AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN LITERATURE, CULTURE, LINGUISTICS, AND COGNITION: PUNISHMENT AND MORAL METAPHORS IN FAIRY TALES[1]

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Abstract: This paper studies how several conceptual metaphors (e.g. MORALITY IS LIGHT, MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS, MORAL FREEDOM IS PHYSICAL FREEDOM, DOING IMMORAL DEEDS IS ACCUMULATING DEBT) are able to account for the basic meaning and interpretation of punishments and moral issues in more than twenty popular tales, thus allowing us to explain some of the uncanny elements of tales. The stories, representative of various cultures, have been extracted from the *Project Gutenberg* online library and belong to the British compiler Andrew Lang (1844-1912). We also suggest that these metaphors, because of their strong experiential grounding, may have contributed to an easier transmission of many fairy tales, and also to make tales alike in different socio-cultural settings.
Keywords: Conceptual metaphor, moral and punishment, experiential, uncanny, culture, fairy tales.

Resumen: En este artículo tratamos de estudiar cómo varias metáforas conceptuales (p.ej. MORALITY IS LIGHT, MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS, MORAL FREEDOM IS PHYSICAL FREEDOM, DOING IMMORAL DEEDS IS ACCUMULATING DEBT) pueden explicar el significado básico y la interpretación de los castigos y la moralidad en más de veinte cuentos populares, lo que nos permite explicar parte de "lo maravilloso" de los cuentos. Los cuentos, representativos de varias culturas, han sido extraídos de la biblioteca electrónica *Project Gutenberg* y pertenecen al compilador británico Andrew Lang (1844-1912). También sugerimos que estas metáforas, dado su marcado carácter experiencial, pueden haber contribuido a una transmisión más fácil de muchos cuentos de hadas y a que los cuentos sean similares en diferentes contextos socioculturales.
Palabras clave: Metáfora conceptual, moralidad y castigo, experiencial, "lo maravilloso", cultura, cuentos de hadas.

1. INTRODUCTION

Of the various types of mythological literature, fairy tales are the simplest and purest expressions of the collective unconscious and thus offer the clearest understanding of the basic patterns of the human psyche. Every people or nation has its own way of experiencing

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> this psychic reality, and so a study of the world's fairy tales yields a wealth of insights into the archetypal experiences of humankind. (Von Franz 1996: 1)

Fairy tales have been analysed from several standpoints (e.g. psychoanalytical, feminist, structuralist, anthropological, etc.). It is commonly held that they have an enormous semiotic load and an ever-varying polysemous condition. Themes constantly jump around, and mix and remix giving as a result different meanings in different historical and social contexts. Moreover, the question of metamorphosis, a defining characteristic of fairy tales, can also be seen in the multifaceted structure of the fairy tale itself. Also, their commonly accessible meaning makes fairy tales a productive place for cultural analysis since the essentials of each re-telling are historically and culturally tied. Nevertheless, while individual versions of fairy tales may vary, their motifs (the stylistic details used to relate the basic events) are rather consistent in their adherence to the plot outline (the sequence of basic events) of the tale type, which accounts for the fact that they have been repeated over time and across national boundaries in similar forms.

But how have fairy tales conveyed all this knowledge and experiences over the centuries? Why do fairy tales bare similarities across different national boundaries and distant cultures?

> Conceptual metaphor is pervasive in both thought and language. It is hard to think of a common subjective experience that is not conventionally conceptualized in terms of metaphor (...). Everyday metaphors are built out of primary metaphors plus forms of commonplace knowledge: cultural models, folk theories, or simply knowledge or beliefs that are widely accepted in a culture. (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 45-59).

In order to answer the aforementioned questions, conceptual metaphor provides us with a huge clue since, as this research work attempts to show, besides being a reasoning tool that has transmitted and transmits our commonplace knowledge throughout human generations, it is not only a pervasive device used in fairy tales at a local level but even a full structuring tool of the plot outline that underlies the very essence of the fairy tale. With the help of metaphor, not only can we explain the basic events of the tale (the journey of the protagonist, his final marriage and enthronement, the princess being isolated in a tower, etc.) but even fully comprehend the punishments, morality, love affairs, and the magic contained in it.

