of active scrutiny. In the corpus, some instances of the phrase *pass by* appeal to the process. Like his grace, God's care or attention (Table 16.12) may be said to 'pass by' or focus upon a person:

> 6.63-1658 But thou in mercy didst pass by, And with us fell in love;

> 6.64-1743 Sinner, hear the Savior's call, He now is passing by; He has seen
> thy grievous thrall …

> 6.65-1773 Descend in this accepted hour, pass by me, and thy name declare

Some of these examples may draw upon the biblical imagery of Jesus walking past people on the road, healing them and pardoning their sins. Humans 'passing by' certain topics are also called upon to consider them more carefully before moving on:

> 6.66-1642 This sight would win thy heart before thou pass.

> 6.67-1749 Behold him, all ye that pass by, The bleeding Prince of life and
> peace!

Example 6.67 draws from another biblical image, that of people walking past Christ dying on the cross, and asks them to think more deeply about the occurrence and its implications.

Cases where the image of PASSING BY stands for a focusing of attention are less frequent and more graphic than the second use of the image, in which the completion of the PASSING event is emphasized. In these instances, someone *passed by* is not considered, but dismissed or ignored (Table 16.13). Again, God can pass by, or disregard people or issues:

> 6.68-1652 Lost Angels passing-by. And choosing such as I …

> 6.69-1660 Upon thy faithfulness: O Lord, Canst thou a truth pass by …

> 6.70-1668 Among thy people here am I, Lord let me not be passed by …

> 6.71-1735 O, who is a GOD like to thee? Who passest iniquities by, And
> plungest them deep in the sea!

Humans, as well, *pass by* things:

> 6.72-1695   And point us out the way While we passe by And mind it not
>
> 6.73-1725   Men saw me in this helpless case, And passed without compassion by

The structure 'PASS _ *by',* seen in example 6.71, is indicative of a phrasal verb, and does not occur in the previous 'attention' sense; 'attention' uses in the corpus are only of the types 'PASS _' or 'PASS *by _'.* Phrasal verb structures may provide a cue as to the proper interpretation of *pass by,* although the 'PASS *by _'* structure is used (less frequently) for the 'ignoring', as well as 'attention' senses, as in example 6.74:

> 6.74-1818   Thou past by Angels and hast sent thy Son In humane nature …

The 'consider' and 'dismiss' senses of the phrase *pass by,* resulting from a focus on two separate parts of one source domain image, are semantically incompatible with each other. This qualifies them as candidates for what Karaman terms *contronymy,* or 'sense opposition at the micro-level' (2008: 175). This type of polysemy, Karaman points out, is often a byproduct of language change. The existence of contronymy at the phrasal level, as illustrated above, merits further research into the relationship between language change, metaphor and polysemy.

Because thinking is a linear process, constrained by and structured around the passage of time, the LINEAR TRAVEL schemata of TIME and THOUGHT are linked. This link between TIME, TRAVEL, and THOUGHT shows up in all aspects of the metaphorical imagery around thinking and speaking, but is illustrated particularly clearly in the conventionally established uses of the word *past.* Spatial portrayals of temporal concepts have been explored in the previous discussion of *past* as a temporal adjective and noun; the use of *past* as an adverb and preposition in reference to POSSIBILITY further extends the link. According to the OED (draft rev. Mar 2009, 'past, prep. and adv.'), the earliest uses of *past* as a preposition, from c. 1300, were temporal, rather than spatial, 'probably arising out of the perfect tense of transitive uses of PASS v. … formed with *be* instead of *have'.* The next senses to develop, cited from the early 15th century, were of quantity or degree; these were followed at the beginning of the 16th century by senses to do with (in)capability and finally (from 1523) spatial senses. Aside from examples 1835 (6.56 above) and 1876, with the 'surpassing' or 'exceeding' sense (see Table 16.9), the preposition *past* appears in the

corpus only with the sense of 'inability' (Table 16.14), whether of positive or negative acts or qualities:

      6.75-1811 My late besotted mind is now past doubt, That Folly's careless, Wisdom is devout …

      6.76-1824 If any rotten are, And past all hope of being heal'd …

The preposition *past* stems most directly, historically, from senses of PASS dealing with TIME, and no explicit development of TRAVEL imagery seems to accompany most occurrences of prepositional *past* in the corpus. Nevertheless, the eventual development and lasting acceptance of a spatial sense of *past* shows the continuing strength of the underlying conceptual link. One corpus example, 6.77 (with extended context), does combine the 'spatial' and 'inability' senses of *past*:

      6.77-1912 Let us then sweet counsel take … Our election how to make past the reach of hell secure

    Corpus citations dealing with 'judgment' use both sides of the PASS schema, the active PASSING and the passive BEING PASSED. A person or thing can 'pass' or succeed at a test, trial, or some form of scrutiny (Table 16.10). This usage overlaps with the experience of success by perseverance through affliction (Table 16.11). Example 6.61 clearly illustrates a basis for these senses in physical imagery:

      6.78-1707 When I must stand before my Judge, And pass the solemn test.

      6.79-1785 … And join, with mutual care, To fight our passage through; And kindly help each other on …

There are four instances of what seems to be a set phrase based on the imagery of a military passage, *to force / fight one's passage through*, in hymns by Wesley and Newton. This phrase occurs at least as early as 1587 in English, in William Garrard's The arte of warre:

      To make waye & force a passage through the midst of the enemies
      (1587: 231).

The 'pass a test' sense is also related to the phrase *pass for*, meaning to be 'accepted as' or 'equivalent to' something (Table 16.21):

6.80-1624   None pass for Saints who do not wear their dress …

6.81-1676   And must his Word pass for a Cypher now?

6.82-1730   By various maxims, forms and rules, That pass for wisdom in the schools …

The OED notes that this usage usually caries 'the implication of being something else', and this is the case with all of the corpus examples, where something is to be accepted as what it is not. The phrase *pass for* in some instances presents the image of a collective of minds that must be passed to obtain general approval. On the other hand, permitting something (Table 16.25) to remain or proceed unchallenged can be described as *letting it pass*:

6.83-1675   This hard word, Ever, you must let it pass …

6.84-1741   God at length will make you feel, He will not let you pass

Again, the imagery is of a subject passing before the observer's attention without the observer acting upon it.

The idea of PASSING, in its travel sense, has historically provided a conceptual basis for many abstract domains of reference, often concurrently. This has resulted in the extension of PASS to refer to a broad range of topics: it is commonly applied to such aspects of human experience as thinking and communicating, ability and inability, and history and the elapsing of time. As well as exploring the metaphorical scope of PASS in the corpus of hymns, this section has raised historical and linguistic issues: the emergence of apparently contradictory senses of PASS illustrates the need for further research into the nature and roles of contronymy and other forms of polysemy in language change. Finally, this chapter has begun to discuss early modern understandings of heaven as a concrete location; a topic addressed in greater detail in Chapter VI.2.

Table 16: Concordance of ᴘᴀss in the corpus of hymns

Source domain: Forward movement (See Appendix B, HTE 01.05.08.05.04)

Table 16.1: ꜰʟᴏᴡ/ꜰʟᴏᴡɪɴɢ **(HTE 01.01.05.08)** ɪs ꜰᴏʀᴡᴀʀᴅ ᴍᴏᴠᴇᴍᴇɴᴛ **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1689	Vau	and Wine; But in her long, and hidden Course	PASSING	through the Earths darke veines, Growes still fro	ce

Table 16.2: ʟɪꜰᴇ **(HTE 01.02)** ɪs ꜰᴏʀᴡᴀʀᴅ ᴍᴏᴠᴇᴍᴇɴᴛ **(17)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
626	Oli	The watery deep we	PASS		
1622	Bax	ire and Cloud, The Law, the Angels presence as we	PASS	; Moses fell in the Wilderness: but there The Temp	ci
1633	Bax	distant was; Yet still looks further as I forward	PASS	: And towards my End, the nearer Heav'n I go, My	ce
1694	Vau	ints are shining lights: who stays Here long must	PASSE	O're dark hills, swift streames, and steep ways A	ce
1698	Vau	Man is the shuttle, to whose winding quest And	PASSAGE	through these looms God order'd motion, but ordai	inn
1703	Wat	Send comforts down from thy right hand, While we	PASS	through this barren land, And in thy temple let	ce
1719	New	hose heart the blood of JESUS knows; But safe may	PASS	, if duty leads, Through burning sands or mountain	ce
1727	New	ith by the way, But make his power known. Their	PASSAGE	lies across the brink Of many a threat'ning wave;	ce
1736	New	in view, Secure from adverse pow'rs; Like them we	PASS	a desert too, But Israel's God is ours. Yes, in	ce
1745	New	iew; How different from the wilderness We now are	PASSING	through! Here often from our eyes Clouds hide th	ce
1747	Cow	In everlasting day; Through floods and flames the	PASSAGE	lies, But JESUS guards the way: The swelling floo	ce
1768	Wes	one, And still he loves and guards his own. When	PASSING	through the watery deep, I ask in faith his promi	ce
1785	Wes	in view, And join, with mutual care, To fight our	PASSAGE	through; And kindly help each other on, Till all	ce
1789	Wes	ead. Then let us lawfully contend, And fight our	PASSAGE	through; Bear in our faithful minds the end, And	ce
1790	Wes	art, The Way, the Truth, the Life of grace: Who,	PASSING	through the mournful vale, Drink comfort from the	ce

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1804	Wes	an eyes appear; While through the mighty waves we	PASS	, Faith only sees that God is here. Throughout th	ce
1833	Sma	the prize I threw; And in the path by thousands	PAST	The Lord shall make me new. O let the people, wi	ce

Table 16.3: DEATH **(HTE 01.02.02)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(22)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
407	Wes	There	PASS	some spirits blest;	ce
791	Bax	Where thou art	PASSING	on and canst not stay?	ce
1623	Bax	ns, strife, & stir they make, They know is but in	PASSING	to the Grave. Were they but following anothers	ce
1627	Bax	thou fearful; And Souls that fear no harm, Should	PASS	forth Chearful. Cherish not causeless Doubt	ce
1631	Bax	I wondred men could live so carelesly, Ready to	PASS	into Eternity! And O how easily could I confute A	ce
1634	Bax	amazed was, To think that unto Judgment it must	PASS	, And see the unseen World; and stand before The	ci
1635	Bax	Wealth, or Princely Stem O now my undrest Soul is	PASSING	forth, I see both what the World and Christ are	ce
1638	Bax	own? And thus disquieted with fears? Art thou not	PASSING	to thy Crown, Through storms of pain, and floods	ce
1644	Bax	ent.] ; Weary of Earth, thou took'st thine Ease,	PASSING	into the Land of Peace: The threatned Evil we for	ce
1645	Bax	Though thou art gone, and I am here; Yet is my	PASSING	-hour near: Time is at work both Night and Day, Ev	ci
1650	Ged	te. Death's but to me a gate therefore, And	PASSAGE	unto rest, And Harbinger to Heaven, to Gloir; Whi	ce
1705	Wat	gh death's iron gate, Nor feel the terrors as she	PASSED	. Jesus can make a dying bed Feel soft as downy	ce
1708	Wat	renown, When through the regions of the dead He	PASSED	to reach the crown. Exalted at his Father's side	ce
1726	New	ful doom. "This night, vain fool, thy soul must	PASS	Into a world unknown; And who shall then the stor	ce
1742	New	st resign our breath; And our souls be called, to	PASS	Through the iron gate of death Let us now our day	ce
1757	Wes	God, be merciful to me!" O remember me for good,	PASSING	through the mortal vale! Show me the atoning bloo	ce
1780	Wes	hall come, Shouting their heavenly Zion gain, And	PASS	through death triumphant home. The pain of life	ce

251

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1787	Wes	beneath Live out in cheerful hope, And fearless	PASS	the vale of death, And gain the mountain-top. To	ce
1801	Wes	ain. Now on the brink of death we stand; And if I	PASS	before, They all shall soon escape to land, And	ce
1810	Bax	ome! And taken up my dwelling with the blest! And	PAST	to everlasting Joy and Rest! O that the pleasures	ce
1816	Bax	Readily I come, As being not the first, That hath	PAST	through thy door: Thou shalt but help me home, Wh	ce
1819	Ged	With martyrdom to prove. For when this clay is	PAST	away And turned into dust, To mansions high he'll	ci

Table 16.4: NON-EXISTENCE (HTE 01.05.01.01) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT (7)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1664	Kea	shadow flies; Or like unto the Morning-Dew, Doth	PASS	when Sun doth rise; So do our Days, our Mont	ci
1699	Wat	ears To our believing eyes! The earth and sea are	PASSED	away, And the old rolling skies. From the third	ci
1781	Wes	endure, Whose word, when heaven and earth shall	PASS	, Remains and stands for ever sure; That I thy me	ci
1788	Wes	ay, That calls thy exiles home! The heavens shall	PASS	away, The earth receive its doom; Earth we shall	ci
1797	Wes	demption I look; My hope in a Saviour unknown, It	PASSES	away like a brook Dried up in a moment and gone!	ci
1802	Wes	ay When our Redeemer shall come down, And shadows	PASS	away. Not one, but all our days below, Let us in	ci
1829	Sha	open to our view. The types and shadows now are	PAST	The substance we have found at last; So let our	ci

Table 16.5: PRESENT EVENTS (HTE 01.05.04) ARE FORWARD MOVEMENT (5)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1626	Bax	name; Now that's dissolv'd, how should it come to	PASS	? That any Prince on Earth should do the same.	ci
1632	Bax	of my self I was, To bring my own deliverance to	PASS	: Now I began to feel as well as see, How near the	ci
1657	Kea	yes a flaming Fire; Who bringeth mighty things to	PASS	, Sing to him, him admire. The fourth Part.	ci
1659	Kea	so vile within; If once this thing does come to	PASS	, He'll take away your sin. Then look to him	ci
1798	Wes	the thoughts that thence proceed, Not one shall	PASS	into a deed Before thy mind I know. Cautious the	ci

Table 16.6: INFLUENTIAL OPERATION/ACTING UPON SOMETHING **(HTE 01.05.05.01)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(3)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1661	Kea	he Soul, but thy Word will Most quick and swiftly	PASS	. It doth the very Thoughts discern, Nay it	ci
1763	Wes	dth is known, Wide as infinity; So wide, it never	PASSED	by one, Or it had passed by me. My trespass was	inn
1764	Wes	inity; So wide, it never passed by one, Or it had	PASSED	by me. My trespass was grown up to heaven; But	inn

Table 16.7: PROGRESS/ADVANCE/FURTHER CONTINUANCE **(HTE 01.05.05.05.01)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(3)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1642	Bax	Glass! This sight would win thy heart before thou	PASS	. He that will Love God, must not think him Evil;	ci
1731	New	ther food. By these inviting tastes allured, We	PASS	to what must be endured; For soon we find it is	ce
1741	New	at length will make you feel, He will not let you	PASS	: Sinners then in vain will call, (Though they now	ci

Table 16.8: ESCAPE **(HTE 01.05.05.15.03)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1669	Mas	rrection: [...] thousand Deaths I daily 'scape, I	PASS	by many a Pit, I Sail by many dreadful Rocks, Whe	ce

Table 16.9: OUTDOING/SURPASSING **(HTE 01.05.05.16.01.01)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(15)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1628	Bax	For us he's stor'd with grace. His Love doth	PASS	dimensions, His Love exceeds all thought, Stronge	ci
1629	Bax	in a glass. True formal Knowledge doth man's mind	SURPASS	. No Thoughts or Names are adequate to Thee: They	ci
1630	Bax	en kindled by its fire. These are LOVE's Methods,	PASSING	tongue & pen: Wonders and Joys, to Angels, and to	ci
1637	Bax	Is a fools laughter like the Joyes above? Beauty	SURPASSETH	all deceitful paints: What's empty mirth to the	ci
1649	Ged	colours rare: What are yee? &c. Our Sharons Rose	SURPASSETH	farre You ramping Lyon, Elephant, Yee Hors	ci
1683	Sma	worthy deem'd On the mountain-top to tread, While	SURPASSING	glories beam'd On his master's hallow'd head. Wh	ci
1684	Sma	wrought, When thou seest thy Saviour's cures, So	SURPASSING	human thought, What thy books from Greece have ta	ci
1685	Sma	Stars of the superior class, Which in magnitude	SURPASS	, From the time they rose and shone, Have their na	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1715	New	history fulfilled; The numbers all our thoughts	SURPASS	Of Abels, whom the Cains have killed! Thus JES	ci
1718	New	im appeared, "How much, what I see with my eyes, "	SURPASSES	the rumor I heard!" When once to Jerusalem come	ci
1755	Wes	ine image to retrieve, The veil of outward things	PASS	through, And gasp in thee to live. I work, and o	ce
1756	Wes	unutterably full Of glory and of God. His love,	SURPASSING	far The love of all beneath, We find within our	ci
1778	Wes	ise me up, Thou shalt thy Spirit give. The thing	SURPASSES	all my thought, But faithful is my Lord; Through	ci
1835	Sma	aturity of soul, Great Stephen ran the first, and	PAST	the goal. His therefore is the champion's crown-	ce
1876	New	sinner, what will then become of thee! Horrors,	PAST	imagination, Will surprise your trembling heart,	ci

Table 16.10: SUCCESS (HTE 01.05.05.16.02) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT (5)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1707	Wat	kes haste, When I must stand before my Judge, And	PASS	the solemn test. Thou lovely chief of all my joy	ci
1714	Wat	it; And ne'er an angry flaming sword To guard the	PASSAGE	to 't. The cup stands crowned with living juice,	inn
1737	New	ing relief in deepest straits; Prayer can force a	PASSAGE	through Iron bars and brazen gates. Hezekiah on	ce
1744	Cow	ly lament and complain. By these changes I often	PASS	through, I am taught my own weakness to know; I	ce
1777	Wes	faith's strong eagle-pinions rise, And force your	PASSAGE	to the skies, And scale the mount of God. Who su	inn

Table 16.11: BEING IN ADVERSITY/AFFLICTION (HTE 01.05.05.18) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT (6)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1680	Sha	trait, The gate of self-denial; Yet not a few are	PASSING	through, And stand the fiery trial. This glorious	ce
1766	Wes	as in the lion's den, Undevoured we still remain;	PASS	secure the watery flood, Hanging on the arm of Go	ce
1770	Wes	hand our lives did cover, And we, even we, Have	PASSED	the sea, And marched triumphant over. The world,	ce
1795	Wes	but thine; Till all thy will be done, Humbly I	PASS	my trial here, And ripe in holiness appear With	ci
1800	Wes	ur salvation. While in affliction's furnace, And	PASSING	through the fire, Thy love we praise, Which knows	ce

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1911	Wes	hat troubles have we seen, What conflicts have we	PAST	Fightings without, and fears within, Since we as	ci

Table 16.12: CARE/CAREFULNESS/ATTENTION **(HTE 01.05.05.20.07)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(13)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1658	Kea	a long season lay. But thou in mercy didst	PASS	by, And with us fell in love; Though nothing in	ci
1691	Vau	Yet, come, and let's peruse them all; And as we	PASSE	, What sins on every minute fall Score on the glas	inn
1722	New	od I lay, Creatures no help could give, But Jesus	PASSED	me in the way, He saw, and bid me live. Though	ce
1724	New	While thus I lay distressed, I saw The Savior	PASSING	by; To him, though filled with shame and awe, I	ce
1743	New	tion. Sinner, hear the Savior's call, He now is	PASSING	by; He has seen thy grievous thrall, And heard th	ci
1748	Wes	ALL that	PASS	by, To Jesus draw near, He utters a cry, Ye sinne	ci
1749	Wes	my Love is crucified. Behold him, all ye that	PASS	by, The bleeding Prince of life and peace! Come,	ce
1758	Wes	llowed joy. Come quickly, Lord, the veil remove,	PASS	as a God of pardoning love Before my ravished eye	ci
1759	Wes	The sinfulness of sin. But thou, they say, art	PASSING	by; O let me find thee near! Jesu, in mercy hear	ce
1761	Wes	ame in me reveal, Reveal thyself in me. Descend,	PASS	by me, and proclaim, O Lord of hosts, thy gloriou	ce
1762	Wes	at thy boundless love. Me in my blood thy love	PASSED	by, And stopped, my ruin to retrieve; Wept o'er	ce
1773	Wes	ous sight to bear! Descend in this accepted hour,	PASS	by me, and thy name declare; Thy wrath withdraw,	ce
1792	Wes	ALL ye that	PASS	by, To Jesus draw nigh: To you is it nothing that	ce

Table 16.13: IGNORING, DISREGARD **(HTE 02.01.15.02.01)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(19)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1641	Bax	lly by its smart? I sinn'd and laugh'd; I lightly	PASS'D	it over: Should God do so, and not his wrath di	ci
1652	Ged	begger-underlings Thy favour lend; Lost Angels	PASSING	-by. And choosing such as I, Thy name to glorify,	ci
1654	Kea	thy People's faults likewise Thou dost, O Lord,	PASS	by. 'Tis a high honour to descend From such	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1655	Kea	Lion will not touch his Life, But leave him, and	PASS	by. So thou, O Lord, wilt such forgive, Who	ce
1656	Kea	lories thus shine forth. Angelick Nature didst	PASS	by, And set thy tender heart On such as we: O let	ci
1660	Kea	Upon thy faithfulness: O Lord, Canst thou a truth	PASS	by, 'Not witness to it in thy Word, Or let it dar	ci
1663	Kea	rather on our Hearts, To shew God hath our sins	PASS'D	o're, And Mercies he imparts. The Lamb it	ci
1668	Mas	Among thy people here am I, Lord let me not be	PASSED	by, Let this poor Soul with Triumph say, I've see	ci
1674	Mas	us not. Now might one let this pleasant Error	PASS	, If Death was all, but Death his Second has, When	ci
1695	Vau	teach us to die And point us out the way While we	PASSE	by And mind it not; play not away Thy glimpse of	ce
1725	New	in vain. Men saw me in this helpless case, And	PASSED	without compassion by; Each neighbor turned away	ce
1733	New	plan, To save, and honor fallen man. Jesus, who	PASSED	the angels by, Assumed our flesh to bleed and di	ci
1735	New	mes us to cry, "O, who is a GOD like to thee? Who	PASSEST	iniquities by, And plungest them deep in the sea!	ci
1784	Wes	wickedness restrain; Mistakes and lesser faults	PASS	by, And govern with a looser rein. The servant	ci
1805	Bax	in to have some Life and Sence: He wonders how he	PAST	them by before, As if they had been of no Consequ	ci
1818	Ged	run to thee, there is no Savior better. Thou	PAST	by Angels and hast sent thy Son In humane nature,	ci
1821	Kea	rejoyce and sing, For their infirmities· Are all	PAST	over by the King, Though many evils lies Ope	ci
1822	Kea	ord, hast said, Accomplished shall be; No Promise	PAST	nor Threat delay'd, No Soul shall ever see;	ci
1839	Vau	her secrets lay a bed I rifled quite, and having	PAST	Through all the Creatures, came at last To search	ce

Table 16.14: INABILITY (HTE 01.05.05.23.02) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(5)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1811	Bax	iness is not a jest. My late besotted mind is now	PAST	doubt, That Folly's careless, Wisdom is devout: I	dor
1815	Bax	he Shell: You have the Reconciling Light, Who are	PAST	Faith, and live by Sight: No wonder then if you a	dor
1824	Kea	o is a Member of the same; If any rotten are, And	PAST	all hope of being heal'd, No being must have ther	dor

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1842	Vau	hy death I will treasure. Though then thou art	PAST	thought of heart All perfect fulness, And canst	dor
1912	Wes	o make our calling sure, Our election how to make	PAST	the reach of hell secure; Build we each the other	ci

Table 16.15: TIME (HTE 01.05.06) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(11)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1692	Vau	can lisp, or ought discusse Concerning thee, must	PASSE	; Yet have I knowne thy slightest things A feather	ci
1700	Wat	heir of heav'n. In vain these moments shall not	PASS	, These golden hours be gone: Lord, I accept thine	ci
1704	Wat	relish all my days. But ere one fleeting hour is	PASSED	, The flatt'ring world employs Some sensual bait	ci
1716	New	Lord, that mercy came to me, Many years have	PASSED	since then, Many changes I have seen; Yet have be	ci
1738	New	what he's doing for us now. Thus, as the moments	PASS	away, We'll love, and wonder, and adore; And hast	ci
1751	Wes		PASS	a few swiftly-fleeting years, And all that now in	ci
1836	Vau	to contempt, Then, when the gastly twelve was	PAST	We breath'd still for a blushing East, And bad th	ci
1841	Vau	Robbery, and himself no guest. High-noon thus	PAST	thy time decays; provide Thee other thoughts; Aw	ci
1857	New	as forgetting all they knew, Ere forty days were	PAST	With blazing Sinai still in view, A molten calf	ci
1864	New	another year is gone! Quickly have the seasons	PAST	This we enter now upon May to many prove our las	ci
1908	Wes	tore them now. Though eighteen hundred years are	PAST	Since thou didst in the flesh appear, Thy tender	ci

Table 16.16: SPENDING TIME (HTE 01.05.06.01) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(9)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1702	Wat	long, an everlasting day. Well, we shall quickly	PASS	the night To the fair coasts of perfect light; Th	ci
1706	Wat	a moment's stay; Just like a story or a song We	PASS	our lives away. God from on high invites us home	ci
1709	Wat	fleeting breath; And with a smile upon my face,	PASS	the important hour of death.	ci
1734	New	t, A new Ebenezer to raise: The year, we have now	PASSED	through, His goodness with blessings has crowned;	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1775	Wes	of faith bestow On a poor sojourner; And let me	PASS	my days below In humbleness and fear. Rather I	ci
1776	Wes	th godly jealousy Over my evil heart. Thus may I	PASS	my days Of sojourning beneath, And languish to co	ci
1786	Wes	ur Lord, to live. Vessels, instruments of grace,	PASS	we thus our happy days 'Twixt the mount and multi	ci
1803	Wes	HOW many	PASS	the guilty night In revellings and frantic mirth!	ci
1838	Vau	faire-compacted frame And for one Twenty we have	PAST	Almost outlive our name. Thus hast thou plac'd in	ci

Table 16.17: THE PAST (HTE 01.05.06.08.04) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT (37)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1808	Bax	know not what will be to morrow. Things present,	PAST	and future; old and new, Thou see'st entirely wit	ci
1809	Bax	of the sphears? Or were best skill'd in numbering	PAST	years? Knew all the Houses of the starry Sky? And	ci
1825	Mas	lovely Lord, to Thee? I sate Rejoycing in Times	PAST	Under his cooling Shade; His Fruit was sweet unto	ci
1830	Sha	have nothing to encounter, But has been in some	PAST	age, Down from Christ our blessed founder, All ha	ci
1831	Sha	The former creation for sin has been curs'd, And	PAST	generations all blinded by lust; But God in his	ci
1834	Sma	The sole original and cause Of all heroic actions	PAST	The God of patriot deeds, and gracious laws; Whi	ci
1847	Wat	rhaps am near my home; But he forgives my follies	PAST	He gives me strength for days to come. I lay my	ci
1848	Wat	nse, And dwells in heav'nly light. It sets times	PAST	in present view, Brings distant prospects home, O	ci
1849	Wat	lets the present injury die, And long forgets the	PAST	[Malice and rage, those fires of hell, She quen	ci
1851	Wat	like a tide our minutes flow, The present and the	PAST	He fills his own immortal now, And sees our ages	ci
1854	New	This emboldens me to plead; After so much mercy	PAST	Canst thou let me sink at last? No--I must mai	ci
1855	New	ar. Awhile his behavior was rough, To bring their	PAST	sin to their mind; But when they were humbled eno	ci
1856	New	ot cheer the heart. Nor can the best experience	PAST	The life of faith maintain; The brightest hope	ci
1858	New	ng been hardened, Look on me--it soft shall grow;	PAST	transgressions shall be pardoned, And I'll wash	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1859	New	hou such backslidings heal, And pardon all that's	PAST	Sure, if I am not made of steel, Thou hast preva	ci
1862	New	All below is but a dream. Thanks for mercies	PAST	receive, Pardon of our sins renew; Teach us, henc	ci
1867	New	RD, the effort own; We learn from disappointments	PAST	To rest our hope on thee alone. Upheld by thy	ci
1871	New	ened oft, yet still it blooms, After many changes	PAST	Death, the reaper, when he comes, Finds it fully	ci
1873	New	upon thy breast! Help us to praise thee for the	PAST	And trust thee for the rest.	ci
1875	New	a thousand harms. For months and years of safety	PAST	Ungrateful, we, alas! have been; Though patient	ci
1878	New	looks through Creation's wide extended frame; The	PAST	and future in his view, And days and ages are the	ci
1880	New	hell? Oh where is the Savior I scorned in times	PAST	His word in my favor Would save me at last. Lor	ci
1883	Cow	ean a berry here and there, But mourn the vintage	PAST	Yet let me (as I ought) Still hope to be suppli	ci
1884	New	as spoken Shall surely prevail. His love in time	PAST	Forbids me to think He'll leave me at last In tro	ci
1887	New	to seek his face by prayer: After so much mercy	PAST	Will he give me up at last? True, I've been a	ci
1888	New	spot, He slights the space that lies between; His	PAST	fatigues are now forgot, Because his journey's en	ci
1889	New	is spirit cheers, No more he grieves for troubles	PAST	Nor any future trial fears, So he may safe arri	ci
1890	New	ead, Sins, like mine, are black indeed! Made, by	PAST	experience, wise, Let me learn thy word to prize;	ci
1895	Wes	Whate'er we hope, by faith we have, Future and	PAST	subsisting now. To him that in thy name believes	ci
1898	Wes	though my life henceforth be thine, Present for	PAST	can ne'er atone; Though I to thee the whole resig	ci
1902	Wes	am, But Jesus is my might; Mindful of His mercies	PAST	Still I trust the same to prove, Still my helple	ci
1906	Wes	ence to his word I give; My Saviour in distresses	PAST	Will not now his servant leave, But bring me thro	ci
1917	Wes	THE	PAST	no longer in my power; The future, who shall live	ci
1918	Wes	feet: Thou knowest, Lord. Thou knowest all the	PAST	how long and blindly On the dark mountains the	ci
1919	Wes	reshest tokens of thy love, We thank thee for the	PAST	Our eyes and hearts to heaven we lift, And, taug	ci
1922	Wes	new Before our God appear. Father, thy mercies	PAST	we own; Thy still continued care; To thee present	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1923	Wes	reshest tokens of thy love, We thank thee for the	PAST	Our eyes and hearts to heaven we lift, And taug	ci

Table 16.18: SPREADING/DIFFUSION (HTE 01.05.07.02.01) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT (1)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1686	Vau	fe, and youth; For a preserving spirit doth still	PASSE	Untainted through this Masse, Which doth resolve,	ce

Table 16.19: PRESENCE (HTE 01.05.07.04.03) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT (5)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1693	Vau	feares. Ther's not a wind can stir, Or beam	PASSE	by, But strait I think (though far,) Thy hand is	ci
1687	Vau	ere saw darkly in a glasse But mists, and shadows	PASSE	, And, by their owne weake Shine, did search the	ci
1754	Wes	ive us ears to hear. Before us make thy goodness	PASS	, Which here by faith we know; Let us in Jesus see	ci
1772	Wes	enlightened eyes Make all thy gracious goodness	PASS	; Thy goodness is the sight I prize, O might I see	ci
1774	Wes	prostrate in thy sight adore; By faith I see thee	PASSING	now; I have, but still I ask for more, A glimpse	ci

