

Justified pride? Metaphors of the word *pride* in English language corpora, 1418–1991

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1. Introduction

“ [...] a value scale for actions, possessions, appearances, social positions, and so forth [...] can be imagined as a scale that is oriented UPWARDS, and that has a threshold associated with it [...] One’s pride is justified if the cause of one’s pride is above the threshold on the value scale. And we have to allow for the possibility that opinions in judging what’s above and below the threshold may differ.” (Kövecses 1986: 46–47; 1990: 96)

The introductory quote comes from Kövecses’s (1986, 1990) work on the emotion concept of PRIDE in the English language which inspired this research. His focus is on American English and he discusses the concept of PRIDE in order to relate it to other emotions and to provide a model for the general concept of EMOTION. My aim is slightly different: I wish to study English language corpora in order to see how possibly antonymous emotion words, such as pride and shame (Tissari 2006), behave in them, and to add a diachronic dimension to the popular branch of research on the conceptual metaphors of emotions. The historical enterprise began with a study of the English word love, “word,” as in the present title, defined broadly to cover the verb and noun love, since “[i]t is not assumed that every concept [...] is expressed by a unique word; it may be expressed by two or more words [...]” (Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976: 269; Tissari 2003: 178–179).

The idea of this article is fairly simple. Taking Kövecses’s discussion of pride (1986: 39–60; 1990: 88–108) as a starting-point, it looks at corpus data representing Early Modern English (ca. 1400–1700), Late Modern English (ca. 1700–1900), and Present-Day English (20th century), in order to see whether his description of the concept agrees with the behaviour of the word pride, including the noun and the verb, and even the adjective proud, and the adverb proudly,¹ in a wide range of

¹ I also use the expression “*pride words*” to cover all of these.

authentic British and American English texts, and whether the conceptualization of pride appears to have changed between these periods.

As regards the focus of this special issue on metaphor, the discussion of the causes of pride, concepts related to pride and the behavioural reactions to it support and complement the discussion of the conceptual metaphors of pride, and should be seen to be in constant dialogue with it. In Kövecses's original treatment of pride (1986; 1990), all these provide the basis for a model of pride. The approach in this article is cognitive linguistic. The focus may seem fairly narrow, but it is suggested that this kind of survey could supplement or be supplemented by, for example, discussions of how specific literary authors treat the concept of pride.

2. Data

2.1. Corpora

The data comes from five electronic corpora of English. The Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler (CEECS) contains British English correspondence, both private and professional letters, written by both men and women from 1418 to 1680, and is used to complement the Early Modern English period of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, which covers the time span from 1500 to 1710 and includes as many as eighteen different categories of text types of British English. The Early Modern English period of the Helsinki Corpus (HCE) is designed to represent Early Modern British English as an independent variety of English, while CEECS, originally designed for sociolinguistic studies, remains a more specific tool, but gives valuable additional information.

The ARCHER corpus (ARCHER standing for A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers) covers the period from Early Modern to Present-Day English, i.e. from 1650 to 1990. It has been chosen because of its aim at representativeness, although the ARCHER project is not completely finished yet, and other corpora and databases covering this time-span also exist. The size of ARCHER (1,700,000 words) almost doubles that of the two earlier, British English corpora (CEECS has 450,000 words and HCE 551,000 words). ARCHER also contains American English.

The two Present-Day English corpora, the Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB), and the Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English (FROWN), represent both British and American English from the year 1991. Both of these corpora contain one million words, and are divided into fifteen text categories, which are the same in both corpora in order to facilitate comparisons between them. In as far as the text categories in each of the corpora resemble each other, all of the corpora are roughly comparable to each other.²

2.2. Frequency of pride words

The development of the frequency of pride words in the data is different from that of shame. While words beginning with (a)sham* occur less frequently towards the Present-Day English period (Tissari 2006), the pride group (*pride* v. and n., *proud*, *proudly*) is fairly infrequent in the first part of CEECS (1418–1638), but about as frequent in its second part (1580–1680) as in FLOB, i.e. in Early Modern and Present-Day English. It is most frequent in the corpus which also covers the period in between these two variants, i.e. ARCHER (Table 1). This middle period actually appears to be one during which these words acquire a wider range of usages, and during which the conceptualization of PRIDE is in a state of change.