2. NEED AND PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH

The exploration and analysis of fairy tales has received much attention from different perspectives of study. However, to the best of our knowledge, no study has proved final on the issue at stake. In this fashion, we claim that the current theory of cognitive metaphor, applied to an analysis of fairy tales, may cast light onto the questions outlined above.

Bearing these observations in mind, our objective in this research work is to show how conceptual metaphor may be considered not only the cornerstone upon which the fairy tale

is understood and built, but even a sort of scaffolding which sustains its basic structure and allows its development. Also, the following are other complementary aims of our research:

(a) It is generally accepted that metaphorical and symbolic structures underlie some forms of literature (fairy tales, mythology, etc.). This research work shall try to account for some of the relationships between those structures and the metaphorical ones found in everyday language.

(b) The fact that some forms of literature, especially fairy tales, are similar across different cultures and over time may be partly relatable to the existence of the so-called "universal metaphors," that are thought to be a cross-linguistic norm.

(c) As Bowe (1996) points out, fantastic literature contains creatures and events impossible or at least highly unlikely in the real world. Nonetheless, fairy tales and myths can be regarded as constructs in which the bizarre is common, and the laws which govern our reality do not always work. But, "Does this mean that there are no laws? Does the world where magic is possible, the world of fantastic literature, function entirely arbitrarily? Or does this world also have a structure, however differently it may be organised?" (Bowe 1996: 1). In Case Study 1 of *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, Lakoff points out, "A topic such as the logic of emotions would seem... a contradiction in terms; similarly, it may seem strange to talk about the principles which structure the logic of the fairy tale." What we may infer from these lines is that, as the logic of emotions appears to be structured by metaphor and other ICMs (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999; Lakoff, 1987, 1989, 1993; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Kövecses, 1990, 2000; Peña, 2000, etc.), the inner logic of the fairy tale is structured by these mechanisms as well.

(d) The fact that conceptual metaphor has been proved to be a reasoning mechanism that has conveyed our commonplace knowledge throughout human generations may explain why, in a similar way, fairy tales condense a sort of collective unconscious that has been transmitted since the very moment man was man.

(e) The fact that tales have survived over time in similar forms, apart from being fully memorised and passed on by story-tellers, may also be explained from an experiential perspective (Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987). From this stance, metaphor is considered an internalised mechanism of thought and reasoning. Thus, upon the acquisition of these internalised patterns (which generally stem from the inner structure of the body and the way we conceive it in its interaction with the physical and social context), not only the understanding but also the retelling of these traditional stories –whose basic structure is based on metaphor– would have been facilitated to a large extent.

Similarly, the conception of metaphor as a reasoning tool, that somehow determines the way in which we make sense of and perceive our surrounding world, and as a device that structures tales may also explain the claims (cf. Bettelheim, 1976) which argue that fairy tales lead to a sort of embodiment of fundamental psychological dramas.

(f) The difficult issue of classifying tales has always been the object of heated debate due to the huge range of forms which they show (c.f. Aarne 1961; Propp 1998;

Hans-Jörg 2000). Thus, the study of the tale as structured by conceptual metaphor may cast light onto this problematic and unresolved matter.

After reading these lines, the need for an analysis of the determining role of metaphor in understanding and structuring fairy tales, and even other forms of literature may be a bit more obvious. As far as we know, there are no preceding works within this line of research with the exception of Karen Bowe's *Senior Honour Thesis* (1996), and some other papers on metaphor and myths (e.g. Sweetser, 1995). In her thesis, besides pointing out that fairy tales may be partly structured by conceptual metaphor, Bowe analyses how the punishment of certain crimes in traditional tales can be metaphorically understood and accounted for.

In order to substantiate these points, we have worked with a computerised corpus of analysis containing the fairy tales written by the British author and compiler Andrew Lang (1844-1912). The tales have been completely downloaded from the *Project Gutenberg* online library. As for the main criteria which have been borne in mind in the selection of our corpus, we have been guided by:

(a) Practicability and ease of access: our corpus, easily downloadable from *Project Gutenberg*, consists of more than 386 fairy tales contained in 11 books named by different colours but, as it is included in electronic format, it allows us to work at a greater speed and to deal with the data in a less subjective way.