Table 16.20: TRANSFERENCE (HTE 01.05.08.06) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT (1)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1753	Wes	dfast mansion there; Our inheritance above Cannot	PASS	from heir to heir. Those amaranthine bowers (Una	ci

Table 16.21: EQUALITY/EQUIVALENCE (HTE 01.06.01.11) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT (5)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1624	Bax	Themselves, and Dead Mens Images they mean; None	PASS	for Saints who do not wear their dress, The best,	dor
1625	Bax	his part; Which for the true Communion then must	PASS	, Which was the Chuch from which none must depart?	dor
1676	Mas	rom his Word at first did flow, And must his Word	PASS	for a Cypher now? Nay, his Commands at first Crea	dor
1723	New	none but CHRIST can heal. Awhile I would have	PASSED	for well, And strove my spots to hide; Till it br	dor
1730	New	ESUS. By various maxims, forms and rules, That	PASS	for wisdom in the schools, I strove my passion to	dor

Table 16.22: END/CONCLUSION **(HTE 01.06.03.03.04)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(67)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
313·	Wes	And [having] all your conflicts	PASSED		ci
1665	Kea	For ever he establish'd them, Gave Statutes which	PASS	not away. O praise Jehovah from the Land, Ye	ci
1666	Mas	ds aloud, Yet that's but empty air, Which quickly	PASSES	thro' the Croud: And do's no more appear. Al	ce
1670	Mas	ure shrunk, and did request That bitter Cup might	PASS	; But he must drink it off, and this The Fathers	ci
1677	Sha	ne up your harps, believers, And let your sorrows	PASS	! The world will soon behold us, Upon a sea of gla	ci
1681	Sha	sinks in decay, And all its relations must soon	PASS	away; But that blessed union which springs from a	ci
1682	Sha	What the Saviour once predicted, In no wise can	PASS	away, Every thing must be expected, And fulfil'd	ci
1688	Vau	gs beate, When like a scrowle the heavens shal	PASSE	And vanish cleane away, And nought must stand of	ci
1711	Wat	ne, Creating all things new. "Nature and sin are	PASSED	away, And the old Adam dies; My hands a new found	ci
1752	Wes	ation rise! Vanish, then, this world of shadows,	PASS	the former things away: Lord, appear! appear to	ci
1767	Wes	t, having all things done, And all your conflicts	PASSED	, Ye may o'ercome through Christ alone, And stand	ci
1779	Wes	shall my sins consume, When old things shall be	PASSED	away And all things new become. The original offe	ci
1796	Wes	THE harvest of my joys is	PASSED	, The summer of my comforts fled, Yet am I unredee	ce
1806	Bax	lcome Death makes hast, None can call back what's	PAST	Judgment delays not: Though God bring in the Lig	ci
1807	Bax	The time is	PAST	when humane Race Became God's Enemy: The World ne	ci
1812	Bax	should have bin! And wilt thou now call up what's	PAST	and gone? And charge upon me all that I have done	ci
1813	Bax	from my grace: Freely I did forgive thee what was	PAST	And all thy deadly sins behind me cast. And yet	ci
1814	Bax	elf, I shall have none: I fear my Day of Grace is	PAST	and gone. Methinks I feel, Grace doth my Soul for	ci
1817	Bax	what though Death be painful? The pain is quickly	PAST	My Soul shall soon be freed: My Lord shall make	ci
1820	Ged	mind mortality. Thy sleep may, e'r the night be	PAST	With death continued be.	ci
1823	Kea	from the bitter cup 'Till all the indignation's	PAST	At Death, and in the Judgment-day, What wou	ci

261

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1826	Mas	Season of the Year invites, The Winters gone and	PAST	Behold a Spring of new Delights! No Rain, nor st	ci
1827	Mas	Storms hung o're thy Head, But those sad Days are	PAST	The Flowers of Grace begin to spring In The	ci
1828	Mas	Hour more I did sustain, And then the Night was	PAST	Tho' I had sought so long in vain, I found my Lo	ci
1832	Sha	For death is sure to all, And not a single minute	PAST	Can any soul recall. O Lord, may every breath	ci
1837	Vau	and asleep, Perhaps at last (Some such showres	PAST	,) My God would give a Sun-shine after raine.	ci
1843	Vau	ight's come, And in the sky the stars appear, The	PAST	daies accidents do summe With, Thus wee saw there	ci
1844	Vau	long Come forth most fair and young· This	PAST	I threw the Clothes quite o'r his head, And stun	ci
1845	Wat	abuse Our minds with slavish fears: "Our days are	PAST	and we shall lose The remnant of our years." We	ci
1846	Wat	adful deeps of hell. Now is the hour of darkness	PAST	Christ has assum'd his reigning power; Behold th	ci
1850	Wat	counsels known; Declares the great transactions	PAST	And brings immortal blessings down. He dies, an	ci
1852	Wat	never say, "They're here," But only say, "They're	PAST	"] [Our life is ever on the wing, And death is	ci
1853	New	entance there's room! Your season will quickly be	PAST	Then hear and obey it today; Lest when you seek	ci
1861	New	omise, hold it fast, The trying hour will soon be	PAST	Rejoice, for lo! I quickly come, To take thee to	ci
1863	New	with an unwearied hand, Pushes round the seasons	PAST	And in life's frail glass, the sand Sinks apace,	ci
1865	New	an you to justice pay? Tremble, lest when life is	PAST	Into prison you be cast! Will you still increa	ci
1866	New	at you may hear and feel, Ere the day of grace be	PAST	Lest your hearts grow hard as steel, Or this yea	ci
1868	New	ands of life may soon be run, The day of grace be	PAST	Think, if you slight this embassy, And will no	ci
1869	New	beloved Savior, haste, Tell me all the storms are	PAST	: On thy garden deign to smile, Raise the plants,	ci
1870	New	Oft his sky is overcast, Ere the day of life be	PAST	Tried believers too can say, In the course of	ci
1872	New	we pray, to lament The sins of the year that is	PAST	And grant that the next may be spent Far more to	ci
1874	New	while there yet is hope, Ere the day of grace be	PAST	Lest in wrath he give you up, And this call shou	ci
1879	New	gh unknown. Sometimes the mind beholds again The	PAST	days business in review; Resumes the pleasure or	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1881	New	Tis	PAST	--the dreadful stormy night Is gone, with all its	ci
1882	New	thy face, What has my soul endured? But now 'tis	PAST	I feel thy grace, And all my wounds are cured!	ci
1891	New	us safely home. LORD, when this changing life is	PAST	If we may see thy face; How shall we praise, and	ci
1892	Wes	age of life's at an end, The mortal affliction is	PAST	The age that in heaven they spend, For ever and	ci
1893	Wes	He is gathered into God; Lo! the pain of life is	PAST	All his warfare now is o'er, Death and hell behi	ci
1894	Wes	their trials o'er; They have all their sufferings	PAST	Hunger now and thirst no more; No excessive heat	ci
1896	Wes	ve. Surely now the bitterness Of second death is	PAST	O my Life, my Righteousness, On thee my soul is	ci
1897	Wes	ul on thee be cast, Till life's fierce tyranny be	PAST	Loosed from my God, and far removed, Long have	ci
1899	Wes	ome, Glory divine is risen on thee, Thy warfare's	PAST	thy mourning's o'er; Look up, for thou shalt wee	ci
1900	Wes	me, O my Saviour, hide, Till the storm of life be	PAST	Safe into the haven guide, O receive my soul at	ci
1901	Wes	ie, to thee we live. Suffice that for the season	PAST	Hell's horrid language filled our tongues, We all	ci
1903	Wes	pon thy love I cast, I rest me, till the storm is	PAST	Upon thy love alone. Thy faithful, wise, and mi	ci
1904	Wes	ike heart to thee; Still let me, till my days are	PAST	At Jesu's feet abide, So shall he lift me up at	ci
1905	Wes	o life the dead; Our conflicts here shall soon be	PAST	And you and I ascend at last, Triumphant with ou	ci
1907	Wes	be purged away! The night of doubts and fears is	PAST	The morning star appears at last, And I shall se	ci
1909	Wes	share. O may I triumph so, When all my warfare's	PAST	And, dying, find my latest foe Under my feet at	ci
1913	Wes	the skies, The fiercer the blast, The sooner 'tis	PAST	The troubles that come, Shall come to our rescue	ci
1914	Wes	those rites revealed. Thy meritorious sufferings	PAST	We see by faith to us brought back; And on thy	ci
1915	Wes	the chief of sinners know, Till all my griefs are	PAST	And of my gracious acts below, Repentance be the	ci
1916	Wes	n; And if thy wisdom try us Till pain and woe are	PAST	Almighty Love, stand by us, And save from first	ci
1920	Wes	Its evils in a moment end, Its joys as soon are	PAST	But O! the bliss to which I tend Eternally shall	ci
1921	Wes	ss the things of earth: For us suffice the season	PAST	We choose the better part at last. We will not	ci

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1924	New	st; Open, LORD, and take me in, Till the storm be	OVERPAST	. Safely lodged within thy breast, What a wondrou	ci
1925	Wes	covert from the tempest be! Hide me, Jesus, till	O'ERPAST	The storm of sin I see. Welcome as the water-sp	ci

Table 16.23: CONTINUITY/UNINTERRUPTEDNESS **(HTE 01.06.03.03.05)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1793	Wes	love! Sure evidence of things unseen, Now let it	PASS	the years between, And view thee bleeding on the	ci

Table 16.24: MEANING **(HTE 02.01.10.02)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1672	Mas	A sad and a Rebuking Eye, On which this sense I	PASS'D	; Dost thou my Patience thus requite, To make it	ci

Table 16.25: PERMISSION **(HTE 03.04.10.04)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(3)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1640	Bax	nd remain thy debter. Such intimations should not	PASS	thy tongue, As if the Righteous God could do thee	ci
1667	Mas	and great, I'm in Salvation's Road; They cannot	PASS	the blood of Christ; Which is the blood of God.	ce
1675	Mas	ever was; This hard word, Ever, you must let it	PASS	: Know'st thou how far this Ever doth extend? You	ci

Table 16.26: JUDGING **(HTE 03.04.13.12.06.05)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(5)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1636	Bax	ar'd: They have their curse, & their own sentence	PASS	: Away with Jesus! give us Barr abas! Away with Pr	dor
1639	Bax	and washt me by his blood? Can the same voice now	PASS	so sad a doom, That from my sin so lately call'd	dor
1662	Kea	-day will come, When Christ upon the Throne Shall	PASS	a black eternal doom Upon each wicked one:	dor
1701	Wat	beneath the ground. There are no acts of pardon	PASSED	In the cold grave, to which we haste; But darknes	dor
1710	Wat	baptism of infants.] Thus did the sons of Abram	PASS	Under the bloody seal of grace; The young discipl	ci

Table 16.27: PUTTING IN POSSESSION **(HTE 03.04.13.18.01)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1783	Wes	pamper and admire, And make the helpless infants	PASS	To murderer-Moloch through the fire. Rather thi	inn

Table 16.28: TRESPASSES (SIN**: HTE 03.07.00.24.08)** ARE FORWARD MOVEMENT **(10)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1181	Cow	In	TRESPASSES	and sins.	his
1646	Ged	He's the Sacrifice, debt for to pay; For all our	TRESPASSES	on Him we do lay. He's Altar to sanctiby the Sacr	his
1651	Ged	Ephraim I'le bemoan, My sins with sigh and groan,	TRESPASSES	every one; Thou'lt favour Lend, Unworthy wr	his
1690	Vau	rom Sinai bring; These swell'd my feares, Guilts,	TRESPASSES	, and all this Inward Awe, For sinne tooke strengt	his
1697	Vau	I break the fence my own hands made Then lay that	TRESPASSE	in the shade, Some fig-leafs stil I do devise As	his
1729	Cow	own. The scape-goat on his head The peoples'	TRESPASS	bore, And to the desert led, Was to be seen no mo	his
1739	New	den-walk we tread, We should bemoan his fall; The	TRESPASS	of our legal head In ruin plunged us all. The ga	his
1760	Wes	WHILE dead in	TRESPASSES	I lie, Thy quickening spirit give; Call me, thou	his
1765	Wes	never passed by one, Or it had passed by me. My	TRESPASS	was grown up to heaven; But far above the skies,	his
1791	Wes	dies' want, Now sustain our souls with love. Our	TRESPASSES	forgive: And when absolved we live, Thou our life	his

Table 16.29: SALVATION, REDEMPTION **(HTE 03.07.00.24.09)** IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1696	Vau	little gate And narrow way, by which to thee The	PASSAGE	is, He term'd a grate And Entrance to Captivitie;	ce

Table 16.30: PASSOVER **(HTE 03.07.03.05.02.02.07) (3)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1643	Bax	ed to the Root. Desiring with us first to keep, A	PASSOVER	before thy sleep [Note: He dyed suddenly on the	his
1647	Ged	forth and full, Of Odour and persume. The	PASSOVER	for me was slain: The Paschal-Lamb for food. Our	his
1713	Wat	would pursue This guilty soul of mine. Jesus our	PASSOVER	was slain, And has at once procured Freedom from	his

265

V. Corpus Analysis: 6. Pass

Table 16.31: STATING (HTE 02.08.06) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(9)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1728	New	angs in doubtful scale: But JESUS has his promise	PASSED	, That grace shall overcome at last.	ci
1771	Wes	ighty, and merciful, and just; Thy sacred word is	PASSED	; And I, who dare thy word receive, Without commit	ci
1782	Wes	weep, and pray? Yes, gracious Lord, thy word is	PASSED	; All Israel shall be saved at last. Come then	ci
1799	Wes	setting sin. No unexamined thought or word Shall	PASS	, but such as serve my Lord, And execute his will;	ci
1860	New	gh we are but feeble worms, Yet since thy word is	PAST	We'll venture through a thousand storms, To see	ci
1877	New	Lest you timely warning take, When that word is	PAST	will seize you, Plunge you in the burning lake:	ci
1885	New	ot all things in his hand? Has he not his promise	PAST	Will he then regardless stand And let me sink at	ci
1886	New	fuse to hear thy call? And has he not his promise	PAST	That thou shalt overcome at last? Like David	ci
1910	Wes	nd lifts to heaven. The word thy sacred lips has	PAST	The sure irrevocable word, That every soul shall	ci

Table 16.32: PUBLISHING/SPREADING ABROAD (HTE 03.08.05.07) IS FORWARD MOVEMENT **(1)**

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1679	Sha	ngels were their guide, Loving New-lights gave it	PASSAGE	, Till it spread both far and wide. Let us then	ce

Table 16.33: Literal uses (16)

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1648	Ged	led with his blood. That the Destroying Angel may	PASS	by and do not kill. He is our Pearl of price Wit	lit
1653	Ged	ular imployments. REmember, Man, before thou	PASS	the Door, That GOD hath granted thee another day.	lit
1671	Mas	but a little while that I Had from the Watch-men	PASS'D	, But I did find my only Joy, And then I held hi	lit
1673	Mas	rts the Bowels, but it helps the Brain. A Servant	PASS'D	the Gate, where, lo! he found This Ruful Odject	lit
1712	Wat	flower of Egypt dies By his vindictive hand. He	PASSED	the tents of Jacob o'er, Nor poured the wrath div	lit
1717	New	eward sent The ark of Israel's God. Lowing they	PASSED	along, And left their calves shut up; They felt a	lit
1721	New	one I pensive fit, I myself can hardly bear; If I	PASS	along the street, Sin and riot triumph there.	lit

ID	Aut	Context (Pre)	Occ	Context (Post)	Deg
1732	Cow	rst-born of the land: Then thy peoples' doors he	PASSED	, Where the bloody sign was placed; Hear us, now,	lit
1740	New	od like walls of brass, To let the sons of Israel	PASS	; And from the rock in rivers burst At Moses' pr	lit
1746	New	ow sweet it is to see Those who love thee as they	PASS	, Or when they wait on thee: Pleasant too, to sit	lit
1750	Wes	did he his help deny? Whom in his days of flesh	PASS	by? Did not his word the fiends expel, The leper	lit
1769	Wes	ht us A way no more expected, Than when thy sheep	PASSED	through the deep, By crystal walls protected. Thy	lit
1794	Wes	tue of his blood, Ascending to the holiest place,	PASSED	the heavenly courts, and stood Before his Father'	lit
1840	Vau	o brave the night, And walking from his Sun, when	PAST	That glim'ring Ray Cuts through the heavy mists	lit
A JOURNEY **(HTE 03.09.00.01) (2)**					
1678	Sha	Across the rolling Seas. To mark their shining	PASSAGE	, Good angels flew before, Towards the land of pro	lit
1720	New	uickly changed their mind; When the Red Sea their	PASSAGE	stopped, And Pharaoh marched behind. The desert	lit

7 Analyses of Selected Hymns

7.1 Isaac Watts, Wat254, 'Lord! what a wretched land is this'

Lord! what a wretched land is this,
That yields us no supply!
No cheering fruits, no wholesome trees,
Nor streams of living joy!

5   But pricking thorns through all the ground,
And mortal poisons grow,
And all the rivers that are found
With dangerous waters flow.

Yet the dear path to thine abode
10   Lies through this horrid land;
Lord! we would keep the heav'nly road,
And run at thy command.

[Our souls shall tread the desert through
With undiverted feet,
15   And faith and flaming zeal subdue
The terrors that we meet.]

[A thousand savage beasts of prey
Around the forest roam;
But Judah's Lion guards the way,
20   And guides the strangers home.]

[Long nights and darkness dwell below,
With scarce a twinkling ray;
But the bright world to which we go
Is everlasting day.]

25   [By glimm'ring hopes and gloomy fears
We trace the sacred road;
Through dismal deeps and dangerous snares
We make our way to God.]

Our journey is a thorny maze,
30   But we march upward still;
Forget these troubles of the ways,
And reach at Zion's hill.

[See the kind angels at the gates,
Inviting us to come!

35   There Jesus the forerunner waits,
          To welcome trav'llers home!]

          There on a green and flowery mount
          Our weary souls shall sit,
          And with transporting joys recount
40   The labors of our feet.

          [No vain discourse shall fill our tongue,
          Nor trifles vex our ear;
          Infinite grace shall be our song,
          And God rejoice to hear.]

45   Eternal glories to the King
          That brought us safely through;
          Our tongues shall never cease to sing,
          And endless praise renew.

The hymn 'Lord, what a wretched land is this' (catalogued as Wat254 in the database) is introduced by Watts as 'the pilgrimage of the saints: or, Earth and heaven' (Watts 1709c). Its primary subject matter is the metaphorical journey of life, and the expectation of the afterlife. As such, this hymn provides an exemplary snapshot of the general structure of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, exhibiting many of the individual details by which the metaphor manifests itself throughout Christian hymnody. The structure of this hymn reflects the stages of the journey, and elaborates on the standard SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema: first, the reader is given a prospect of the landscape and the way through it; this is followed by a description of the hardships encountered during travel; finally, the destination is reached. A stanza-by-stanza examination of this hymn reveals a cohesive metaphorical structure, and illustrate many of the specific-level mappings commonly evoked by this metaphor, as well as other features that are innovative in this hymn. This discussion will also examine the comparative rigidity of some mappings in hymn imagery. Specifically, ideas like *uphill* and *downhill*, and *dark* and *light* are often blended with the JOURNEY schema and, like the proverbs discussed by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 160-213), produce reliable 'good or bad' assessments on the part of the reader.

The first stanza opens with a complaint about the landscape in which the speakers find themselves. It is not clear whether, prior to this, the speakers have been living in this land or just passing through it, but the land is devoid of everything necessary to sustain life —food, water, and shelter—compelling them to leave. The second stanza goes into more detail about the utter inadequacy of this place for any long-term stay: not only is it barren

and cheerless, it is also dangerous, full of thorns, 'poisons', and hazardous rivers. The wording in the description of the rivers of this land ('all the rivers that are found…', line 7) implies that safer, more wholesome rivers were expected but are not present; these might be the 'streams of living joy' that the speaker desires in line 4. Additionally, the mention of 'rivers' may call up the image of the Jordan River, which is a culturally salient image representing the division between heaven and earth (as discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI, Section 2).

The hymn is narrated from the beginning in the first person plural. Narratives expressing the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor typically include a node for a TRAVELER—often the person speaking, and a node for COMPANIONS, representing people the speaker interacts with on a regular basis. There is no *me* in this particular hymn, though; rather, a *we:* the collective speakers imply general dissatisfaction with the 'land' which 'yields us no supply' (ln 2), and express the desire of their whole company to cooperate: 'we would keep the heav'nly road' (ln 11). As discussed in Chapter III, Watts wrote for a distinct community of devoted believers, elsewhere identified metaphorically as a 'garden wall'd around'. Watts and other hymn writers frequently use the first person plural in this way: the single author writing on behalf of the group, who later endorse his words by singing them together. The *we* in hymns, written or sung, is an expression of solidarity, reinforcing the idea of a unified body. Whether the body in this particular case is strictly limited to the community of Nonconformists, or inclusive of all believers,[168] Watts indicates a cohesive group, distinct from and alien to the surrounding landscape. The identification of Christians as a 'peculiar people' or 'strangers', geographically displaced from their rightful location, has ultimately biblical origins, and is often used in contrast with 'this world'.[169] Concepts of the collective experience of humanity in general are often expressed metaphorically in terms of geography and direction, drawing from conventionalized conceptual metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY, STATES ARE LOCATIONS, and TIME IS A LANDSCAPE. Ideas of heavenly and earthly states of existence in shared society with others may thus be conceptualized as physical locations, oriented spatially *above* or *below* each other.

The OED (2nd ed. 1989) provides three main branches of meaning for the word *world* (*n.*), all of which date from Old English. The first deals with human existence and experience of the present life, including biblical senses contrasting secular with 'heavenly'

---

168 See p. 116.
169 See Jhn 8:23, Jhn 18:36, Rom 12:2, Jhn 17:14-16, 1Pe 2:9-11.

concerns. This idea is reflected in the HTE/HTOED subheadings referring to 'worldly/secular' activities and those 'of life' (01.05.05.02.03 Activity/occupation), the subheading 'earthly/temporal things' (01.05.06.02.02.01 Swift movement of time), and the heading 'Unspirituality' (03.07.00.24.02), under all of which *world/woruld* is listed. The second branch deals with senses of *world* referring to the earth as a physical location, and is reflected in the HTE heading 'The world' (Section 1). Finally, the third sense deals with 'the inhabitants of the earth'—society or 'People' (01.02.07). Any or all of these senses can figure into references to the 'world' in spiritual literature. If these are in fact viewed as discrete senses, the first and third branches of meaning might be presumed to be metaphorical extensions of the second, physical branch. This would be supported by reference to the world or Earth, even in non-sensory cases, primarily as a location, which a person comes *to*, exists *in*, and passes *from*. It seems likely, however, that these senses cannot be completely separated, but rather represent aspects of human experience, represented in embodied, locational terminology, with context determining whether life and existence, society, or location are emphasized. The question of the spatial relationship between heaven and earth is discussed further in Chapter VI, Section 2.

The third stanza of the hymn, beginning on line 9, changes the focus to 'the dear path to thine abode', which runs through the landscape. This provides an end-goal for the journey, and a means of reaching it. It reveals the travelers' dismay at having to remain within the bounds of 'this horrid land' for some time in the future, but also expresses the desire to make rapid progress, staying on the path, and even running when commanded. The fourth stanza further confirms the travelers' commitment: their feet will remain 'undiverted', and they will overcome any obstacles in the path, however frightening, by means of two tools: 'faith' and 'flaming zeal'. The intentional simplicity of the metaphors in Watts' hymns is evident here: *faith* and *zeal* are abstract concepts, objectified to fit the conceptual structure of the hymn. The virtues of *faith* and *zeal* are metaphorically portrayed as WEAPONS, which are used to overcome the 'terrors' encountered along the path. These 'terrors' seem to be presented as living creatures of some sort, which require 'subduing'. The virtues and 'terrors' are not, however, assigned to specific journey-related source-domain images: faith and zeal are not presented as swords or arrows. Watts maintains the integrity of his source-domain structure, but provides as many 'doors in' as possible by retaining original target-domain labels.

The objectification and classification of 'zeal' as a weapon is strengthened by means of the adjective *flaming*, which provides more vivid imagery at the same time as expressing degree of zeal in the source domain. Whatever kind of weapon 'zeal' is, it is on fire, which means it is bright (LIGHT is a salient image for GOOD) and hot (a salient indicator of STRONG FEELING). In the following stanza the reader discovers the nature of the 'terrors', 'a thousand savage beasts of prey', which confirms the extreme usefulness of fiery weapons. In addition to these, it is revealed that the path is guarded by a lion (specifically the very trustworthy Lion of Judah), who also acts as a guide and makes keeping to the path a much safer option than straying from it. The choice of 'Judah's lion' to guard the path maintains a sub-theme of *animals* for the stanza, at the same time employing a highly salient label for Christ[170] to appeal to the metaphorical representation of GOD as a GUIDE.

Lines 13-14 bring into question the nature of the traveler, and provide further insight into the concept of *embodiment* in the context of Christian philosophy:

> Our souls shall tread the desert through
> With undiverted feet

This occurs again in 37-38:

> There on a green and flowery mount
> Our weary souls shall sit

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) have discussed the metaphorical division of the 'self' that is endemic in English, and is manifested in phrases like *I'm struggling with myself* (e.g., 1999: 288). They suggest that the language divides a person's thinking, judging part, the *subject,* from the rest of the *self*, with which the *subject* is often in conflict. In the Western —particularly the Christian—religious and philosophical traditions, a similar division is often made between the *body* (or 'flesh') and *soul* (or 'spirit'), where the interaction between the two is often the source of moral struggles.[171] A poem by Richard Baxter, given the title 'Self-Denial. A Dialogue between the Flesh & the Spirit', represents an argument between the body and soul: the soul trying to convince the body to renounce itself, and the body asserting its right to pleasure in this life.[172]

---

170 The phrase *Lion of Judah* is used frequently in Christian literature, and derives originally from Rev 5:5.
171 See p. 303.
172 Bax252 in the database: 'What! become Nothing! ne're perswade me to it'.

The situation in Baxter's poem, with the flesh as a negative influence upon the soul, is typical in English writing up to this point, and has a biblical foundation.[173] Many examples of conversations between soul and body exist early in the English tradition, according to Conlee (1991: xxiv), appearing 'as early as the Anglo-Saxon period and as late as the poetry of Andrew Marvell in the mid-seventeenth century', though, as we have seen, the usage continues in Baxter's poetry. The most notable Old English example is probably the 'Soul and Body' poem, discussed in Moffat (1990: 28-33); other examples in several Old English homilies are addressed by Moffat, as well as the 12th-century 'Soul's Address to the Body' in the Worcester Fragments, and the 13th-century poems 'Latemest Day' and 'The Grave'. Conlee (1991: xxv) says that the body-and-soul theme was 'especially in vogue' in the Middle English period, and appears centrally in the poems 'Nou is mon hol and soint', 'In a þestri stude I stod', and 'Als I lay on a winteris nyt'.

Though Watts' poems do not present verbal debates between body and soul in the fashion of earlier writers, he adopts the framework of hostility between the two:

> Reason has lost its native place,
> And flesh enslaves the mind' (Wat810)

However, Wat254 is an interesting departure from this traditional schema: the *soul* here represents the entire person, and is explicitly given the ability to walk and sit. Watts uses the same SOUL as WHOLE PERSON schema in other places, such as in the following two citations. In these, the speaker addresses the soul, who also seems to be capable of the actions of arising, flying, running, standing, shaking objects off, wearing armor, and marching; and again to be in possession of feet:

> Raise thee, my soul, fly up, and run
> Through every heav'nly street,
> And say, there's naught below the sun
> That's worthy of thy feet. (Wat534)

> [Stand up, my soul, shake off thy fears,
> And gird the gospel armor on,
> March to the gates of endless joy,
> Where thy great Captain-Savior's gone. (Wat807)

---

173 See, for example, Mat 26:41: '…The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak' (KJV).

An earlier instance of 'walking soul' imagery is seen in a poem by Richard Baxter, 'Lord, I have cast up the Account' (Bax270):

> No walls or bars can keep thee out:
> None can confine a holy Soul:
> The Streets of Heav'n it walks about;
> None can its Liberty controul.

This imagery may result from a metonymic representation of the whole PERSON as the SOUL: this type of process seems to be at the root of expressions like *kindred spirit*, *not a (living) soul* (to mean 'no one at all') and *poor soul*.[174] The word *soul* is also sometimes used in instances involving death, suffering, or salvation, especially of large numbers of people, presumably to call attention to the person's spiritual state.[175] Another explanation of this usage is that the soul is here understood as the person itself, somehow the *real* person, after having lost the encumbering flesh. This interpretation casts the spirit as the more important or substantial aspect of a person, contradicting expectations that the 'abstract' soul would be taken as less basic than the 'concrete' body. While simple part-for-whole metonymy would seem likely in other cases, the fact that the speaker is addressing the soul indicates a separation between the two that is too complete for metonymy; yet, clearly, the soul is meant to be understood as either part of, or synonymous with the speaker. In the lines following the second Watts citation above (Wat807), it is the soul that marches to heaven, but the whole person who enters:

> 21   There shall I wear a starry crown,
>   And triumph in almighty grace

Whether by metonymy or metaphor, or both, this representation of the soul as the entire person is accompanied by a further metaphorical idea that a person's BODY is a POSSESSION, sometimes clothing, as in another hymn by Watts:

> 1   My soul, come meditate the day,
>   And think how near it stands,
>   When thou must quit this house of clay,
>   And fly to unknown lands.
>   …
>   [How we should scorn these clothes of flesh,

---

174 The OED (2nd ed. 1989 'soul, *n.*') describes this usage of the word *soul* as 'common in the 16th and 17th centuries' and cites examples from 1519 onwards.

175 E.g., from the OED ('soul'): '**1894** WOLSELEY *Marlb. I.* 245 There were about three hundred souls on board'

> These fetters, and this load!
> And long for ev'ning to undress,
> 20   That we may rest with God.] (Wat808)

Finally, Watts is not completely consistent in his portrayal of the soul as a specifically human body:

> Absent from flesh! then rise, my soul,
> 10   Where feet nor wings could never climb (Wat809)

Thus, while the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor has a consistent basic structure in most settings—a PATH schema with a beginning, middle, and end; presence of a path, obstacles, etc.—the identity and nature of the traveler is sometimes unclear. This lack of clarity might be read as reflecting a general philosophical uncertainty about the nature of the soul and its distinction, if any, from the person. Speaking metaphorically, souls have long been able to fly, thirst, faint, or act in other ways normally appropriate to living creatures. However, to be described in terms requiring specifically human anatomy—to *sit*, *stand*, and *march*—seems much more innovative: if the soul is given a physical shape, it is customarily more often that of a bird.[176] Here, the soul is conceptualized as having its own bodily capabilities, apparently distinct from those of the body it inhabits. Adamson (2007) has shown that as natural philosophic ideals grew in prevalence through the eighteenth century, they had an increasing effect on grammar; as 'figurative' language was discouraged,[177] so, for example, were applications of gender-specific pronouns to inanimate objects, to animals, to the mind,[178] and eventually to children.[179] Thus, the application of such specific bodily attributes to the soul here is surprising, especially in the writings of Watts, who made great efforts to align his writing with Enlightened thinking.