² In HCE, the text categories are called text types, and in ARCHER, registers. For more information on these corpora, see e.g. Biber, Finegan & Atkinson (1994) (ARCHER), Hundt, Sand & Siemund 1998 (FLOB), Hundt, Sand & Skandera (1999) (FROWN), Kytö 1996 (HCE), and Nurmi (1998), (1999) (CEECS). The *pride* words in the examples are italicized, and similarly names, foreign words and other items which are emphasized in the original. Underlining is used for emphasizing words and expressions relevant to the analysis; it does not follow any strict system, but is rather meant to help readers to see the point, even if they might wish to challenge the interpretations of the examples.

Table 1. *Pride* words in the data.³

Corpus	Word-forms	Number of items	N/10,000	Number of words in corpus
CEECS	prid, pride, proud, proude	5	0.20	246,055
CEECS	pride, proud, proude, prouder	15 (16)	0.74	204,030
	pride, proud, proude, proudly, proudest, proudly	44 (52)	0.80 (0.94)	551,000
ARCHER	pride, proud, proudest, proudly, once-proud, purse-proud	216 (218)	1.27 (1.28)	1,700,000
FROWN	pride, prided, proud, proudly	84	0.84	ca. 1,000,000
	pride, prided, prides, proud, proudest, proudly	74	0.74	ca. 1,000,000

2.3. Method

This article leans more towards a qualitative reading of the data than towards quantitative corpus research, although some figures are given. The purpose is not so much to capture the usage of *pride* words in exact numbers, than to characterize their various shades of meaning as they appear in the course of time. It is doubtful whether any interpretation of

³ The numbers in brackets indicate actual numbers of tokens, including the surname *Pride*, which is not relevant in this analysis. In the ARCHER corpus, there is a text with two tokens which occur twice.

these words can be completely objective (cf. Koivisto-Alanko 2000: 224).⁴

3. Pride in Late Middle and Early Modern English (ca. 1400–1700)

3.1. Causes of pride

According to Kövecses (1986: 44, 1990: 93–94), there are seven main causes of PRIDE: (1) achievements, (2) possessions, (3) belonging to a prestigious group, (4) good appearance, (5) physical or mental capabilities, skills or properties, (6) moral qualities, and (7) good social status. The OED definition of the noun *pride* (1. a.) combines most of these causes as follows: “A high or overweening opinion of one’s own qualities, attainments, or estate, which gives rise to a feeling and attitude of superiority over and contempt for others; inordinate self-esteem.” It reflects the idea recurrent in the Late Middle and Early Modern data that PRIDE is morally wrong, indeed sinful:

(1) [...] it is produceing naturally the sinnes of Ingratitude and *Pride* which the Lord fearfully punisheth. The Prosperous state is the slippery and dangerous state of a Christian, because then the Poore Creature is apt to have his affections fixed upon outward enjoym^{ts} and to waxe fatt, lightly esteeming of the Roott of his Salvations, and forgetting God [...] (CEECS: 1652: John Jones: 198)

In the story of the Fall, the Devil incorporates all of the seven main causes of PRIDE, and Adam and Eve cease to be able to love and to have pride in God. This data strongly suggests that this is the conceptual model for PRIDE that Late Middle and Early Modern speakers of English are operating with (readers of Milton might agree), rather than the one suggested by Kövecses. PRIDE can simply be seen as THE ORIGINAL SIN which separates a Christian from God, as in example (1). However, it is simultaneously possible to see these same people analyse PRIDE into its

⁴ The sources of the data are given as follows: CEECS: (1) date (2) author of letter (3) line. HC: (1) genre (2) author of book etc. (3) title (4) page. ARCHER: (1) text type or genre (2) date. FLOB & FROWN: (1) genre (2) author of book [omitted in the case of journals] (3) title of book or journal (4) page.

parts and thus have various causes, such as personal success (“the Prosperous state,” here of Oliver Cromwell in 1652), wealth and possessions (“enjoyment^s”), etc. Note that in this view, personal success in an enterprise does not ultimately result from anything a human being is or does, but from God’s reign over the world. Such an ultimate cause does not agree with a secular world view, although for example in this specific case, a possible tension exists between Cromwell as a potential usurper and Cromwell as one chosen to rule by God.