(b) Functionality, prestige, variety, and representativeness: we selected Andrew Lang since he was one of the most prolific authors in terms of the collection of fairy tales and, in contrast to other writers, his tales were representative of many different cultures; through his series, tales moved from European sources (including Russia, France, Germany, Norway, England, etc.) to tales from Africa, America, and Asia. Moreover, he used both written and spoken sources.

The work of identification of underlying metaphors has been carried out with the help of the (encyclopaedic) information provided in the *Berkeley Framenet Project*. This information has allowed us to make an exhaustive and systematic analysis of the lexical patterns of the metaphors. Then, we have made use of *WordSmith* and its tool "Concord" in order to find examples of key words and phrases that we expected to underlie metaphorical usage in the texts. This has allowed us to observe if a given metaphor applies in a given tale or not. Also, we have employed Lakoff's *Conceptual Metaphor Home Page* (1994) and some *Google* searches in order to further back up our analysis of the metaphors in everyday usage.

3. PUNISHMENT AND MORAL IN FAIRY TALES

As Bowe (1996) has shown, many tales are full of fantastic punishments which can almost invariably be motivated by conceptual metaphor. Ultimately, these punishments that lead to a clear moral of the tale show the destructive outcomes of disobedience, selfishness, laziness, and the importance of valuing the structure of the family above the needs of the individual. In essence, fairy tales usually show that good is rewarded, whereas villains are almost always punished.

In this section, following Bowe (1996), we will show how metaphors structure moral beauty tales, the punishment of the sins of laziness and selfishness, and the punishments of crimes against marriage, family, and the social order.

3.1. Moral beauty tales

MORAL BEAUTY metaphors are essential in fairy tales, many of which present outward beauty as evidence of inward goodness while ugliness is normally considered a moral failing. This is based upon the folk theory that appearances evidence inward states and which leads to the existence of both the ugly wicked witch and the beautiful, virtuous princess in fairy tales. In some other tales, industry is a fundamental virtue; the morality of these tales mainly concerns hard work and laziness, so industry tends to be consistently rewarded (particularly when it is joined with kindness and generosity) whereas laziness, stinginess, badness, and meanness are punished.

In all of these metaphors, not only is the source domain of beauty crucial to the moral structure of the stories, but also the source domains of cleanliness/purity, health, and wealth. Hence, we understand morality in terms of these source domains, which in turn have complex interrelationships between themselves: industry and generosity are economic virtues; industry in particular produces wealth which in turn facilitates cleanliness, health, and beauty; health and cleanliness are normally considered to be related to beauty; etc. Besides, even for those cases in which characters are ugly beings, such as repulsive animals, if they are good and kind, they usually return to their normal human form which is characterised by beauty. These metaphors are pervasive in linguistic expressions as well, as attested by Lakoff on his *Conceptual Metaphor Home Page* (1994):

(a) MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS
- *He's Mr. Clean.*
- *He has a blot on his past/ a clean past.*
- *His reputation is besmirched.*
- *He doesn't want to get his hands dirty.*
- *His record is spotless.*
- *The magazine got the dirt about him.*

(b) MORALITY IS PURITY
- *He is as pure as the driven snow.*
- *She is of pure heart.*

(c) MORALITY IS WEALTH
- *Against this backdrop of a bankrupt ideology, Jiang started rebuilding ideology in the Party.*

With all this in mind, Bowe (1996: 9) has proposed the following metaphors:

(a)BEAUTY IS WEALTH, which underlies expressions such as *Your face is your fortune,* which stems from the fact that on some occasions, the woman plays a sort of economic role which is realised through marriage (e.g. the dowry that has to be paid for the groom's family to get the bride) in such a way that her sexual appeal becomes an economic asset. In many tales (*Cinderella,* for instance), the reward of beauty is an economic reward, leading to marriage with a prince.