The next two stanzas use the recently-evoked GOOD IS LIGHT metaphor to extend the description of the present landscape as well as that of the travelers' destination. There is no daytime in the world presented in the hymn, but in heaven, the destination, there is 'everlasting day', and no night. The only light presently available is from the 'glimmering hopes' the travelers carry with them, and this is often obscured by 'gloomy fears'. Some

---

176 Cf. John Mason's 'My soul doth magnifie the Lord' (Mas811), lines 35-36:
    My Soul doth leap; but O for wings,
    The Wings of Noah's Dove!
177 See discussion in Chapter III, Section 2.
178 See Harris (1751).
179 Adamson cites Priestley (1768) as an 'early and influential' advocate for the restriction of personal
    pronouns to adults.

areas of this country are 'deeper' and 'darker' than others, reinforcing the dichotomy between UP, LIGHT, GOOD, and HEAVEN on the one hand, and DOWN, DARK, BAD, and THE WORLD on the other. The path runs through these deep places, indicating that, although it is the safest place to be, parts of the path will run through darkness and may be difficult to discern.

The use of the word *trace* in line 26 illustrates some of the cognitive processes at work behind historical metaphor and meaning change. In present-day usage the most salient meaning of the word would probably be in reference to drawing, or following the outline of a shape with one's finger or eyes. The latter sense would fit the context of the hymn, especially given the active LIGHT metaphors, but the OED indicates that in the 18th century this sense would have been fairly new and still figurative, and the earlier meaning of *trace,* 'to take one's course, make one's way', seems to fit the context better (2nd ed. 1989 'trace, v.1'). The word *trace* appears originally to have denoted a physical action that required mental activity; however, its meaning has gradually extended to include actions of the eyes, fingers, or mind that employ similar mental activity. In some cases, as with *trace* in Present Day English, the word eventually becomes specialized to the originally extended, metaphorical meaning. However, both meanings may have been salient at that time—especially in a spiritual context, where progress is dependent both upon perception and upon application of biblical principles. As with *world*, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between sensory and non-sensory meanings.

The image of a maze is added in the eighth stanza, which may seem unnatural, as a maze is not something typically encountered on journeys. It seems probable that, functioning within the TRAVEL source domain of the hymn as a whole, the MAZE image is a one-off metaphorical usage, describing the travelers' general course as difficult and indirect. The idea does, however, reinforce the idea of the confusion of life in a way that is compatible with the hymn's overarching schema, because a maze is a specific type of landscape to be journeyed through, having boundaries, a single correct path, and only one correct entrance and exit. After this reference to a maze, which is left undeveloped, the eighth stanza marks a division between two parts of the hymn. Though the journey is still uphill, and therefore difficult, there is a distinct point at which the *final* hill is reached, and at its peak is the final destination. The travelers are almost home, they have only to keep marching resolutely upward. The travelers see the hill and the gates to heaven from below, and can see angels beckoning them onward. They know that Christ, once a fellow traveler,

has gone ahead to make preparations and is waiting safely at the gate to welcome them, and they imagine what they will do when they arrive. Heaven was first seen from outside, as a mountain. The travelers imagine that the mountain is 'green and flowery' rather than cold and snowy; it will have a pleasant atmosphere, and will be a relaxing place to sit and reminisce. The location itself is not described further, but the singer's own conception of mountains (of the 'green and flowery' type) will fill in the details: from the top, there will be a view of the route the travelers took to get there; they will be able to see the 'whole picture', and, as they know from earlier in the hymn, everything will be 'bright' and happy.

In producing an image of the ᴊᴏᴜʀɴᴇʏ metaphor compatible with the 18th-century cultural gestalt—filling in all the right slots—Watts is not simply trying to describe a familiar idea. As with proverbs, both an *exhortation* and a *description* reading are possible. In the preceding discussion, we have been following an embodied metaphorical *description* of life as a Christian, which can be summarized thus: Life is difficult, uncertain, often joyless, and with no guarantee of safety (lines 1-8, 17-18, and 21-22). Christianity offers hope of a future situation completely free of hardships or dangers (23-24, 37-44), conditional upon acceptance of and perseverance in certain beliefs (9 and 29), but does not offer immediate release from the present situation (10 and 26-27). It is often difficult to ascertain the proper method by which one should follow these beliefs (25-26), and in these instances a Christian must trust in Christ's ability to protect him or her from incorrect decisions or negative influences (19 and 46, presented retrospectively). His or her hope for a better future situation can provide discernment, but fear can cause confusion (25-26). Presented later in the hymn, closer to the traveler's arrival in heaven, testimony from more mature Christians indicates that perseverance may cause life to become more difficult in certain aspects, but in other ways less complicated, as resolve and hope increase (29-32). The *exhortation* reading is related to the *description:* the presentation of this schema of the human situation should result in a desire on the part of the receiver to do what is necessary to effect his or her attainment of the positive end-goal. The method is provided in the form of a path, representing certain beliefs and behaviors; the singer is encouraged to continue in this method despite the hardships that are sure to come. Finally, the singers collectively thank God for His protection, some of which is visible in the present life, but the full extent of which will only become evident in heaven.

7.2 Charles Wesley, Wes158, 'Come, let us anew'

> Come, let us anew
> Our journey pursue,
> With vigour arise,
> And press to our permanent place in the skies.
> 5   Of heavenly birth,
> Though wandering on earth,
> This is not our place;
> But strangers and pilgrims ourselves we confess.
>
> At Jesus's call,
> 10   We gave up our all;
> And still we forego
> For Jesus's sake our enjoyments below.
> No longing we find
> For the country behind;
> 15   But onward we move,
> And still we are seeking a country above:
>
> A country of joy,
> Without any alloy,
> We thither repair:
> 20   Our hearts and our treasure already are there.
> We march hand in hand
> To Immanuel's land:
> No matter what cheer
> We meet with on earth; for eternity's near.
>
> 25   The rougher our way,
> The shorter our stay;
> The tempests that rise
> Shall gloriously hurry our souls to the skies,
> The fiercer the blast,
> 30   The sooner 'tis past;
> The troubles that come,
> Shall come to our rescue, and hasten us home.[180]

This hymn by Charles Wesley encourages singers to cheerfully give up earthly pleasures and pursue their reward in heaven, and reinforces a sense of the world's impermanence. The subject matter of the hymn focuses upon the Christian's emotional response to the trials of the journey/life, not showcasing the JOURNEY imagery as in Wat254, but using it as a framework for its exhortation to action. However, the PATH schema is constantly reinforced by references to modes of forward travel, and the locations of heaven and earth in relation to the journey are a prominent theme of the hymn.

---

180 This hymn was originally published in the 1749 *Hymns for New Year's Day,* and was later added to the *Collection of Hymns.*

Charles Wesley has a practice of re-using his favorite phrases, and Wes158 shares its first two lines with another hymn (Wes259), as well as its first four words with a hymn from his earlier *Hymns for the Watch-Night* (1746): 'Come let us anew our pleasures pursue'. Wes259 has a related theme, conceptualizing the passing of time as the movement of a wheel, a stream, or an arrow. The stanzas of Wes158 do not form separate installments of a narrative, as do Wat254. Instead, they divide the general exhortation into parts, each focusing on one reason for pursuing the journey. As mentioned previously, Wes158 raises several themes that provide metaphorical structure for the hymn, including distinctions between up and down, or sky and earth; and between forward and backward. Other themes are countries and destinations, storms, obstacles, ways of walking (with variations on mode and difficulty), and the ideas of one's 'proper place', displacement, and wandering in life.

The hymn begins with a call to arise and begin the journey upward. Earth is given as as the singers' current location, and heaven as the intended destination. Earth is not the Christians' true home, the hymn says; they were born in heaven, in the skies, and are only wandering temporarily through earth below, seeking a way back to their origin and proper place. A few thematic and culturally resonant metaphors are laid out in this first stanza, including the up/down distinction between heaven and earth, and the idea of Christians' heavenly origin and earthly displacement. These are exemplified in phrases like 'permanent place in the skies' (ln. 5) and 'this is not our place' (ln. 7). Earth and heaven are presented throughout the hymn as separate countries: one left behind, and the other somewhere upward and ahead. The exact location is unknown, as line 16 shows ('still we are seeking'). The formulaic cohortative 'come, let us' at the beginning of the first line acts as a call for group attention and obedience, metaphorically linking CARE with NEARNESS or PRESENCE, but also emphasizes the physical motion inherent in the hymn's overarching conceptual schema. This stanza builds up the sense that Christians are already travelers on a predetermined path, which they continue to 'pursue' (ln. 2), having already covered some distance. The early mention of a 'journey' in the second line quickly activates the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, setting the tone and expected schema for the rest of the hymn, and the call to 'arise' sets a definite point at which the journey is to be resumed.

Two of the HTE headings listing *arise* (from *arisan* in OE) are relevant here: 'Beginning action/activity' (01.05.05.03.02) and 'Action of standing up/rising' (01.05.07.05.26.03). The 'begin' sense defined in the OED as 'to rise from inaction, from

the peaceful, quiet, or ordinary course of life' (2nd ed. 1989, 'arise, v.'), may be derived metonymically from the spatial sense, as the physical action of arising is frequently prerequisite to beginning a task. This sense is listed as current only until 1703 in the HTE and OED, but seems to be active in this hymn, along with the physical action. The encouragement to arise 'with vigour' emphasizes the contrast between the Christian journey and the 'ordinary course of life' from the HTE definition. The singers' implied degree of experience in following a godly life is mapped to their partial progress on the path toward heaven. The hymn thus calls for renewed fervency of devotion based on a sense of the world's impermanence and the status of Christians as strangers, mid-way on their journey.

The fourth line includes the first of several terms Wesley uses in the hymn to denote travel in a forward direction. Each of these has its own set of connotations within the more general category of motion, corresponding with certain emphases within the category of behavior expected of Christians. The word *press* in line 4, in a TRAVEL context, has the sense 'to push or strain forward, as through a crowd or against obstacles or hindrances; to push one's way, advance with force or eagerness; to hasten on' (OED draft rev. Sept. 2008, 'press, v.1').[181] This adds the idea of resistance to the source-domain image of MOTION, corresponding with the difficulty of a committed life. This image leaves room for the imagination to add specific imagery, such as what kind of resistance the travelers are pressing against (e.g., something concrete, like wind or opposition from crowds; or abstract, like time or reluctance).

In line 15 of the second stanza Wesley uses the very general term *move;* this calls attention away from any specific kind of movement, such as walking, and emphasizes the quality of motion itself. Speaking broadly, motion is not necessarily willful, as walking is, and it is possible that Wesley is appealing to a sense of inevitability or compulsion in progress. This might be gained semantically by the removal of volition on the part of those who are moving. Line 19 of the third stanza uses the verb *repair*, meaning 'to go, betake oneself, make one's way, usu. to or from a place or person' (OED, 2nd ed. 1989, 'repair, v.1'). Finally, two lines later, in line 21, the pilgrims 'march' to heaven, making the procession increasingly purposeful and determined, or possibly even military: a complex metaphorical image portraying especially determined BEHAVIOR as MARCHING. The idea of

---

181 The OED has another relevant sense of *press* which would be archaic in Wesley's time, though the 'boldness' aspect could apply here: 'To push one's way or advance insistently into a place or a person's presence; to approach presumptuously, to intrude'.

Christians marching 'hand in hand' further enriches the mental picture of the journey, adding an element of solidarity and strengthening the communal aspect of Christian life. No doubt, much of Wesley's motivation in varying his 'walking' terminology was simply to keep the poem interesting, or, in the case of *repair*, to make the hymn rhyme. However, the variety, particularly in words like *press* and *march*, adds substantial detail to the metaphorical imagery of the hymn, which, on the whole, strengthens its conceptual impact.

In the second stanza, the speaker brings up the topic of Christians' divine calling. The Christian community have given up earthly pleasures in the past to follow Jesus' teachings, he says, and they remain committed to that decision. Because of this commitment, Christians feel no longing for the pleasures they have given up or left 'behind' (ln. 14). Instead, they pursue their discipline and move 'onward' (ln. 15) at the expense of present gratification, and in the hope of future fulfillment. The metaphorical conceptualizations of EARTH as BACKWARD and HEAVEN as FORWARD are introduced in this section, but the combination of these ideas with HEAVEN IS UP from the previous stanza seems to be the source of some confusing imagery in lines 15-16:

> But onward we move,
> And still we are seeking a country above

Indeed all four directions—behind, below, forward, and above—are used in this stanza in quick succession, calling attention to a potential source of dissonance in the conventional spiritual JOURNEY schema.

The word *forego,* in line 11, seems to be the locus of a historical metaphor of motion: the OED (2nd ed. 1989, 'forgo, forego, *v.*') gives 'to go away, go past, pass away' as its oldest meaning. The latest example cited in the OED as overtly accessing this original meaning, however, is from 1563, and even this example uses the word metaphorically, as it does not refer to physical motion:

> SACKVILLE *Induct. Mirr. Mag.* xlix, And fast by him pale Malady was plac'd:
> Sore sick in bed, her colour all foregone.

The original motion-based meaning appears to have faded long before Wesley's use of the word here, and it therefore seems unlikely that Wesley is attempting a metaphorical use, especially as the immediate context does not favor such an interpretation; however, the

word's metaphoricity may have persisted to some degree, if not at a conscious level, possibly promoting its use in a more extended travel context.

Stanza three provides further insight about the nature of heaven and gives another argument for haste: heaven is 'a country of joy / without any alloy', belonging to and ruled by Immanuel. Line 20, 'our hearts and our treasure already are there', refers to Matthew 6:19-21.[182] By devotion and sacrifice, Christians may work toward the future joy guaranteed in heaven, despite the hardships they may encounter in their present life. For this reason, they should continue to 'march' with determination (ln. 21), though still on earth. Once they arrive in heaven, they will find all the treasures they have earned waiting for them, and gain fulfillment of their lifelong desire—their 'heart'.

Finally, at the end of this stanza, the phrase *eternity's near* causes some ambiguity. There is a clear mapping of SPACE to TIME, of the type that is found in expressions like *the moment is at hand* or *the time is nigh*.[183] The image of ETERNITY as a fixed point or bounded region, though logically paradoxical, is poetically coherent. ETERNITY, in this case, could be understood as a point or bounded region on the landscape of time, or as something that is approaching across the landscape. If the latter, ETERNITY could still be a fixed location on a landscape that appears to be moving; a perception common to travelers. Also, ETERNITY is contrasted with EARTH, raising the possibility that ETERNITY may be understood as a specific place, possibly HEAVEN. Any combination of these interpretations seems reasonable, and fits with Wesley's use of a similar phrase in Wes259:

> 15 The millennial year
>   Rushes on to our view, and eternity's here.

Continuing on the theme of earthly troubles, the final stanza argues that difficulties in life, presented metaphorically as roughness of the path and sudden storms, will speed the traveler's progress and hasten arrival in heaven. As with much of the rest of the hymn, the possible target domain referents of the allegorical imagery is not made explicit; the burden of interpretation is on the singer. A reliance on the source domain imagery is maintained throughout the stanza, and, while it is easy to map obstructions to travel and arising storms generally to difficulty in life, other aspects of the imagery of this stanza are difficult to

---

182 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth … But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven … For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.' (KJV)
183 See discussion regarding two models of spatial time metaphors in Chapter II, Section 2.2.

interpret. Within the source domain imagery, it is unclear how storms and rough roads would speed travelers home; nevertheless, application of this dissonant image to the general target node of TRIALS in life yields the notion of early death. Additionally, the trials are given agency and portrayed in the source domain, and by extension the target domain, as 'gloriously' rescuing the travelers (ln. 31-32). Having personified the trials, Wesley does not, however, explain the mechanism or motive by which they act in this way within the TRAVEL schema. It is also not clear whether he is describing an actual quickening of the journey, or only a perceived shortening of time. The source domain imagery in this stanza gives a *representation,* but not an *explanation* of the ability of trials to speed (or seem to speed) a difficult life. Although the real cognitive perceptual phenomenon by which distractions seem to result in the quicker passage of time is a common experience, the conditions which hold true in the target domain seem incongruent to the counterparts Wesley provides for them in the experiential source domain of TRAVEL. A storm can blow a ship along its course, but it can just as easily delay it, and nothing about a bump in the road will normally speed a journey along.

A final issue in this stanza is the use of the word *come* in lines 31-32. In line 31, the troubles' 'coming' evokes a metaphorical image of being in or experiencing adversity as MEETING or ENCOUNTERING it. Troubles are often said to 'come' in everyday speech,[184] and this implied agency, taken with the unfavorable nature of troubles, is usually interpreted as malicious intent. Wesley forces a new interpretation of this expression in line 32, where the troubles 'come to our rescue'. The words *come to* indicate a spatial metaphor, and, like the request in the first line, the word 'come' was interpreted as mapping NEARNESS to CARE.

7.3 John Newton, New261, 'By faith in Christ I walk with God'

> By faith in CHRIST I walk with God,
> With heav'n, my journeys'-end, in view;
> Supported by his staff and rod,
> My road is safe and pleasant too,
>
> 5   I travel through a desert wide
> Where many round me blindly stray;
> But He vouchsafes to be my guide,
> And will not let me miss my way.

---

184 The 315 results for the search phrase "troubles come" in the ECCO database indicate the phrase's 18th-century currency as well.

> Though snares and dangers throng my path,
> 10   And earth and hell my course withstand;
> I triumph over all by faith,
> Guarded by his Almighty hand.
>
> The wilderness affords no food,
> But God for my support prepares;
> 15   Provides me every needful good,
> And frees my soul from wants and cares.
>
> With him sweet converse I maintain,
> Great as he is I dare be free;
> I tell him all my grief and pain,
> 20   And he reveals his love to me.
>
> Some cordial from his word he brings,
> Whene'er my feeble spirit faints;
> At once my soul revives and sings,
> And yields no more to sad complaints.
>
> 25   I pity all that worldlings talk
> Of pleasures that will quickly end;
> Be this my choice, O Lord, to walk
> With thee, my Guide, my Guard, my Friend.

Like Wat254, this hymn by John Newton concisely sets out his conceptualization of life as a journey through a landscape. No point of origin is explicitly named, but the speaker travels through a wasteland, with the objective of reaching heaven. Like Watts' narrator, Newton's describes the surrounding landscape as a desert, and complains about its unsuitability for sustaining life. In its description of the journey, the hymn is more similar to Wat254 than Wes158, concentrating on the traveler's physical experiences, rather than his reflections upon travel. Whereas Watts makes a clear distinction between the misery of earth and the joys of heaven, Newton's traveler, though admitting to occasional bouts of spiritual faintness (ln 22), describes the many ways by which God makes the journey bearable and even pleasant, providing sustenance, conversation, and friendship. Newton's traveler notices and pities those he sees wandering around him, and actively plays a part, through faith, in overcoming the dangers that beset him along the way. As discussed previously,[185] Newton was known for his methodical and sermon-like hymns. This one is no exception, building a clear argument for reliance on God, and possibly answering Watts' complaints of a land 'That yields us no supply' (Wat254, ln. 2).

---

185 See p. 115.

The first stanza of this hymn acts as an introduction to the nature of the journey faced by the traveler, establishing several things from the beginning. First, the traveler is walking 'by faith in Christ', and God is a companion and guide, who provides tangible forms of assistance, such as a rod and staff for support. Also, there is a clearly established destination, heaven, which is already in sight. Finally, this journey is 'safe and pleasant'. The biblical concept of 'walking by faith' is combined in line 1 with another salient Christian image, originally biblical, which provides the hymn's subtitle: 'Walking with God.[186] Duffield (1888: 79) cites Gen. 5:24[187] as the basis for the hymn as a whole, though Newton himself does not cite this passage.[188] The concept occurs elsewhere in the Bible,[189] and the mapping of WALKING to ASSOCIATION with God had permeated the Judeo-Christian gestalt long before the 18th century, so a definite attribution to Gen. 5:24 seems unnecessary. The traveler's reference in line 2 to the destination being 'in view' evokes a spatial-temporal metaphor mapping NEARNESS to IMMINENCE.[190] Though the underlying metaphors in this instance are visual in nature (appealing to a schema like THE VISUAL FIELD IS A CONTAINER),[191] the implication of the end being IN SIGHT is that it is NEAR.

The next five stanzas provide further detail about the surrounding landscape and the conditions of the journey. Each tends to follow a pattern of presenting a specific difficulty associated with the pilgrimage, then showing how God solves the problem. We learn in the second stanza that the landscape (the WORLD)[192] is a very wide desert in which it is easy to lose one's way: the traveler is surrounded by people who 'blindly stray' (ln. 6). Here again, the importance of SIGHT to safe and successful travel is brought up (ln 6). The difficulty of finding the path through the desert is solved by God, who is willing to act as a guide and help the traveler keep the path. The width of the desert is significant, and its remoteness and barrenness conveys a sense of EXTREMITY of some aspect of the world's spiritual situation, possibly a spiritual isolation or separation from God, or the breadth of human (or worldly) experience, and therefore also of human error. Despite all this, God can be counted on to know the way and to keep the traveler from 'missing'[193] or wandering from it.

---

186 See discussion of *walk* in Section 4 of this chapter.
187 'And Enoch walked with God: and he [was] not; for God took him' (KJV)
188 Cowper's hymn, 'O for a closer walk with God' has the same subtitle as New261, and makes explicit reference to Gen. 5:24.
189 See, e.g., Mic 6:8.
190 The primary, abstract sense of *imminent*, active since at least 1528, is based in the physical image of 'overhanging', although this 'literal' sense is not cited in the OED until 1727 (2nd ed. 1989 'imminent, a.').
191 See, e.g., Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 30).
192 See p. 270.
193 OED (draft rev. Sept. 2008 'miss, *v.*1'): '7. *trans.* To lose or fail to hit on (the right path). Chiefly in to miss one's way. Also *fig.*'

In addition to the danger of straying, the next stanza reveals, the traveler will encounter hazards on the path itself, including large numbers of dangerous snares (ln 9) which 'throng' the path. In the JOURNEY schema, LIFE EXPERIENCES are often figuratively portrayed as items, specific locations, or sometimes people encountered along the way. In this case, *snares* maps loosely to TRIALS, temptations, or situations posing a spiritual threat. The OED (2nd ed. 1989 'throng, *v.*') provides the following sense for *throng* as a verb:

> **6. a.** To fill or occupy (a place, etc.) with a large number of things or persons, or quantity of something; to crowd, cram, stuff; to burden.

Thus, the main PATH schema of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is here mixed with a CONTAINER schema,[194] portraying the PATH of life as also a bounded region in space. The crowdedness of these snares within the contained area of the pathway increases the frequency with which a traveler would encounter them; this corresponds with an increased frequency in occurrence of those experiences. A complex metaphorical image thus emerges of FREQUENT EXPERIENCES IN LIFE portrayed as OBJECTS CROWDING A PATHWAY.

Earth and hell are said to oppose the traveler's intended route; here earth and hell are either personifications or metonyms representing the constituents or leaders of those states: resistance could come from other travelers (members of society), earthly rulers, or the Devil. Again, 'by faith' the traveler overcomes this opposition to a Christian life, enabled by protection from God, who is represented by his hand—another metonymy.

In these middle stanzas, God provides solutions to all the challenges the traveler meets along the way. Despite the barrenness of the desert, God is able to supply food (ln. 14), drink (ln. 21), and more: 'every needful good' (ln. 15). He also provides companionship and conversation in the traveler's loneliness (lines 17-20), hears the traveler's confession, and grants his forgiveness and love. God's dependability, in providing for the current life, and in guaranteeing continued safety and happiness in the future, leads the traveler to pity those acquaintances who, lacking foresight, seek only short-term gratification. In the final lines, the traveler reaffirms the original choice to continue walking with (or continue to live with devotion to) God.

---

194 See p. 77 for discussion of overlaps between these schemata. See also Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 31-32) for a description of the CONTAINER schema.

The final issue in this hymn is the relationship between body and soul. A further similarity this hymn bears to Wat254 is its seeming conflation of whole person and soul. Like the body, the soul in this hymn becomes tired and revives, and can either complain or sing. Having dealt previously with God's provision of food, the sixth stanza addresses the problem of thirst. However, whereas in the earlier stanzas God feeds the traveler directly, here he provides a cordial that revives the traveler's 'spirits', resulting in revival and singing, and an end to 'sad complaints' (ln 23-24). It is not unusual for something that affects the soul to affect the body, and vice versa. Thus, a 'fainting' spirit can be related to physical faintness, and a drink can revive both mind and body. Additionally, as mentioned in the discussion of Wat254 (p. 275), it is common in spiritual contexts to speak of souls 'thirsting' metaphorically for various kinds of spiritual fulfillment (e.g., knowledge, love, fellowship). There are several biblical texts which prominently feature this imagery.[195]

In line 16 it is clearly the traveler's soul that is freed from wants and cares; this is a one-off metaphor within the allegorical narrative, and the traveler's body has not been constrained. It is common, as discussed in Section 7.1 of this chapter, for *soul* to refer metonymically to the entire person. In this case, though, the ideas of thirst and drinking are given as the main topics of a stanza that is presented sequentially after other stanzas dealing with physical trials directly concerning the traveler's person. It seems possible that in this case the narrator's reference to the 'spirit' is a signal of awareness that the TRAVEL schema is metaphorical—the 'traveler' in the hymn being somehow representative of the narrator's 'spirit'. If this interpretation is valid, then Newton is acknowledging the underlying schema and giving a hint as to how one might usefully 'unpack' the metaphor.

This hymn adheres closely to the framework provided by its overarching JOURNEY schema, emphasized by multiple mentions of the traveler's *journey* (ln. 2), *road* (ln. 4), *way* (8), *path* (ln. 9), and *course* (ln. 10), which goes *through* a landscape (ln. 5) and has an *end* (ln. 2). Another travel-related theme that stands out in this hymn is that of dangers and challenges met along the way. These include physical dangers: snares and physical needs like hunger and thirst, as well as the danger of getting lost. It also includes spiritual needs like friendship, conversation, and absolution. God's assistance to the traveler is emphasized throughout the hymn, and, in the closing line, he is cast as 'my Guide, my Guard, my Friend'. In this hymn, Newton provides a basic diagram of the Christian life

---

195 See, e.g., Psa 42:1-2; Amo 8:11-14; and Jhn 4, 6:35, and 7:37-38.

conceptualized according to the standard JOURNEY schema, which serves as the structure for his list of ways God can meet a Christian's needs. He admits that life is difficult, but has a triumphant outlook (ln. 11) based on a knowledge that heaven is near and God is a (very wise and powerful) personal friend.

7.4 William Cowper Cow13, 'What thousands never knew the road'

What thousands never knew the road!
What thousands hate it when 'tis known!
None but the chosen tribes of God,
Will seek or choose it for their own.

5   A thousand ways in ruin end,
One, only, leads to joys on high;
By that my willing steps ascend,
Pleased with a journey to the sky.

No more I ask, or hope to find,
10   Delight or happiness below;
Sorrow may well possess the mind
That feeds where thorns and thistles grow.

The joy that fades is not for me,
I seek immortal joys above;
15   There, glory without end, shall be
The bright reward of faith and love.

Cleave to the world ye sordid worms,
Contented lick your native dust;
But God shall fight, with all his storms,
20   Against the idol of your trust.

William Cowper's hymn 'What thousands never knew the road' presents a picture of the Christian path which is shorter and somewhat less detailed than those discussed above, but which nevertheless depends upon the JOURNEY schema and elaborates upon its basic structure. Cowper describes 'the narrow way', which is the hymn's subtitle, as a road that leads from the world below to heaven above. The emotions and beliefs of the traveler in regard to this road are a main focus of the hymn. The road's unpopularity, its merits, and the joys awaiting the traveler at its end are discussed in more depth than the landscape through which the road passes, or the experiences of the journey. Other roads are mentioned, and some detail is given about the road's origin and destination.

A major theme of the hymn is the Calvinist doctrine of election: the belief that God exercises prerogative 'in choosing some of His creatures in preference to others for blessings temporal or spiritual, *esp.* for eternal salvation' (OED, 2nd ed.1989, 'election, n.'). This doctrine comes through strongly in the hymn (e.g., ln. 3-4), and the speaker reflects upon his own 'calling' and choice to follow the Christian path. The speaker renounces earthly pursuits in favor of lasting joys, attributing to a concern with earthly affairs a tendency to cause mental depression (ln. 11-12). This is an example of what Davie has described as Cowper's preference to write 'from the pew not the pulpit' (1993: 141). Cowper wrote to his cousin Lady Hesketh that 'dejection of spirits, which I suppose, may have prevented many a man from becoming an author, made me one' (collected in Cowper 2000: ix). He speaks of his convictions, in a seemingly defiant tone by the last stanza, but apparently as much for his own benefit as for others.

The hymn's first line introduces 'the road' without any detailed explanations as to its nature or identity. This introduction, and the reference to its obscurity ('thousands never knew' it), in addition to the set phrase, the *narrow way* of the subtitle, are enough to signify to readers that 'the road' represents the Christian life. At the same time, Cowper's deliberate vagueness has the effect of including the hymn's readers; if they know 'the road' from their own experience, they also know that they are not among 'the thousands' named in the first two lines. Their choice of the road as 'their own' is a personal experience that they will have in common with the author, which will increase their sympathy as the hymn progresses. Aside from *road* in line 1, the nearest the first stanza comes to an overt reference to a TRAVEL schema is the idea of 'seeking' in line 4. Cowper's mention in the previous line of 'the chosen tribes of God' calls up the image of the tribes of Israel, God's 'chosen' people, whose biblical history involved long periods of wandering and seeking for the promised land. Historically, the Christian church has often been compared with Israel in hymns and sermons, and Cowper is here extending the parallel: the elect are a chosen 'tribe', 'seeking' throughout the world (or the world's philosophies) for the true path. Stylistically, Cowper reinforces the themes of 'knowing' and 'choosing' in this stanza: of the few who know the road, the majority are not helped by their knowledge. Only the 'chosen (ln. 3)' can ever 'choose (ln. 4)' the correct path.

In this landscape there are 'a thousand' other paths, enough for the 'thousands' who travel them, but all of them end in 'ruin'. The end of those paths could represent death, or

289

else the failure of any futile lifetime activity. There is only one path that leads upward to 'joys on high', metonymically representing heaven, in reference to its joy and exaltation. The preposition *on* in the set phrase *on high* is somewhat abnormal. It is etymologically derived from the preposition *an*, whose occurrence with other words was reduced to *a-*.[196] The OED sub-entry for *on high* explains by rephrasing, using the more common prepositions *in* and *to*, and the *a-* morpheme in *aloft* and *above*.

