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## ILLITERATE AUTHORS AND LITERATE FOOTBALLERS: CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS BASED ON THE SOURCE DOMAIN OF LITERACY IN CONTEMPORARY SERBIAN

This study applies the conceptual metaphor theory to examine the metaphorical extensions of meaning of literacy-related lexicon in contemporary Serbian. The cognitive semantic analysis used the online Corpus of Contemporary Serbian together with the Sketch Engine's Serbian electronic subcorpus (srWaC). To identify metaphorically used lexemes belonging to the source domain of LITERACY, the MIP procedure was applied, the target domains identified and the underlying conceptual metaphors were formulated. The findings demonstrate that the speakers of contemporary Serbian utilize LITERACY to comprehend the target domains of FAMILIARITY WITH LANGUAGE, ACCOMPLISHED WRITING, FAMILIARITY WITH LITERATURE, GENERAL EDUCATION, PHYSICAL ABILITY, BASIC ACQUAINTANCE WITH (OR EXPERTISE IN) A FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE, CRITICAL THINKING, SOPHISTICATION AND LIFE EXPERIENCE. Critical analysis of the identified metaphorical mappings suggests that, while presenting the complex and highly valued target domains as a basic skill, LITERACY-based conceptual metaphors shift the responsibility for incompetence in one of the listed areas from the entire society to its underprivileged members.

**Key words:** conceptual metaphor, cognitive semantics, Serbian

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary world, literacy implies more than mere familiarity with an alphabet or the ability to use the symbols when reading and writing. Intrinsically linked with education and improvement of living circumstances, literacy has turned into an invaluable social asset. The social capital of literacy is at least three-fold as studies show that literate people obtain better access to continuing education opportunities, are more likely to educate their children and actively shape literate societies which are better geared to meet modern challenges and changes (UNESCO 2005: 25). Furthermore, it boosts economic growth, and research indicates that a country that promotes strong literacy as universal skill in its entire population is likely to be more successful in fostering growth and well-being than one in which the gap between high-skill

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and low-skill is large (UNESCO 2005: 144). In other words, the average literacy score in a given population has proved to be a better indicator of growth than the percentage of the population with very high literacy score (Coulombe et al. 2004). Furthermore, the ability to read is inextricably linked to the ability to think critically, which in turn enables active participation in the life of a community, thus fostering a more just and equitable society. Consequently, it is not surprising that literacy has emerged as one of the transformative forces in modern societies. It has come to be regarded not only as a fundamental skill on which social mobility and social justice are based, but also as ‘a human right, a tool of personal empowerment and a means for social and human development’ (UNESCO 2005: 14).

However, this valuable skill is neither universally available nor completely attainable in modern society. Research has shown that children from low-income families and marginalized communities are less likely to have access to high-quality education programs, which leads to persistent disparities in their literacy development (Reardon and Portilla 2016). Even when a society manages to provide access to education for all, the struggle of those from low-income backgrounds, which includes challenges such as food insecurity, inadequate housing and limited access to healthcare, can negatively impact their academic achievement (Coleman et al. 1966; Duncan and Murnane 2011) thus preventing social mobility and perpetuating social inequality. In other words, the literacy gap translates into a social chasm, as it strongly impacts not only those living in poverty, but also ethnic minorities and individuals with disabilities (Bain and Hasbrouck 2021). Lower literacy rates are associated with higher unemployment and poorer health outcomes as well as with decreased civic participation (OECD 2013). The complete absence or distinct lack of literacy, consequently, perpetuates social inequalities and hinders social mobility, which is widely recognized in academic literature. Freire (1970) regards literacy as a form of ‘cultural action for freedom’ which empowers citizens to critically engage with the world and take an active role in shaping their lives, while Giroux (1987) concludes that it is a tool that fosters social change that may result in more just societies.

Despite the foregoing, the gap between the literate and illiterate portions of society remains difficult to close. The sharp social divide between those in possession of the ability to read and thus quickly acquire higher-quality education and improve their social ranking (the literate) and those left behind to linger in poverty, poor health or untreated medical and emotional problems, inadequate living conditions in disruptive and unstable family situations, or destructive peer pressure (the illiterate or semi-literate) is reflected in the scalar nature of literacy. Although there appear to be three points on the literacy scale (literate, semi-literate and illiterate), the values of semi-literacy and illiteracy are actually approximately the same, as both are associated with poor schooling and low income. The aim of this study is to explore how the literacy-driven social divide is reflected in thought and language. To be precise, the analysis that follows focuses on identifying the set of conceptual

domains that can be thought of and talked about in terms of literacy. It should be emphasized that the goal of this article was not to establish absolute or relative frequencies of linguistic metaphors in the corpus. The analysis of the LITERACY metaphor was conducted in a qualitative manner in order to explore the ability of this metaphor to structure different conceptual domains assuming that ‘generalizations can be detected from linguistic metaphors’ (Deignan 2020: 114). Additionally, this investigation applies the perspective of critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black 2004, Goatly 2007) to examine the ideology behind the identified LITERACY-based metaphors.

## 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This study is firmly grounded in conceptual metaphor theory (cognitive metaphor theory or CMT), which is still one of the ‘the dominant accounts of metaphor-as-thought’ (Deignan 2005: 4). This approach regards metaphor as indispensable to both thought and language due to the central role it plays in thinking (see also Gibbs 1994, Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Lakoff and Johnson 2003, Kövecses 2002). According to the crucial tenets of CMT, conceptual metaphors underpin and structure thinking and knowledge (especially about abstract domains), they are grounded in physical experience and are not ideologically neutral. To put it simply, conceptual metaphors are links between ideas: they are connections between two semantic or conceptual areas (or domains), conventionally termed target and source domains. Conceptual metaphors allow knowledge and ideas about source domains, which are typically (though not exclusively) concrete, to be mapped onto target domains. Target domains (such as emotions, human relations, or life and death, for instance), by nature abstract, complex, unfamiliar, or poorly delineated, need to be interpreted in terms of familiar, well-known conceptual domains in order to be understood. The underlying conceptual metaphors are manifested in language patterns called ‘linguistic metaphors’ (Steen 1994) and conventionally presented in the form of A IS B, where A is the target domain. To illustrate, in the example 1) an abstract organization (a political party) is thought of and talked about in terms of a concrete object (a machine). This basic mapping between the two domains, or the underlying conceptual metaphor, is formulated as AN ORGANIZATION IS A MACHINE, and it may be accompanied by other additional mappings and their realizations, such as those between the political activities and the operation of the machine, the organizational problems and mechanical breakdowns or the political results and machine products (for correspondences and details see Grujić 2018). Under CMT, conceptual metaphors are captured both as a process and a product: the understanding of a domain is their process aspect, while the resulting conceptual patterns are the product (Kövecses 2020: 1).