(b)HEALTH IS WEALTH: the experiential basis of this metaphor is clear since any positive attribute can be conceived of as wealth. Moreover, attributes which allow their possessors to acquire more wealth are usually regarded as positive. Health is then an attribute which makes it much easier to work and consequently increase in wealth.

On this basis, there is a corresponding set of metaphors for the target domain IMMORALITY, the source domains being UGLINESS, CORRUPTION (as the negative counterpart of both cleanliness/purity and health), and POVERTY. In fact, villains subjected to this metaphor are often associated with dirt, vermin, bad smells, and venom; which are ultimately consequences of ill health.

A different, although related set of metaphors, is GOODNESS IS LIGHT/ EVIL IS DARKNESS and GOODNESS IS WHITE/ EVIL IS BLACK, in which the source domains "light" and its converse "darkness" interact with the source domains "cleanliness" and "corruption." The basis lies in the fact that objects which are white are probably clean whereas dirt is generally darker. As Bowe (1996: 10) has also suggested, in many tales, a good person is normally industrious and generous; she can be expected to be clean and also to clean the things around her, and to be wealthy and beautiful as well. Actually, the qualities of industriousness and generosity are what mainly determine morality since the lack of external qualities can be remedied by inner ones. On the contrary, if a person is bad, lazy, or selfish, and not already ugly, dirty, and poor at the beginning of the story, he will be so at the outcome. In the end, fairy tales show that good is rewarded by beauty and riches, whereas evil is punished by ugliness, dirt, and poverty.

"Mother Holle" is a story in which the beautiful stepdaughter in Mother Holle's house is industrious in the house and helps the overdone bread just before getting burnt and the over-burdened apple tree; whereas the ugly, evil daughter is characterised by a selfish lack of charity towards the bread and the tree, besides being lazy at home. The beautiful girl is rewarded by a shower of gold which sticks to her, making her more beautiful, and the ugly one is punished by a shower of pitch that sticks to her till the end of her life. In this tale, both girls were already characterised at the beginning by their external aspects, but the morality metaphor is further applied with the punishments. In fact, as pitch is black and gold is bright, we have the MORALITY IS LIGHT metaphor (which may be found in linguistic expression such as *His actions were obscure, She has a dark side,* etc.). Moreover, the good girl is rewarded via the MORALITY IS WEALTH metaphor, with gold being the reward.

In a similar way, "The House in the Wood" is the tale of two sisters who cook for an old man they come across in the forest. Since they neglect to feed his animals, they are dumped while sleeping into a dark cellar, and later sent to work for a charcoal burner in the forest. On the contrary, the youngest daughter feeds both the man and his animals, and

she is rewarded with a new luxurious bedroom and with marrying a prince, who was one of the animals she had fed under a magic spell. Again, the metaphors MORALITY IS LIGHT and MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS apply.

A different type of punishment for bad behaviour is effected with vermin or repulsive animals (frogs, toads, pigs, snakes, etc.), which many people find ugly and disgusting as they are normally characterised by dirtiness, impurity, etc. So, these punishments cause us to apply the metaphors MORALITY IS HEALTH and MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS/ PURITY.

In "The Enchanted Pig," the three daughters of the king disobey his command and enter a room where they find a book saying who their future husbands are. The youngest discovers she is to marry a repulsive pig. Of course, at the end, he is transformed into a handsome man because she loves him and looks for him after his departure. "The Enchanted Snake" follows a similar pattern. It tells about a snake who wants to marry the king's daughter. In order to do so, the king asks him to do several impossible things which are completely accomplished by the snake. However, in marrying the princess, the snake turns into a beautiful youth who, after being seen by the king, is again transformed into a dove who escapes by flying away. The princess then departs to find him till they eventually get married. "The Three Dwarfs" is the tale of a kind, industrious stepdaughter who comes to a house in the forest, where she shares her few crumbs with the three dwarves living there, and does the work they ask of her. On the other hand, the nasty, proud, lazy daughter does not share her food and does not help them with the housework. In the end, whereas the stepdaughter is rewarded by becoming more beautiful every day, by getting a gold piece from her mouth with every word she speaks, and by marrying a king, the daughter is punished with a cruel death, becoming uglier every day, and issuing a toad from her mouth with every word. Following a similar pattern, "Toads and Diamonds" also tells the story of a good girl who is rewarded by having either a flower or a jewel from her mouth with every word she speaks, and a bad, rude girl who is condemned to sending a toad from her mouth with every word.