> 18. on high (rarely *upon, of high*) [orig. an high, also reduced to A-HIGH: cf. alow, aloud, afar, anear; when the full form was retained, *an* was at length changed to *on*: see AN *prep.*]. a. In or to a height, above, aloft; *spec.* up to or in heaven. (OED, 2nd ed. 1989, 'high, a. and n.2')

As the preposition *on* in this phrase historically has indicated direction rather than fixed position, the token 'on' in this case seems to contribute to the metaphorical representation of HEAVEN as a DESTINATION, with 'high' also contributing to HEAVEN IS UP. The historical derivation of the persisting *a-* construction is somewhat obscure, but it still conveys the sense of directionality associated with prepositions. The speaker ends the stanza by expressing pleasure at having chosen this path, and at making upward progress toward heaven. Here, the active imagery is of the SKY, an available node of the target-domain landscape imagery which is also compatible with the metaphor HEAVEN IS UP.

The next stanza continues with the speaker's identification of the reasons for choosing this path. The speaker has given up on the options available 'below', that is, worldly pursuits, which, he finds, bring only sorrow. The thorns and thistles of line 12 recall the 'pricking thorns' covering the ground in Wat254. Cowper's view of the WORLD, like Watts', apparently lacks 'cheering fruits' and 'wholesome trees'. This unpalatable or inedible earthly spiritual produce can be interpreted as teachings, philosophies, or behaviors that result from a worldly life. There are many scriptural references to behavior as fruit, notably the fruit of the Spirit,[197] and Jesus' discussions of fig trees and grapevines.[198] Mat 7:14-20 is another passage of Scripture that talks about spiritual fruits, as well as thorns and thistles, and is also the source of the 'narrow way' concept that structures this hymn:

---

196 Cf. *afar.*
197 See Gal 5.
198 See Luk 13 and Jhn 15.

> … strait [is] the gate, and narrow [is] the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. … Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither [can] a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them. (KJV)

This image is related to the metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD,[199] though there is an additional sense that wholesome ideas are especially nourishing to the spirit, as distinct from the mind. The *below* in this line could mean 'below heaven' (i.e., 'everywhere on earth') or more specifically 'below the speaker', who speaks as if he is already ascending the upward path, possibly looking at the earth below him. The speaker goes on in the next stanza, renouncing the 'joy that fades' in preference to the lasting joys found UP in heaven, where his faith and love for God will be rewarded.

The hymn's final stanza seems somewhat defiant, spoken directly to those who, unlike the speaker, choose to remain on earthly paths. He addresses them as 'sordid worms', and tells them to 'cleave to the world'. The OED (2nd ed. 1989 'cleave, v.2') has two applicable definitions for *cleave*, one of them literal:

> 3. … To cling or hold fast to; to attach oneself (by grasping, etc.) to (†on, upon, in).

and one a metaphorical extension:

> 4. To adhere or cling to (a person, party, principle, practice, etc.); to remain attached, devoted, or faithful to.

Sense 4 uses the sensory imagery of NEARNESS to convey the nonsensory idea of CARE or DEVOTION. The effect is strengthened by the images of 'sordid' worms, covered in dirt, and eating dirt. Worms are, in nature, always in direct physical contact with dirt; it is their habitat, to which they are literally 'native'.

Nativity implies citizenship and origin, another important theme of the hymn. In accordance with the theme of citizenship, the phrase *native dust* can be read as a variation on the idea of 'native soil'. This usage refers to the ground of the country where one was born, or to the land in general, via a metonymic substitution of the GROUND OF A REGION for

---

199 Listed, for example, on Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Home Page (1994).

the WHOLE REGION. Alternatively, the OED cites a sense of *native* which it says is now 'obsolete', in reference to something 'being or forming the source or origin of a thing or person' (draft rev. Sept. 2008 'native, adj.'). This is presumably the meaning of *native* under the HTE/HTOED heading of 'Source/origin' (01.05.03.01.03) which is shown as active during the period c1590 to c1830. Thus, the phrase *native dust* in some contexts would be the dust of which human bodies are formed and to which they return after death. A third possible interpretation arises metonymically, substituting DUST in general for HUMAN DUST: man's origin was in dust, so all dust is native. Several Early Modern examples refer to one being 'laid in' or 'mingling with' one's native dust, including one by Dryden:

> Death will dismiss me from my future care,
> And lay me softly in my native dust (Dryden 1808: 162)

The presence of DUST in the landscape of the hymn—its association with death, its unwelcomeness during travel, and its use as worm-food—contributes to the negative view of the land and its inhabitants.

In the final two lines of the hymn, the readers are told that God will send storms to fight 'the idol of your trust': that is, worldly values and systems. The image of STORMS, though capable of standing on its own as a metaphorical representation of God's anger, judgment, and power, fits into the landscape described in the hymn: storms come from the sky above to discourage the inhabitants of the earth below.

Though its theme is centered around a journey by road, Cow13 is selective in filling out details of the JOURNEY schema. A few themes are made prominent: the image of the road or path itself; the road's upward direction, leading away from earth below; and the idea of an origin and a destination are basic to the journey schema. In addition to these, the road's hiddenness or unpopularity (possibly a result of its narrowness) features throughout the hymn, contrasting the speaker's choice, and consequently his good fortune, with that of most others. Related to this is the use of *searching* language: because of the road's unpopularity, many will not even 'seek' it (ln. 4). In contrast, the speaker no longer seeks fulfillment except via the path (ln. 9), and via the path now seeks 'joys above' in heaven.

VI Further Discussion and Application

1 A cognitive approach to historical metaphor

The study of metaphors is arguably a study of history. As cognitive linguists like Lakoff et al. have shown, conceptual metaphors are a reflection of the collective experience of a living culture. More strongly, Samuels has said that the 'main interest' of the historical study of lexis lies in its capacity to explain the linguistic changes that 'reflect, in their own unique way, the lives, purposes, and aspirations of the human beings that language serves' (1972: 181). Much as stone or bronze tools to archaeologists, the words in a language tell linguists about those who have used and developed them. Semantic history provides a continuous account of personal and collective innovations. By viewing language as a product of a living culture made of living individuals, the study of linguistics may be pursued in its proper context within both the social sciences and humanities. The importance of metaphor in semantic change has been cited many times in the preceding chapters, and the necessity of a systematic diachronic approach for researching metaphors is demonstrable from several perspectives: such a system would be invaluable for the future development and testing of cognitive theory itself, for linguistic and historical study, for literary criticism, and for philosophical inquiry.

CMT is based largely on the idea that abstract or nonsensory concepts are grounded in sensory, embodied experience (e.g., Lakoff 1993: 240). Thus, theoretically universal conceptual metaphors like GOOD IS UP were originally inspired by sustained personal experience of the benefits of being UP (i.e., not lying on the ground, prone, sick, or dead). This direct experiential knowledge was then applied to ideas dealing with observations of the outside world, the workings of the mind, communication with others, and the implications of existence. These suppositions depend on a linear view of progressive stages of development; one would expect them, therefore, to be reflected historically in a general trend in etymological development: a gradual shift in word meanings from physical to mental—from sensory experience to nonsensory perception. For instance, one would expect a word such as *run* to have as its earliest senses the 'embodied' ones dealing with physical movement of the human body. The word's semantic field would then be extended to include progressively less embodied senses dealing with flowing water, passing time, or written communication. The predating by more than a century of 'embodied movement' by 'flowing liquid' senses in the OED citations for 'run, v.', however, suggests that RUN as a

VI. Further Discussion and Application: 1. A cognitive approach to historical metaphor

word may have at least partial origins in a different physical meaning than CMT might lead one to assume. Klein's (1967: 1365) etymology of *run* is framed only in terms of the liquid sense, and he emphasizes its link to words in several ancient and modern languages with meaning 'flow, run'. Up to now, cognitive theories have taken human-based conceptual models as the primary and therefore earliest models for human understanding of abstract concepts. However, an alternative scenario to that previously described now seems plausible: early comparisons of running people or animals to the swiftness of a river, not vice versa, led to the subsequent acceptance and conventionalization of that image. This may also be supported by the etymology of the name of the river Rhine, which, according to the OED (Draft rev. June 2010 'Rhine, *n.1*') 'probably ultimately shows a formation < the same Indo-European base as *run v'*.[200] This scenario would require that perception of some external objects and events be regarded by cognitivists as equally likely as some types of embodied experience to inspire primary metaphors. Though many conceptual metaphors, especially those considered to be universal, obviously predate written records of the English language, etymological evidence should be taken into consideration.

A corpus/textual approach to CMT is also helpful in determining the currency and strength (or 'metaphoricity' in Deignan's discussion, 2005: 39) of conventionalized metaphors in a given period. In one such method, corpora composed of works from an author, a community, or a time period can be searched for tokens representing salient source domain images from common metaphor schemata like LIFE IS A JOURNEY.[201] Analysis of the results, taken in context, can give insights into the degree of a conceptual metaphor's activeness or pervasiveness in the author's (or authors') cultural setting. Particularly in poetic language, the strength of a conceptual metaphor can often be gauged by the systematicity and deliberateness of its use on the author's part. Although metaphor is now understood to be more than just a 'poetic' device, more than informal or spoken language, poetic literature deliberately exploits the metaphorical images available to the author. All conceptual metaphors that form a current part of the author's cultural gestalt are susceptible to deliberate figurative development.

This may apply especially when events or experience have foregrounded certain images, increasing their saliency in the author's cultural context; for example the hymns

---

200 Cf. also Klein (1967: 1365: 'run, n.').
201 Stefanowitsch (2006: 2-6) provides guidelines for this and six other possible approaches to corpus-based
    metaphor research.

VI. Further Discussion and Application: 1. A cognitive approach to historical metaphor

written by Wesley, an experienced traveler, 'for going on shipboard' or 'to be sung at sea'. Even partly conventionalized metaphors may be subjected to purposeful poetic development, for instance in the uses of RUN and PASS in reference to time. Isaac Watts' line, 'our days run thoughtlessly along without a moment's stay' (ex. 1552, p. 224), does not contribute to any memorable or extended travel image in its hymn of origin; nevertheless, it expands upon the extremely common TIME IS MOTION metaphor on a small scale to personify DAYS as RUNNERS ALONG A COURSE, providing a helpful illustration, and highlighting a sometimes hidden gestalt image. On the other hand, poetic texts can also help to distinguish the more highly conventionalized, near-dormant metaphors from the more active ones. Highly conventionalized metaphors in poetic corpora are characterized by regular and systematic use, but also figurative underdevelopment, indicative of their unsuitability for deliberate poetic exploitation. An example of this is the specialization of *past* as a temporal adjective and noun: in the corpus of hymns, instances of *past* tend not to be contextually accompanied by any vivid TRAVEL imagery, but only by equally conventionalized metaphorical cues (mostly spatial prepositions, e.g., *back*, *up*, *between*, etc.). The preposition, developing from the adjectival usage, continues in this suppression of its underlying metaphor until much later in its semantic history.

Innovative poetic developments of established images show how the mind can deal creatively with received schemata like LIFE IS A JOURNEY, as well as with problems of conceptual dissonance caused by conflicting imagery or shifts in dogma. Jäkel (2002) finds that the handling of metaphorical imagery in religious texts generally corroborates the positions of CMT. Use of metaphor in religious texts, according to Jäkel's findings, is, as a rule ubiquitous and systematic (2002: 35). Conceptually dissonant images do occur, such as the image of Christ functioning concurrently as both a GUIDE and the PATH along which he guides people. Jäkel speculates that this dissonance is an intentional effect, 'hinting at the metaphysical and indeed supernatural character of the whole enterprise of the religious life' (2002: 34). The basic SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, represented in words like PATH, WAY, and ROAD, as well as in descriptions of life as having PATH-like attributes, is extremely well-represented in the corpus, as the previous chapters have shown.

The same dissonance Jäkel observes, however, is manifested in the corpus on several occasions, and explored by Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley in examples 1219 and 1264 (discussed in further depth above, p. 151), regarding Christ's roles as both leader and path.

VI. Further Discussion and Application: 1. A cognitive approach to historical metaphor

In Watts' case, the dissonance provides the inspiration for a conceptual blend: the source node PATH to God is 'drawn in lines of blood', a metonymy representing the target image of Christ's crucifixion. The overall effect is to emphasize, in one compact line, Christ's salvation, authority, assistance, and foreordained ('drawn') sacrifice. Authors in the corpus exploit dissonant imagery to offer their own explanations on life, expanding upon the basic LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor and its entailments, altering correspondences as needed to reflect their unique beliefs on birth and death, the nature and eternal state of the soul, and the requirements for salvation. Although the TRAVEL schema possesses a consistent basic structure of entailments, analysis of the texts involved offers insight into the ways that varying—or even conflicting—versions of a common conceptual metaphor can develop within faith communities.

Metaphor, as both an instrument and a measurement of language change, is a topic still in need of extensive research. The tendency of conventionalized or dormant conceptual metaphors to continue to affect the development of words can, at this point, best be studied via analysis and comparison of historical texts. For researching semantic change across wide spans of time, the use of historical corpora offers significant advantages. Textual corpora allow extremely large samples of data to be considered, and, as Partington (2006: 268) observes, by providing examples automatically, they 'distance' the researcher from the material, discouraging the 'unwarranted intrusion of the analyst into the data field' that occurs when researchers search manually for interesting examples. In addition to providing naturally 'good' examples, Partington observes that a corpus-based approach promotes the consideration of metaphors' 'contextual forces, in particular, what speakers / writers are trying to *do* with metaphor' (2006: 294). He argues that metaphors must be analyzed in context in order to avoid the trap of interpreting them as 'simple description'. A well-compiled historical corpus is able to provide an extensive and continuous record of linguistic development, documented in natural occurrence within its cultural context. Despite the inherent difficulties preventing, for now, the development of widely usable semantically-marked corpora,[202] even plain-text corpora can provide ample material for source and target node token searches.

The study of metaphor makes sense from a historical viewpoint, since metaphor, in many senses, makes and records history. Contemporary linguists have found that the

---

202 Stefanowitsch (2006: 5-6) discusses these issues in more detail, including the hypothetical possibility of developing corpora annotated for conceptual mappings.

VI. Further Discussion and Application: 1. A cognitive approach to historical metaphor

cognitive approach to metaphor provides new ways of looking at contemporary politics, media, and culture. Notably, discussions have centered around Lakoff's *Moral Politics* (1996), which frames fundamental differences in American political values in terms of differing metaphorical models. Cognitive linguistic principles can be applied to diachronic as well as synchronic cultural variation. The beliefs and values of historical communities are documented in their metaphors: analysis of the systematic application and development of overarching metaphorical schemata within the writings of a community sheds light not only on the authors' intents, but also on the cultural conditions that have contributed to the authors' motivations. For instance, a token search in the corpus of hymns for the lexeme PATH revealed that the Shaker hymnal *Millennial Praises* contained a proportionally higher frequency of the collocates *trodden* and *path* than the other hymnals (see above, p. 154). Whereas corpus conceptualizations of the Christian life as a PATH on the whole tend to emphasize the path's narrowness, difficulty, etc., representing the difficulty or unpopularity of a Christian life, almost all instances of PATH from *Millennial Praises* concentrate on who has trodden the same path before: predecessors in the Shaker faith, especially the founder of the movement, Mother Ann Lee. Although the selections from *Millennial Praises* comprise a relatively small portion of the corpus, this apparent specialization in PATH imagery may serve as a hint for further historical research into the Shaker ethos.

An important large-scale question for historical researchers to address, then, is how metaphors interact with history; specifically, whether and how new conceptual metaphors can 'arise', how they change across time, and what role they play in historical 'events'. As an example of this, Lakoff (1993: 243) describes how the metaphor TIME IS MONEY entered the English language at the time of the industrial revolution, ascribing its introduction to newly-established hourly pay systems in factories. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 145) attribute the process of Westernization in non-Western cultures largely to the importation of this conceptual metaphor. However, the 18th-century origin of the phrase *time is money*[203] does not preclude the existence, in other cultures or before the industrial revolution, of a pervasive conceptual metaphor equating TIME with MONEY. Goatly (2007: 68) agrees that the metaphor was 'cemented' during that era but traces it further back to discussions of usury, a very concrete link between the two domains, in the late Middle Ages.

---

203 Popularly attributed to Benjamin Franklin—see (1793: 55).

VI. Further Discussion and Application: 1. A cognitive approach to historical metaphor

Conversely, new developments in technology and culture can lead to new material for source domain imagery. Porter (2004: 50-51) describes how the development of increasingly complex machinery led the 'new philosophers' of the 17th century to adopt 'mechanical models of nature', resulting in a new understanding, and new descriptions, of bodies—specifically the human body—as machines. The HUMAN AS MACHINE metaphor proved as durable and versatile as machines themselves, as the examples provided by Goatly (2007: 105) show. Both target and source domains have been subject to extensive development. Goatly (2007: 362-363) describes the extension of the target from individual to collective, resulting in the originally Enlightenment era metaphor SOCIETY AS MACHINE,[204] and the development of computers has provided a steady supply of inspiration for new mappings. The conceptualization of HUMANS or MINDS AS COMPUTERS results in expressions like 'give me a moment to process', or jokes like 'I think I need a memory upgrade'.[205]

The far-reaching effects of this conceptual metaphor even upon the formation of early models of cognitive linguistics have been explored by Boyd (1993: 486-487) and Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 248-266): both studies argue that the MIND IS A COMPUTER metaphor has become not only a fundamental but also an inaccurate and nearly inescapable conceptual metaphor in cognitive science. The basic level metaphor, portraying HUMANS as inanimate OBJECTS or TOOLS, is nothing new,[206] but the semantic category of advanced machines is sufficiently distinct as to be recognizably formative to modern society. The relationship between new observations and new metaphors is complex and interactive; the statistical maxim reminds us that 'correlation does not imply causation', but an increased frequency in expression of certain conceptual models does hint strongly at an increased saliency of corresponding societal values.

It has been a goal of the present study to chronicle new developments of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor within the period represented by the corpus hymnals. Such developments might include inovative uses of TRAVEL-related imagery, or exploration of existing conceptualizations, drawing on new imagery from innovations or changes in travel habits and technology during the period. One such change may be evident in the semantic progress of the word ROAD, which came into its current usage only in the early 17th century

---

204 Goatly (2007: 362) marks an abrupt shift during the Enlightenment in the predominant conceptual metaphor used to describe society, citing Tawney's (1926: 35-36) observation that, prior to the Enlightenment, the default model for descriptions of society in the Middle Ages was the human body.
205 Of course, this use of *memory* is originally the result of an inverse conceptual metaphor, conceptualizing COMPUTERS as PEOPLE, or as having minds.
206 See (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 270).

VI. Further Discussion and Application: 1. A cognitive approach to historical metaphor (discussed above, p. 164). In the course of the present dissertation, the lexemes WAY, PATH, and ROAD, used as images for LIFE in the corpus, have emerged as three points upon a continuum of conventionalization, each possessing a variety of specialized uses in the context of spiritual language.

Although metaphorical senses of WAY had apparently not yet become as conventionalized at the time of the corpus material as they are in current usage—most instances clearly appealing to TRAVEL imagery—there are a high number of total occurrences of WAY, very few of which are purely 'sensory' usages, and contextual development consists mostly of reinforcement, rather than innovative development, of the linear journey structure. 'Method' senses are not frequent, but references to *the way(s)* (i.e., *behaviors) of God* are common. PATH shows similar signs of conventionalization, though not to the same degree: it is less than 20% as common as WAY,[207] and tends to be accompanied by more source imagery. ROAD, the youngest as a concept, is also the least conventionalized source image of the three. Although there are fewer results numerically for ROAD than for the other two lexemes (about 41 occurrences), it is also much more likely to be used literally, and, whereas PATHS are occasionally described using other common spiritual metaphors unrelated to TRAVEL (e.g., 'clean', discussed further above, p. 155), ROADS in the corpus tend to be described in explicit TRAVEL terms.[208] With WAY and PATH images exhibiting steady progress toward future conventionalization, the introduction and usage of ROAD in 17th- and 18th-century spiritual poetry seems to indicate its potential susceptibility to similar specialization in spiritual usage.

Another detail worthy of note is that the main hymn writers considered in depth by this study—Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, John Newton, and William Cowper—each wrote one or more hymns containing, and sometimes based on, imagery from navigation by sea. The images of rough seas, storms, and the problem of establishing direction are recurrent in all such hymns, portraying difficulty in life, trials, and the need for spiritual guidance. In one hymn by Watts (Wat255), clouds and storms are representations of God's anger, and the inscrutability of his 'vast designs' (ln. 1) is compared to the depth of the ocean. Watts encourages Christians to 'sail by faith' (ln. 10), trusting despite earthly troubles that God's ultimate plan is benign:

---

207 There are 88 occurrences of PATH vs. 515 of WAY, with roughly 415,335 corpus tokens in total.
208 One exception is the 'chaste' road of example 1286 (discussed in more detail above, p. 169), from
   Millennial Praises, in which hymnal the 'self-denying path' appears (example 1277, discussed above, p.
   154).

> We, through the cloud, believe thy grace,
> Secure of thy compassion still. (ln. 7-8)

In another hymn (Wes260), Wesley likewise uses ocean imagery to appeal to God's power, asking God to protect his followers, to enable them to walk on the 'rough sea' (ln. 11), and ultimately to bring them 'safe to land' (ln. 4); the formulation of his request, and his concentration on the believers' continuing 'walk', seems characteristically Arminian[209] in contrast to Watts' more Calvinist assurance of ultimate deliverance. Newton (New43) develops the topic of spiritual direction into an extended compass analogy, describing the love and grace of God as an ever-present guiding force, and exploring the concept of navigational aids for reaching the Christian's 'proper end'. Conversely, Cowper (Cow9) expresses his personal hopelessness and despair in terms of being lost at sea, 'tempest-tossed and half a wreck' (ln. 17). This imagery of being adrift and drowning figures in his later, and more well-known poem *The Castaway*, in which, unlike Cow9, there is no appeal to the 'pilot' to say 'Peace, be still!' (ln. 8). The age of English exploration began in the century before the corpus period (Sir Walter Raleigh died in 1618), and its effects can be seen in the prevalence of navigation imagery within the hymns. Wesley and Newton had both traveled extensively and had a wealth of personal experience from which to draw. Watts, who had practically no more personal travel experience than the wagon between London and Southampton, was yet obviously interested in travel and geography[210] and Cowper, who prized his retirement in Olney, still made frequent use of the imagery of maritime travel.

In addition to linguistics and contemporary politics, Lakoff and Turner (1989) have demonstrated the applicability of a cognitive approach to literary studies. Their analysis of poetry and proverbs through overarching cognitive metaphors provides a valuable basis for further critical analysis. A cognitive approach to historical texts, giving attention to the authors' systematic textual treatment of conceptual metaphors, reveals new details about the texts, the writers, and their communities. The lens of conceptual metaphor theory, given a diachronic focus, can afford the researcher a glimpse of the motivations behind history; the framework by which past thought processes were structured.

---

209 See discussion of Arminian theology on p. 88.

210 See footnote 66, p. 108, and the discussion by Hull (2005) on Watts' possible early influence on British Imperialism. Watts also wrote on the educational value of traveling at a young age, both domestically and abroad: 'young People … should be carried abroad to see the Fields, and the Woods, and the Rivers, the Buildings, Towns, and Cities distant from their own Dwelling … and in due Time, where Providence gives Opportunity, they may travel under a wise Inspector or Tutor to different Parts of the World for the same End, that they may bring home Treasures of useful Knowledge'. (Watts 1741: 53)

2 From earth to heaven

Religious language, as has been shown, presents its own set of complications to the issue of metaphor. Hymns, like other forms of Christian literature, make extensive use of the concept HEAVEN IS UP. In an age in which science has enabled humans to explore both the nearer heavens (by airplane and spaceship) and the more distant areas of space (through ever more complex telescopes, satellites, and probes), it has become generally accepted that heaven, if it exists, is not to be found literally 'above the sky' (Wes351), or even 'afar beyond the stars' (Vau65).

Hymn writers who have used this kind of language in the centuries since Copernicus and Galileo have probably functioned under an understanding about the 'heavens' sufficiently similar to ours for us to interpret Wesley and Vaughan's language as being in some way metaphorical. Despite the strong scientific and experiential evidence for assigning metaphorical status to all language that involves a HEAVEN IS UP metaphor, however, much spiritual language seems to employ the concept literally. Words like *celestial*, which can, at their basic level, be taken to apply to objects both in space and in heaven, are common in the hymns studied here. In this light, the metaphorical mnemonic HEAVEN IS UP, far from offering clarification, may even seem redundant and confusing. In addition to simply being UP, heaven appears in more specific locations in the hymns: it is sometimes found across a river (often the River Jordan), or at the top of a hill (requiring a combination of UPWARD and FORWARD movement to reach). This section explores the variety of available metaphorical images in the corpus of hymns for the placement of heaven in a spiritual topography. It also considers the relationship between DESTINATION and JOURNEY imagery, and attempts to describe and explore apparent diachronic variation in the figurative portrayal of heaven in English hymnody.

The word *heaven* or *heavens* is itself difficult to interpret. Historically, it has sometimes acted as another term for *the sky*, but seems to have become specialized, in more recent usage, to a spiritual sense. The OED provides several senses, distinguishing between physical and spiritual uses. These encompass concepts like the 'firmament', 'space', the Christian 'heaven', and the 'sky'. Citations present the Old English *heofon* in all of these uses; many of which are translated from the Latin *caelum* (draft rev. Jun 2009, 'heaven, *n*.'). In contrast, the originally Norse loanword *sky*, first cited in c1220, does not appear in explicitly spiritual usage until 1590 (2nd ed. 1989, 'sky, *n*.'). While modern paradigms tend to distinguish, both linguistically and conceptually, between the physical

sky and spiritual *heaven,* the sharp division of senses applied to the Old English or Latin terms is based on this same modern evaluation of contextual elements. Although Judeo-Christian and classical cosmology described separate *regions* or *spheres* of heaven, it is not clear from the OED citations alone whether speakers of Old English or Latin distinguished particularly between spiritual and secular senses. It seems likely that they would have had a more unified concept of *heofon*, inclusive of all of the modern specializations.

In works of the medieval period, heaven and hell appear as physical locations above and below the earth, respectively, and are often described as politically demarcated areas, to and from which one could physically journey.[211] Old English literature regularly referred to this present world as *middangeard*—'middle earth'—illustrating how foundational a three-realm model was to Anglo Saxon culture. A literal conception of heaven's location as somehow above the earth is also supported by biblical imagery, as shown in Jesus' ascension into the clouds following his resurrection,[212] and the Holy Spirit's descent from heaven at Jesus' baptism.[213] The pilot study for this project argued that, at least for the writers of the Old English homilies and poems, descriptions of the locations of heaven and hell in relation to earth were understood typologically: that is, as literal truths that were also symbolic of abstract truths.

It is tempting to assume when examining texts from the period of this study (1650 to 1800) that underlying ideas such as HEAVEN IS UP are completely non-literal in all instances. However, the high frequency of apparently literal usages, occurring in the present day as well as historically, defy such hasty classification. Heaven is still too complex an idea, and metaphor too obscure a mechanism, to allow carelessness in analysis and discussion.[214] It is important to remain aware of the tendency to focus on the physical component of heaven's perceived location, especially in religious or poetic contexts, when discussing the importance of SEARCHING in spiritual language. The complexity of the ideas expressed in SEARCHING language is exemplified in a fairly recent hymn, written in 1943, which speaks of 'looking for a city built above' (Cooper 1943). The inclusion of SEEKING, HEAVEN IS UP, and

---

211 See the pilot study for the current project (Shaver 2006), which deals more specifically with this topic, especially the image of St. Guthlac's journey to the 'door of hell' (cf. Bradley 1982: 263).

212 See Act 1:9-11.

213 See Mat 3:16.

214 According to a poll performed by ABC News (2005), 89% of Americans believe in the existence of heaven, and 16% (22% of 'very religious' Protestants) believe it is a physical location. A physical heaven also appears in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (Hontheim 1910), which sees 'no sufficient reason for attributing a metaphorical sense' to the term, and maintains that 'the heaven of the blessed is a special place with definite limits', which exists 'not within the earth, but … without and beyond its limits'.

the idea of a literal city, within one brief phrase, shows the interconnectedness of the metaphorical and typological terms in which spiritual discussion is often framed.

The Enlightenment, with its transition from astrology to astronomy, at the same time presented new questions of eschatology and of the relationship between body and soul. Thomas Hobbes frightened and confused his contemporaries by arguing for a new, entirely materialist Christianity, arguing against the existence of any such thing as a *spirit*: all was material, including, as Porter summarizes, a 'corporeal God in a corporeal heaven' (2004: 94). In reaction, John Locke completely discounted the importance of the material body; all that mattered was a person's *self*, or 'Identity of consciousness', which was eternal. At the Resurrection, it was a person's soul that would be judged. Any question of a body, which may or may not be in attendance, was irrelevant. Bishop Stillingfleet attempted to balance these two extremes of opinion, maintaining a more traditional view of a '*Vital Vnion* between the Soul and Body' (1698: 44): the body must be resurrected, because eternal reward or punishment is clearly corporeal in nature. Further speculations as to the physicality and nature of the afterlife followed. Gerrard Winstanley, a member of the 17th-century Digger sect, claimed (e.g., 1649) that heaven and hell were states of mind, and not physical locations. Although this view was not prevalent at that time, old conventions were nonetheless being challenged. Whereas hell was traditionally held to be located at the center of the earth, Tobias Swinden argued (1714) that this locale was too small for the multitudes that would be sent there, and suggested the sun as a site of more realistically large size. In the latter part of the 18th century, Porter says that the average 'man of science' would not have included heaven and hell in his mental survey of the universe (2000: 297). The question of an afterlife had not disappeared, however.