1. The Democratic Party is a political *machine*.

Furthermore, as target domains tend to be rather complex and multifaceted conceptual areas whose structure never absolutely corresponds to the

entire knowledge about source domains, metaphors never illuminate them entirely: some of the target domain aspects will be highlighted while others will invariably remain in the shadows. The capability of conceptual metaphors to bring to light only certain elements, and to present them in a particular manner, through the ‘lens’ of the source domain, is the reason why metaphor is not considered to be ideologically neutral. Naturally, ‘ideological implications of particular patterns of metaphorical expressions vary depending on the extent to which those patterns are conventionally used across texts and genres’ (Semino 2008: 34). Consequently, the ideological power of conceptual metaphors becomes visible when they generate or promote particular world-views, provide a framework for the interpretation of reality or offer justification for the former two, all of which can be revealed by critical metaphor analysis.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted on a large set of metaphorically used lexemes excerpted from the Internet by means of the Sketch Engine, which is a collection of ready-to-use corpora containing a subset for Serbian. It was complemented by the search of the Corpus of Contemporary Serbian (2013)<sup>2</sup>, which is also available online. The investigation comprised a narrow section of the literacy-related lexicon consisting of the following lexemes: the nouns *pismenost* (E: *literacy*), *polupismenost* (E: *semi-literacy*) and *nepismenost* (E: *illiteracy*), the adjectives *pismen* (together with *pismena*, *pismeno* E: *literate*), *polupismen* (E: *semi-literate*) and *nepismen* (E: *illiterate*), including their plural and comparative or superlative forms. This produced a set of approximately 3,000 instances of use of the observed lexemes, which was analyzed for metaphorical expressions. The approach to the identification of metaphorically used words was based on the metaphor identification procedure (or MIP) proposed by a group of cognitive linguists (Pragglejaz Group 2007). The crucial step in this analytic model is to establish the contextual meaning of the given lexical unit and to compare it with its more basic contemporary meaning. The basic meaning is characterized by the tendency to be more concrete (it evokes what ‘is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste’, Semino 2008: 11), more precise, historically older and often related to bodily actions. The lexical unit is identified as metaphorical if the basic meaning contrasts the contextual meaning, but can be understood in comparison with it. In the compiled corpus, several hundred examples met the criteria described above, and these were classified into groups depending on the target domains structured by the identified underlying conceptual metaphors. To provide a comprehensive view of the metaphorical extensions of the meaning of the observed lexemes, the following sections will start with the presentation and illustration of their basic meaning (as described in the Serbian dictionary).

<sup>2</sup> For clarity, the examples excerpted from the Corpus of Contemporary Serbian carry the mark KSSJ in brackets.

## 4. RESULTS

Although literacy in itself involves an entire set of abstract aspects (such as critical interpretation of the written word or the ability to use the language to suit the communicative purpose) due to which it can be classified as a prototypical target domain, the findings of our analysis confirm that it also serves as the source domain used to comprehend a range of more or less mutually related abstract or target domains. The mappings established between the source domain of literacy and the target domains described below result in a range of metaphorical extensions of meaning of the lexemes which denote the presence or absence of this skill.

### 4.1. Basic meaning

The adjective *pismen* (E: *literate*) is defined in the Serbian dictionary<sup>3</sup> in the following manner: 1) able to read and write; having the lowest, basic education; 2) characterised by literacy and grammatical correctness, containing no grammatical or linguistic errors; and 3) presented in written form<sup>4</sup>. As can be seen, meaning 1) pertains exclusively to people, 2) refers to both people and texts, while 3) applies only to the products of the process of writing. The noun *pismenost* (E: *literacy*) is defined as: 1) the quality of being literate; 2) familiarity with the systems of writing and reading, ability to write correctly in terms of grammar and style; 3) the state of written literature, or the culture of a community or nation. The adjective *nepismen* (E: *illiterate*) is defined as: 1) unable to read and write; 2a) unable to write skillfully, 2b) written in poor style; 3) lacking basic acquaintance with a particular field of knowledge, while *nepismenost* (E: *illiteracy*) is defined as a) the quality of being illiterate; the inability to write and read; b) poor literacy and 3) absence of basic acquaintance with a particular field of knowledge. Consequently, the third point on the literacy scale, the inability to competently interpret or use an alphabet is understood as semi-literacy (S: *polupismen*).

However, the analysis of the contemporary uses of the analyzed lexemes conducted on the two Serbian corpora indicates that there is a network of metonymy- and metaphor-based meanings that goes beyond the semantic scope cited above, and which can be accounted for by the fact that literacy is employed as the source domain that is mapped onto other conceptual domains. Our findings demonstrate that LITERACY metaphors structure a diverse array of target domains which are metaphorically conceptualized as sets of skills belonging to basic education and instantiated by linguistic metaphors such as *pismen* (E: *literate*), *polupismen* (E: *semi-literate*) and *nepismen* (E: *illiterate*). The analysis presented in this section will be followed by possible explanations for the selected mappings and discussion of the relationship between LITERACY and the set of target domains it structures in the light of the ideological role of metaphors (following Goatly 2007 and Charteris-Black 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Rečnik Matice srpske.

<sup>4</sup> The translation of dictionary entries and Serbian examples is ours.