3.2. Morality is straightness

Morality is normally conceived of as straightness and immorality as curvy. This metaphor may be motivated by the IMPERFECT IS IRREGULAR metaphor and its converse PERFECT IS REGULAR since we tend to see straightness as something regular if compared to something curvy. This metaphor is also applied to straightness as related to following a path and, on the contrary, if we abandon the path or deviate from it, we are entering the domain of immorality. In this metaphor, the source domain contains elements such as "straightness," "path," "straight path," etc. and the target domain "morality," "morals," "goodness," etc. Language reflects this through the following expressions (c.f. Lakoff 1994):

(a) Being Moral Is Being Straight.
- *He's straight.*
- *I think he's being straight with me.*

(b) Being Immoral Is Being Crooked.
- *He's a crooked businessman.*

(c) Walking On The Path Is Being Moral.
- *He's gone straight.*
- *He's on the straight and narrow path.*

(d) Diverging From The Path Is Being Immoral.
- *He is a deviant.*
- *She has strayed.*

One of the most famous tales involving the deviation from a main path is "Little Red Riding Hood". The little girl, in abandoning the path and doing what the wolf tells her, is disobeying her mother and thus being immoral. This will bring disastrous consequences for her ill grandmother and herself. Also, despite not being included in the corpus, Beatrix Potter's *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* tells of a mother who forbids her children to leave home as she goes to do some shopping. However, daring Peter leaves and, abandoning the safe paths he knew, reaches Mr. McGregor's vegetable garden where he is almost caught after making some mess. When he manages to escape, he returns home exhausted, feverish, and without his trousers, while his brothers are eating the things their mother had brought home.

3.3. Moral accounting

Morality, in the form of help, favours, charity… even revenge can be considered forms of accounting, as if it were a pending debt or balance. In fairy tales, the metaphors of moral accounting are pervasive: cases in which a character helps someone and afterwards is highly rewarded or helped in exchange, instances in which a witch is not invited to a party or a christening and then takes revenge, tales in which characters misbehave and then are punished, etc. This metaphor is pervasive as well in everyday language (cf. Lakoff 1994):

(a) Doing Moral Deeds Is Accumulating Credit: putting Money Into Society.
- *He worked hard on that account: they owe him a vacation.*
- *I deserve something for all the good deeds I've done.*
- *The system cheated him.*
- *He deserves credit for his efforts.*

(b) Doing Immoral Deeds Is Accumulating Debt: taking Money From Society.
- *He owes a debt to society.*
- *You have to pay for your mistakes.*

(c) Benefiting Is Accumulating Debt.
- *He is indebted to her for her help.*
- *I couldn't possibly repay your kindness.*

(d) Moral Debt Can Be Paid Off With Moral Deeds: paying Back The Money.
- *I'll make it up to everyone for what I've done.*
- *I want to give back to society what I took from it.*

(e) Moral Debt Can Be Paid Off With Punishment: the Society Taking Money From You.
- *He re-entered society with a clean slate.*
- *Haven't I paid enough for my mistakes?*
- *They exacted the debt from his hide.*

(f) Moral Account Is Record Of Transactions.
- *Take into account all the good things he's done.*
- *I'm holding you accountable.*
- *His lying counts against him in my book.*
- *I owe you a favour for that good deed.*

Regarding tales in which someone does a favour for another and is afterwards rewarded, we have already seen in the section of moral beauty tales how girls that are kind to other people are generously rewarded while those who do not help are severely punished. Also, in "The Flying Ship," the Simpleton shares his food with a manikin he finds. Then, the manikin tells him how to accomplish his apparently impossible task, telling him where he can find a flying ship. In the Lithuanian fairy tale "The Three Princes and their Beasts" the brothers encounter a hare, a fox, a wolf, a bear, and finally a lion. Since they spare the lives of the animals, each gives them two of their offspring. After separating, each brother takes one of the two sets of animals; the beasts work together to help their masters escape great dangers.