Another example of this kind of thinking deals with pride in good appearance, which is considered sinful:

(2) This time was vsed exceeding *pride in garmentes*, gownes with deepe and broade sleeues, commonlye called poke sleeues, the seruauntes ware them as well as theyr maisters whiche mighte well haue bene called receptacles of the Diuel [...] (HC: History: John Stow: *The Chronicles of England*: 549)

Example (2) suggests not only that PRIDE is associated with VANITY (cf. Kövecses 1986: 56–59, 1990: 105–107), but also that everybody has their place in the world and should not aspire higher: servants should not dress like their masters; people should not aspire, together with the Devil, to be like God.

If pride words are used in a positive context, the cause of pride tends to be social. People are proud of somebody else, or of their good connections, or wish to let somebody know that they are ready to serve them. Although such pride is not likely to be entirely unselfish, evaluating it higher than purely self-centred pride agrees with the idea that the worst characteristic of pride is that it makes people focus on themselves instead of another, be that God or human. Example (3) attests a bridegroom who is proud of his bride, and example (4) comes from a letter, showing polite (formulaic) language.

(3) (*John*) Why priethee all people will adore thee that day, and I shall be woundy proud of thee my Dear to see thee sit as a Virgin-Bride, and I shall wait upon thee too that same day, as it is my duty. (HC: Fiction: Samuel Pepys: *Penny Merriments*: 118)

(4) Deare Madam, do me the honnor to keepe me in Mr Bacon’s favor, whos good opinion I should be proude to deserve in any thing wherin I can be of use to him. (CEECS: 1614: Lucy Russell: 27)

2.2. Concepts related to PRIDE

To describe the concept of PRIDE, Kövecses (1986: 46–49) suggests that one should also pay attention to other concepts related to PRIDE. He names JOY and SATISFACTION. While John in example (3) appears to be satisfied with his bride and to be happy about the prospect of his wedding, the idea that PRIDE is A SIN often means that it is mentioned together with other sins and that the concepts related to it in Late Middle and Early Modern English thus do not tend to be positive. If one wished to deal with PRIDE in the vein suggested by Kövecses and not to name too many related concepts, SIN would probably suffice. Note, however, that this immediately shifts the focus from feelings and emotions (JOY and SATISFACTION) to faith and moral judgments, suggesting that PRIDE is not exactly an emotion concept in this period.

A good example of nouns listed together with pride comes from a sermon by Hugh Latimer:

(5) For is there not reygning in London, as much *pride*, as much coueteousnes, as much crueltie, as much opprission, as much supersticion, as was in Nebo? (HC: Sermons: Hugh Latimer: *Sermon on the Ploughers*: 22)

The adjective *proud* appears in a list of all kinds of evildoers:

(6) (*Daniell*) Naughty people? where shall a man dwell, and not finde them? Swearers, liars, raylers, liaunderers, drunckards, adulterers, riotous, vnthriftes, dicers, and *proude* high minded persons, are euery where to be founde in great plenty. (HC: Handbooks, other: George Gifford: *A Handbook on Witches and Witchcraft*: A4V)

Samuel Pepys similarly uses *proud* in a negative sense and associates PRIDE not only with BEAUTY, but also with DECEITFULNESS and WANTONNESS:

(7) [...] his lady [...] is comely, and seeming sober and stately, but very proud and very cunning, or I am mistaken – and wanton too. (HC: Diaries: Samuel Pepys: *The Diary*, VII: 415)

2.3. Behavioural reactions to PRIDE

If PRIDE is considered an emotion concept, one can assume that the emotion leads to certain characteristic behaviour (Kövecses 1986: 41–43;