Discussions of heaven in the 18th century attempted functional as well as physical descriptions of the afterlife. William Assheton writes in 1703 that heaven will be structured according to the model of an earthly kingdom, with 'Laws and Statues, Governors and Subjects, and those of different Ranks, Orders, and Degrees' (1703: 58). Isaac Watts, as Porter (2004: 104) notes, contributed to this discussion, causing the popular opinion to move toward a more 'active … vision of heaven', where Christians might continue in service to God after death in official positions as '*Priests* in his Temple, and as *Kings*, or *Viceroys*, in his wide Dominions' (Watts 1722: 135). In one of his sermons, Watts stresses the importance of belief in the reality of heaven and hell:

> To believe that there is a Heaven of Glory far above the Clouds, where our
> Lord *Jesus Christ* has dwelt in his human Nature almost two thousand Years,
> and where ten Thousands of his blessed Saints and Angels are for ever enjoying
> divine Consolations; To maintain a firm Belief that there is a Reward for the
> Righteous laid up on high, while they are here trodden to the Dust; To believe
> there is a Hell, an unseen World of Misery and Torture, where damned Spirits
> are punished for their Rebellion against the great God, and shall for ever suffer
> the Weight of his Indignation; and to walk through this World with a holy
> Negligence and Contempt of it under the Influence of these future Invisibles,
> these eternal Joys and eternal Sorrows: This is a *Faith* that gives much Glory to
> God, while we live, and speak, and act, while we suffer and *endure, as seeing
> him who is invisible,* and firmly believing all the Joys and Terrors of another
> World, which are hidden from us by the Veil of Flesh and Blood. (Watts
> 1729: 282-283)

Additionally, Watts is convinced of the existence of 'a *local Heaven,* where the Body of our
Blessed *Saviour* is, and Enoch and Elijah, who went from this World and carried their
Bodies with them' (1733: 172). He is uncertain as to the location of this heaven in the
known universe, however:

> Whether this Heaven be one certain determined Palace among the Planets or
> near the Stars; or whether it be this solar System wherein we dwell, through all
> parts of which they pass swift as Sun-beams, and make this whole planetary
> World their Palace; these Things cannot yet be fully determined by us. I
> confess I much question whether the Range of human happy Beings extend
> thro' all the fixed Stars. (Watts 1733: 172)

Watts believes in the eventual resurrection of the body and reunification of believers
with Christ in heaven, but is less sure about the destination of the soul immediately after
death. The Protestant abolition of the doctrine of Purgatory had left a new unknown,
aggravated by the ongoing revelations of science:

> Some Persons have been very sollicitous to know how the Soul goes out of the
> Body when a good Man dies; how it passes through the Air and etherial
> Regions; and, leaving the Stars behind, how it soars up to the third Heaven.
> They are much at a Loss to tell how long 'tis a going this wondrous Journey,
> and in what Region of those upper Worlds its final Mansion is; especially since
> the new Philosophy has found those Regions to be so very vast that a Cannon
> Bullet would spend many Ages in travelling to the nearest Star, or from one
> Star to another. (Watts 1733: 171)

Watts is very conscious of the debate between the followers of Locke and Stillingfleet, and
attempts to apply his system of logic to the specifics. On the subject of whether the
resurrected body will comprise the same atoms as that which is buried, Watts appeals to the

Apostle Paul's comparison of the buried body to a planted seed.[215] As most of the seed disintegrates, leaving a very small part to form the basis of the new plant, so most of the body is lost. Watts says the only logical conclusion is that the resurrected body consists mainly of 'different Matter from that which was laid in the Grave':

> For when Bodies turn to Dust, this Dust or Earth grows up in Vegetation, and becomes the Body of Grass or Plants; Sheep and Oxen eat these Plants, and other Men eat the Sheep and Oxen; and thus the Particles of one Man's Body may frequently become the Parts of another Man's Body. (Watts 1733: 185-186)

The resurrection of every atom of each person's body at burial is therefore impossible. However, Watts reasons, 'so many of the same Particles of any Man's Body which were buried may go to constitute the new raised Body' in order for 'in some Sense the same Body [to be] raised which was buryed' (Watts 1733: 189).

Watts believes in a temporary, spiritual Paradise to which believers' souls will go immediately after death, as well as a literal, physical Kingdom of Heaven; a Christian's eventual destination after the body's resurrection and reunion with the soul. The embodied concepts of *travel* and *destination* are not strictly applicable to souls thus temporarily liberated from the flesh:

> … human Spirits which were united to Bodies, when they enter into a State of Separation, need not have any thing to do with a real proper Motion or Flight, or Change of Places. An imbodied Soul, (that is, a Soul acting in Concert with an animal Body) when it becomes a separate Soul (that is, a Soul acting in its own pure intellectual Capacity without a Body) does not need properly to alter its Place, but only its manner of thinking and acting, in order to be in Heaven and Hell, *i.e.* happy in the Presence of God, or miserable in the midst of Devils, acting and thinking without Bodies. (Watts 1733: 175)

Along with Watts, John Wesley anticipates the separation of body and soul after death and the blissful existence of the soul in Paradise, outside the constraints of matter and location. Wesley doubts the usefulness of arguing for heaven as either a location or a state of existence:

> Some writers make a distinction, which seems not improper. They speak of the essential part of heaven, and the accessory parts. … I do not know whether the usual question be well stated, "Is heaven a state, or a place?" There is no

---

215 See 1Cr 15:37-38.

> opposition between these two: it is both the one and the other. It is the place where God more immediately dwells with those saints who are in a glorified state. … Even in paradise, in the intermediate state between death and the resurrection, we shall learn more concerning these in an hour, than we could in an age, during our stay in the body. We cannot tell indeed how we shall then exist, or what kind of organs we shall have: the soul will not be encumbered with flesh and blood; but probably it will have some sort of ethereal vehicle, even before God clothes us "with our nobler house of empyrean light."
> (Wesley [1776], collected in 1827: 322)

The Wesley brothers placed more importance on direct experience of supernatural phenomena in general than those of the 'cult of Reason'. The importance to Methodism of 'inward witness', God's direct communication to the soul, has been discussed earlier in this dissertation (p. 87). The Wesleys also claimed some personal experience with the deceased, their father's house reportedly having been haunted by a Jacobite ghost.[216]

Like the Wesleys, although perhaps not to the same extreme, John Newton has his own opinion on the nearness of the afterlife to those still living:

> Where is heaven? Is it some millions of leagues from us, far beyond the sun and the fixed stars? What have immortal spirits to do with space or place? Who knows but a heaven-born soul, who is freed from the clog of this vile body, and filled with all the fulness of God, may pass as easily and quickly from one verge of the creation to the other, as our thoughts can change and fly from east to west, from the past to the future? Perhaps, even now, we live in the midst of this glorious assembly; heaven is there where our God and Saviour displays himself … Perhaps there is nothing but this thin partition of flesh and blood between us and those blessed spirits that are before the throne; if our eyes were open, we should see the mountains around us covered with chariots and horses of fire …[217] (Newton [1762], collected in 1824: 239)

Whether a physical location, a state of mind, or both, the chief bliss of heaven (or Paradise) is, for all these authors, enjoyment of God's presence. Questions about temporary disembodiment aside, the soul will be able to appreciate and worship God in any state. In any case, Watts notes (anticipating cognitive theory by nearly two and a half centuries), any attempt by the living to understand the particulars of the soul's condition and destination after death is bound to be limited by dependence upon embodied metaphors.

---

216 The Wesley family's extensive documentation of their experience of 'Old Jeffery' is collected by Southey (1820: 205-214).

217 This last image is a reference to 2Ki 6:17: 'And Elisha prayed, and said, LORD, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the LORD opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain [was] full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha' (KJV).

All discussion of souls' 'rising, and moving, and residing' is conducted in 'the local language that belongs to bodies':

> … when we speak of the *Places* and *Motions* of departed Souls, and yet conceive them as perfectly separate from all Matter, we talk perhaps but in a meer vulgar, figurative or improper Way, and in such Language as our Infancy and Prejudice borrow from sensible Objects round us, and not agreeable to the philosophical Nature and Reason of Things ; in which respect pure Spirits do not seem to be capable of confinement to a Place, or any proper local Motion to or from, it, because they have no Figure, Shape nor Dimensions. (Watts 1733: 174)

Death, the afterlife, and heaven are important topics in Christian literature, and are mentioned frequently. A search for the lexeme HEAVEN in the corpus of hymns used for this study resulted in 1321 hits. Although many of these are only passing references rather than direct treatments of the topic of the afterlife,[218] most do appeal to senses of *heaven* either as the saints' final reward or as the seat of God's power. In the corpus, death and heaven represent the end-point of the JOURNEY of life. Beyond this, they are often assigned to specific nodes from the source domain imagery. Heaven is usually described as being UP in relation to everything else: it can be located 'above the sky', or at the top of a hill. Often, a river, representing death, separates the living Christian from heaven. Most importantly for many of the hymns' authors, to reach heaven is to return home. Each of these images will be discussed in turn.

John Wesley's hymn 'How happy is the pilgrim's lot!' (WeJ179) tells of the writer's life-long search for a 'country in the skies'. This image is prevalent in the corpus: there are 30 occurrences of the phrase 'in the sky|skies', 39 of 'from the sky|skies', and 35 of 'to the sky|skies', most of which refer to the idea of heaven. The popularity of the word *sky* for beginning and ending hymns may hint at the importance of this image: the phrase *in the sky* (or *skies*) forms part of the final line of eight hymns, and the first or second line of four.[219] 'In the sky|skies' is used predominantly by Wesley, whose entries account for 22 of the 30 total. In most cases, this phrase refers to one of two salient biblical images. The first is from John 14:2, in which Jesus is speaking of his coming ascension, and from which the word *mansion* is taken:

---

218 E.g., metonymic substitutes for God ('cry to heaven', etc.), references to the sky in general, or descriptions of earthly experience ('a heav'n of bliss', 'showers of heav'nly rain', etc.).
219 Alternatively, this may only indicate the suitability of *sky* as a rhyming word.

> In my Father's house are many mansions: if [it were] not [so], I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. (KJV)

Newton and Watts, as well as Wesley, refer to this passage in their hymns—for Watts, his only use of the phrase *in the skies*:

2.1-1927   (Wat) When I can read my title clear To mansions in the skies, I bid farewell to every fear …

2.2-1078   (New) the christian pilgrim views By faith, his mansion in the skies; The sight his fainting strength renews …

2.3-1928   (New) … And gains them mansions in the skies.

2.4-1929   (New) … Already has prepared for me, A mansion in the skies.

2.5-1931   (Wes) And, when I fail on earth, secure A mansion in the skies.

2.6-1939   (Wes) Our glorious mansion in the sky Shall evermore endure

The authors of these hymns have combined Christ's MANSION image with the conventional HEAVEN IS UP schema, envisioning mansions situated above the clouds. The second type of reference is to 1 Thessalonians 4:17:

> Then we which are alive [and] remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. (KJV)

In this case, the sky is not necessarily a reference to heaven: the previous verse says that Jesus will first 'descend from heaven with a shout', and the dead will rise as far as the clouds; the sky will serve as a halfway-point for the meeting between heaven and earth. All seven occurrences of this phrase are in hymns by Charles Wesley:

2.7-930   he that in thy statutes treads Shall meet thee in the skies.

2.8-1932   "Ye dead, the Judge is come, Arise, and meet him in the sky, And meet your instant doom!"

2.9-1933   … lifts us up, To meet thee in the skies.

2.10-1934   … forth with joy to meet your Lord. Go, meet him in the sky, Your everlasting friend

VI. Further Discussion and Application: 2. From earth to heaven

    2.11-1937 … And meet our Captain in the skies.

    2.12-1942 … Ye soon shall meet him in the skies.

    2.13-1951 … With crowns of joy upon our heads, To meet him in the skies.

John Newton refers once to this event, using the King James phrase 'in the air', but other corpus authors seem not to have drawn as heavily upon this image as Wesley has done. The verse from 1 Thessalonians refers to those still alive at Christ's Second Coming, and Wesley's emphasis of this event may express a stronger sense of its imminence, although such an 'end-times' mentality has been a feature of many Christian communities from the beginning. Although these citations do not refer explicitly to heaven, the association of HEAVEN with the SKY is culturally strong, and the idea of meeting Christ in the sky, on the way to heaven, reinforces this association.

    'To' and 'from the sky|skies' appear in roughly equal proportion for all of the corpus authors. The phrase *to the skies,* interestingly, appears less likely to refer to heaven as the saints' final destination in earlier citations than in later ones. Richard Baxter and Henry Vaughan direct 'hymns' and 'sighs' to the sky, presumably reinforcing the idea that God is there, listening, but also possibly relating UP to INTENSITY. Watts also uses the skies as a receptor for emphatic (or loud) sounds:

    2.14-1980 (Bax) Let us together lift his name In sweet sounds to the Sky.
                        Sweet Hymns of Love come let us sing …

    2.15-1955 (Vau) She made the Earth their nurse, & tomb, Sigh to the sky, 'Til
                        to those sighes fetch'd from her womb Rain …

    2.16-1957 (Wat) … legions guard him home, And shout him welcome to the
                        skies[220]

Vaughan's example is obviously concerned with the water cycle: the 'sighs' are water vapor, eventually bringing rain, so the 'sky' in his poem is a literal one. Watts, likewise, includes several literal references to the sky, and seems interested in adding the flavors of science and nature to his hymns:

---

220 Watts' stanza appears to have inspired one by Cowper, with which it shares the final line:

Watts:	Cowper:
The rising God forsakes the tomb!	My soul is ravished at the thought!
The tomb in vain forbids his rise;	Methinks from earth I see him rise;
Cherubic legions guard him home,	Angels congratulate his lot,
And shout him welcome to the skies.	And shout him welcome to the skies!

VI. Further Discussion and Application: 2. From earth to heaven

> 2.17-1960   The lark mounts upward to the skies, And tunes her warbling throat

> 2.18-1962   … he lifts his nostrils high, And spouts the ocean to the sky.

> 2.19-1963   The clouds ascend, and bear A wat'ry treasure to the sky, And float
> on softer air.

Read in the context of hymns, these interactions of God's creation (larks, whales, and water) with the sky above them signal their praise of their creator, and recognition (in some sense) of his authority. Like Vaughan's example 2.15, the *sky* is literal, but an awareness is retained that God's domain lies in that direction.

In addition to the previous examples, Watts is also the earliest author in the corpus to relate a journey *to the sky* with the Christian's departure for heaven. Roughly half of his uses of *to the sky* refer to the afterlife or Christ's ascension, and an additional one refers to the resurrection and 'meeting in the air' discussed above (p. 308).

> 2.20-1956   from the dead he raised his Son, And called him to the sky

> 2.21-1959   Let heav'nly love prepare my soul, And call her to the skies, Where
> years of long salvation roll …

> 2.22-1961   … And no kind angel near your bed, To bear it to the skies.

> 2.23-1964   … When the last trumpet sound, And call the nations to the skies,
> From underneath the ground?

This image seems to have become much more the standard after Watts, and most uses of the phrase by Wesley, Newton, and Cowper are in reference to heaven or the resurrection:

> 2.24-1974   (Wes) … guide Of all that travel to the sky …

> 2.25-1978   (Wes) COME away to the skies, My beloved, arise …

> 2.26-1979   (Wes) COME, let us arise, And press to the skies; The summons
> obey …

> 2.27-1981   (Wes) … arise, And walk with our God, till we fly to the skies.

> 2.28-1983   (Wes) The cross on which he bows his head Shall lift us to the
> skies.

2.29-1966 (New) … dark to sense, 'tis right to faith, And leads us to the skies.

2.30-1970 (New) … wilt safely guard, And guide you to the skies.

2.31-1967 (Cow) And God shall take you to the skies, Embraced in everlasting arms.

2.32-1968 (Cow) We learn our lighter cross to bear, And hasten to the skies.

These examples, particularly Wesley's, emphasize a conception of the believer's ability or responsibility to 'walk' or 'fly' to heaven under his or her own power (albeit with necessary help from God), by continually living a devoted life. This shift in emphasis from Watts onward may reflect a parallel shift in Christian imagery in general: a closer association of HEAVEN with the SKY, and, after Wesley, a departure from Calvinism, increasing the believer's role in getting there.

However, Hoyles (1971: 248) has observed that between his first and subsequent drafts, Watts systematically replaced the word *sky* with *high*. Bishop's table of Watts' corrections (1962: xxxv-xliii) also notes the replacement of *sky*, in various hymns, with *Heav'n* (after the sixth edition), *upward*, and *Worlds on high* or *Worlds of Light*, as well as the removal of *sky* in some places entirely. An effect of Watts' effort to modernize his hymns and to remove unnecessarily visual elements, Hoyles also suggests that this undertaking coincides with the widespread acceptance of an understanding that Newtonian physics had 'abolished the sky' as an upper limit to human experience and knowledge. This understanding may have contributed to an increase in the acceptability of language describing personal efforts to 'press to the skies', correlated with a tendency to interpret the sky as more a symbolic than an actual location. Bishop's table does show that UPWARD directional imagery of the more general type (e.g., words like *up*, *high*, and *above*) was preserved across some revisions, and was in some cases added.

There are very few uses of the phrase *from the sky* by early authors in the corpus, although the later authors use it frequently. Three early citations come from the Scottish minister William Geddes, and one from John Mason, in contrast with 11 from Watts, 17 from Wesley, and seven from Newton. The first two citations from Geddes (2.33 and 2.34) are part of an extended biblical metaphor, casting Christ as the 'Sun of Righteousness'. This mapping calls for a 'sky' node in the source imagery, although the HEAVEN IS UP

mapping is also likely activated. The third example, 2.35, is the only early picture from these hymns, using that phrase, of Christ descending *from the sky*.

> 2.33-1985   … Sun of Righteousness draws near, fair Phoebus from the skies.
> O Shine upon my silly Soul, With warming beams …

> 2.34-1986   The Sun of Righteousness drawes near, With light and life down
> from the   skies …

> 2.35-1987   … Till my LORD from the sky With troopes of Angels fly

John Mason also uses the phrase once, in discussion of a hypothetical journey from heaven to earth:

> 2.36-1988   Needs Lazarus take a Journey from the sky, When wisdom at your
> Brethrens Gates doth cry …

These lines are in reference to Jesus' parable of Lazarus and the rich man (or 'Dives') in Luke 16:19-31. Lazarus, a poor man, dies and is carried away by the angels 'into Abraham's bosom'. The rich man also dies, and, in hell, asks Abraham to send Lazarus to warn his brothers 'lest they also come into this place of torment', but Lazarus cannot leave heaven, even if he should want to, because 'between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that [would come] from thence' (KJV).

By these results, earlier corpus authors seem to make less reference to a kingdom in the sky; if anything, the early authors tend to conceptualize the sky as a 'gulf' *between* heaven and the things below, as in the parable. 36 corpus results occur for the phrase 'above the * sky|skies',[221] and nine for 'beyond the * sky|skies'. Of the 44 total results, seven are from authors earlier than Watts, 18 are from Watts, and only 12 and five are from Wesley and Newton, respectively. Baxter provides four images of a heaven above the skies: the natural home of grace, the final destination of saints, and the domain of Christ.

> 2.37-2024   O happy Grace! which feeds above the skies! And causest Man
> above Himself to rise!

> 2.38-2065   … dust shall shortly rise, and sing God's Praise above the Starry
> Sky.

---

221 Where * represents zero or one word, included to allow modifiers of *sky.*

VI. Further Discussion and Application: 2. From earth to heaven

> 2.39-2066 My Day will all be Noon: Above the spangled Skies, Where never
>   shall be Night, Nor need of Sun …

> 2.40-2055 Yet Faith can see beyond the skies, Where now our Head in Glory
>   is

Baxter also cautions against the fruitless exaltation of 'fancy' without real basis for hope;
the corrupt mind reaches at heaven in vain:

> 2.41-2025 Thy soul now in a filthy channel lies, While fancy seems to soar
>   above the skies. Beauty will soon be stinking loathsom Earth …

Mason uses the sky as Vaughan, Baxter, and Watts have (p. 309) to convey the loudness or
emphasis of a sound:

> 2.42-2026 (Mas) hearken to my humble Cries, And let them sound above the
>   skies.

The context, however, makes clear that he is directing his cries to Christ, sitting above on
'Mercy's Throne'. Benjamin Keach's citation comes from a hymn in which Christ is
compared to an Eagle, in an extended metaphor:[222]

> Like to an Eagle thou dost mount,
> Or didst ascend on high,
> Not only up unto the Clouds,
> But far above the skie. (Kea759)

In this citation, there appears to be a boundary between the sky—the usual realm of birds
and clouds—and heaven, where Christ has ascended.

Watts appears to be writing during a period of transition. At least at a figurative
level, Watts still distinguishes between lower and higher divisions of the skies:

> Clouds and tempests are only found in the lower skies; the heavens above are
> ever bright and clear. Let your heart and hope dwell much in these serene
> regions; live as a stranger here on earth, but as a citizen of heaven, if you will
> maintain a soul at ease. (Watts 1753c: 551)

The division between heaven and the lower skies appears in Watts' hymns; the sentiment
cited above is echoed in example 2.43. Watts at times expresses this thought through a

---

222 Keach notes that this is inspired by Exd 19:4: 'I bore you on Eagles wings'.

more traditional model, with Christ rising up from the grave, then ascending through the clouds to heaven, as in example 2.44. The division is also expressed in a more modern form: where Baxter cautions against vain imaginings (example 2.41), Watts, in Enlightenment fashion, writes of exalted human reason (making sure to clarify its extreme limitation when compared to God's faculties) in example 2.45.

> 2.43-2046   Pure are the joys above the sky, And all the region peace …
>
> 2.44-2028   … from the grave did Christ arise, And lives to God above the skies.
>
> 2.45-2033   Our reason stretches all its wings, And climbs above the skies; But still how far beneath thy feet Our grov'lling reason lies!

Wesley, too, reserves a vision of these 'bright and clear' regions above the sky as suitable for poetic imagery in hymns:

> Where shall true believers go,
> When from the flesh they fly?
> Glorious joys ordained to know,
> They mount above the sky,
> To that bright celestial place;
> There they shall in raptures live,
> More than tongue can e'er express,
> Or heart can e'er conceive. (Wes782)

Wesley elsewhere creatively blends the image of this division in the sky with a metaphor portraying SINS and MERCIES as substances or items, which pile or grow up as they increase. This appeals to the primary metaphorical correlation MORE IS UP.[223] Sins may reach up to the sky, but forgiveness comes from even further above, and reaches past the boundary:

> My trespass was grown up to heaven;
> But far above the skies,
> In Christ abundantly forgiven,
> I see thy mercies rise. (Wes629)

Although the image of a heaven 'above the skies' does appear in Wesley's hymns, the distinction between *above* and *in* appears to be weakening. Wesley and Newton use both, but appear to prefer the latter, contrary to earlier practice.

---

223 See, e.g., Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 54).

As observed before (see p. 154), the hymns of the Shakers tend to offer a different interpretation from that of other writers. One hymn challenges other Christians' understanding of Christ's ascension and residence in a literal celestial mansion:

> They hear of his ascension,
> And up their fancies fly,
> And fix him in some region,
> Above the starry sky.
>
> The world can now be christians,
> And the Messiah own,
> When he is high exalted,
> On some majestic throne:
>
> Upon the name of Jesus,
> With great parade they call;
> But in his last appearing,
> They'll hate him worst of all. (Sha286)

Elsewhere, Calvin and Luther are ridiculed, along with their idea of heaven as a location; their theological 'ranges' criticized as unnecessary ramblings in space:

> Should hell's infernal legions rise,
> To drive me hence beyond the skies,
> I'll seek no other part of space,
> But keep in Christ, my hiding place.
>
> Beyond the stars let Calvin fly,
> And Luther soar above the sky,
> I covet not their ranges wide,
> While in the truth my soul can hide. (Sha512)

According to the hymn, the real 'hiding place' (the hymn's title) is in the true church, in direct communion with Christ: the place 'Between the Spirit and the Bride'. For the Shakers as for others, the degradation of the sky as a physical barrier and the apparently increasing likelihood of a non-corporeal heaven seems to contribute to a purely symbolic conception of the sky: reminiscent of God's kingdom, but probably not its actual location.

The image of the SKY is by far the strongest symbol for heaven used in Christian contexts. The word *heaven* has served to denote the sky, space, and the 'abode of God' since Old English, as discussed above, and these concepts have been conflated or related to various degrees since that time. Several other recurring images are frequently used in the

hymns to conceptualize heaven, however; of these, only a limited survey will be possible here. One common symbol is that of a hill, usually Zion. Hills and mountains in general play a central role in Christian tradition. The mountains of Moriah and Sinai were the sites of foundational Old Testament events, and Golgotha and Olives were important locations in the life of Christ.[224] Throughout the Bible, Zion features as a symbol of Jerusalem old and new, of Israel, and of God's blessing to his chosen people. The specific image of a ʜɪʟʟ, in contrast with the sᴋʏ, is thus not reserved as symbol for heaven, and also represents several other concepts in the corpus. When referring to heaven, the connection is usually made explicit by contextual cues: writers use adjectives like *celestial* or language evoking ʟɪɢʜᴛ and sᴋʏ imagery.

> 2.46-2078 (Wat) … High on a hill of dazzling light The King of glory …

> 2.47-2083 (Wes) We to our country come, To that celestial hill, The weary pilgrim's home, The new Jerusalem …

The specific image of Mount Zion occurs much more frequently in the corpus than that of a generic hill. The corpus contains 125 occurrences of *Zion* (or *Sion)*, compared with only 41 of *hill*. Although Zion is an actual mountain in Jerusalem, it is generally used metonymically in the Bible to represent Jerusalem or, more broadly, all of Israel. It is also widely interpreted in Christian tradition as a typological representation of heaven, after David's description of Zion as the 'city of our God' in Psalm 87. This interpretation is reinforced by the author of Hebrews:

> But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels (Hbr 12:22, KJV)

Watts and Newton both make the connection between this and the Zion of Psalm 87:

> 2.48-2081 (Wat) … not the thunder of that word Which God on Sinai spoke; But we are come to Zion's hill, The city of our God, Where milder words declare his will…

---

224 Christ's image of a 'city on a hill' from the Sermon on the Mount is also relevant. In addition to general applications of the phrase in the course of Christian teaching and worship, the image has been a fundamental aspect of the 'American dream' from the Puritans onward (starting with John Winthrop's 1630 sermon 'A Model of Christian Charity'). It continues to affect American international policy, and has memorably been cited in speeches by Presidents Kennedy and Reagan.

> 2.49-2087 (New) Not to Sinai's dreadful blaze, But to Zion's throne of grace,
> By a way marked out with blood …

Following this, there are also implications for the believer's future security. Watts' hymn continues two stanzas later, referring to Zion:

> Behold the blest assembly there
> Whose names are writ in heav'n!
> And God, the Judge of all, declares
> Their vilest sins forgiv'n. (Wat794)

The HILL image seems to be more easily incorporated into the LIFE IS A JOURNEY schema than the sky. Less imagination is required to bring a hypothetical traveler up a hill; no flying or 'drawing upward' is necessary. Consequently, whereas a heaven in the sky usually necessitates embarkation upon a new journey at death, a heaven on a hill often only entails one final stage of the same JOURNEY of LIFE. This is seen in John Mason's hymns, where the traveler, on his way to heaven, asks:

> 2.50-2071 (Mas) …shall I sing sweet Sions Song, On this side Sions hill?

In this schema, the pilgrim's position is on a path proceeding directly to heaven (as Mount Zion), and he or she will be able to walk all the way there:[225]

> 2.51-2077 (Wat) … would I walk with hope and zeal, Till I arrive at Zion's
> hill.

> 2.52-2083 (Wes) … We to our country come, To that celestial hill, The weary
> pilgrim's home, The new Jerusalem

Zion can even be seen from the path, as a mountain rising up ahead, providing a landmark for the traveler to face and travel towards:

> 2.53-2086 (Mas) I did repair to those Who Sion wards do often look …

> 2.54-2082 (Wes) … look beyond this vale of tears, To that celestial hill.
> Beyond the bounds of time and space …

> 2.55-2098 (Wes) COME, all whoe'er have set Your faces Zion-ward, In Jesus
> let us us meet …

---

225 Wat254 (p. 268) is exemplary in its use of this schema.

> 2.56-2089   (New) Come, set your faces Zion-ward, The sacred road enquire

> 2.57-2094   (Sha)   … while towards Zion he faces, No object behind will he see

The identification of Zion with heaven is sufficiently frequent in the hymns to be apprehended without extra contextual cues. The ideals and beliefs that have accumulated around the Zɪᴏɴ image are sometimes emphasized, and the importance of the ʜɪʟʟ image minimized, as shown in another unconventional usage from the Shakers. At the end of a hymn that earlier speaks of 'Mount Zion's glories', the mountain is used metonymically only in reference to the plains around it:

> 2.58-2092   (Sha)   … Come sing complete redemption, On Zion's blissful plains![226]

Another theme in portrayals of heaven is its position on the far side of a river or other body of water, representing death or a barrier between this life and the next. This body of water is often identified as the River Jordan, an image linked to those of Zion and Israel, as the last obstacle that the ancient Israelites encountered before finally entering the Promised Land.[227] The Jordan is also linked to the practice of baptism: it was the site of John the Baptist's ministry and his baptism of Jesus, and was also where Naaman the Syrian was sent to bathe by the prophet Elisha to be healed of his leprosy.[228] The conceptual links between Israel and the Kingdom of God; death, baptism, and the crossing of the Jordan; and physical and spiritual salvation are fully exploited by hymn writers from John Mason onwards:

> 2.59-2113   (Mas) … For me to die is best, Through Jordan's streams who would not dive To Land at Canaan's Rest?

> 2.60-2104   (Wes) Part of his host have crossed the flood, And part are crossing now. Ten thousand to their endless home This solemn moment fly

---

226 The concept of the New World as Zion or the promised land is also seen in later American history, in writings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. An 1844 hymn written by Parley P. Pratt contains the same image as used by the Shakers, applied to the beginnings of Mormonism in America: 'Twas truth first formed our band
and choir On Zion's western plains. (Whitney 1882)
227 Jos chapters 3-4. God parts the waters of the Jordan, allowing all of the Israelites to cross the river, which was at full flood.
228 See 2Ki 5.

2.61-2116 (Wes) … that I might at once go up! No more on this side Jordan
stop, But now the land possess …

2.62-404   (Wes) Bid Jordan's narrow stream divide, And bring us safe to
heaven

Wesley on some occasions uses a more generic image: an unspecified 'dark river', playing a role reminiscent of the river Styx in Greek mythology.

2.63-2101 (Wes) … And the dark river to be crossed at last.

2.64-2112 (Wes) … Though now divided by the stream, The narrow stream
of death

While admitting that is a cold and unpleasant experience, Isaac Watts reminds his readers that, unlike Styx, death for the Christian is nothing to fear, any more than the Jordan was to the ancient Israelites. One of his hymns, entitled 'A prospect of heaven makes death easy' (Wat68, first line, 'There is a land of pure delight') maintains an optimistic outlook despite 'timorous mortals' who fear to 'cross this narrow sea':

Sweet fields beyond the swelling flood
Stand dressed in living green:
So to the Jews old Canaan stood,
While Jordan rolled between.

…

Could we but climb where Moses stood,
And view the landscape o'er,
Not Jordan's stream, nor death's cold flood,
Should fright us from the shore. (Wat68)

Likewise, Mason, in a hymn of 'praise for holy baptism', recognizes death as an occasion for gladness, even blessing the river:

Blest above Streams is Jordan's Flood,
Which toucheth Canaans Shore.
I'll sing thy Praise in Jordan's Streams,
In Canaan evermore.

The final, and perhaps most poignant image of heaven is that of the weary traveler's home. The image is endemic to Christian language: the majority of the 230 corpus results

for the word *home* refer either to heaven or to the security of belief in Christ. It is found in probably the most enduring and well-known English hymn in the present day, Newton's 'Amazing Grace', inspired by the near destruction of his ship, the *Greyhound.*

> 'Tis grace has brought me safe thus far,
> And grace will lead me home.