## 4.2. Familiarity with language

The analysis reveals that the basic meaning of *literacy* can be metaphorically extended to denote the concept that is related to, but much broader than the ability to read and write: that of general familiarity with language, or one's command of a language, which encompasses different aspects of communicative competence. In the illustrations below, it is specifically used to refer to a wide range of vocabulary (examples 2-5) as well as an excellent general linguistic range (examples 6-10). The linguistic realizations of the submetaphor WIDE VOCABULARY RANGE IS LITERACY include adjectives *pismen* (E: *literate*) to structure the use of loanwords (*foreign terminology* in the example (3)), the phrase *ne biti dovoljno pismen* (E: *not literate enough to find the right word*) which denotes the inability to pinpoint adequate lexemes in a language, and the phrase *perfektno pismen* (E: *perfectly literate and creative*) to describe superb command of a language. The example (4) also confirms the existence of the opposite metaphorical mapping NARROW VOCABULARY RANGE IS INSUFFICIENT LITERACY (E: *not literate enough*).

2. Vi ste Đorđe *pismen* čovek, vi bar znate da u srpskom jeziku ne postoji reč gej.
3. Nisi *dovoljno pismen*, pa koristiš tuđu terminologiju.
4. Ovo je kritika načina dodeljivanja nagrade, a ne omalovažavanje i *nisam dovoljno pismen* da nađem dobru reč za ono što vi radite, ali neka vam je na čast.
5. Dobar PR menadžer trebalo bi da bude inteligentan, da ima iskustvo u novinarstvu, da bude *perfektno pismen* i kreativan.

Literacy can also be employed to structure the command of linguistic structures of a language. The metaphor WIDE GENERAL LINGUISTIC RANGE IS LITERACY, with the two submetaphors for the lower degrees on the scale of competence (NARROW LINGUISTIC RANGE IS SEMI-LITERACY and LIMITED LINGUISTIC RANGE IS ILLITERACY), was observed in both analysed corpora (*anybody literate enough to translate* in (6), *semi-literate people* in (7); *I'm quite illiterate, but I read a lot* in (8)), where it is used to characterise both a language user (*whether Balašević is literate at all*, example (9)) and a piece of writing (*a literate novel* in (10)).

6. Pa zar nema niko *pismen* u bordu ABA lige koji je mogao prevesti pravilnik kako treba?
7. On se pak osvrnuo na neke naše čudne kovanice i sintagme koje plasiraju, slobodan sam da kažem, *polupismeni* ljudi. (KSSJ)
8. Prilično sam *nepismen*, ali dosta čitam. (KSSJ)
9. ... literarno bezvredno nizanje frivolnih slika i stihova, napisanih jezikom koji je toliko neprecizan da se čovek mora zapitati ne samo kakvi su poetski dometi takvog teksta nego i kakva je izvorna jezička kompetencija autora, to jest koliko je Balašević uopšte *pismen*.
10. Recimo, Mira Đurđević, koja je napisala neviđeno zabavan (i *pismen*) roman Bremasoni o srpskim masonima.

### 4.3. Accomplished writing

In a separate set of linguistic metaphors, literacy refers to the ability to develop ideas in a piece of writing and to present them in a logical, coherent and cohesive manner. The submetaphors VERSED IN WRITING IS LITERATE and UNPOLISHED WRITING IS ILLITERATE are realized by means of the corresponding values of the adjectives *pismen* (E: *literate*), *polupismen* (E: *semi-literate*), *nepismen* (E: *illiterate*) and the comparative form *pismeniji* (E: *more literate*) together with the adverbs *nepismeno* and *polupismeno*. Of the three observed values on the scale of literacy, only one point (*pismen*) is positive; the lexemes *polupismen* and *nepismen*, although seemingly located in positions which indicate different degrees, both denote a failure to proficiently produce a written text.

11. On više izgleda kao vrlo vešt i *pismen pisac*, dobar kompozitor, i izrađen stilist. (KSSJ)
12. S druge strane, imate patetične knjige, kakve piše, na primer, Mirjana Bobić-Mojsilović. Zatim i *polupismene pisce*. (KSSJ)
13. Stil je rogotatan, *sasvim nepismen*, jezik rđav kao retko kod koga srpskog pisca. (KSSJ)
14. Naš Patrijarh je i usmen i *pismen*, ali je *pismeniji* nego usmeniji. Došao je iz knjige i služio knjizi. (KSSJ)
15. On tu svoju poetiku, taj svoj spomenik od tuča trajniji, ispisuje *nepismeno* poput diletanta kome je slava udarila u glavu kao sunčanica! (KSSJ)
16. Dok mi još mucamo, *nepismeno* i *polupismeno*, taj je gospodin znao da piše, kako valjda ne znaju više da pišu ni u samoj Francuskoj (*nepismeni pisci*) (KSSJ)

### 4.4. Familiarity with literature

Among the examples related to writing, there was a subset of illustrations that explicitly structured one's familiarity with works of literature and literary style. The lack of acquaintance with the former is mapped onto the illiteracy of readers and librarians (S: *književno (ne)pismen*; E: *literary (il)literate*), semi-literacy of authors (S: *polupismeni pisci*; E: *semi-literate writers*) or illiteracy of literary works (realized as *nepismen* and *nepismeno*). Once more, the metaphorical structuring of the target domain is such that only one of the three values of literacy corresponds to the possession of knowledge (FAMILIARITY WITH LITERATURE IS LITERACY), while the other two points on the scale denote its absence (LACK OF FAMILIARITY WITH LITERATURE IS ILLITERACY/SEMI-LITERACY).

17. Ko je *iole pismen*, znaće da čitava svetska književnost nosi biblijske simbole, da je Biblija fundament književnosti.
18. Treba biti *književno prilično nepismen* pa ne videti što je vidljivo golim okom i izdaleka. (KSSJ)

19. Srbija će propasti zbog toga što mnogo pije, i zato što su bibliotekari *nepismeni*, konstatovao je Stojanović oštro kritikujući novi, dvostepeni model otkupa knjiga. (KSSJ)
19. I napisao ga je nepristojno, priznajem, *napisao nepismeno* i stilom kojim pišu svi *polupismeni* kao i on. On je glup, a svrh toga i špekulant. (KSSJ)
20. Mislim da je bruka i sramota što se na pragu trećeg milenijuma u našim knjižarama mogu naći knjige *nepismenih* ljudi. (KSSJ)

#### 4.5. General education

The next concentric circle of meaning extensions of *literacy* spreads onto general education. The EDUCATED IS LITERATE metaphor structures areas of general, music, film and literary education and does so in a manner similar to that described above: the educated are construed as literate, the uneducated as illiterate (*illiterate, film-illiterate*), while those apparently between these two extremes, but actually located on the negative pole of the scale, are qualified as semi-literate (S: *polupismeni intelektualci, muzički polupismena publika*; E: *semi-literate intellectuals, musically semi-literate audience*).