On the contrary, "Sleeping Beauty in the Wood" tells about a beautiful princess who is cursed to death by a witch because the king and the queen forgot to invite her to the christening party. Also, in "Stan Bolovan" the protagonist tells the dragon they have something to deal with after the dragon makes a mess in those lands:

"We have still some accounts to settle," said he, "about what you have been doing here," and the poor dragon was too frightened to stir, lest Stan should slay him at one breath and bury him among the flowers in the mountain pastures.

3.4. Moral freedom is physical freedom

The metaphor MORAL FREEDOM IS PHYSICAL FREEDOM is a really pervasive metaphor with a clear experiential grounding. In fact, on many occasions the metaphor under scrutiny is effected via the FREEDOM IS FLYING metaphor: when we are inside a room, surrounded by walls, we have the sensation of being in a closed space, as if it were a sort of prison. By contrast, if we are in the open-air, we have the impression of not being chained, but of being free. Similarly, a bird that is in a cage is in a sort of prison, as if chained, whereas if it is flying, it is free. Also, in some other cases, flying is being freed from death. This metaphor is really frequent in linguistic expressions, for example,

*(a) Where then shall I **fly from Oppression?***

*(b) Well, even though you are OK at the moment, you might have kids who are near the age when they want to **fly from the nest**.*

*(c)**He flew free** for about a week before being re-captured and transported to the Pinnacles with the rest of the group of six youngsters and their mentor, Hoi.*

In our corpus of analysis, the metaphor under study only appears locally in some tales. In “The Magic Book,” a cow is about to be killed for a banquet when it becomes a dove and flies free. In “The Dog and the Sparrow,” a sparrow is going to be devoured when the man who had it in his mouth is beaten, and so the bird flies away free. Finally, “The Golden Branch” is the story of a king who wants his son to be married. As the prince does not accept the proposed girl, the king locks him up in a gallery for rebellious princes. The prince, helped by a fairy, flies away from the tower and appears in a forest where he is free to find his true love.

Even though they are not included in our corpus, Bowe (1996: 35-37) shows the cases of “The Girl who Stepped on Bread” and “The Red Shoes.” In these stories, the heroines are punished (for being disobedient, naughty, and for their bad behaviour) by the loss of their freedom of motion, despite the fact that their final rewards offer them freedom of motion again. In the first tale, Inger is frozen into a statue in hell but, when an innocent soul’s prayer frees her, she changes into a little bird that flies up towards the world above. In the second story, Karen is forced to hobble on wooden feet and crutches until she dies in church, at which point her soul flies up to God. Also, in “Inchelina” a beautiful tiny girl must avoid marriage with several ugly suitors. After her many trials with toads, bugs, and moles, she is rescued by a swallow she has cared for, and they fly southwards. Then, she marries the prince of the flower fairies and receives a pair of wings so that she is no longer confined to the underground but is free to fly with the fairies.

To end with, Bowe (1996: 39) claims that there is a metaphor which underlies these cases, and which is derived directly from the Event Structure metaphor[3], namely the metaphor MORAL FREEDOM (or free will) IS PHYSICAL FREEDOM. By means of this metaphor, morality is conceived of as a series of choices. Via the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, these choices are further regarded as forks in a road. The mapping works like this:

[3] Lakoff *et al.* (1994) carried out a thorough analysis on the metaphorical understanding of event structure in English. They concluded that several aspects of event structure, including notions like states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes, and means, are characterised cognitively via metaphor in terms of space, motion, and force. This is a rich and complex metaphor whose parts interact in various ways. The general mapping works as follows: states are locations, changes are movements, causes are forces, actions are self-propelled movements, purposes are destinations, means are paths (to destinations), difficulties are impediments to motion, expected progress is a travel schedule (a schedule is a virtual traveller, who reaches pre-arranged destinations at pre-arranged times), external events are large moving objects, long term purposeful activities are journeys (cf. Bartholdsson 1994).