1990: 90–91). It is clear that in this period, people thought that PRIDE was accompanied by certain kinds of actions (cf. examples 5–6). Proud people were not different from what they are today. Kövecses includes what he calls the metonymies TELLING PEOPLE ABOUT ONE’S ACHIEVEMENTS and BOASTING in his list of behavioural reactions. This agrees with example (9), although its general tone is even more critical than that of Kövecses’s own example (8). Another metonymy that seems to appear both in Kövecses’s description of PRIDE and in this data is ERECT POSTURE, although example (11) can be read less literally than example (10).

(8) He’s always broadcasting his own achievements.

(9) Howbeit, vpon a time a certaine repynning enuious man, being full gorged with a malicious rayling spirit, being *proudely* giuen (in the gall of much bitternesse, with many scandalous words, and bragging comparisons ill beseeming his person) reported that the aforesaid plaister *De Ranis* was dangerous vnto the patient [...] (HC: Science, medicine: William Clowes: *Treatise for the Artificiall Cure of Struma*: 16)

(10) After winning the race, he walked to the rostrum *with his head held high*.

(11) One man there was who staid behind, a Hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more then all the rest who went: being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know Austin to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answer’d, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. (HC: History: John Milton: *The History of Britain*: X, 148)

In example (12), a lady who is proud of a picture both talks about it and shows it to the speaker:

(12) I have a lady, sir—oh, and she’s mightily taken with this picture of yours; she was so mightily *proud* of it, she could not forbear showing it me, and telling too who it was sent it her. (ARCHER: Drama: 1680)

The challenge that one would need to meet in order to provide a full account of the behavioural reactions of pride in this period would be to dissect “pure” behavioural reactions from the moral and religious standards they are judged against (Kövecses 1986: 41–43; 1990: 90–91 himself does not actually attempt this), or to show in detail how the then available “psychological” understanding of human behaviour worked with respect to pride and how it related to doctrine concerning the Fall.

This data suggests that pride was typically associated with act(ion)s having to do with disagreement, quarrels and rebellion. Elizabeth I uses the phrase “a spiritt of Choller and pride” to describe the character of a person she dislikes in terms of the humoural theory (HC: Letters, non-private: Elizabeth 1: 403, cf. Geeraerts & Grondelaers 1995). She describes rebels as proud (example [13]), and also in other people’s opinion, pride causes large groups of people to divide up into smaller groups (example [14]).

(13) [...] I reioys with who is most gladlist, that at lengh (thogh I confes almost to late) hit pleseth you so kingly and valiantly to resist with your parson ther *oultre-cuidant* malignant attempt, in wiche you haue honord your selfe, reioysed your frends, and confound, I hope, your *proud rebelz*. (CEECS: 1594: Elizabeth I: 108)

(14) [...] That wee fall not into the snares that successes have in them, to lift us up to Pride, allure us to coveteousnes, or rend us into Factions [...] (CEECS: 1651: John Jones: 188)

2.4. Conceptual metaphors of PRIDE

Quite surprisingly, the letter corpus provides us with more conceptual metaphors than the *Helsinki Corpus* with its many text types. CEECS, which only has 20 *pride* items, attests 13 tokens of 7 metaphor types, while the HCE, with its 44 occurrences of *pride* words, only attests 11 tokens of 7 metaphor types. ARCHER provides 11 tokens of 9 metaphor types with 15 occurrences of *pride* words in this period (1650–1699). The metaphor token/*pride* token ratio is 0.73 in ARCHER, 0.65 in the CEECS and 0.25 in the HCE. The metaphor types and tokens included in this interpretation of the data are presented in Table 2.