Henry Vaughan, considering the importance of *home*, laments man's lack of 'root' in the present life:

> He knows he hath a home, but scarce knows where,
> He sayes it is so far
> That he hath quite forgot how to go there. (Vau525)

Images of displacement and straying resonate throughout narratives of the Bible and Christian tradition: Israel's wanderings in the desert, their exile to Babylon, the prodigal son, the lost sheep, and other biblical stories appeal to and reinforce a human need for purpose and sense of belonging. For Christians, the only remedy for this natural state of homelessness is that promised by Christ: a home in heaven.[229] This promise is taken as the resolution for extreme world-weariness, a recurring theme for all of the corpus authors. It is found as well in a poem by Isaac Watts Sr., which echoes the younger Watts' impatience with 'this wretched land':[230]

> Worn with the toils of fourscore years and five,
> A weary pilgrim, Lord, to thee I come:
> To beg supporting grace, Till I arrive
> At heaven, thy promis'd rest, my wish'd for home.
> Oh ! had I but some generous seraph's wing,
> There's nothing should prevail to keep me here;
> But with the morning lark I'd mount and sing,
> Till I had left earth's gloomy atmosphere. (Fountain 1978: 23)

In the hymns, home is a certainty, albeit one still far off. Watts happily extends Christ's promise to all hearers, and Wesley expresses his confidence in eventual arrival safe at home:

> 2.65-2124 (Wat) … And raise you to my heav'nly home. "They shall find rest
> that learn of me …

---

229 See Jhn 14:2.
230 See p. 268.

> 2.66-2125 (Wes) We soon shall recover our home, The City of saints shall appear …

For Newton, home was already 'in view', as expressed in line 2 of New261 (p. 283), and in the subtitle of another hymn (New262). Elsewhere, Newton challenges death directly, knowing that his present body is not a real home, but only a temporary dwelling:

> 2.67-2123 (New) And say, "Let death this house destroy, I have a heav'nly home!"

William Cowper's one reference to home in the *Olney Hymns* is one of slightly faltering trust: though feeling 'forsaken and alone', he appeals to God at 'mercy's door':

> There, till the dear Deliv'rer come,
> I'll wait with humble prayer
> And when he calls his exile home,
> The Lord, shall find me there.

Boulger observes, however, the 'numerous comparisons' made by Cowper in the *Olney Hymns* 'of the lost soul to shipwreck, drowning, being cast away' (1980: 319). Later in life, it is in these terms that Cowper expresses his final despair, most notably in the opening lines of his poem *The Castaway*. The protagonist is deprived eternally of any prospect of safe return, stripped even of his temporary shipboard home:

> Obscurest night ! involv'd the sky ;
>   Th' Atlantic billows roar'd ;
> When such a destin'd wretch as I,
>   Wash'd headlong from on board,
> Of friends, of hope, of all bereft,
> His floating home for ever left. ([1799], published in Hayley 1803: 214)

The Christian journey, like many, is defined by its terminus. All that transpires during the course of travel is evaluated as either a help or a hindrance in the process of 'getting there'. As illustrated in the hymns, the cohesiveness of the JOURNEY metaphor is partly dependent on the aptitude (if not always the logic) of the poetic imagery in relating the waypoints to the journey's end: heaven is often presented as existing in the sky; so life is, to a large degree, an attempt to climb higher, and towards the light. According to the received schema, the believer has been provided with citizenship in heaven, his or her true and eternal home; consequently, Christians are 'strangers and pilgrims' on earth,[231] merely

---

231 See 1Pe 2:11.

traveling through the land, ideally neither expecting nor desiring a sense of permanence in this life. As seen in the discussions above, the JOURNEY metaphor is central to English hymnody, and to Christian literature in general. The generic-level PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS metaphor, aligning with the basic SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, is as central to biblical imagery as it is to all aspects of life, and is reflected throughout the hymns. At the specific level, travel for Christians is necessitated by their displacement, and their PURPOSE, Jesus' promise of a home in heaven, provides a DESTINATION. For the hymn writer, though, as well as for the critic and analyst, there is more to the journey than anticipation of its end: the joy, turbulence, and uncertainty of life provide for plenty of interesting scenery along the way.

VII Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the effect and function of metaphor in human culture, as a central element of the ideas and beliefs that shape history. The primary effort of this inquiry has been the documentation and description of semantic developments in English religious language and literature during the period 1650–1800; particularly of the use of elements of the lexical category of journeying in Christian hymns. Prominent images within the TRAVEL schema have included various types of upward and forward movement, and aids and obstacles to travel, as well as the more specialized images of displacement and homecoming. A goal of this dissertation has been to explore the intersection of psychology, philosophy, linguistics, and history, and to observe the position metaphor occupies within this overlap. Metaphors have a strong effect on cultural paradigms and philosophies: metaphor lies behind the changes in paradigm that guide literature and history.

Thorough consideration of this topic has required a discussion of the nature and schematic structure specifically of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and of metaphor in general. Chapter II of this dissertation has discussed the developments in linguistics that have led to current cognitive models of metaphor, and has compared the specific treatment by several authors of TRAVEL-related metaphorical imagery. Chapter III has situated this theoretical discussion in the context of Enlightened thought, outlining the views on metaphor of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophers and scientists, as well as of the specific hymn writers discussed in depth by this dissertation: Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, John Newton, and William Cowper. Synchronic and diachronic variations in metaphorical imagery have been discussed as results of cultural advances in the sciences and philosophy, and as indicators of variations in personal and cultural beliefs and ideals.

Particular attention has been paid to the effects of the 'new science' and Enlightenment ideals on early modern religious language, including applications of the imagery of 'light' within a travel context, portrayals of heaven and hell as concrete locations, and varying depictions of the soul in relation to life and the afterlife. Related themes discussed in this dissertation include portrayals of the relationship between soul and body, and images of the soul as an embodied entity; for instance, images of a walking soul or symbolic representations of the soul as a bird. The continuing presence of this imagery in the hymns illustrates the lasting strength of certain traditional and folk systems

within changing societies. The implications of these findings for present day language and systems have yet to be thoroughly considered. A study of the differences and similarities in systematic use of TRAVEL imagery in modern and earlier religious settings might describe the impact of archaic travel concepts upon modern usage, and show whether these systems differ from travel language in secular contexts.

The analytical methods used in Chapters V and VI of this dissertation represent one possible approach to the study of metaphor in historical texts. The current study has attempted to demonstrate application of the cognitivist account of metaphor in the field of historical literary analysis, combining the methods of several cognitive linguistic studies conducted in the past three decades. The word studies of specific elements of travel terminology in the 17th- and 18th-century Christian community (Chapter V) highlight the ingrained conceptual links between travel and our concepts of life, death, existence, time, thought, and speech. These studies draw from the valuable precedents set by Sweetser (1990) and Allan (2008), who have demonstrated, through etymological and historical surveys of several semantic and grammatical categories, some of the the effects of cognitive grounding in language change on a larger historical scale. They also take into consideration the suggestions of Deignan (2005) for approaching metaphor in historical corpora. The discussions of hymns in Chapter V, Section 7, are patterned on those of Lakoff and Turner (1989); they provide in-depth analysis of several authors' systematic use of extended metaphorical schemata as structural frameworks for conveyance of abstract concepts in complete hymns, drawing from a gestalt of conventional, personal, and classical imagery. Linguistic, literary, and cultural insights from the preceding discussions are applied in Chapter VI: Section 1 explores the implications of historical data for cognitive views of metaphor, and Section 2 discusses the intersection of the JOURNEY schema with eighteenth-century Christian view of life and the afterlife.

Further studies combining these models might involve a widening of either temporal or social scope; larger samples and comparisons of broader and more varied communities would provide a greater comprehension of the historical development of words and ideas. The issue of cross-cultural variation in metaphor has been addressed, prominently by Kövecses (2005) and Wierzbicka (1992), but further research into variation along other spectra is needed: the unique applications of travel imagery by the Shakers illustrates that significant metaphor variation occurs even between subgroups in a society that shares

higher-level metaphors. Diachronic and cross-genre comparisons are also of importance; with respect to this study, future projects might include comparison of travel language from the current corpus of hymns with that of hymns from the 19th century onwards, or with other popular contemporary genres, such as folk songs.

The existence of several highly popular children's hymnals within the period presented another topic of interest; regretfully, constraints of time and space necessitated their omission from this study. These works represent another genre of spiritual writing upon which considerable poetic effort was spent, and a future project might examine applications of metaphor in poetry intended for the instruction and edification of children, and their reflections upon that society. Presentations of TRAVEL imagery as analogs for spiritual development and personal discovery continued to increase in saliency through the decades after 1800, with travel, especially walking, becoming an important component of Romanticism. Research in other contexts like sermons, essays or novels written during and after the period currently under investigation, would also contribute to a more complete understanding of the historical role of travel imagery in western culture.

The combined use of a plaintext corpus and a database, like those compiled during this study, presents both advantages and disadvantages in a study of textual metaphors. One possible alternative to this approach might be a tagged corpus, where linguistic data are stored within the textual corpus itself. For a study similar to this dissertation, this method would involve markup of the corpus files with source and target node identifications, etc., appended to each line or token of text. At this time, however, a database approach provides greater versatility and interconnectedness of data, and facilitates organization of greater amounts of secondary material in one location. It also improves consistency in application and adjustment of annotation methods which require further development and refining; for example, a source domain label that has been deemed unnecessarily specific, ambiguous, or unsystematic may be easily replaced throughout the database with one that is more appropriate. In the final stages of data collection and analysis, a database simplifies generation of automatic reports, for example, lists of notes, annotations, or categories. A complete separation of corpus from database is not ideal, however, and future studies of this kind might implement greater integration between the two.

VII. Conclusion

Another issue with the current study might be the token-based nature of the discussions in Chapter V. Quantitative analysis of a poetic corpus based solely on individual tokens might produce skewed statistical results, placing more emphasis on the domains for which more individual words are used, or, in the case of words like *high* and *sky,* on words that simply rhyme well. While this study maintains the basis of directional prepositions like *to* and *from* in concrete experience, the frequency with which they occur in the corpus likely has more to do with their status as grammatical words than with the conceptual salience of their underlying metaphors in that particular genre. Although the effort of this dissertation has been primarily in a qualitative direction, a future, more quantitative analysis would be valuable in exploring the claims made here; such an analysis would require a rethinking of the current methodology and database structure.

This dissertation has raised several issues regarding current systems for understanding and cataloging meaning and conceptual relatedness, at both the lexicographic and abstract semantic levels. The OED*,* as stated on its website, has up to now been 'the accepted authority on the evolution of the English language over the last millennium'. It is presented as 'an unsurpassed guide to the meaning, history, and pronunciation of over half a million words, both present and past' (OED 2009). The system of organization used in the OED is designed to trace the historical development of individual words, showing how innovations in pronunciation, orthography, and meaning have 'branched' off from older forms. This taxonomic system of cataloging etymological progress, with its imagery of roots, primary meanings, and branches, is based on a metaphor endemic to historical discourse: HISTORY IS A TREE. The OED arranges its citations chronologically according to changes in usage and meaning, showing subsequent developments as further 'branches'. This structure, while invaluable for visualizing the diachronic connectedness of related manifestations of language, does not always present a complete picture. As discussed in various places throughout this dissertation, the organizational structure of the OED has the potential at times to separate senses that show signs of continuing interaction with each other; this applies particularly to abstract concepts and their underlying metaphors, but also to concepts that are differentiated mainly syntactically (e.g., transitive and intransitive, or verbal and nominal uses with semantically similar senses). The approach taken by the HTE/HTOED in semantically categorizing the diachronic OED data will doubtless prove invaluable in tracing the conceptual aspects of the etymological development of English. Although the currently available electronic

VII. Conclusion

version prevents full access to the thesaurus' organizational structure, the print version of the HTOED (as well as future electronic versions of the HTE) will provide an unprecedented, comprehensive historical view of conceptual relatedness in English.

This dissertation has also raised questions about the universality and embodied nature of metaphor as hypothesized in CMT. Many of the culturally conventional metaphorical images that occur in the corpus of hymns are linked to specific instances of biblical imagery. Early modern Christian conceptions of life and good behavior in terms of a righteous 'walk', or of an afterlife spent in a home above the clouds, correspond directly with ancient tenets of Judeo-Christian tradition. Accounts of CMT have generally argued that such experientially basic conceptual metaphors as PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and GOOD IS UP are universal to human experience. The existence of these metaphors in ancient texts can be taken as evidence of conceptual universality of some metaphors; however, comparison of these ancient texts with those stemming from belief systems outside the Judeo-Christian tradition would provide a historically-based idea of which metaphors might be truly universal, and which can be attributed to specific cultural heritage.

Cognitivists like Lakoff, arguing for universality, have held that metaphorical understanding has its basis in direct bodily experience. The discussion of the etymology of the lexeme RUN in Chapter V, Section 5 of this dissertation calls into question the universal primacy of embodied over observational experience, suggesting that perception of external events, such as the movement of a river, might in some cases provide a basis for description of embodied experiences, such as running. Discussion of the language used in reference to concepts that are simultaneously physical and mental[232] has further complicated the issue of embodiment. The cognitive approach has made significant advances in understanding the interconnectedness of mind and body; most recently, work by Grady et al. has questioned the terminology of 'concrete to abstract' mappings originally proposed by CMT.[233] As suggested by the work of Johnson (e.g., 1999), this terminology may reinforce a dualistic separation of mental and physical actions, where the idea of a continuum or 'conflation' might be more fitting. For example, whereas in this dissertation, spatial-temporal correlations are generally treated as metaphorical mappings,[234] one high-level HTOED heading, 'Existence in time and space' (01.05), seems to conflate the TIME and

---

232 See discussion of the words *world* (p. 270) and *trace* (276).
233 See Chapter II, Section 1.4.
234 See Ch. II, Section 2.2.

SPACE domains, rather than reflecting a metaphorical view of the concept of existence. While the specific examples discussed in this dissertation do not present a challenge to the concept of embodiment or cognitive theory in general (upon both of which a large part of this dissertation is indeed based), etymologically-focused discussions of individual lexemes, especially those representative of experientially basic concepts, may clarify the nature of embodiment and its relationship to metaphor.

The origins and life-cycles of metaphors are another area meriting further research. Barcelona observes the frequent basis of metaphor in metonymy, and suggests that the distinction between the two is 'scalar' rather than absolute (2000b: 16). Frequent observation in the corpus of metonymically inspired complex metaphors lends support to this explanation, as do discussions of typological representation, where a real or historical entity also stands for an abstract truth. Typological representations combine qualities of metaphor and synecdoche, apparently occupying a middle ground between the two, and blending elements of two domains into one space.[235] An attempt has also been made in this dissertation to work toward a clarification of the differences between metaphor 'death', dormancy, and conventionalization. This study has shown how some lexemes, like WAY and PASS, have developed highly conventionalized senses while retaining metaphorical links with their underlying figurative (in this case, TRAVEL) imagery. These underlying metaphors continue to affect how and in what contexts the words are used, suggesting that the metaphors remain too active to be described as 'dead' (see p. 17). Following Goatly and Deignan,[236] I have recognized differing degrees of 'metaphoricity' which may be used in diachronic discussions of metaphor, in order to differentiate between historical, dormant, conventionalized, and active instances.

There were several advantages to the use of hymns as corpus material for this study. The figurative language in hymns is usually selected both for accessibility and adherence to poetic aesthetics. Hymns, as a type of extended proverb, present the reader with systematic applications of innovative as well as conventional metaphor that is intended to be interpreted in specific ways by the reader. In addition, hymns, as a genre specialized to spiritual topics, simplify the metaphor identification process. Within a corpus representing a wide variety of textual types and genres, the results of nearly any concordance search would be expected to include an unpredictable mixture of literal and metaphorical usages,

---

235 See discussion of blending and typology, Ch. 2, Section 1.6.
236 See Deignan (2005: 39) and discussion in Chapter II, Section 1.7.

as well as a large amount of conventionalized or dormant metaphors. A corpus of hymns and devotional poetry, however, is much less likely to use images from certain domains literally. The corpus of hymns contains some literal uses of travel language, mostly in descriptions of biblical accounts; however, a majority of items from the lexical category of journeying are used in reference to non-sensory concepts. This includes metaphorical usages falling at all points on a continuum between innovative and fully conventionalized. The tendency of context to affect selection and interpretation of imagery can usefully be exploited in studies of conceptual metaphor, either in specific historical and cultural settings, or more generally, by comparison of multiple specialized corpora.

The basic TRAVEL schema is largely consistent across the corpus used for this study, structured according to the primary path schema, with the 'world'—representing the secular, human experience of life on earth—as a source; Christianity, Christ, or the Christian life as a path; and Heaven as a goal. The person living a life is a traveler, and meets other travelers along the way. There is similar consistency in many specific subordinate elements (e.g., heaven is consistently represented as a point at the end of the journey, at a higher altitude than the traveler's current position; and death is an obstacle—frequently a body of water) and variation in others. Variations are present in usage from author to author, or from tradition to tradition; although sometimes merely representative of personal preference on the part of individual hymn authors, some of these differences seem to reflect distinguishing tenets or emphases of the philosophies represented by those authors. Elements of source domain imagery sometimes hint at Methodism or Calvinism; the latter often despite Isaac Watts' attempts to normalize his hymns for universal Christian use. The Shakers' applications of travel imagery in the *Millennial Praises* serve to distinguish them from more standard Christian philosophies of the time.

Special attention has been given to Isaac Watts as a figure who was especially concerned with the use of language and scientific imagery in Christian literature. Watts was influential in subsequent development of Christian philosophical paradigms, partly through his instructional writings, but largely through the legacy of his hymns and versifications of the Psalms. Watts wrote during a period of religious and stylistic transition,[237] and contributed to the establishment of hymns as an acceptable form of worship in the English church. Watts' effects upon early British Israelism have been

---

237 See Boulger (1980: 262-297).

pointed out by Hull (2005), who argues that Watts' regular identification of Britain with Israel in his psalms and hymns contributed to 18th- and 19th-century British attitudes toward foreign policy and Empire. Watts' use of Zion imagery is discussed above,[238] and illustrates further possible systematic links in Watts' poetry between Christianity, salvation, and Britishness.

The metaphorical imagery that appears in the hymns represents a specific case of a practice crucial to religious traditions in general. Watts' attempt to write in 'sunk' language, using common images as a theological aid to the common man, reflects the practices of Jesus, whose frequent parables and analogies taught abstract lessons through creative images, dealing with everyday scenarios: farming, fishing, walking, working, and eating. Some apparent universals exist: throughout the Bible, sin occurs in darkness, causing people to stumble, and leading them downward into pits and traps. Good things are bright, clear, and exalted: the 'most high' God himself is repeatedly described in these terms: 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all' (1Jo 1:5b, KJV). The common saliency of the concept of *travel* is likewise a theme of spiritual language across many cultures. Differences in the specific imagery used from tradition to tradition, or from age to age, confirm the centrality of travel metaphors as structural schemata for understandings of life and spirituality, as well as providing insight into cross-cultural variation across both synchronic and diachronic dimensions.

In Christian literature, life and death are presented as a journey, or journeys, in which progress toward the goal is both physical and spiritual: the first thing Jesus said to his disciples Andrew and Peter was 'follow me'. The course of life as seen in the Christian tradition, characterized by John Bunyan as a *Pilgrim's Progress*, begins with citizenship in an unfriendly and dangerous land, exchanged for a new allegiance to an unseen kingdom, both 'at hand' and yet to come. The authors discussed in this dissertation use themes of journeying from the Bible and other ancient texts, from conventional or received tradition, and from their own innovation; combining, extending, and exploring the old systems via personal experience and imagination. Isaac Watts creatively blends the images of walking, running, and sailing:

> It is my hearty desire for you, that your faith may ride out the storms of temptation, and the anchor of your hope may hold, being fixed within the veil.

---

238 See p. 316.

VII. Conclusion

> There sits Jesus our forerunner, who sailed over this rough sea before us, and
> has given us a chart, even his word, where the shelves and rocks, the fierce
> currents and dangers, are well described, and he is our pilot, and will conduct
> us to the shores of happiness. I am persuaded, that in a future state we shall
> take a sweet review of those scenes of providence, which have been involved
> in the thickest darkness, and trace those footsteps of God when he walked with
> us through the deepest waters. (Fountain 1978: 66)

For Watts, the symbols, although at times exciting or even miraculous, are secondary to the truth. The inconsistencies in imagery point to the consistency of the message. In the hymns, walking, running, and sailing are all symbols for a motion of the spirit. In spite of changing terrain, the journey is the same: one path leads safely home.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

An American Lady (1795): *The Hapless Orphan, Or, Innocent Victim of Revenge.* Dublin: P. Wogan, P. Byrne, and J. Rice. Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=3dk0AAAAMAAJ [Accessed May 7, 2009].

Assheton, W. (1703): *A Vindication of the Immorality of the Soul, and a Future State.* London: B. Aylmer. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CB131017394&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed November 16, 2010].

Baxter, R. (1681a): *A Third Defence of the Cause of Peace.* London: Jacob Sampson. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=12625933&FILE=../session/1190302085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed September 21, 2010].

Baxter, R. (1681b): *Poetical Fragments: Heart-Imployment With God and it Self.* London: B. Simmons. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12319995 [Accessed June 5, 2008].

Baxter, R. (1683): *Additions to the Poetical Fragments of Rich. Baxter.* London: B. Simmons. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:9523472 [Accessed June 5, 2008].

Baxter, R. (1696a): *Monthly Preparations for the Holy Communion.* London: Tho. Parkhurst. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12319856 [Accessed June 5, 2008].

Baxter, R. (1696b): *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ.* London: T. Parkhurst. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=12393584&FILE=../session/1190302085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed September 20, 2010].

Bell, J. (1790): *Bell's Classical Arrangement of Fugitive Poetry.* London: John Bell. Vol. 12.

Berkeley, G. (1732): *Alciphron: or, the Minute Philosopher.* London: J. Tonson. (ECCO), Vol. 1:2, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW120054266&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 21, 2010].

Blair, H. (1792): *Sermons.* Boston: I. Thomas & E.T. Andrews. Vol. 1:2, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=7fYLAAAAYAAJ [Accessed May 7, 2009].

Bibliography

Bolingbroke, H.S.J.V. (1754): *The Works of the Late Right Honorable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.* London: David Mallet. (ECCO), Vol. 5:5, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW105501639&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel= FASCIMILE [Accessed September 21, 2010].

Brown, J. (1849): *An English Grammar.* Philadelphia: J.T. Lange. Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=38VEAAAAIAAJ [Accessed June 1, 2009].

Calvin, J. (1577): *The Sermons of M. Iohn Caluin, Vpon the Epistle of S. Paule too the Ephesians*. London: Thomas Dawson. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99857535 [Accessed April 16, 2009].

Cooper, W.O. (1943): *Looking For A City* [song]. Public Domain.

Cowper, W.; Malpas, Simon (ed.) (2000): *The Centenary Letters*. Manchester: Carcanet Press Limited.

Crow, S. (1997): *Everyday is a Winding Road*. A&M.Dylan, B. (1965): *Like a Rolling Stone*. Columbia.

Dobell, J. & Watts, I. (1810): *A New Selection of Seven Hundred Evangelical Hymns*. Morris-Town: Peter A. Johnson.

Doddridge, P. & Orton, J. (1755): *Hymns Founded on Various Texts in the Holy Scriptures.* London: J. Waugh and W. Fenner. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW120722328&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel= FASCIMILE [Accessed September 22, 2010].

Doddridge, P. & Orton, J. (1825): *Hymns, Founded on Various Texts in the Holy Scriptures*. London: William Baynes and Son. Available at: http://www.archive.org/details/hymnsfoundedonv00ortogoog [Accessed February 19, 2009].

Dryden, J. (1808): *The Works of John Dryden.* London: James Ballantyne and co. Vol. 5, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=KPoOAAAAYAAJ [Accessed November 28, 2008].

Elphinston, J. (1791): *Forty Years' Correspondence Between Geniusses ov Boath Sexes, and James Elphinston.* London: W. Ritchardson. Vol. 4:6, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=-qMIAAAAQAAJ [Accessed May 5, 2009].

Fox, G., Penn, W. & Fox, M.A.F. (1694): *A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry, of that Ancient, Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, George Fox.* London: W. Phillips. Vol. 2:2, Available at: http://books.google.com/books? id=NicBAAAAQAAJ [Accessed April 15, 2009].

Bibliography

Franklin, B. (1793): *Works of the Late Doctor Benjamin Franklin: Consisting of His Life Written by Himself : together with Essays, Humorous, Moral & Literary, Chiefly in the Manner of the Spectator*. London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson. (ECCO), Vol. 1:2, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW124704978&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed December 7, 2010].

Garrard, W. (1587): *The Arte of Warre*. London: Roger Warde. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000998414290000 [Accessed June 16, 2009].

Geddes, W. (1683): *The Saints Recreation*. Edinburgh: David Lindsay, Mr. James Kniblo, Josua Van Solingen and John Colmar. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:16438963 [Accessed June 5, 2008].

Greatheed, S. (1800): *A Practical Improvement of the Divine Counsel and Conduct, Attempted in a Sermon, Occasiond by the Decease of William Cowper Esq.* London: J. Wakefield. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW123279482&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 15, 2010].

Harris, J. (1751): *Hermes: Or, A Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Language and Universal Grammar*. London: J. Nourse and P. Vaillant.

Hayley, W. (1803): *The Life, and Posthumous Writings, of William Cowper, Esqr.* Chichester: J. Johnson. Vol. 2:5, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=3bgJAAAAQAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s [Accessed November 17, 2010].

Henry, M. (1806): *An Exposition of All the Books of the Old and New Testaments.* London: W. Baynes. Vol. 5:6, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=JQE-AAAAcAAJ [Accessed November 3, 2010].

Hobbes, T. (1651): *Leviathan, or, The Matter, Forme, and Power of a Common Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civil*. London: Andrew Crooke. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=12165813&FILE=../session/1190302085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed August 31, 2010].

Jennings, D. (1749): *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Late Reverend Isaac Watts, D.D. Preached to the Church of Which He Was Pastor. December 11, 1748.* London: J. Oswald. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW119826534&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 9, 2010].

Bibliography

Johnson, S. (1793): *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets.* A new edition, corrected. London: J. Buckland. (ECCO), Vol. 4:4, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW112644659&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 9, 2010].

Keach, B. (1691): *Spiritual Melody*. London: John Hancock. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88- 2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99830506 [Accessed June 5, 2008].

Keble, J. (1837): The Christian Year. 16. ed. Oxford: J. H. Parker. Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=2XwvAAAAMAAJ.

Kessell, A. (1787): *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. Falmouth: E. Elliot. (ECCO), Available at: http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO? srchtp=b&c=1&docNum=CW119343427&ste=11 [Accessed April 16, 2009].

Locke, J. (1690): *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*. London: Thomas Basset. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec? SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=12746521&FILE=../session/119030 2085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DI SPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed August 30, 2010].

Locke, J. (1693): *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. London: A. and J. Churchill. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec? SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=13719054&FILE=../session/119030 2085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DI SPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed August 27, 2010].

Locke, J. (1695): *The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures.* London: Awnsham. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec? SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=12364234&FILE=../session/119030 2085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DI SPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed September 3, 2010].

Locke, J. (1697): *Mr. Locke's Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer to His Letter Concerning Some Passages Relating to Mr. Locke's Essay of Humane Understanding, in a Late Discourse of His Lordships, in Vindication of the Trinity*. London: A. and J. Churchill. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec? SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=12326006&FILE=../session/119030 2085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DI SPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed September 2, 2010].

Locke, J. (1706): *Posthumous Works of Mr. John Locke*. London: A. and J. Churchill. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW119184608&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 1, 2010].

Bibliography

Mason, J. (1699): *Spiritual Songs*. London: Tho. Parkhurst. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99829304 [Accessed June 5, 2008].

Mason, J. & Shepard, T. (1696): *Penitential Cries*. London: Tho. Parkhurst. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99832729 [Accessed June 5, 2008].

Mason, W. (1765): *A Spiritual Treasury, for the Children of God*. London: M. Lewis. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW118705283&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed October 19, 2010].

McGraw, H., Hamrick, R., Ivey, D. et al. (1991): *The Sacred Harp*. Bremen, Ga.: Sacred Harp Publishing Company, Incorporated. Available at: http://fasola.org/indexes/1991/?v=pagenum [Accessed April 9, 2009].

Milner, T. (1845): *The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D. D.* London: Thomas Richardson and Son. Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=23g4ZyoYMOsC [Accessed September 20, 2010].

Milton, J. (1673): *Poems, &c. Upon Several Occasions Both English and Latin, &c.* London: Tho. Dring. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=24114767&FILE=../session/1190302085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed September 20, 2010].

Miss B (1781): *Letter CLXV*. Arminian Magazine. (4), pp. 333-336.

Newton, J. (1779): *Olney Hymns, in Three Books.* London: W. Oliver. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW119020651&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 14, 2010].

Newton, J. (1798): *Motives to Humiliation and Praise*. London: J. Johnson. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW118037311&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 15, 2010].

Newton, J. (1824): *The Works of the Rev. John Newton, Late Rector of the United Parishes of St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Mary Woolchurch Haw, London.* New Haven: N. Whiting.

Newton, J. (1825): *The Aged Pilgrim's Triumph Over Sin and the Grave: Illustrated in a Series of Letters Never Before Published.* 2. ed. New York: Wilder & Campbell.

Bibliography

Orme, W. (1830): The Life and Times of Richard Baxter. *The Practical Works of Richard Baxter: with a Life of the Author and a critical examination of his writings.* London: James Duncan. Vol. 1:23.

Page, W. ed. (1896): *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (Historical Manuscripts Commission), Vol. 3:3, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=8_ELAQAAIAAJ [Accessed September 20, 2010].

Parker, S. (1666): *A Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie.* Oxford: Richard Davis. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl? ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12282286 [Accessed September 2, 2010].

Priestley, J. (1768): *The Rudiments of English Grammar: Adapted to the Use of Schools.* London: T. Becket and PA De Hondt, and J. Johnson. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW110997649&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed November 24, 2010].

Scudder, H. (1627): *The Christian[s] Daily VValke in Holy Securitie and Peace.* London: I. Dawson. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl? ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99836335 [Accessed April 17, 2009].

Smart, C. (1765): *Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England. A Translation of the Psalms of David, Attempted in the Spirit of Christianity, and Adapted to the Divine Service.* London--Cambridge: C. Bathurst. (Literature Online), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl/openurl? ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:lion&rft_id=xri:lion:ft:po:Z000487856:0 [Accessed September 23, 2010].

Smith, J. (1660): *Select Discourses.* London: W. Morden. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec? SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=12727464&FILE=../session/119030 2085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DI SPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed September 3, 2010].

Southey, R. (1820): *The Life of Wesley*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.

Southey, R. ed. (1836): *The Works of William Cowper, Esq.* London: Baldwin and Cradock. Vol. 1, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=LnrC3SVcGtUC [Accessed November 19, 2008].

Sternhold, T. & Hopkins, I. (1565): *The Whole Booke of Psalms, Collected Into English Meter*. London: John Day. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:259710157 [Accessed December 3, 2010].

Bibliography

Stillingfleet, E. (1698): *The bishop of Worcester's Answer to Mr. Locke's Second Letter.* London: Henry Mortlock. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12185882 [Accessed November 16, 2010].

Story, G. (1837): Mr. George Story. *The Experience of Several Eminent Methodist Preachers.* 3. ed. New York: T. Mason and G. Lane. pp. 204-220, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=re3-cRSk2_gC [Accessed October 25, 2010].

Swinden, T. (1714): *An Enquiry Into the Nature and Place of Hell.* London: W. Taylor. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CB131649408&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed November 16, 2010].