PHYSICAL FREEDOM	MORAL FREEDOM
Traveller on a road	Moral agent
Forks on road	Moral choices
Ability to move	Ability to choose
Right road	Right choice
Wrong road	Wrong choice
Barriers	Moral laws

Figure 1. MORAL FREEDOM IS PHYSICAL FREEDOM

A moral agent would be a traveller on a forking road; he consciously and freely chooses which direction to follow. For instance, from a Christian viewpoint, the traveller is usually trying to arrive at a specific destination (heaven) and avoid another (hell), although the destinations the roads lead to are often unknown. In this sense, moral choices are specific forks in the road. Then, decisions which have been made are forks which have already been chosen. Also, there are moral laws forbidding certain actions, which are physical barriers in the roads that may be passed. Finally, as we have seen, it is by means of this metaphor that we can make sense out of tales which use the deprivation of physical freedom as punishment for misuse of moral freedom.

3.5. Authority is one's physical head

The leader of any hierarchical organisation may be metaphorically represented as the head with respect to the organisation's body. In this way, we can speak of *heads of state, department heads*, or *heads of the family*. In some tales, we find this metaphor since an abuse of authority is punished by the loss of the criminal's head; there are also tales in which a prince or king, as the people with the highest level in society, are punished by cutting off their heads. For instance, in "The Story of the Fair Circassians" the prince is accused of treason and beheaded, being the person of the highest rank. "The Master Thief" tells about a man who abuses his authority over his apprentice and tries to take advantage of the boy's father. The boy and his master engage in a fight in which the master is beheaded. Also, "The King of the Golden Mountain" is the story of a king who leaves his castle to visit his parents. When he returns, the queen is about to marry another and, what is more, he is not recognised as the true king. The true king then punishes their refusal to acknowledge his authority by using a magic sword with which he beheads everyone so that he alone is master. In this particular case, the crime is the refusal to accept rightful authority, not abuse of authority. In fact, when trying to place themselves above the king, the subjects lose their own authority by losing their heads.

3.6. Marriage and family are organic unities

Many tales deal with issues such as two sweetheart's struggle to marry, the loss and recovery of children, or a false bride's attempt to steal a prince from the hands of the real bride. The villains of these stories try to ruin an existing marriage or to take children away

from their real parents. The metaphors that underlie and structure these stories build marriage and family up as if they were organic entities which form a physical whole. Consequently, in the metaphor MARRIAGE IS AN ORGANIC UNITY, a married couple, or a couple that intends to be wed, metaphorically constitutes an indivisible whole. On the other hand, those stories concerned with a family usually lead to the metaphor THE MOTHER-INFANT BOND IS AN ORGANIC UNITY. Curiously enough, as Bowe (1996: 14) has shown:

> Villains whose crimes are against a marriage or a family are guilty of violating an organic unity. Therefore, the punishment for their crimes is a violation of their own organic unity. Villains in these stories are torn into pieces, rolled down hills in nail-studded barrels, burnt, and killed by mutilation in other equally unpleasant ways. In cases where the crime was specifically against marriage, the punishment often carries sexually symbolic image-metaphors (…). The source domain used to make sense of the nature of their crime is literalised.
>
> First of all, there are cases where the villains try to stop, break, or prevent a marriage, in some cases even substituting themselves for the bride. “The Turtle and his Bride” is the tale of a turtle who asks a woman to marry him. The woman accepts believing that the turtle, who was going to a war, wouldn’t return or would forget about it. Upon coming back, the turtle discovers that his wife to be is already married to a man. The turtle wants to kill her and destroy her marriage but the girl deceives and kills it. The Danish story “Maiden Bright-Eye” tells about a girl who, after helping a man, is granted three wishes (be beautiful, be the future queen, have a gold coin in her mouth every time she opens it, and have a magnificent voice) and an ugly sister who, being stingy, is unkind to the man and will be condemned to be ugly, suffer a violent death, have a toad come from her mouth with every word she speaks, and have an ugly voice. When the mother discovers that her stepdaughter is going to meet the king, she tells her own ugly daughter to get rid of her and try to marry the king instead. In the end, everything is solved happily and the wicked sister is put into a barrel with spikes which was dragged off by six wild horses.