21. Svi oni koji su iznenađeni su *polupismeni intelektualci*, jer zaboravljaju da je Milošević prilježni đak Brozove komunističke škole. (KSSJ)
22. Da parafraziram onog filozofa polako otkrivam koliko ne znam. A izgleda i nisam dovoljno *pismen* da se setim ko je to rekao?
23. ... kad je taj mali čovek o kome i za koga on tobože piše ne samo *nepismen* (*polupismen* i *čtvrtpismen*) nego još i primitivan, te zazire od svake knjige. (KSSJ)
24. Ne znači da sam *filmski nepismen*, već samo to da posmatram te filmove na neki drugi način od onih koji tripuju na to.
25. Moj utisak je da je publika muzički *polupismena*. (KSSJ)

#### 4.6. Physical ability

Illustrations 27-32 confirm that literacy can also be mapped onto a set of physical skills. When the meaning of the lexeme is extended in this direction, PHYSICAL ABILITY corresponds to LITERACY, as evidenced in metaphorical expressions *fudbalski pismen* (in 27), *pismen igrač* (28), *opšta motorička pismenost* (30) and *hlebna pismenost* (31) (E: *football-literate player, literate footballer, general motorical literacy, bread-making literacy*), while lower ability level translates as ILLITERACY as in *nepismen fudbalski čovek* in (32) (E: *a person illiterate in football*).

26. Pokazao je da je *fudbalski pismen*, ali zaostaje za ostatkom ekipe.
27. Moram da pohvalim Žeravicu koji sluša i vidi se da je *pismen igrač*.
28. Pol Filip, koji uopšte nije *nepismen fudbalski čovek* ... (KSSJ)
29. ... u cilju sticanja široke baze i *opšte motoričke pismenosti*.



30. Ali *hlebna pismenost* je još dobro očuvana u Gornjem Poreču. (KSSJ)  
 31. Pol Filip, koji uopšte nije *nepismen fudbalski čovek* ... (KSSJ)

#### 4.7. Basic acquaintance with a field of knowledge

Once the metaphorical mappings were established between the source domain of LITERACY and the target domain of GENERAL EDUCATION (Section 4.5.), it was easy for literacy to branch out onto more specific fields of knowledge. The metaphor BASIC ACQUAINTANCE WITH A FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE IS LITERACY structures the whole gamut of areas including law (*pravno pismen, zakonski pismen*; E: *legally literate, literate in legislation*), economy (*ekonomski pismen/nepismen*; E: *economically literate/illiterate*), IT (*informatička pismenost, kompjuterski nepismen, informaciono pismen, informatički pismen, kompjuterski pismen, tehnološki pismen, digitalno pismen*; E: *IT literacy, computer-illiterate, IT literate, technologically literate; digitally literate*) and mathematics (*pismen*; E: *literate*).

32. Znači, ne samo advokati, nego i svaki građanin koji je *pravno pismen* može u to da uđe. Zašto da nema informaciju o tome kakva je pravna praksa?  
 33. Ponekad to zavisi koliko je prodavac koga zateknete u objektu *zakonski pismen*.  
 34. Svako iole *ekonomski pismen* prihvaćice deo računice.  
 35. Narod je *ekonomski nepismen*, ali se bar od novinara očekuje da razume šta je kapital.  
 36. *Informatička pismenost* i informatičke veštine su sinonimi za isti pojam. (KSSJ)  
 37. Zabrana bi, dakle, mogla imati značaja samo za običan puk, *kompjuterski nepismen svet*. (KSSJ)  
 38. Danas svaki građanin treba da bude *informaciono pismen*.  
 39. ... što će svakako konzumirati, prosečan, ne baš preterano *informatički pismen* građanin Srbije.  
 40. Naprava je dostupna na tržištu i onaj koji je koristi trebao bi da bude *kompjuterski pismen*.  
 41. Ovaj glumac mora da bude *tehnološki pismen*.  
 42. Četrdesetih godina, *digitalno pismen* i opušten u komunikaciji.  
 43. Računaj i sam, *pismen si*.

Furthermore, literacy is mapped onto basic competence in areas such as politics (S: *politički pismen, politički nepismeniji*; E: *politically literate, more politically illiterate*), science (S: *naučno pismen*; E: *scientifically literate*), art and architecture (S: *audio-vizuelna pismenost, prostorno-arhitektonska pismenost, prostorno-estetska pismenost, vizuelna nepismenost, likovna nepismenost*; E: *audio-visual literacy; spatial and architectonic literacy; spatial esthetic literacy*;

*visual illiteracy; artistic illiteracy*) as well as philosophy and ethics (S: *filozofska pismenost, moralna nepismenost*; E: *philosophical literacy, moral illiteracy*).

44. Svako ko je imalo *politički pismen* dobro zna da između autonomije i nezavisnosti može stajati samo republika.
45. On nije nepismen samo zbog nepoznavanja jezike, on je još *nepismeniji politički* gledano.
46. Slažem se sa g. Anđelkovićem da *nisam naučno pismen*.
47. ... kao i da doprinese širenju *audio-vizuelne pismenosti*, razvoju kulture i komunikacije.
48. ... ostvarivanje pozitivnog uticaja podizanjem *prostorno-arhitektonske pismenosti* i kulture.
49. Koncentriše se na *prostorno-estetsku pismenost* i kulturu.
50. Vlada *vizuelna nepismenost*, a okruženi smo slikama (KSSJ)
51. Isticana je *likovna nepismenost* ljudi koji odlučuju o najvećim likovnim projektima u zemlji (KSSJ)
52. Greška reifikacije naročito je česta u sredinama koje imaju nizak nivo *filozofske pismenosti*.
53. ... da jasno pokažemo kolika je njena *moralna nepismenost*. (KSSJ)

#### 4.8. *Expertise in a field of knowledge*

At the next level of meaning extensions, literacy corresponds to the highest degree of competence in a particular area of knowledge. Although this mapping is quite similar to that presented in the previous set of examples, the surrounding context of the illustrations below indicates that they pertain to expertise that is never possessed by a layman. Contrary to the illustrations presented in 4.7, the examples in this section demonstrate that the conceptual metaphor EXPERTISE IS LITERACY maps the skill of reading and writing onto considerable expertise in the given field (S: *ekonomski i ekološki pismen, ekološka pismenost, pismen ekonomista, istorijski pismen, muzički pismen*; E: *economically and ecologically literate, ecological literacy, literate economist, historically literate, musically literate*).