The Edgar Winter Group (1972): *Free Ride*. Epic.

Toplady, A. (1794): *The Works of Augustus Toplady, A. B.* London: W.Row. Vol. 5:6, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=ybYOAAAAIAAJ [Accessed September 20, 2010].

Vaughan, H. (1650): *Silex Scintillans.* London: H. Blunden. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12495165 [Accessed June 5, 2008].

Watts, I. (1706): *Horæ Lyricæ. Poems, Chiefly of the Lyric Kind.* London: John Lawrence. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW112026958&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 13, 2010].

Watts, I. (1707): *Hymns and Spiritual Songs.* 1. ed. London: John Lawrence. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW121000378&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed August 25, 2010].

Watts, I. (1709a): *Horæ Lyricæ. Poems Chiefly of the Lyric Kind.* 2. ed. London: N. Cliff. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW110272883&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 13, 2010].

Watts, I. (1709b): *Hymns and Spiritual Songs.* 2. ed. London: John Lawrence. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW122674022&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 10, 2010].

Watts, I. (1709c): *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs.* Print basis unspecified. Available at: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/watts/psalmshymns.html [Accessed February 24, 2008].

Bibliography

Watts, I. (1715): *A Guide to Prayer.* London: Emanuel Matthews. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW118849644&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 10, 2010].

Watts, I. (1719): *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and Apply'd to the Christian State and Worship.* London: J. Clark, R. Ford, and R. Cruttenden. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW118241639&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed August 25, 2010].

Watts, I. (1721): *Sermons on Various Subjects.* London: John Clark. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW117843139&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 9, 2010].

Watts, I. (1722): *Death and Heaven; or the Last Enemy Conquer'd, and Separate Spirits Made Perfect.* London: John Clark. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW120350440&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel= FASCIMILE [Accessed November 17, 2010].

Watts, I. (1729): *Sermons on Various Subjects, Divine and Moral: With a Sacred Hymn Suited to Each Subject.* London: E. Matthews. (ECCO), Vol. 3:3, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW117782558&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed November 17, 2010].

Watts, I. (1733): *Philosophical Essays On Various Subjects.* London: Richard Ford. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW117432392&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 9, 2010].

Watts, I. (1734): *Reliquiæ Juveniles: Miscellaneous Thoughts in Prose and Verse, on Natural, Moral, and Divine Subjects; Written Chiefly in Younger Years*. London: Richard Ford. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW118403199&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 9, 2010].

Watts, I. (1741): *The Improvement of the Mind.* London: James Brackstone. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW117689141&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 9, 2010].

Bibliography

Watts, I. (1753a): The Glory of Christ as God-Man Displayed, in Three Discourses. *The Works of the Late Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts, D.D.* London: T. and T. Longman. (ECCO), Vol. 6:6, pp. 723-855, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW119061096&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 14, 2010].

Watts, I. (1753b): The Improvement of the Mind. The Second Part. *The Works of the Late Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts, D.D.* London: T. and T. Longman. (ECCO), Vol. 5:6, pp. 321-358, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW119061096&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 13, 2010].

Watts, I. (1753c): *The Works of the Late Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts, D.D.* London. (ECCO), Vol. 4:6, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW120312592&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel= FASCIMILE [Accessed November 17, 2010].

Wells, S. ed. (1813): *Millennial Praises (excerpts).* Hancock: Josiah Talcott. Available at: http://www.passtheword.org/SHAKER-MANUSCRIPTS/Millennial-Praises/mpraisesndex.htm [Accessed April 9, 2009].

Wesley, J. (1755): *Explanatory Notes Upon the New Testament.* London: William Bowyer. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW117750109&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed October 27, 2010].

Wesley, J. (1780): *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People Called Methodists.* London: J. Paramore. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW121797148&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel= FASCIMILE [Accessed September 9, 2010].

Wesley, J. (1788): *Sermons on Several Occasions.* London: The New Chapel, City-Road. (ECCO), Vol. 6:8, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW118232443&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 14, 2010].

Wesley, J. (1800): *Sermons on Several Occasions.* London: G. Whitefield. (ECCO), Vol. 9:9, Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do? &contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId =CW119725646&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=F ASCIMILE [Accessed September 14, 2010].

Bibliography

Wesley, J. (1827): *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley.* 1. ed. New York: J. & J. Harper. Vol. 10:10, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=FokYAAAAYAAJ&dq [Accessed July 13, 2009].

Wesley, J. (1829): *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley.* 3. ed. London: John Mason. Vol. 1:14, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=06IOAAAAQAAJ [Accessed April 15, 2009].

Wesley, J. (1830): The Works of the Rev. John Wesley. 3. ed. London: John Mason. Vol. 12:14, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=bKMOAAAAQAAJ&dq=intitle:%22the+works+of+the+rev.+john+wesley%22+%22confounded+my+intellects%22&source=gbs_navlinks_s [Accessed September 14, 2010].

Wesley, J. (1831): *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley, A. M.* 1. ed. New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh. Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=x349AAAAYAAJ [Accessed September 20, 2010].

Wesley, J. (1872): *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley.* London: Wesleyan Conference Office. Vol. 12, Available at: http://books.google.com/books?id=5JNKAAAAYAAJ [Accessed September 20, 2010].

Wesley, J. (1876): *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People Called Methodists.* London: Wesleyan-Methodist Book-Room.

Wesley, J. (1889): *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People Called Methodists.* London: Wesleyan-Methodist Book-Room. Available at: http://gbgm-umc.org/UMhistory/wesley/hymns/hcredit.html [Accessed March 2, 2008].

Wesley, J. & Wesley, C. (1742): *Hymns and Sacred Poems.* Bristol: Felix Farley. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW121996488&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 14, 2010].

Whitehead, J. (1793): *The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A., Some Time Fellow of Lincoln-College, Oxford.* London: Knight and Son. (ECCO), Available at: http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW101686183&source=gale&userGroupName=glasuni&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE [Accessed September 21, 2010].

Whitney, H.M.K. (1882): Autobiography of Helen Mar Kimball Whitney (1828-1896). *The Book of Abraham Project.* Available at: http://www.boap.org/LDS/Early-Saints/HWhitney.html [Accessed July 24, 2009].

Wilkins, J. (1668): *An Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language.* London: Sa. Gellibrand. (EEBO), Available at: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:12295865 [Accessed September 2, 2010].

Bibliography

Winstanley, G. (1649): *The New Law of Righteousnes Budding Forth, in Restoring the Whole Creation from the Bondage of the Curse.* London: Giles Calvert. (EEBO), Available at: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec? SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99830555&FILE=../session/1190302085_15129&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=ALPHA [Accessed November 17, 2010].

Secondary Sources

(2005): ABC News: Poll: Elbow Room No Problem in Heaven. *ABC News*. Available at: http://abcnews.go.com/US/Beliefs/story?id=1422658 [Accessed June 6, 2008].

Adamson, S.; Lass, Roger (ed.) (1999): Literary Language. *The Cambridge History of the English Language: 1476-1776*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Vol. 3:6, pp. 539-653.

Adamson, S. (2007): Prescribed Reading: Pronouns and Gender in the Eighteenth Century. *Historical Sociolinguistics and Sociohistorical Linguistics*. Available at: http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/hsl_shl/Adamson.htm [Accessed January 20, 2010].

Allan, K. (2008): *Metaphor and Metonymy: A Diachronic Approach*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. (Publications of the Philological Society), Vol. 42.

Bailey, D. (1997): A Computational Model of Embodiment in the Acquisition of Action Verbs. Ph.D. Dissertation Berkeley: Computer Science Division, EECS Department, University of California.

Baird, J.D. (2008): Cowper, William (1731-1800). *Oxford DNB*. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6513 [Accessed February 18, 2008].

Barcelona, A.; Barcelona, Antonio (ed.) (2000a): Introduction. The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy. In Barcelona (2000b), pp. 1-30.

Barcelona, A. ed. (2000b): *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. (Topics in English linguistics).

Barcelona, A. (2000c): On the Plausibility of Claiming a Metonymic Motivation for Conceptual Metaphor. In Barcelona (2000b), pp. 31-58.

Berlin, B., Breedlove, D.E. & Raven, P.H. (1974): *Principles of Tzeltal Plant Classification: An Introduction to the Botanical Ethnography of a Mayan-Speaking People of Highland Chiapas*. New York: Academic Press.

Bishop, S.L. (1962): Textual Variants. *Hymns and Spiritual Songs of Isaac Watts, 1707-1748: with a study in early eighteenth century language changes*. London: Faith Press. pp. xxxiii-xliii.

Black, M. (1962): *Models and Metaphors*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press.

Black, M. (1993): More About Metaphor. In Ortony (1993a), pp. 19-41.

Bibliography

Boroditsky, L. & Ramscar, M. (2002): The Roles of Body and Mind in Abstract Thought. *Psychological Science*. 13 (2), p. 185.

Boulger, J.D. (1980): *The Calvinist Temper in English Poetry*. The Hague: Mouton.

Boyd, R. (1993): Metaphor and Theory Change: What is "Metaphor" a Metaphor For? In Ortony (1993a), pp. 481-532.

Bradley, S.A.J. ed. (1982): *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. London: J. M. Dent.

Butterworth, H. & Brown, T. (1906): *The Story of the Hymns and Tunes*. New York: American Tract Society. Available at: http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/18444 [Accessed September 15, 2010].

Cameron, L. (2003): *Metaphor in Educational Discourse*. Continuum International Publishing Group.

Cameron, L. & Deignan, A. (2003): Combining Large and Small Corpora to Investigate Tuning Devices Around Metaphor in Spoken Discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*. 18 (3), pp. 149-160.

Chierchia, G. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (2000): *Meaning and Grammar: An Introduction to Semantics*. 2. ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. (2005): *Rules and Representations*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chris (surname unknown) (2004): Lakoff's View of Metaphors. *Mixing Memory*. Available at: http://mixingmemory.blogspot.com/2004/09/lakoffs-view-of-metaphors.html [Accessed July 28, 2010].

Clough, W.O. (1933): Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy. *PMLA*. 48 (4), pp. 1108-1130.

Cohen, L.J. (1993): The Semantics of Metaphor. In Ortony (1993a), 8-70.

Conlee, J.W. (1991): *Middle English Debate Poetry: A Critical Anthology*. East Lansing: Colleagues Press.

Cragg, G.R. (1960): *The Church and the Age of Reason: 1648-1789*. Bristol: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd.

Croft, W.; Dirven, René; Pörings, Ralf (eds.) (2002): The Role of Domains in the Interpretation of Metaphors and Metonymies. *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. (Cognitive Linguistics Research), pp. 161–205.

Cummings, R.M. (2000): *Seventeenth-Century Poetry: an Annotated Anthology*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Davidson, D. (1978): What Metaphors Mean. *Critical Inquiry*. 5 (1), pp. 31–47.

Bibliography

Davidson, D.; Peregrin, Jaroslav (ed.) (1999): The Centrality of Truth. *Truth and Its Nature (If Any)*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers. (Synthese Library), Vol. 284, pp. 105–116.

Davie, D. (1993): *The Eighteenth-Century Hymn in England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deignan, A. (2005): *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Duffield, S.W. (1888): *English Hymns: Their Authors and History.* New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Escott, H. (1962): *Isaac Watts, Hymnographer*. London: Independent Press LTD.

Evans, V. (2007): *A Glossary of Cognitive Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Fauconnier, G. (1994): *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge University Press.

Fauconnier, G. & Turner, M. (1998): Conceptual Integration Networks. *Cognitive Science*. 22 (2), pp. 133-187.

Fauconnier, G. & Turner, M. (2002): *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*. New York: Basic Books.

Feyaerts, K. (2000): Refining the Inheritance Hypothesis: Interaction Between Metaphoric and Metonymic Hierarchies. In Barcelona (2000b), pp. 59–78.

Fountain, D. (1978): *Isaac Watts Remembered*. Harpenden, Herts: Gospel Standard Baptist Trust Ltd.

Gibbs, R.W. (1996): Why Many Concepts are Metaphorical. *Cognition*. 61 (3), pp. 309-319.

Gibbs, R.W. & O'Brien, J.E. (1990): Idioms and Mental Imagery: The Metaphorical Motivation for Idiomatic Meaning. *Cognition* 36 (1), pp. 35-68.

Glucksberg, S. & Keysar, B. (1993): How Metaphors Work. In Ortony (1993a), pp. 401-424.

Goatly, A. (2007): *Washing the Brain*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Goossens, L.; Dirven, René; Pörings, Ralf (eds.) (2002): Metaphtonymy: the Interaction of Metaphor and Metonymy in Expressions for Linguistic Action. *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. (Cognitive Linguistics Research), pp. 349–377.

Grady, J., Taub, S. & Morgan, P.; Goldberg, Adele (ed.) (1996): Primitive and Compound Metaphors. *Conceptual Structure, Discourse and Language*. Stanford Calif.: CSLI Publications. pp. 177-187.

Bibliography

Grady, J.E., Oakley, T. & Coulson, S. (1999): Blending and Metaphor. *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers from the Fifth International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Amsterdam, July 1997*. p. 101.

Grady, J. (2005): Primary Metaphors as Inputs to Conceptual Integration. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 37 (10), pp. 1595-1614.

Grady, J.E. (1997): THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS Revisited. *Cognitive Linguistics*. 8 (4), pp. 267-290.

Halliday, M.A. (1985): *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Harvey, K. (2004): Mason, John (1646?-1694). *Oxford DNB*. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18282 [Accessed August 13, 2009].

Hilpert, M. (2006): Keeping An Eye on the Data: Metonymies and their Patterns. *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 123-151.

Hindmarsh, D.B. (2008): Newton, John (1725-1807). *Oxford DNB*. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20062 [Accessed February 16, 2008].

Hoey, M. (2005): *Lexical Priming: a New Theory of Words and Language*. Oxon: Routledge.

Hontheim, J. (1910): Heaven. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Vol. 7, Available at: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07170a.htm [Accessed June 5, 2008].

Hoyles, J. (1971): *The Waning of the Renaissance 1640-1740: Studies in the Thought and Poetry of Henry More, John Norris and Isaac Watts*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Hull, J.M. (2005): Isaac Watts and the Origins of British Imperial Theology. *International Congregational Journal*. 4 (2), pp. 59–79.

Jackendoff, R. (2003): *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jackendoff, R. (2009): The Ecology of English Noun-Noun Compounds. *Meaning and the Lexicon: The Parallel Architecture 1975-2010*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 413-451.

Jäkel, O. (2002): Hypotheses Revisited: The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (Applied to Religious Texts). *Metaphorik.de*. 2 , pp. 20-42.

Johnson, C.; Hiraga, Masako; Sinha, Chris; Wilcox, Sherman (eds.) (1999): Metaphor vs. Conflation in the Acquisition of Polysemy: The Case of SEE. *Cultural, Psychological, and Typological Issues in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers of the Bi-Annual ICLA Meeting in Albuquerque, July 1995*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory), pp. 155-170.

Karaman, B.I. (2008): On Contronymy. *International Journal of Lexicography*. 21 (2), pp. 173-192.

Bibliography

Keeble, N. (2008): Baxter, Richard (1615-1691). *Oxford DNB*. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1734 [Accessed January 28, 2008].

Kövecses, Z. (2002): *Metaphor*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2003): *Metaphor and Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2005): *Metaphor in Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kövecses, Z. & Radden, G. (1998): Metonymy: Developing a Cognitive Linguistic View. *Cognitive Linguistics (includes Cognitive Linguistic Bibliography)*. 9 (1), pp. 37–78.

Kytö, M.; Rissanen, Matti; Kytö, Merja; Heikkonen, Kirsi (eds.) (1997): Be/Have+ Past Participle: the Choice of the Auxiliary with Intransitives from Late Middle to Modern English. *English in Transition: Corpus-Based Studies in Linguistic Variation and Genre Styles*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 19–85.

Lakoff, G. (1990): *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. (1993): The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor. In Ortony (1993a), pp. 202-251.

Lakoff, G. (1994): Conceptual Metaphor Home Page. Available at: http://cogsci.berkeley.edu/lakoff/ [Accessed November 25, 2008].

Lakoff, G. (1996): *Moral Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980): *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1999): *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (2003): Afterword, 2003. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. pp. 243-275.

Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. (1989): *More Than Cool Reason*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lewis, C.S. (1990): *Studies in Words*. Canto. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, N. (1995): *The Book of Babel: Words and the Way We See Things*. University of Iowa Press.

Lockyer, R. (2005): *Tudor and Stuart Britain*. Edinburgh: Pearson Education.

Mallory, J.P. & Adams, D.Q. (1997): *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn.

Marshall, M.F. & Todd, J.M. (1982): *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century*. University Press of Kentucky.

Bibliography

Martz, L.L. (1963): Henry Vaughan: The Man Within. *PMLA*. 78 (1), pp. 40-49.

Mervis, C.B. & Rosch, E. (1981): Categorization of Natural Objects. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 32 (1), pp. 89–115.

Moffat, D. (translator) (1990): *The Old English Soul and Body*. Wolfeboro: Boydell & Brewer.

Moorman, J. (1953): *A History of the Church in England*. London: Adam and Charles Black.

Murphy, G.L. (1996): On Metaphoric Representation. *Cognition*. 60 (2), pp. 173–204.

Murphy, G.L. (1997): Reasons to Doubt the Present Evidence for Metaphoric Representation. *Cognition*. 62 (1), pp. 99-108.

Narayanan, S. (1997): *Embodiment in Language Understanding: Sensory-Motor Representations for Metaphoric Reasoning about Event Descriptions.* Ph.D. Dissertation Berkeley: University of California.

Newton, J. & Cowper, W. (1979): *Olney Hymns*. Olney: Arthur Gordon Hugh Osborn. Available at: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/newton/olneyhymns.html [Accessed February 18, 2008].

Northcott, C. (1964): *Hymns in Christian Worship: The Use of Hymns in the Life of the Church*. Westminster: John Knox Press.

Ortony, A. (ed.) (1993a): *Metaphor and Thought*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ortony, A. (1993b): Metaphor, Language, and Thought. In Ortony (1993a), pp. 1-16.

Parkin, J. (2004): Parker, Samuel (1640-1688). *Oxford DNB*. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/articles/21/21336-article.html?back=#cosubject_21336 [Accessed September 2, 2010].

Partington, A.; Stefanowitsch, Anatol; Gries, Stefan Thomas (eds.) (2006): Metaphors, Motifs and Similes Across Discourse Types: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) At Work. *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 267-304.

Porter, R. (2000): *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*. London: Allen Lane.

Porter, R. (2004): *Flesh in the Age of Reason: How the Enlightenment Transformed the Way We See Our Bodies and Souls*. London: Penguin Books.

Pragglejaz Group (2007): MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*. 22 (1), pp. 1-39.

Radden, G. (2000): How Metonymic are Metaphors? In Barcelona (2000b), pp. 93-108.

Bibliography

Radden, G. & Kövecses, Z. (1999): Towards a Theory of Metonymy. *Metonymy in Language and Thought*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (Human Cognitive Processing), pp. 17–59.

Rayson, P. & Garside, R. (2000): Comparing Corpora Using Frequency Profiling. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Comparing Corpora*. Hong Kong: Association for Computational Linguistics. Vol. 9, pp. 1-6, Available at: http://portal.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=1117729.1117730 [Accessed October 20, 2010].

Reddy, M.J. (1993): The Conduit Metaphor: A Case of Frame Conflict in Our Language About Language. In Ortony (1993a), pp. 164-201.

Richards, I.A. (1936): *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rivers, I. (2004): Watts, Isaac (1674-1748). *Oxford DNB*. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28888 [Accessed January 28, 2008].

Rosch, E. (1975): Cognitive Reference Points. *Cognitive Psychology*. 7 (4), pp. 532–547.

Roth, S. (2007): *The Jewish Idea of Ethics and Morality*. New York: The Michael Scharf Publication Trust of the Yeshiva University Press.

Rudrum, A. (2004): Vaughan, Henry (1621-1695). *Oxford DNB*. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28130 [Accessed January 27, 2009].

Rumelhart, D.E. (1993): Some Problems with the Notion of Literal Meanings. In Ortony (1993a), pp. 71-82.

Sadock, J.M. (1993): Figurative Speech and Linguistics. In Ortony (1993a)*,* pp. 42-57.

Samuels, M.L. (1972): *Linguistic Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Santorini, B. & Kroch, A. (2007): The Syntax of Natural Language: An Online Introduction. Available at: http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/syntax-textbook/index.html [Accessed July 20, 2010].

Sayce, A.H. (1902): *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. (The Gifford Lectures on the Ancient Egyptian and Babylonian Conception of the Divine Delivered in Aberdeen).

Searle, J.R. (1993): Metaphor. In Ortony (1993a), pp. 83-111.

Seto, K. (1999): Distinguishing Metonymy from Synecdoche. *Metonymy in Language and Thought*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (Human Cognitive Processing), pp. 91–120.

Shaver, J. (2006): *Metaphors of Travel in Religious Language (MLitt dissertation)*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Steen, G. (1994): Towards a Procedure for Metaphor Identification. *Language and Literature.* 11, pp. 17-33

Bibliography

Stefanowitsch, A.; Stefanowitsch, Anatol; Gries, Stefan Thomas (eds.) (2006): Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy. *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 1-16.

Sullivan, K. & Sweetser, E.; Parrill, Fey; Tobin, Vera; Turner, Mark (eds.) (2009): Is "Generic is Specific" a Metaphor? *Meaning, Form, and Body*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. (Selected papers from the 2008 CSDL meeting), Available at: http://www.linguistics.berkeley.edu/~sweetser/SullivanSweetser09.pdf [Accessed September 3, 2010].

Swart, H.D. (1998): *Introduction to Natural Language Semantics*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. (CSLI Lecture Notes).

Sweetser, E. (1990): *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*. Cambridge. (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics).

Tawney, R.H. (1926): *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. West Drayton: Pelican Books.

Taylor, J.R. (2003): *Linguistic Categorization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics).

Tracy, D. (1978): Metaphor and Religion: The Test Case of Christian Texts. *Critical Inquiry*. 5 (1), pp. 91–106.

Turville-Petre, T. (2008): The Etymology of 'Road'. *Notes and Queries*. 55 (4), pp. 405-406.

Ullman, S. (1962): *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Viberg, Å.; Johansson, Stig; Oksefjell, Signe (eds.) (1998): Contrasts in Polysemy and Differentiation: Running and Putting in English and Swedish. *Corpora and Cross-linguistic Research: Theory, Method and Case Studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. pp. 343-376.

Watson, J. (1997): *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Watson, J. (2002): *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wegener, P.; Koerner, E. F. K. (ed.) (1991): *Untersuchungen über die Grundfragen des Sprachlebens*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (Classics in Psycholinguistics).

Wierzbicka, A. (1992): *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williamson, K. (2004): Smart, Christopher (1722-1771). *Oxford DNB*. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25739 [Accessed February 20, 2009].

Yu, N. (1998): *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from Chinese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (Human Cognitive Processing).

Dictionaries and Searches

About the Oxford English Dictionary. *OED Online,* 2009. Available at: http://oed.com/about/ [Accessed August 3, 2009].

Kay, C., Roberts, J., Samuels, M.L. et al. Historical Thesaurus of English. Available at: http://libra.englang.arts.gla.ac.uk/historicalthesaurus/ [Accessed February 6, 2009].

Kay, C., Roberts, J., Samuels, M.L. et al. eds. (2009): *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary: With Additional Material from a Thesaurus of Old English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Klein, E. (1967): *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Kytö, M. (1993): The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. Dept. of English, University of Helsinki. Available from the Oxford Text Archive: http://ota.ahds.ac.uk/ [Accessed April 10, 2010].

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (DNB). 2004-2009. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/.

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED). 2. ed., 1989 and draft revisions, 2008-10. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: http://www.oed.com [Accessed November 29, 2010].

Appendices

A. Index of conceptual metaphors (and variants) cited from external sources

Metaphors are sorted by source domain according to headings from HTE and HTOED (Kay et al.), and arranged alphabetically below the best-matching heading or sub-heading.

Key to original sources and other citations (non-comprehensive):
LJ80: (Lakoff & Johnson 1980)
LT: (Lakoff & Turner 1989)
GO: (Gibbs & O'Brien 1990)
L90:   (Lakoff 1990)
L93:   (Lakoff 1993)
L94:   (Lakoff 1994)
Yu: (Yu 1998)
LJ99:   (Lakoff & Johnson 1999)
Csábi: (Csábi 2001)
Jäkel: (Jäkel 2002)
K02:   (Kövecses 2002)
D: (Deignan 2005)
LJ03:   (Lakoff & Johnson 2003)
K05:   (Kövecses 2005)

Section 1: The world
    01.01. The earth
        01.01.04. Land
            01.01.04.04. Landscape
                DIFFICULTIES ARE FEATURES OF THE TERRAIN (L93, LJ99)
    01.02. Life
        01.02.04. Plants
            HUMAN DEATH IS THE DEATH OF A PLANT (LT)
            01.02.04.10. Part of plant
                01.02.04.10.14. Reproductive part(s)
                    01.02.04.10.14.01. Flower/part containing reproductive organs
                        01.02.04.10.14.01.02. Flower/flowering plant
                            HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART (Yu, K02)
        01.02.05. The body
            MIND IS A BODY (LJ99)
            (MIND IS THE BODY K02)
                MIND IS A BODY MOVING IN SPACE (LT)
                    (also 01.05.08)
        01.02.08. Food and drink
            01.02.08.01. Food
                IDEAS ARE FOOD (LJ80, D, K02)
                01.02.08.01.21. Providing/receiving food
                    Supply with food

.seek/acquire food

ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS GETTING SOMETHING TO EAT (L93, LJ99)

01.02.08.01.27. Consumption of food/drink

01.02.08.01.27.01. Eating

ACCEPTING SOMETHING IS EATING IT

01.28.01.27.01.01. Processes/manners of eating

.chewing

CONSIDERING IS CHEWING

01.02.08.03. Farming

TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS AGRICULTURE (L93, LJ99)

01.02.08.03.03. Cultivation/tillage

01.02.08.03.03.06. Cultivation of plants/crops

01.02.08.03.03.06.05. Harvesting

.cutting/reaping/mowing

..reaper/mower

DEATH IS A REAPER (LT)

GRIM REAPER METAPHOR (K02, LJ03)

TIME IS A REAPER (LT, K02)

01.02.08.04. Hunting

TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS HUNTING (L93, LJ99)

01.02.08.04.12. Fishing

TRYING TO ACHIEVE A PURPOSE IS FISHING (L93, LJ99)

01.03. Physical sensibility

01.03.01. Sleeping and waking

01.03.01.01. Sleep

DEATH IS SLEEP (LT)

(see 01.05.05.09)

01.03.01.04. Refreshment/invigoration

(see 01.05.05.09)

01.03.04. Touch

01.03.04.02. Touching

SEEING IS TOUCHING (LT, K02, K05)

01.03.07. Sight

01.03.07.03. Seeing/looking

KNOWING IS SEEING (L93)

THINKING IS SEEING (LT)

UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING (LJ80)

See

.watch/observe

GOD OBSERVES ALL HUMAN WAYS (Jäkel)

GOD WATCHES OVER THE RIGHTEOUS' WAY (Jäkel)

(also 03.09.02.01)

01.04. Matter

01.04.07. Physics

01.04.07.01. Mechanics

01.04.07.01.01. Force

(see 03.04.01)

01.04.07.02. Energy/power of doing work

(see 01.05.05.20.01)

01.04.08. Light

HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (K02)

01.04.08.01. Brightness
  (see 01.06.06)
01.04.08.04. Illuminaton
      GOOD WAY IS LIGHTED BY GOD'S WORD (Jäkel)
        (also 03.09.02.01)
01.04.08.12. Darkness/absence of light
  .darkness of night
      (see 01.05.06.05.02)
  Dark/without light
      EVIL WAYS ARE DARK AND SLIPPERY (Jäkel)
        (also 01.05.07.03.07.01 .smooth and slippery, 03.09.02.01)
    01.04.08.12.01. Dimness/absence of brightness
      (see 01.06.06)
01.05. Existence in time and space
  01.05.01. Existence
    .entity/being/thing
      DISCOURSE ELEMENTS ARE ENTITIES (L90)
      IDEAS ARE PHYSICAL ENTITIES (GO)
      PERCEPTS ARE ENTITIES (L90)
    01.05.01.04. Materiality
      .thing/material object/body
        EVENTS ARE OBJECTS (K02)
  01.05.03. Causation
    01.05.03.02. Source/origin
        CAUSES ARE SOURCES (LJ99)
  01.05.05. Action/operation
    EVENTS ARE ACTIONS (LT, L93, K02)
    01.05.05.09. Inaction/inactivity
      DEATH IS REST (LT, K02)
      (also 01.03.01.01, 01.03.01.04, and 01.05.05.09.01)
      01.05.05.09.01. Quietness/tranquility
        (see 01.05.05.09)
    01.05.05.11. Difficulty
      .do/obtain/produce with difficulty
        (see 01.05.05.20.02)
      01.05.05.11.03. Hindrance
        DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS (K02)
        DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION (L93)
        DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOVEMENT (LJ99)
        DIFFICULTIES IN LIFE ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO TRAVEL (LT, Jäkel)
        FREEDOM OF ACTION IS THE ABSENCE (LACK) OF IMPEDIMENT(S) TO MOTION
          (MOVEMENT) (LJ99)
        .one who/that which hinders
          ..a hindrance/impediment/obstacle
            EVIL WAYS ARE FULL OF OBSTACLES (Jäkel)
              (also 03.09.02.01)
          GOD OBSTRUCTS THE WAYS OF THE WICKED (Jäkel)
            (also 03.09.02.01)

01.05.05.11.03.01. Types/manners of hindrance
.encumberment
..burdensomeness
...a burden
DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS (LT, L93, LJ99, K02)
LIFE IS A BURDEN (LT)
(also 03.09.01 .of loads)
01.05.05.15. Safety
01.05.05.15.02. Rescue/deliverance
DEATH IS DELIVERANCE (LT)
01.05.05.20. Manner of action/operation
01.05.05.20.01. Vigour/energy
DIFFICULTIES ARE LACKS [sic] OF ENERGY (L93, LJ99)
(also 01.04.07.02)
01.05.05.20.02. Effort/exertion
ARGUMENT IS STRUGGLE (LJ99, LJ03)
LIFE IS A STRUGGLE (L93)
(also 01.05.05.11 .do/obtain/produce with difficulty and
03.01.04.05.01.04 .a fight)
01.05.06. Time
01.05.06.04. Period of time/era/epoch
01.05.06.04.04. A day/twenty-four hours
LIFE OF HUMAN BEINGS IS A DAY (K02)
LIFETIME IS A DAY (LT, L93, K02)
01.05.06.04.08 Cycle of time
(see 01.06.06)
01.05.06.05. Day and night
01.05.06.05.02. Night
DEATH IS NIGHT (LT, K02)
(also 01.04.08.12 .darkness of night)
01.05.06.07. Reckoning/computation of time
01.05.06.07.02. Calendar
.timetable/schedule
EXPECTED PROGRESS IS A TRAVEL SCHEDULE (L93, K02)
(also 03.09.00.09 .plan/scheme of travel)
01.05.07. Space
DISCOURSE SPACE IS PHYSICAL SPACE (L90)
NONVISUAL PERCEPTUAL SPACE IS PHYSICAL SPACE (L90)
01.05.07.01. Distance/amount of distance
PROGRESS IS THE DISTANCE TRAVELED (LT, Jäkel)
PROGRESS MADE IS DISTANCE TRAVELED OR DISTANCE FROM GOAL (L93)
AMOUNT OF PROGRESS IS DISTANCE MOVED (L93)
01.05.07.01.01. Distance/farness
LACK OF INVOLVEMENT IS DISTANCE (K02)
IMMEDIATELY PAST DISCOURSE IS IN OUR PRESENCE AT A DISTANCE FROM US (L90)
(also 01.05.07.04.03)
REALIZED IS DISTAL (L90)[239]

---

239 The HTE/HTOED records do not reflect Lakoff's usage (1990: 528) of the terms *proximal* and *distal,*
apparently meaning something like 'near to the speaker' and 'away from the speaker'. The OED (2nd ed.
1989) has the primary definition of *proximal* as 'Lying very near or close *to* something', but distal carries
only an anatomical sense.