One cannot say that the data is abundant, but the metaphor that scores the most occurrences agrees very well with the overall conceptualization of pride suggested by the data. Proud people direct their gaze upwards (example [11]) and aspire towards a position which is not rightfully theirs (examples [1]–[2], [6], [11], [13]–[14]). However, this is dangerous, because God will punish them later, as suggested by example (15). Considering that the “seats” on which the proud people sit are likely to be high, we get the temporal sequence (down-)up-down, which is eventually very unhappy, even if it appears for a while to be happy (cf. happiness is up, Kövecses 1991: 32). It is possible to interpret example (15) in three ways. One is that the proud will eventually lose their good status in this

life, another is that they will go down to Hell with the Devil and his kingdom, and the third option is that both calamities will befall them, one after the other.

Table 2. The conceptual metaphors occurring with Late Middle and Early Modern English *pride* words (number of occurrences).

Metaphor (& metonymy)	CEECS	HC	ARCHER
PRIDE IS UP and/or DOWN	3	1 (& 2)	1
PRIDE IS A QUANTIFIABLE SUBSTANCE	3	1	1
PRIDE IS A HUMAN BEING (personification)	2	1	1
PRIDE IS IN THE HEART	2	0	2
PRIDE IS IN THE EYE(S)	0	0	1
PRIDE IS A CONTAINER / BOUNDED SPACE	1	0	2
PRIDE IS AN OPPONENT / ENEMY	1	0	1
PRIDE IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY	0	1	0
PRIDE IS BLINDNESS	1	0	0
PRIDE IS A PLANT	0	1	0
PRIDE IS AN INSTRUMENT	0	1	0
PRIDE IS A HIDDEN OBJECT	0	0	1
PRIDE IS A BURDEN (CROSS)	0	0	1
Metaphor difficult to name	0	3	0

(15) [...] our Father [...] pulleth downe y^e *proud* from their seates [...] (CEECS: 1651: John Jones: 179)

The metaphor ‘pride is in the heart’ not only agrees with a conceptualization of the heart as the seat of the emotions (Kövecses 1990: 172), but also with the idea that the heart is where both goodness and, as

here in the case of pride, evil originate, as suggested by the Bible.⁵ Example (16) combines three metaphors: pride is in the heart, pride is an enemy (which has to be conquered), and pride is up/down.

(16) Here indeed the business pincheth; herein as the chief worth, so the main difficulty of religious practice consisteth, in bending that iron sinew; in bringing our proud hearts to stoop, and our sturdy humours to buckle, so as to surrender and resign our wills to the just, the wise, the gracious will of our God, prescribing our duty, and assigning our lot unto us. (ARCHER: Sermon: 16xx)

Note also the medico-scientific talk of “sturdy humours” in example (16) and the personification which it involves, helping one to conceptualize a battle in one’s mind. A major function of the metaphors in this period appears to be to describe people’s minds, including their thoughts and emotions and the interaction of these, i.e. metaphors are used for constructing not only religious but also psychological discourse. Pride can be seen as an instrument which helps children to learn (example [17]), and affectionately personified when it concerns an important friend (example [18]), although usually it is considered an impediment to reason and good life (such as blindness, example [19]) that people ought to get rid of. It may be difficult to part with (valuable commodity, example [20]), especially if it is something that God has allowed to afflict us (cross, example [21]). In fictional characterizations of people, we see pride in their eyes (example [22], Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 50; Kövecses 1990: 173) and as a hidden object (example [23]).

(17) [Children] love to be treated as rational creatures sooner then is imagin'd. Tis a *pride* should be cherishd in them and, as much as can be, made the great instrument to traine them by. (HC: Educational treatises: John Locke: *Directions Concerning Education*: 58)⁶

⁵ E.g. by Jesus in Matthew 9: 4, 22: 37, and Mark 7: 14–23.

⁶ I was uncertain about how to read the word *cherishd* in example (17). Does it mean that pride is a plant or a valuable commodity? Some people might consider the use of this word non-metaphorical, or at least a dead metaphor, but that would seem to disagree with cognitive metaphor theory. Kövecses (2005: 84) reads the word *cherish* in terms of a precious possession, but the OED gives the obsolete sense ‘to foster, tend, or cultivate plants’ (cherish v. 2. b.).