54. Kolikoznamo, ovakavata, inegativaneko-uticajnakvalitetne resurse podzemnih voda, nije zabeležen u svetu niko, ko je *iole ekonomski i ekološki pismen*, neće praviti površinsku akumulaciju u neposrednoj zoni registrovanih eksploataibilnih rezervi kvalitetnih podzemnih voda.
55. ... upozorava Lisa Benet iz kalifornijskog Centra za *ekološku pismenost*. (KSSJ)
56. Tužnije, Dejan Mirović koji je primio te likove, inače je sasvim *trezven i pismen ekonomista*.
57. Ne treba biti prepametan ili *istorijski pismen* pa se setiti Izraela.
58. Uvek natrčite na nekog ko je *muzički pismen*. Ja sam naleteo na bend ranga naših „Legendi”.

The mappings also encompass other areas of special expertise, such as military (S: *pismen general, polupismen oficir*; E: *literate general, semi-literate officer*), publishing (S: *pismen urednik*; E: *literate editor*), film (S: *rediteljski pismen*; E: *literate in terms of directing*) or psychology (S: *emocionalno nepismen*; E: *emotionally illiterate*), as well as architecture (S: *pismen*; E: *literate*) and engineering (S: *inženjerski pismen*; E: *construction-literate*).

59. Ovo je dokaz da uporan, istrajan i *pismen general* može da pobedi na više frontova.
60. I treće, nijedan *polupismen*, a kamoli akademski obrazovan oficir, nikada ovakav dokument ne bi napisao. (KSSJ)
61. Jasno je da nemate lektora, ali ovo bi *iole pismen urednik* trebalo da prepozna kao karambol od rečenice.
62. Ispeglan i jezgrovit, razumljiv i univerzalno prihvatljiv, *rediteljski veoma pismen* i angažovan, glumački izdašno podržan. (KSSJ)
63. ... i da neko emocionalno *nepismen* ne može da Vas razume.
64. Tražio je od arhitekte da bude *pismen*.
65. A što se tiče mosta preko Save, svako ko je *elementarno inženjerski pismen* zna da je primenjeno konstruktivno rešenje do kraja neracionalno.

#### 4.9. Critical thinking

The foregoing metaphorical extensions of the meaning of *literacy* obviously radiate in one common direction: they progress from basic familiarity with the written word to the highest levels of expertise in a particular physical skill or a specific area of knowledge. However, the examples from the analysed corpora indicate that there is also another, different direction in which they extend – that of sound reasoning and clear thinking which result in valid conclusions. The illustrations below demonstrate that the metaphor CRITICAL THINKING IS LITERACY (together with the two scalar submetaphors LACK OF CRITICAL THINKING IS SEMI-LITERACY and LACK OF CRITICAL THINKING IS ILLITERACY) structures the process of active and skillful analysis, interpretation, evaluation and synthesis of information about the world as the ability to read and write. In such conceptualization, literacy is mapped onto good reasoning (S: *svako iole pismen*; E: *anyone literate*), clarity, breadth and fairness of judgement (S: *treba biti pismen; polupismeno, nekritično tržište*; E: *should be literate; semi-literate, uncritical market*), competent and independent argumentation and presentation of conclusions (S: *neko pismen*; E: *someone literate*), precision and consistency of reasoning (S: *medijski pismen, politički pismen*; E: *media-literate, politically literate*), sound evidence (S: *dovoljno pismen da vidi očigledno*; E: *literate enough to notice the obvious*), guide to belief and action (S: *pismen mora da zaviri*; E: *the literate must have a look*).

66. Ta fabrika nema budućnost to zna svako *iole pismen*.
67. Biti kritičan pre svega prema sebi, kako bi rekao Krleža, a da bi se pisalo kritički, treba biti *pismen*, a ne biti samo dottore.

68. Ima li neko *pismen* da replicira ili slušate i pišete kako vam veliki gazda kaže?
69. I da li je stanovnik Srbije spreman za individualni pristup i *medijski pismen*?
70. Da je naš narod, srpski narod, *imalo politički pismen*, sam bi on odrea- govao na ovakve i slične podvale.
71. I ovo može da se vidi na internetu, naravno ko je dovoljno *pismen* da vidi očigledno.
72. *Nepismen*, bolje da ne zna. *Pismen*, mora da zaviri.
73. Nemilosrdna mašinerija kapitalizma traži samo *polupismeno*, *nekritično tržište* koje nekritički kupuje i šta mu treba i šta ne. (KSSJ)

#### 4.10. *Sophistication*

In the next step, the metaphorical mappings evidenced in the corpora stretch onto the conceptual domain of SOPHISTICATION. The metaphor CULTURED IS LITERATE is linguistically realised as *pismen*, while its counterpart (UNCULTURED IS ILLITERATE) is realised by means of the antonym *nepismen*.

74. Količina budalaština koje su se pojavile u podugačkim pismima, izražajno čitanim u udarnim terminima TV Pinka, takva je i tolika da zbilja ne čudi ćutanje Dragana Đilasa. Jer, šta bi bilo koji *pismen čovek* odgovorio na sve to?
75. Manifestaciju „Borina nedelja“ može da radi samo neko ko je *mnogo pismen* i to je manifestacija koja treba da bude na svetskom intelektualnom nivou.
76. Uz sve to je i *nepismen* tako da je prosto rečeno nekulturan iliti neuglađen.