01.05.07.01.02. Nearness
SOON-TO-BE-REALIZED IS PROXIMAL (L90)
.very near
INVOLVEMENT IS CLOSENESS (K02)
STRENGTH OF EFFECT IS CLOSENESS (K02)
(CLOSENESS IS STRENGTH OF EFFECT [sic] (LJ80)
01.05.07.03. Shape
01.05.07.03.02. Mis-shapenness
.crooked
EVIL WAYS ARE CROOKED (Jäkel, K05)
(also 01.05.07.06 .bending/winding)
01.05.07.03.07. Flatness/levelness
GOD'S WAY IS A LEVEL PATH (Jäkel)
(also 03.09.02.01.01)
01.05.07.03.07.01. Smoothness
.smooth and slippery
(see 01.04.08.12)
01.05.07.04. Place
01.05.07.04.01. Position/situation
IDEAS ARE LOCATIONS (LJ99)
STATES ARE LOCATIONS (LT, L93, LJ99, K02, LJ03, K05)
.take up position
..new/different
CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION (LT)
(also 01.05.07.04.05 .placing/being placed in different position)
01.05.07.04.03. Presence
(see 01.05.07.01.01)
LIFE BEING PRESENT (LT)
LIFE IS PRESENCE HERE (LT)
(BEING ALIVE IS BEING LOCATED HERE LJ99)
EXISTENCE IS LOCATION HERE (L90)
(EXISTENCE IS BEING LOCATED HERE LJ99)
01.05.07.04.04. Absence
NONEXISTENCE IS LOCATION AWAY (L90, LJ99)
01.05.07.04.05. Placing/fact of being placed in (a) position
.placing/being placed in different position)
(see 01.05.07.04.01 ..new/different)
01.05.07.04.06. Removal/displacement
.removal/taking away
..quickly/forcibly
CAUSING DEATH IS FORCED REMOVAL (LJ99)
01.05.07.05. Relative position
TIME ORIENTATION (LJ99, K05)
01.05.07.05.03. Condition of being external
01.05.07.05.03.01. Surface
PATH OF AN ARGUMENT IS A SURFACE (LJ80)

01.05.07.05.05. Closed/shut condition
 .condition of being stopped up/blocked
  DIFFICULTIES ARE BLOCKAGES (L93, LJ99)
01.05.07.05.08. Low position
 .keep in low position
  BEING CONTROLLED IS BEING KEPT DOWN (LT)
01.05.07.05.14. Vertical position
 .upright/erect
  ..remaining upright
   PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT (K02)
01.05.07.06. Direction
 .bending/winding
  (see 01.05.07.03.02 .crooked)
  ..turned back
   REPENTING IS RETURNING (Jäkel)
   (also 01.05.08.05.05 and 03.09.00.08)
01.05.07.06.01. Spec. directions
 .in upward direction
  DIVINE IS UP (LT)
  FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (AND AHEAD) (LJ80)
   (and .in forward direction)
  FREEDOM IS UP (LT)
  GOD IS UP (K02)
  GOD'S WAY LEADS UPWARDS (Jäkel)
   (also 03.09.02.01.01)
  GOOD IS UP (LJ80)
  MORE IS UP (LJ80, L93, LJ99, K02, LJ03)
  VIRTUE IS UP (LJ80, K02)
 .in downward direction
  BAD IS DOWN (LJ80)
  DEPRAVITY IS DOWN (LJ80)
  LACK OF VIRTUE IS DOWN (K02)
  LESS IS DOWN (LJ80, L93, K02)
  MORTAL IS DOWN (LT)
01.05.08. Movement
 ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS (LJ99)
 (ACTIONS ARE MOVEMENTS LJ99)
 (ACTION IS MOTION K02)
  CAREFUL ACTION IS CAREFUL MOTION (L93, K02)
  (CAREFUL ACTION IS CAREFUL MOVEMENT LJ99)
  SIMILAR ACTION IS SYNCHRONIZED MOTION (K02)
 ACTIVATION IS MOTION (L90)
 ACTIVITY IS MOTION (L90)
 causation is forced movement (LJ99)
 CHANGE OF STATE IS MOTION (K05)
 CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (L93, LJ99, K02)
 (CHANGE IS MOTION LJ99, K02)
 (CHANGES ARE MOTIONS LJ03)
  ACCIDENTAL CHANGES ARE ACCIDENTAL MOVEMENTS (K02)
  LACK OF CONTROL OVER CHANGE IS LACK OF CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT (K02)

Appendix A

EVENT STRUCTURE (L93, LJ99, K02, K05)[240]
(EVENTS ARE MOVEMENTS K02)
FORCES AFFECTING ACTION ARE FORCES AFFECTING MOTION (L93)
FORM IS MOTION (LT)
THINKING IS MOVING (LJ99)
   RATIONAL THOUGHT IS MOTION THAT IS DIRECT, DELIBERATE, STEP-BY-STEP, AND IN
      ACCORD WITH THE FORCE OF REASON (LJ99)
   THINKING ABOUT X IS MOVING IN THE AREA AROUND X (LJ99)
TIME PASSING IS MOTION (L93)
(TIME IS MOTION LJ99, K02)
(TIME IS MOVEMENT K02)
   TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBJECT (L93, K02)
TIME MOVES (LT)
(see 01.02.05)
.unimpeded movement
   FREE ACTION IS UNINHIBITED, SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENT (K02)
      (also .self-movement)
.manner/means of movement
   MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION (L93)
   (MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOVEMENT LJ99)
.allowing movement/passage of
   AIDS TO ACTION ARE AIDS TO MOTION (L93)
   (AIDS TO ACTION ARE AIDS TO MOVEMENT LJ99)
.person/thing that moves
   EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE, MOVING OBJECTS (L93, LJ99, K02)
      UNCONTROLLABLE EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE, MOVING OBJECTS (K02)
   TIME IS A MOVING OBJECT (LJ80)
   (TIME IS SOMETHING MOVING LT)
   TIMES ARE MOVING ENTITIES (L93)
   (TIMES ARE MOVING OBJECTS K02)
.self-movement
   ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS (L93, LJ99)
   (ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION K02)
      PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION TO A DESTINATION (L93)
   (see .unimpeded movement)
01.05.08.03. Progressive movement
   01.05.08.03.02. Walking
      LEADING AN IMMORAL LIFE IS WALKING EVIL WAYS (Jäkel)
         (also 03.09.02.01)
      WICKED TROD THE OLD WAYS (Jäkel)
         (also 03.09.02.01)
   01.05.08.03.05. Order of movement
      01.05.08.03.05.02. Following behind
         UNDERSTANDING IS FOLLOWING (LJ99)
         .pursuit
            ..pursuer
               TIME IS A PURSUER (LT, K02)
01.05.08.04. Rate of movement/progress
   SPEED OF ACTION IS SPEED OF MOVEMENT (L93, LJ99)

---

240 Kövecses (2002: 176) characterizes the metaphor EVENTS ARE MOVEMENTS as the 'major submetaphor (or central mapping)' in the Event Structure metaphor system.

(SPEED OF ACTION IS SPEED OF MOTION K02)
01.05.08.04.01. Swiftness
  01.05.08.04.01.01. Going swiftly on foot
    .run
       RIGHTEOUS RUN GOD'S WAY (Jäkel)
        (also 03.09.02.01)
       WICKED RUN TO EVIL (Jäkel)
    ..a runner
       TIME IS A RUNNER (LT)
01.05.08.05. Movement in a certain direction
  (see 03.09.00.06 .set out and 03.09.00.07)
  .course/direction of movement
    (see 03.09.02.01.01)
  01.05.08.05.01. A straight course
    GOD'S WAY IS A STRAIGHT PATH (Jäkel, K05)
      (also 03.09.02.01.02)
    Go in a straight course
      RIGHTEOUS KEEP A STRAIGHT PATH (Jäkel)
        (also 03.09.02.01.02)
      .not deviate
        RIGHTEOUS HOLD TO THEIR WAY (Jäkel)
          (also 03.09.02.01)
  01.05.08.05.02. (A) change of direction of movement
    .moving without fixed course
      LACK OF PURPOSE IS LACK OF DIRECTION (L93)
      (also 03.09.00.04 ..lost/having lost direction)
    .diverge from course
      SINNING IS DEVIATING/SWERVING FOM GOD'S WAY (Jäkel, K05)
  01.05.08.05.04. Forward movement
    MAKING PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT (L93)
    (PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD K02)
  01.05.08.05.05. Backward movement
    UNDOING PROGRESS IS BACKWARD MOVEMENT (L93)
    (see 01.05.07.06 ..turned back)
  01.05.08.05.09. Movement over/across/through/past
    TIME PASSING IS MOTION OVER A LANDSCAPE (L93)
    TIME PASSING IS AN OBSERVER'S MOTION OVER A LANDSCAPE (K02)
    Move over/across/through/past
      TIME PASSES US (LJ80)
      (see 01.05.08.09 .not moving)
  01.05.08.05.12. Movement towards a thing/person/position
    DISCOURSE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE IS MOVING TOWARD US (L90)
    .move towards the speaker/this place
      BEING BORN IS COMING HERE (LJ99)
      (also 03.09.00.07)

01.05.08.06. Transference
actions are transfers (L93)
(see 02.07.03)
.conveying/transporting
..action of carrying
...channel/medium of conveyance
conduit metaphor (R, LJ80, L93, K02)
01.05.08.09. Absence/privation/cessation of movement
lack of progress is lack of movement (L93)
.state of cessation of movement
..arrest of motion
suspension of action is the stopping of movement (LJ99)
.state/quality of being immovable
being unable to think is being unable to move (LJ99)
inability to act is the inability to move (L93)
.not moving
time is stationary and we move through it (LJ80)
(also 01.05.08.05.09)
01.05.08.09.01. Hold/holding
.firmness of hold
..grip/grasp
understanding is grasping (LT, K05)
.clasp the hands/with the hand(s)
God holds the righteous by the hand (Jäkel)
01.06. Relative properties
01.06.03. Order
01.06.03.03. Order/sequence/succession
.a series/succession
..series ending as it begins
(see 01.06.06)
01.06.06. Quantity/amount
life is a cycle of the waxing and waning of light and heat (LT)
lifetime is a cycle of waxing and waning (LJ03)
(also 01.04.08.01, 01.04.08.12.01, 01.05.06.04.08, 01.06.03.03 ..series ending
as it begins, 01.06.06.05, and 01.06.06.09)
01.06.06.05. Increase in quantity/amount/degree
(see 01.06.06)
01.06.06.09. Decrease/reduction in quantity/amount/degree
(see 01.06.06)
01.06.07. Wholeness
01.06.07.05. Mutual relation of parts to whole
(see 03.10.06.04 .manner of construction)
Section 2: The mind
02.01. Mental capacity
02.01.12. Knowledge
02.01.12.08. Conformity with what is known, truth
02.01.12.08.07. Deceit, deception, trickery
02.01.12.08.07.01. Snare, trap, entanglement
wicked lay traps for the righteous (Jäkel)
02.05. Will/faculty of will
02.05.03. Will/wish/inclination

02.05.03.03. Desire
.object of desire
PURPOSES ARE DESIRED OBJECTS (L93, LJ99)
(also 02.05.04 ..end/purpose/object)
(see 02.07.08 .something desirable/advantageous)
02.05.04. Intention
.intention/purpose
..end/purpose/object
PURPOSES ARE GOALS (L93)
(see 02.05.03.03 .object of desire)
02.07. Having/possession
02.07.03. Possessions/property
ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS (LJ99)
CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS (ACQUISITIONS OR LOSSES) (LJ99)
(also 02.07.08 and 02.07.09)
CAUSATION IS TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS (GIVING OR TAKING) (LJ99)
(also 01.05.08.06, 02.07.12, 02.07.13, and 03.04.13.18)
02.07.08. Obtaining/acquiring
(see 02.07.03)
.something desirable/advantageous
ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS ACQUIRING A DESIRED OBJECT (L93, LJ99, K02)
(also 02.05.03.03 .object of desire)
02.07.09. Loss
(see 02.07.03)
02.07.12. Giving
(see 02.07.03)
02.07.13. Taking
(see 02.07.03)
02.07.14. Provision/supply
MATERIAL RESOURCES AND TALENTS ARE PROVISIONS (LT)
Section 3: Society
03.01. Society/the community
03.01.04. Social communication/relations
03.01.04.05. Party/faction
03.01.04.05.01. Dissension/discord
03.01.04.05.01.04. Fighting
.a fight
(see 01.05.05.20.02)
03.02. Inhabiting/dwelling
03.02.05. Furnishing with inhabitants
03.02.05.02. Migration
03.02.05.02.02. Emigration
.an emigration/exodus
THE SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA BY THE PURITANS IS THE EXODUS OF THE JEWS
FROM EGYPT TO CANAAN (Csábi, K05)
(SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA BY THE ENGLISH SETTLERS IS THE
MOVEMENT OF THE JEWS FROM EGYPT TO THE PROMISED LAND K02)

03.02.07. Inhabited place
   03.02.07.03. A building
      ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS (LJ80, L93)
      (AN ARGUMENT (OR THEORY) IS A BUILDING K02)
03.03. Armed hostility
   03.03.01. War
      ARGUMENT IS WAR (LJ80, K02)
03.04. Authority
   03.04.01. Power
      CAUSES ARE FORCES (L93, LJ99, K02)
      DIFFICULTIES ARE COUNTERFORCES (L93, LJ99)
      REASON IS A FORCE (LJ99)
      (also 01.04.07.01.01)
   03.04.13. Law
      03.04.13.18. Transfer of property
         (see 02.07.03)
03.09. Travel/travelling
  SEEING IS TRAVELING (K05)
   03.09.00.01. A journey
      ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY (L90)
        LONG-TERM ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS (LJ99)
          LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS (L93, L94, LJ99, K02)
      ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY (LJ80, K02)
      (ARGUMENTS ARE JOURNEYS LJ80)
      CAREER IS A JOURNEY (L93)
        CAREER IS AN UPWARD JOURNEY (K02)
      LIFE IS A JOURNEY (LT, L90, L93, K02, Jäkel, K05)
        LIFE IS A JOURNEY THROUGH TIME (K02)
        PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY (L93, LJ99)
        LEADING A MORAL LIFE IS MAKING A JOURNEY ON GOD'S WAY (Jäkel, K05)
      LOVE IS A JOURNEY (LJ80, L93, K02, LJ03, K05)
      .destination
        DEATH IS GOING TO A FINAL DESTINATION (LT)
        DEATH IS THE END OF A JOURNEY (K02)
        DEATH IS THE END OF LIFE'S JOURNEY (LT)
        PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (LT, L90, L93, LJ99, K02, Jäkel, K05)
   03.09.00.02. Traveller
      PERSON LEADING A LIFE IS A TRAVELER (LT, Jäkel)
      (PERSON LIVING A LIFE IS A TRAVELER LJ99)
      SCHEDULE IS A VIRTUAL TRAVELER, WHO REACHES PREARRANGED DESTINATIONS AT
        PREARRANGED TIMES (L93)
   03.09.00.04. Travel in spec. course/direction
      .having missed the way
        ..lost/having lost direction
          (see 01.05.08.05.02 .moving without fixed course)
      .stray/go astray
        WICKED WANDER OFF GOD'S WAY (K05)
          (also 03.09.02.01)
      .retrace (one's course/steps)
        RETHINKING IS GOING OVER THE PATH AGAIN (LJ99)
   03.09.00.06. Departure/leaving/going away

DEATH IS DEPARTURE (LT, L93, LJ03)

(DEATH IS GOING AWAY LJ99)

.set out

STARTING AN ACTION IS STARTING OUT ON A PATH (L93)

(also 01.05.08.05)

03.09.00.07. Arrival

BIRTH IS ARRIVAL (LT)

(also 01.05.08.05.12 .move towards the speaker/this place)

SUCCESS IS REACHING THE END OF THE PATH (L93)

(also 01.05.08.05)

03.09.00.08. Return

(see 01.05.07.06 ..turned back)

03.09.00.09. Guidance in travel

HELP OR COUNSELING FOR PEOPLE TO LIVE A GOOD LIFE IS GUIDANCE DURING THE JOURNEY (K05)

.guiding/leading/showing the way

COMMUNICATION IS GUIDING (LJ99)

.one who guides/leads

COUNSELORS ARE GUIDES (LT, Jäkel)

GOD IS THE GUIDE (Jäkel, K05)

.that which guides/leads

..landmark

THINGS YOU GAUGE YOUR PROGRESS BY ARE LANDMARKS (LT)

.plan/scheme of travel

LIFE PLAN IS AN ITINERARY (LJ99)

(see 01.05.06.07.02 .timetable/schedule)

Guide/lead/show the way

EVIL WAYS LEAD TO DEATH (Jäkel, K05)

GOD'S WAY LEADS TO (ETERNAL) LIFE (Jäkel, K05)

.accompany as a guide

GOD LEADS THE RIGHTEOUS (Jäkel, K05)

GOD LETS HIS GOOD SPIRIT LEAD THEM [THE RIGHTEOUS] (Jäkel)

.bring or take to a place

GOD BRINGS THE RIGHTEOUS OUT OF DARKNESS (Jäkel)

03.09.01. Transport

.of loads

(see 01.05.05.11.03.01 ...a burden)

03.09.02. Means of travel/transport

03.09.02.01. Route/way

GOD TEACHES THE RIGHTEOUS HIS WAY (Jäkel)

MEANS FOR ACHIEVING PURPOSES ARE ROUTES (LT, Jäkel)

RIGHTEOUS DELIGHT IN GOD'S WAY (Jäkel)

RIGHTEOUS HATE FALSE WAYS (Jäkel)

RIGHTEOUS TAKE HEED TO THEIR WAY (Jäkel)

WICKED ARE IGNORANT OF GOD'S WAY (Jäkel)

WICKED REFUSE TO BE INFORMED ABOUT GOD'S WAY (Jäkel)
(see 01.03.07.03 .watch/observe, 01.04.08.04, 01.04.08.12.01,
   01.05.05.11.03, 01.05.08.03.02, 01.05.08.04.01.01 .run, and 03.09.00.04
   .stray/go astray)
03.09.02.01.01. Way/passage/means of access to a place
   CAUSES ARE PATHS (CAUSAL PATH METAPHOR) (LJ99)
   CHOICE IS CHOICE OF PATH (Jäkel)
      MORAL CHOICE IS CHOICE OF PATH (Jäkel)
   DIFFERENT MEANS FOR ACHIEVING A PURPOSE IS A DIFFERENT PATH (L93)
   DIFFERENT MEANS OF ACHIEVING A RESULT IS A DIFFERENT PATH (L93)
   GOD'S COMMANDMENTS ARE THE PATH (Jäkel)
   LINE OF THOUGHT IS A PATH (LJ99)
   LINEAR SCALES ARE PATHS (L93, LJ99)
   MEANS ARE PATHS (L93, LJ99, K02)
   (also 01.05.08.05 .course/direction of movement, 03.09.02.01.02, and
      03.09.02.01.02.02)
   (see 01.05.07.03.07, 01.05.07.06.01 .in upward direction)
03.09.02.01.02. Way/path/track
   (see 03.09.02.01.01)
   03.09.02.01.02.01. Junction of roads/paths/tracks
      .cross-roads
         CHOICES IN LIFE ARE CROSSROADS (LT)
   03.09.02.01.02.02. Track/trail/path
      (see 03.09.02.01.01)
03.09.05. Air/space travel
   .a flight through air/space
      LIFE IS A VOYAGE IN SPACE (K02)
03.10. Occupation/work
   .regular occupation/trade/profession
      PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A BUSINESS (L93)
   03.10.06. Industry
      03.10.06.04. Building/constructing
         .manner of construction
            LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE (K02)
               (also 01.06.07.05)
   03.10.11. Equipment for work
      03.10.11.40. Receptacle/container
         AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER (LJ80, K02)
         (ARGUMENTS ARE CONTAINERS LJ80)
         MIND IS A CONTAINER (GO)
         STATES ARE CONTAINERS (LJ80, K02)

B. Index of conceptual metaphors used in this thesis

Section 1. The world
    01.01. The earth
        (see 01.05.07.06.01)
        01.01.05. Water
            01.01.05.08. Flow/flowing
                STRONG FEELING/PASSION (02.02.15) IS FLOW/FLOWING
                (see 01.05.08.04.01.01, 01.05.08.05.04)
        01.01.10. The universe
            01.01.10.04. Heavenly body
                01.01.10.04.01. Movement of heavenly bodies
                (see 01.05.08.04.01.01)
    01.02. Life
        01.02.00. Life
                (see 01.05.08.03.02, 01.05.08.04.01.01, 01.05.08.05.04, 03.09.00.01,
                    03.09.00.05, 03.09.02.01.02, 03.09.02.01.02.04)
        (.present life)
                (see 03.09.02.01.02)
            01.02.00.07. Age
                01.02.00.07.01. Youth
                (see 03.09.02.01.02)
        01.02.01. Health and disease
            01.02.01.01. Ill-health
                01.02.01.01.09. Pain
                    MENTAL PAIN/SUFFERING (02.02.20) IS PAIN (p. 155)
        01.02.02. Death
        (see 01.05.07.06.01, 01.05.08.03.02, 01.05.08.04.01.01, 01.05.08.05.04,
            03.09.00.06)
        01.02.03. Biology
            01.02.03.03. Biological processes
                01.02.03.03.16. Procreation/reproduction
                    01.02.03.03.16.06. Pregnancy/gestation
                    (see 01.05.08.04.01.01)
        01.02.04. Plants
            01.02.04.06. Defined by growth/development
                01.02.04.06.03. Defined by habit
                  01.02.04.06.03.02. Tree/woody plant
                    HISTORY (01.05.06.08.04.05) IS A TREE (p. 326)
        01.02.05. The body
        (see 02.07.03)
        01.02.06. Animals
        THE SOUL (03.07.00.24.01) IS AN ANIMAL (p. 167)
        01.02.07. People
         (see p. 271)
        01.02.11. Cleanness
        RIGHTEOUSNESS (03.07.00.24.07.03) IS CLEANNESS (p. 155)
    01.04. Matter
        01.04.03. Properties of materials

01.05.08.03.05.01. Going first/in front
ANTECEDENCE (01.05.06.08.04.03) IS GOING FIRST/IN FRONT
01.05.08.04. Rate of movement/progress
01.05.08.04.01. Swiftness
01.05.08.04.01.01. Going swiftly on foot (incl. 'running')
FLOW/FLOWING (01.01.05.08) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 218)
MOVEMENT OF HEAVENLY BODIES (01.01.10.04.01) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 219)
LIFE (01.02) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 219)
DEATH (01.02.02) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 220)
PREGNANCY/GESTATION (01.02.03.03.16.06) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 220)
BRINGING SOMETHING UPON SOMEONE (INCURRING) (01.05.03) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 220)
CONTINUING IN ACTION/OPERATION (01.05.05.05) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 220)
CEASING AN ACTION/OPERATION (01.05.05.08) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 221)
REQUESTING/SEEKING HELP (02.08.03.12) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 221)
HOSTILE ACTION/ATTACK (01.05.05.17.02) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 221)
RAPIDITY/SPEED OF ACTION/OPERATION (01.05.05.20.05) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 221)
CARE/CAREFULNESS/ATTENTION (01.05.05.20.07) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 221)
BEHAVIOUR/CONDUCT (01.05.05.22) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 222)
TIME (01.05.06) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 224)
PASSING THROUGH (OF SAND IN HOUR-GLASS) (01.05.06.06) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 225)
EXTENSION IN SPACE (01.05.07.02) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 225)
SPREADING/DIFFUSION (01.05.07.02.01) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 225)
PRESENCE (01.05.07.04.03) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 225)
TRANSFERENCE (01.05.08.06) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 225)
CONTINUITY/UNINTERRUPTEDNESS (01.06.03.03.05) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 226)
IDEA, NOTION, CONCEPT (02.01.07.04.01) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 226)
ZEAL/EARNEST ENTHUSIASM (02.02.14) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 226)
LOVE (02.02.22) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 227)
SQUANDERING/PRODIGALITY (02.07.11.02) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 227)
CUT OF SHARP WEAPON (03.03.16.05.03) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 227)
REFORM/AMENDMENT/CORRECTION (03.05.00.04.03.01) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 227)
EXPRESSION (03.08.01) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 228)
PUBLISHING/SPREADING ABROAD (03.08.05.07) IS GOING SWIFTLY ON FOOT (p. 228)
01.05.08.05. Movement in a certain direction
01.05.08.05.04. Forward movement (incl. 'passing')

01.06.06. Quantity/amount
    01.06.06.03. Greatness of quantity/amount/degree
      (see 01.05.07.06.01)
01.07. The supernatural
    01.07.00.04. The Trinity
      01.07.00.04.01. Christian God
        (see 03.09.00.09)
      01.07.00.04.06. Heaven
        (see 01.05.07.06.01, 03.09.00.01)
      01.07.00.04.07. Hell
        (see 01.05.07.06.01)

Section 2. The mind
  02.01. Mental capacity
    02.01.07. Perception/cognition
      02.01.07.04. Faculty of ideation
        02.01.07.04.01. Idea, notion, concept
          (see 01.05.08.04.01.01)
    02.01.08. Understanding
      02.01.08.02. Wisdom, sagacity
        (see 03.09.02.01.02)
    02.01.10. Intelligibility
      02.01.10.02. Meaning
        (see 01.05.08.05.04)
    02.01.12. Knowledge
      02.01.12.08. Conformity with what is known, truth
        (see 01.04.08)
    02.01.15. Attention, judgment
      02.01.15.01. Attention, heed
        02.01.15.01.02. Earnest attention, concentration
          (see 03.01.04.06.01)
      02.01.15.02. Inattention, heedlessness
        02.01.15.02.01. Ignoring, disregard
          (see 01.05.08.05.04)
      02.01.15.07. Judgement, decision
        02.01.15.07.08. Quality of being good
          (see 01.04.08, 01.05.07.06.01)
  02.02. Emotion
    02.02.14. Zeal/earnest enthusiasm
      (see 01.05.08.04.01.01)
    02.02.15. Strong feeling/passion
      (see 01.01.05.08, 01.04.03.03.02)
    02.02.19. Pleasure/enjoyment
      02.02.19.01. Quality of being pleasant/pleasurable
        (see 03.09.02.01.02)
      02.02.19.06. Freedom from trouble/care/sorrow
        (see 03.09.02.01.02)
    02.02.20. Mental pain/suffering
      (see 01.02.01.01.09)
      02.02.20.08. Dejection
        (see 03.09.02.01.02)
    02.02.22. Love

C. Old Testament occurrences of 'walk in _ ways' (KJV)

Deut 5:33	Ye shall WALK in all the WAYS which the LORD your God hath commanded you...
Deut 8:6	Therefore thou shalt keep the commandments of the LORD thy God, to WALK in his WAYS, and to fear him.
Deut 10:12	And now, Israel, what doth the LORD thy God require of thee, but to fear the LORD thy God, to WALK in all his WAYS, and to love him...
Deut 11:22	...love the LORD your God, to WALK in all his WAYS, and to cleave unto him...
Deut 13:5	...to thrust thee out of the WAY which the LORD thy God commanded thee to WALK in ....
Deut 19:9	...love the LORD thy God, and to WALK ever in his WAYS ;...
Deut 26:17	Thou hast avouched the LORD this day to be thy God, and to WALK in his WAYS,...
Deut 28:9	...if thou shalt keep the commandments of the LORD thy God, and WALK in his WAYS.
Deut 30:16	...to love the LORD thy God, to WALK in his WAYS, and to keep his commandments ...
Josh 22:5	...to love the LORD your God, and to WALK in all his WAYS, and to keep his commandments...
1 Sam 18:5	...Behold, thou art old, and thy sons WALK not in thy WAYS: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations.
1 Kings 2:3	And keep the charge of the LORD thy God, to WALK in his WAYS, to keep his statutes, and his commandments...
1 Kin 3:14	And if thou wilt WALK in my WAYS, to keep my statutes and my commandments...
1 Kin 8:36	...teach them the good WAY wherein they should WALK...
1 Kin 8:58	That he may incline our hearts unto him, to WALK in all his WAYS, and to keep his commandments, and his statutes...
1 Kin 11:38	...hearken unto all that I command thee, and wilt WALK in my WAYS, and do [that is] right in my sight, to keep my statutes and my commandments,...
2 Chro 6:31	That they may fear thee, to WALK in thy WAYS, so long as they live in the land...
Psal 119:3	They also do no iniquity: they WALK in his WAYS.
Psal 143:8	...cause me to know the WAY wherein I should WALK...
Prov 1:15	My son, WALK not thou in the WAY with them; refrain thy foot from their path:
Prov 2:13	Who leave the paths of uprightness, to WALK in the WAYS of darkness;
Prov 2:20	That thou mayest WALK in the WAY of good [men], and keep the paths of the righteous.
Prov 3:23	Then shalt thou WALK in thy WAY safely, and thy foot shall not stumble.
Eccl 11:9	… WALK in the WAYS of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes...
Isaiah 2:3	...he will teach us of his WAYS, and we wil WALK in his paths: ...
Isaiah 8:11	...instructed me that I should not WALK in the WAY of this people...
Isaiah 30:21	And thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This [is] the WAY, WALK ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left.
Isaiah 42:24	...for they would not WALK in his WAYS, neither were they obedient unto his law.
Jerem 6:16	...ask for the old paths, where [is] the good WAY, and WALK therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. But they said, We will not WALK [therein].
Jerem 7:23	… WALK ye in all the WAYS that I have commanded you...
Jerem 18:15	...they have caused them to stumble in their WAYS [from] the ancient paths, to WALK in paths, [in] a WAY not cast up;
Hosea 14:9	...for the WAYS of the LORD [are] right, and the just shall WALK in them: but the transgressors shall fall therein.
Micah 4:2	...he will teach us of his WAYS, and we will WALK in his paths:
Zech 3:7	...If thou wilt WALK in my WAYS, and if thou wilt keep my charge, … and I will give thee places to WALK among these that stand by.
Acts 14:16	Who in times past suffered all nations to WALK in their own WAYS.