As we have already mentioned, a specific type of attempt to prevent a marriage is a substitution for the real bride by an impostor. The false bride usually attempts to hide or discredit the true bride in order to get the prince for herself. “The Goose-Girl” is the story of a princess who is sent to another country to be married but, as she loses her magic handkerchief on the way, she becomes weak and powerless, which leads the servant to take advantage of the situation, obliging the princess to change horses and dresses so that the maid would be taken for the princess-bride. Of course, in the end everything is solved since the princess’s horse, Falada, was able to speak. The punishment for the servant was to be put stark naked into a barrel lined with sharp nails which would be dragged by two white horses up and down the street till she died. “The Enchanted Wreath” is the tale of two stepsisters: a kind, industrious girl and a wicked, lazy one. The kind, beautiful girl meets the prince in the woods and they marry. Nevertheless, the mother of the ugly one meets a witch and swaps the identity of the girls. In the end, the prince finds his true wife who, as she is so good, begs him to spare the lives of the wicked mother and sister, just sending them on a ship to a desert island.

Attempts to steal a child away from his rightful parents are also regarded as an attack on an organic unity, namely the mother-infant bond. This has been termed by Bowe (1996:

14), THE MOTHER-INFANT BOND IS AN ORGANIC UNITY metaphor. In "Rumpelstiltzkin," a dwarf tricks a miller's daughter by helping her spin straw into gold in exchange for her future child. The only way she can retain her child is by finding out the dwarf's name which she just discovers by chance after following him. So, after losing, the wicked dwarf tears himself in two parts. According to Bowe (1996: 14-15), because of his attack on the organic unity of a mother and her child, the dwarf rips himself in two, thus destroying his own organic unity.

Finally, Bowe (1996: 19) points out that the crime of interfering with a marriage can be seen as a sexual crime as well. In fact, sexual jealousy may be considered an obvious motivating factor in many of these crimes, and the punishments appear to be using sexual imagery too. We have seen that sometimes there are nail-studded barrels as punishments that the victim suffers being naked (e.g. "The Goose-Girl"). Thus, the penetration of the nails in the villain's body could be seen as a symbol of intercourse by means of an image metaphor. For example, in "Jack my Hedgehog," Jack forces a king into promising him his daughter. She complains and barely manages to go with him. In the carriage where both of them go:

> Jack tore all the Princess's smart clothes off her, and pricked her all over with his bristles, saying: "That's what you get for treachery. Now go back, I'll have no more to say to you." And with that he hunted her home, and she felt she had been disgraced and put to shame till her life's end.

We see that this may be regarded as an image-mapping of intercourse: her nudity and her blood are implicitly mentioned, besides the fact that she feels disgraced and put to shame, which leads one to think of a case of rape.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have shown how several conceptual metaphors are able to account for the basic meaning and interpretation of moral issues and punishment in more than twenty popular tales. More specifically, we have shown how metaphors structure moral beauty tales, the punishment of the sins of laziness and selfishness, and the punishments of crimes against marriage, family, and the social order. Ultimately, these punishments that lead to a clear moral of the tale show the destructive outcomes of disobedience, selfishness, laziness, and the importance of valuing the structure of the family above the needs of the individual. In essence, fairy tales usually show that good is rewarded, whereas villains are almost always punished. In this sense, we have explored in what ways the metaphors under scrutiny allow us to explain some of the uncanny elements of tales (e.g. people that change into birds and fly away, magical punishments and rewards, etc.).

Besides, we have offered the possibility of classifying tales according to the metaphors they contain; for example, *The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood* is characterised by the basic metaphor DEATH IS SLEEP plus the addition of other metaphors throughout the tale, such as MORAL DEBT CAN BE PAID OFF WITH PUNISHMENT.

Finally, we suggest that these metaphors, because of their strong experiential grounding, may have contributed to an easier transmission of many fairy tales as it would be easier to

memorise their basic patterns, and also to make tales alike in different socio-cultural settings (we have shown how tales from different sources share the same basic motif).

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