#### 4.11. *Life experience*

As evidenced in the examples below, the domain of LITERACY is mapped onto LIFE EXPERIENCE. This highly complex target domain comprises elements from several target domains listed above, as it involves an entire set of life skills, accompanied by wisdom that comes with time. The linguistic realizations of conceptual correspondences include the expressions *životno polupismen* (E: *semi-literate in life*) and *pismen u životnom smislu* (E: *literate in terms of life*) and their opposite *životno nepismen* (E: *illiterate in life*), which confirms the reverse mapping LACK OF LIFE EXPERIENCE IS ILLITERACY.

77. I internet je poodavno posедnut dežurnim *životno polupismenim mediokrite- tima* koji nastoje da glasnim insistiranjem na svom *polupismenom delu*, sakriju onaj svoj, ipak, *nepismeni*, i to *životno nepismeni* deo.
78. Treba biti *pismen* u životnom smislu.

### 5. **DISCUSSION**

The results presented above show that literacy is mapped onto progres- sively rising levels of accomplishment, education, skillfulness, sophistication

or wisdom – the values which are difficult to obtain yet held in high esteem by contemporary societies. The knowledge of the world, however, perceives this skill as elementary, basic, widely spread and easy to acquire (especially when Serbian is concerned, since there is almost absolute correspondence between phonemes and graphemes in its writing system). How, then, can something so trivial and commonplace correspond to entities that are considered exceptionally valuable and worthwhile? And what accounts for the fact that the lexemes denoting lack of literacy can be used as insults?

First of all, the identified metaphors seem to be based on and derived from metonymy (see Barcelona 2000, Radden 2003). Through the process of generalization, LITERACY (as ‘familiarity with systems of writing’) is schematized to the broader concept of LITERACY, which denotes a larger area of experience involving higher skills like proficient comprehension, elaborate writing, or acquaintance with literary works. Since the basic ability to read and write is the constitutive element of the latter, broader functional domain, the relationship between the two can be defined as metonymic. In Kövecses’ terms, the identified sets of correspondences emerge through a metonymic stage (2020: 48), where metonymies LITERACY FOR FAMILIARITY WITH LANGUAGE, LITERACY FOR ACCOMPLISHED WRITING and LITERACY FOR FAMILIARITY WITH LITERATURE account for later metaphorical mappings. The third set of correspondences metonymically emerges from the concept of skill, to which both the manual skill of writing and other physical skills described above belong (MANUAL SKILL FOR PHYSICAL ABILITY). In the next stage of development, literacy is used for conceptualization of other domains (such as education, critical thinking, or expertise), where the mappings become properly metaphorical.

Secondly, when mapped onto the other abstract concepts, LITERACY metaphors represent the target domains as elementary skills, those that anyone is expected to be in possession of. Speaking from the standpoint of critical metaphor analysis, the literacy-based conceptualizations discussed above reflect the social stigma imposed on the uneducated: it is the lack of literacy (and all the other achievements metaphorically structured by it) that accounts for their social status. In other words, LITERACY-based metaphors shift the responsibility for the acquisition of education, sophistication, or analytical thinking from the society to the individual. Contemporary societal change accompanied by technological innovation has produced modern societies of knowledge. In them, knowledge is regarded as one of the primary values and seen as a goal toward which all generations should strive. The metaphorical conceptualization presented above, in which a skill considered basic in the contemporary world is mapped onto the highest degrees of specialist knowledge, reflects the social capital of expert training. Observed from the opposite perspective, it presents all the lower levels of expertise as inferior, inadequate and socially unacceptable. While promoting the value of educational achievement, LITERACY-based metaphors place the burden of the responsibility for social inferiority onto the underprivileged, who simply failed to attain the required know-how. Similarly to the LITERACY metaphors structuring expert knowledge, the

metaphors for critical thinking present this higher-level accomplishment as elementary art and delegate the task of interpretation of social reality onto those whose rank in a community prevents them from performing it. Knowledge of the world suggests that only a small portion of any society can attain high levels of sophistication, education, or expertise. The interest in culture and art is unevenly distributed in human population. However, when presented as something as essential as an alphabet, these values become an apple of social discord: they divide societies into two camps that can never be reconciled and unified. Furthermore, since literacy is an easily attainable skill, such metaphors picture the uncultured as lazy or even stupid. Irresponsible and immoral, incapable of autonomy and responsibility, they are presented as unable to identify and challenge the sources of their oppression. Such glaring and incurable lack of values upheld by society is the real reason behind their own unfitness and inability to reflectively participate in social processes. Labelled in this manner, large portions of societies are reduced to useless parasites and eliminated from the common struggle for social justice. In this way, division, manipulation and domination are promoted as a logical result of the social situation, while the models of cooperation, organization and common effort to improve society remain hidden in the shadows. The rift between the two camps, the literate and illiterate, is stale and ideologically grounded as impoverished and illiterate are perceived as responsible for their plight. This creates an apparently permanent class of the underprivileged whose pursuit of self-affirmation is hindered. They are regarded as incompetent and lazy, the pathology of a thriving, healthy society. In this worldview, the future cannot be created by means of respectful dialogue and critical thinking but only by distant elites whose ideology informs and guides the society.

The critical analysis of the metaphorical mappings described above indicates that, since there is a correlation between illiteracy and negative values, there must be a strong link between the skill of writing and positive values. A brief glance at the immediate surroundings of the lexemes related to literacy confirms that they tend to occur in a dominantly positive environment. In their basic meaning, these frequently occur in adjectival strings carrying predominantly positive connotation: *hard-working, honest, moral, clever, literate* (S: *vredan, pošten, moralan, pametan, pismen*); *literate, eloquent, well-organised, and resourceful* (S: *pismen, elokventan, organizovan i snalazljiv*); *logical, literate and eloquent* (S: *logičan, pismen i rečit*); *modest and frugal and, above all, literate* (S: *skroman i štedljiv, a pre svega pismen*). The same regularity can be observed when literacy-related lexemes appear within pairs of opposites: *rich or poor, educated or illiterate, clever or stupid, handsome or ugly* (S: *bogat ili siromašan, obrazovan ili nepismen, pametan ili glup, lep ili ružan*), where literacy is obviously associated with wealth, good education, intelligence, and beauty. A short overview of values connected with illiteracy or semi-literacy complements the picture. Our corpus examples show that the lexeme *illiteracy* (or *semi-literacy*) and its cognates frequently appear in strings typically containing two or three nouns or adjectives denoting