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(18) [...] for I suffer much in fear least our lov'd pride in Cottington will bee severely humbled. (CEECs: 1670S?: Winefrid Thimelby: 44)

(19) Truly, I am neither so blyndly proud in myselfe, not so uniust to you, as to chalinge your letters [...]. (CEECs: 1670S?: Winefrid Thimelby: 40)

(20) For when he hath resigned his pride and his enuie and his lust, yet Vsurie remaineth with him [...] (HC: Sermons: Henry Smith: Two sermons on "Of usurie": B2V)

(21) My crosses have been, 1, Poverty. 2, Pride. 3, Crosseness. 4, Sicknes. Now they might have beene more & sadder. (ARCHER: Journal, diary: 1661)

(22) Carry these dying eyes a look of pride? (ARCHER: Fiction: 1696)

(23) [...] he took a secret Pride in Rivalling so great a Man [...] (ARCHER: Fiction: 1699)

Lastly, a characterization of a man from a letter which attests a quantification of pride (example [24]). People may disagree about the definition of metaphor and whether it should involve this kind of usage of adverbs and adjectives. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 30–32) even involve prepositions such as *in* and *into* in their discussion of metaphorical language (cf. example [52], attesting the metaphor pride is a container). Example (24) could be seen as first and foremost an understatement. Quantification nevertheless plays an important role in the data, being an instrument of estimating, for example, how serious a vice pride is, and here, how grateful someone is towards the queen.

(24) [...] he was no lytle proud man to think himselfe remembered of hir majesty. (CEECs: 1586: Robert Dudley: 424)

2.5. *Summary*

In the data from this period, the only PRIDE that appears to be justified is PRIDE IN SOMEBODY ELSE. The whole idea that someone would be oriented UPWARDS is considered blasphemous or at least immoral. The concept of PRIDE is epitomized in the story and character of the Devil, who is beautiful, wise, and vain, and attempts to use his great powers in order to become like God but is destined to be sent DOWN to Hell with his angels. PRIDE is mainly associated with other SINS and VICES, and calling another person *proud* is most often a severe criticism. This does not rule out an understanding of PRIDE as AN EMOTION (although people in this

period probably would not use this exact word) which accompanies other emotions, especially LOVE, and makes people behave in a certain manner. People also connect PRIDE to various causes and distinguish between cases in which it can be useful, and cases in which it is really dangerous.

3. Pride in Late Modern English (ca. 1700–1900)

3.1. *Causes of pride*

The Late Modern English data comes from ARCHER, including 146 tokens of *pride* words. These are especially frequent in fiction (56 or 38%), drama (27 or 18%) and sermons (25 or 17%). The senses of these are more diversified in fiction and drama (and the other registers) than in the sermons, in which PRIDE is seen as A SIN and associated with the Fall (DOWNWARD direction) and the Devil:

(25) There is *pride*, malice, and revenge in all our hearts; and this temper can not come from God; it comes from our first parent, Adam, who, after he fell from God, fell out of God into the devil. (ARCHER: Sermon: 17xx)

Most of the instances come from a single sermon which deals with “pride of life” (1 John 2: 16). It contains in itself a philosophy of pride. There is a point in the sermon at which the preacher makes an interesting statement concerning the noun *pride*:

(26) Pride is one of those words which hover in the middle region between virtue and vice. (ARCHER: Sermon: 18xx)

His statement nevertheless rather characterizes Late Modern English usage in general than this particular sermon, its purpose being to explicate how PRIDE separates people from God.

Sermons are not the only texts in which pride is still seen as something bad. The following strong expressions appear in the middle of a news text:

(27) [...] ascribed this Piece of Wickedness partly to a Principle of *Pride*, and partly to the general Corruption of Mankind, even in Christendom; who from Ignorance [sic] Profaneness, Prejudice, and Respect of Persons, value themselves and others on Account of their Unbelief and Infidelity [...] (ARCHER: News: 1753)

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People use the expressions *proud mind* and *proud spirit* to trace unfortunate behaviour to its origins, as in example (28). Note also the metaphor PRIDE IS IN THE HEART.