invariably negative qualities: *the semi-literate and upstars* (S: *polupismeni i skorojevići*), *semi-literate*, *semi-educated*, *semi-starving*, *semi-washed* (S: *polupismen*, *poluobrazovan*, *polugladan*, *poluopran*); *more incapable*, *illiterate*, and *dishonest* (S: *nesposobniji*, *nepismeniji i nepošteniji*); *uneducated*, *unintelligent and illiterate* (S: *ignorant*, *neinteligentan i nepismen*), *enemies*, *ignorance*, *illiteracy and poverty* (S: *neprijatelji*, *neznanje*, *nepismenost i siromaštvo*), *hunger*, *hard work*, *illiteracy and disease* (S: *glad*, *dirinčenje*, *nepismenost i bolest*).

79. Ne isplati se ni učiti, ni biti *vredan*, *pošten*, *moralan*, *pametan*, *pismen*.
80. *Pismen*, *elokventan*, *organizovan i snalažljiv* sekretar je potreba svake ozbiljne kompanije.
81. Izrazito *logičan*, *pismen i rečit* čovek.
82. I poštovati deset Božjih zapovesti, biti *skroman i štedljiv*, a *pre svega pismen*. (KSSJ)
83. Psu nije bitno da li si *bogat ili siromašan*, *obrazovan ili nepismen*, *pametan ili glup*, *lep ili ružan*.
84. Da znate, samo *polupismeni i skorojevići* pišu latinicom.
85. A pričamo o jednom tužnom narodu koji je *polupismen*, *poluobrazovan*, *polugladan*, *poluopran*. (KSSJ)
86. A birao je i podržavao samo one koji su bili *nesposobniji*, *nepismeniji i nepošteniji* od njega, samim tim bi on (zbog njih takvih) izgledao i *posten i pismen i nevin*.
87. *Ignorant*, *neinteligentan*, *nepismen*.
88. Ti *neprijatelji* bili su *neznanje*, *nepismenost i siromaštvo*. (KSSJ)
89. ... *glad*, *dirinčenje*, *nepismenost i bolest*. (KSSJ)

The lexical environment described above can be attributed to and seen as the reflexion of the sharp divide that is observable in contemporary societies when literacy is concerned. Historically speaking, the link between literacy and socioeconomic conditions is persistent and easily observable across civilizations: the ability to read and write has for centuries been the privilege of the wealthy and educated minority around the globe. Regardless of whether they were monks, court clerks, educators, or rulers, the small circle of those who had managed to acquire this skill was freed from the burden of everyday toil and could enjoy some time of leisure. In contrast to the remaining majority of society, the literate few had access to knowledge and the opportunity to contribute to it. They could enjoy private space and time in which to free imagination, engage in reflection and emotional expression, question, challenge and renegotiate values and their own roles. Furthermore, it was their prerogative to write laws that govern societies from the Code of Hammurabi and Roman law to the present-day world, which explains the link between literacy and social power. In terms of social transformation, literacy has for decades been seen as the most suitable device to stabilize the modern societal machine. Literacy-based metaphors, however, appear to serve quite a different

purpose: they justify and fossilize the existing social inequalities and place the responsibility for them on those with the least social power.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The exploration of the metaphorical potential of the source domain of LITERACY has demonstrated that this conceptual area structures a varied, yet mutually connected spectrum of target domains comprising: FAMILIARITY WITH LANGUAGE, ACCOMPLISHED WRITING, FAMILIARITY WITH LITERATURE, GENERAL EDUCATION, PHYSICAL ABILITY, BASIC ACQUAINTANCE WITH A FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE, EXPERTISE IN A FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE, CRITICAL THINKING, SOPHISTICATED and LIFE EXPERIENCE. The identified target domains can be roughly divided into two broad groups: those related to various skills (presented in Table 1) and those pertaining to knowledge (shown in Table 2). Since literacy can be regarded as a three-point scalar entity (the points being: literate, semi-literate and illiterate), the metaphorical conceptualizations that utilize this domain predominantly manifest three corresponding values. To illustrate, the conceptual metaphor that structures FAMILIARITY WITH LANGUAGE as LITERACY can be formulated in three similar but different manners: WIDE LINGUISTIC RANGE IS LITERACY, NARROW LINGUISTIC RANGE IS SEMI-LITERACY and LIMITED LINGUISTIC RANGE IS ILLITERACY. The inventory of conceptual metaphors identified in this study (accompanied by illustrations of their linguistic realizations) is presented in Tables 1 and 2.

**Table 1. Conceptual metaphors for skills based on LITERACY as the source domain.**

Target domain	Conceptual metaphor	Example
FAMILIARITY WITH LANGUAGE	WIDE VOCABULARY RANGE IS LITERACY	Nisi <i>dovoljno pismen</i> , pa koristiš tuđu terminologiju.
	a) WIDE GENERAL LINGUISTIC RANGE IS LITERACY	a) Pa zar nema niko <i>pismen</i> u bordu ABA lige koji je mogao prevesti pravilnik kako treba?
	b) NARROW LINGUISTIC RANGE IS SEMI-LITERACY	b) ...čudne kovanice i sintagme koje plasiraju <i>polupismeni</i> ljudi.
	c) LIMITED LINGUISTIC RANGE IS ILLITERACY	c) Prilično sam <i>nepismen</i> , ali dosta čitam.
ACCOMPLISHED WRITING	a) VERSED IN WRITING IS LITERATE	a) vešt i <i>pismen pisac</i> :
	b) UNPOLISHED WRITING IS ILLITERATE	b) Stil je rogotatan, <i>sasvim nepismen</i> .
FAMILIARITY WITH LITERATURE	a) FAMILIARITY WITH LITERATURE IS LITERACY	a) Ko je <i>iole pismen</i> , znaće da čitava svetska književnost nosi biblijske simbole.
	b) LACK OF FAMILIARITY WITH LITERATURE IS ILLITERACY/ SEMI-LITERACY	b) <i>književno prilično nepismen</i> ; stilom kojim pišu svi <i>polupismeni</i> .



GENERAL EDUCATION	a) EDUCATED IS LITERATE  b) UNEDUCATED IS ILLITERATE/ SEMI-LITERATE	a) A izgleda i nisam dovoljno <i>pismen</i> da se setim ko je to rekao? b) <i>polupismeni intelektualci</i>
PHYSICAL ABILITY	PHYSICAL ABILITY IS LITERACY	<i>fudbalski pismen</i>

The metonymy-driven conceptual metaphors for abilities account for polysemy patterns in which the lexeme *literacy* extends its meaning onto semantic fields of competence in the broader domain of language command or physical skill. The polysemy network also stretches in another direction which is linked to knowledge and comprises general education or special training, higher thinking skills, sophistication and life experience. Regardless of its nature and characteristics, the target domain is conceptualized as a basic, easily acquired and universally attainable skill.

**Table 2. LITERACY metaphors that structure knowledge.**

Target domain	Conceptual metaphor	Example
BASIC ACQUAINTANCE WITH A FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE	a) BASIC ACQUAINTANCE WITH A FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE IS LITERACY  b) LACK OF BASIC ACQUAINTANCE WITH A FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE IS ILLITERACY	a) <i>pravno pismen, zakonski pismen</i>  b) <i>vizuelna nepismenost, moralna nepismenost</i>
EXPERTISE IN A FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE	EXPERTISE IS LITERACY	<i>pismen ekonomista</i>
CRITICAL THINKING	CRITICAL THINKING IS LITERACY	<i>polupismeno, nekritično tržište</i>
SOPHISTICATION	a) CULTURED IS LITERATE  b) UNCULTURED IS ILLITERATE	a) Jer, šta bi bilo koji <i>pismen</i> čovek odgovorio na sve to? b) Uz sve to je i <i>nepismen</i> tako da je prosto rečeno nekulturan iliti neuglađen.
LIFE EXPERIENCE	a) LIFE EXPERIENCE IS LITERACY b) LACK OF LIFE EXPERIENCE IS SEMI-LITERACY/ILLITERACY	a) <i>pismen</i> u životnom smislu. b) <i>životno polupismenim mediokritetima; životno nepismeni.</i>

Indeed, contemporary global efforts to place literacy at the heart of basic education for all claim this is a necessary step on the path of ‘eradicating poverty, reducing child mortality, curbing population growth, achieving gender equality and ensuring sustainable development, peace, and democracy (UNESCO 2005: 5). Literacy skills are perceived as ‘fundamental to informed decision-making, personal empowerment, active and passive participation in local and global social community’ (Stromquist 2005: 12). Metaphorising the abstract domains as basic skills anyone can and should acquire shifts the focus of attention away from the fact that their lack or absence is the result of a complex interplay of

social and economic factors. Literacy-based metaphors thus hide the fact that for large portions of a society, the ability to read and write remains an elusive, unrealistic goal which many stop pursuing too early. This results in a social conflict between the literate and illiterate, which has polarized their positions in such a way that literacy is today associated with a set of select positive values, while the lack of it is attributed to and presented as the responsibility of the poor, unhealthy, rude, stupid, uneducated or intrinsically evil.

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## Corpora

*Sketch Engine's Serbian electronic subcorpus (srWaC)*

*Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika Matematičkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu 2013.* (<http://korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs>)

## Dictionaries

RMS – Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika, I-III. Novi Sad-Zagreb: Matica Srpska, Matica Hrvatska, 1967–1969, IV–VI, Novi Sad-Zagreb: Matica Srpska-Matica Hrvatska 1969–1976.

Тајана С. Грујић

## НЕПИСМЕНИ ПИСЦИ И ПИСМЕНИ ФУДБАЛЕРИ: ПОЈМОВНЕ МЕТАФОРЕ ЗАСНОВАНЕ НА ДОМЕНУ ПИСМЕНОСТИ У САВРЕМЕНОМ СРПСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

Резиме

Примењујући теорију појмовне метафоре, односно Лејкофов дводоменски приступ, ова студија испитује савремена метафорична проширења значења лексема које припадају изворном појмовном домену писмености у српском језику. Когнитивносемантичка анализа спроведена је уз примену алата Sketch engine на електронском корпусу од више хиљада примера (srWaC) међу којима су МИП процедуром идентификовани они код којих је уочено метафорично проширење значења лексема из домена писмености. За сва забележена проширења значења формулисана су основне подлежање метафоре и додатна међудоменска метафорична пресликавања. Резултати истраживања показују да се, иако и сам укључује знатан број апстрактних аспеката, због чега се структурира низом конкретних домена (попут СВЕТЛОСТИ, ВАТРЕ, ТАЛАСА ИЛИ ГРАЂЕВИНЕ), домен писмености користи и као изворни, за поимање читаве лепезе других, више или мање сродних апстрактних циљних домена.

Помоћу домена писмености говорници савременог српског језика поимају: владање језиком (*каква је изворна језичка компетенција аутора, односно колико је Балашевић уошћте писмен*), ОПШТЕ ОБРАЗОВАЊЕ (*исувише сам писмена и интелектуално оспособљена*), ПОЗНАВАЊЕ ОСНОВНИХ ПОЈМОВА ИЗ НЕКЕ ОБЛАСТИ (што потврђују и колокати лексема које припадају изворном домену: *дигитална, финансијска или економска писменост, информатичка, рачунарска, IT писменост, али и научна, музичка, просторно-естетска, аудио-визуелна, математичка, медијска односно филмска писменост*), ЕКСПЕРТСКО ПОЗНАВАЊЕ ОБЛАСТИ (*сасвим тирезвен и писмен економиста, филмски неписмена*), као и владање неком вештином (*писмен уредник, писмен фудбалер, од архивекте се тиражи да буде писмен, моторичка писменост код деце*), односно животно искуство (*Треба бити писмен у животином смислу*).

**Кључне речи:** когнитивна лингвистика, когнитивна семантика, теорија појмовне метафоре

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