(28) “Your *proud spirit*,” said he, “would not hearken to the gentle remonstrance of your daughter [...] your heart was closed to every conciliatory position.” (ARCHER: Fiction: 1789)

Quite often (*false*) *pride* means ‘vanity’ or ‘conceit’. Example (29) discusses a situation in which a man has suddenly become poor, but is able to adjust to his new circumstances:

(29) He had no false pride himself, and as to his wife, she was only anxious to conform to their altered fortunes. (ARCHER: New American Literature: 1820)

A partially overlapping tendency is to see PRIDE as something which makes people unaware that they have false ideas about themselves and their acts. It seems that such criticism is not necessarily religious, but rather based on the idea that PRIDE is the opposite of REASON, and thus is caused by or causes foolishness.

(30) Like many who *pride themselves on being recluses*, McQueen loved the gossip that came to him uninvited; indeed, he opened his mouth to it as greedily as any man in Thrums. (ARCHER: Fiction: 1891)

(31) [...] he knew no instance of a father leaving the additional division to any of his children, but that the feeling is always to leave them all alike, which, after all is rational, instead of that absurd pride which induces our English nobility always to sacrifice their younger children to the unjust, pompous notion of making a family. (ARCHER: Journal, diary: 1824)

However, pride can also be seen as something necessary for personal stability. It appears either to be necessary for or to constitute self-esteem (Kövecses 1986: 49–53, 1990: 98–102):

(32) Gods, sir! I have some pride left among my tatters. (ARCHER: Drama: 1851)

This period sees the surge of nationalism and national pride:

(33) The flags of the different nations are now floating over their respective consulates; the broad ensign of Mexico this morning flutters in the breeze as *proudly* and as defiant as ever [...] (ARCHER: News: 1853)

Pride in other people and one's relationships to them is also an important component of pride. This includes pride in one's spouse and family pride, but also involves friendship and other kinds of social ties. Note also a further cause of pride, victory, in example (34). It occurs several times in the data.

(34) (*Esther*) Tell me, George; are you quite sure that you are *proud of your poor little humble wife?*

(*George*) *Proud of you! Proud as the winner of the Derby.* (ARCHER: Drama: 1867)

(35) No man is more suited for the post than the clear headed honourable and conciliating Commodore, who I feel *proud of as my friend.* (ARCHER: Journal, diary: 1853)

(36) [...] there were old fellows, like Mr. Walsingham, who sat on the benches, or ran about, *proud of their activity, in attendance of the ladies.* (ARCHER: Fiction: 1881)

A special feature of this part of the data should be mentioned since it contains so many descriptions of people: Pride is seen as a cover for other emotions. Example (37) also demonstrates military pride, which in this data appears to be seen as something admirable.⁷

(37) [...] as he had been in nearly every battle that was mentioned by the orators his soul was probably stirred pretty often, though he was too proud to let on. (ARCHER: Letter: 1879)

In sum, although the idea that pride is a sin is still strong, it appears to be partly replaced by the ideas that pride is either folly, i.e. bad but not necessarily incurring eternal damnation, or that it can be something good, caused by desirable things, or desirable in itself as a source of a healthy self-esteem. Simultaneously, the main focus appears to be gradually shifting from pride as a theological concept to pride as a psychological

⁷ My searches for the word *pride* in Shakespeare's plays suggest that MILITARY PRIDE is well-known and is connected to the countries defended and thus it is in some way national even in the Early Modern English period, but talking about it too much seems to be charged with the suggestion that this would mean being conceited. Further research would nevertheless be required to confirm this.

and social concept — from being the original sin to a personal and national characteristic.

3.2. *Concepts related to PRIDE*

Example (26) summarizes the data fairly well: PRIDE is associated both with VIRTUE and VICE, although more with VICE. The noun *pride* occurs many times among other nouns which name SINS or VICES, although it can also occur with nouns denoting positive things (cf. examples [27] and [35] above). The negative concepts centre around SELFISHNESS, while the positive side of the equation is dominated by LOVE. Minor themes include the opposite but also interacting pairs MISERY versus GLORY and POWER, GOOD ORDER versus REVOLT and DISOBEDIENCE, HONOUR versus CONTEMPT, and PUNISHMENT versus PRIVILEGE. We might see this in terms of Kövecses's "scale" (1986: 46–47; 1990: 96): VIRTUES engender PLEASURE and HAPPINESS, along with a number of good things, and result in justified PRIDE, while PRIDE that is not justified is A VICE, or stems from VICES, and tends to be accompanied by ERROR and UNHAPPINESS.

Examples (38) and (39) show descriptions of a woman and a man, respectively. One is characterized with the help of negative nouns and the other with negative adjectives. These examples also contain the metaphors pride is in the heart, pride is up, strong/significant is big and vanity is an inflated object (cf. Kövecses 1986: 55, 58; 1990: 93, 106).

(38) Her Heart well-exam'n'd, I find there *Pride, Vanity, Covetousness, Indiscretion*, but above all things Malice [...] (ARCHER: Drama: 1730)

(39) But what astonishes me, beyond the power of description, is to see a Man *Proud, Haughty, sensible, ambitious* of making an elegant Figure in the World, and aspiring to be a star of the first magnitude acting repugnant to his predominant Passions [...] (ARCHER: Letter: 1774)

To contrast these, an example of pride as a good thing is given in example (40) where the noun *pride* is used metonymically to refer to the cause(r) of pride. The example attests the noun pairs *admirable understanding* and *perfect heart*, the noun *pleasure*, and adjectives denoting desirable characteristics in a woman. Examples (39) and (40) suggest that the adjective *sensible* denotes a desirable characteristic in a woman, but not in a man. It may nevertheless be used in two different

senses in these two passages, since it can mean both ‘capable of delicate or tender feeling’ and ‘easily hurt or offended’ (OED n. 9. a. & 9. b.).

(40) She is so amiable, so sensible, so clever, with such an admirable understanding and such a perfect heart, that she is the *pride* and pleasure of my existence.
(ARCHER: Journal, diary: 1824)

3.3. Behavioural reactions to PRIDE

Kövecses’s description of PRIDE (1986: 41–42, 55; 1990: 90) involves the behavioural reactions/metonymies ERECT POSTURE, CHEST UNNATURALLY THRUST OUT, and SIGNIFICANT IS BIG. These behavioural reactions are likely to be the source of the metonymical application of the noun *pride* to flowers in bloom and big houses:

(41) [...] the charming bowers displayed their ever-blooming pride, and breathed ambrosia [...] (ARCHER: Fiction: 1753)⁸

(42) Perhaps, in no instance was the superstition of Catherine’s character more strongly evidenced, than in the construction of this *proud* but needless palace — needless, we say, because she had already expended vast sums upon the erection of the Tuileries [...] (ARCHER: Fiction: 1837)

The most frequent behavioural reaction to pride in this data appears to be talking, or even writing, about the cause(r) of pride (Kövecses’s telling people about one’s achievements, boasting [1986: 41–42; 1990: 90–91], but note that people are not only proud of their own achievements), but this reaction is not as frequent in this period as in the next. Other reactions include blushing, smiling, standing tall, ostentatious walking, manner of speaking, ways of looking at others, showing disinterest, and making hasty judgments. Pride may also lead to treating one’s wife with contempt or rejecting financial help. A lover wears signs of his love with pride (note also the related concepts happiness and favour):

⁸ According to the OED (n. 5. b.), *pride* occurs in names of plants such as *pride of Barbadoes*, but is not a plant name in itself. Consequently, it is more likely that the OED would label this usage ‘magnificence, splendour; pomp, ostentation, display’ (n. 6. a.).

(43) [...] he had been smitten with her at first sight, was *proud to wear her chains*, and should esteem it the greatest happiness could befall him to have a place in her favor. (ARCHER: Fiction: 1723)

This data contains many descriptions of people's reactions to PRIDE, but none of the specific reactions occur many times.

A question raised by this data is whether pride in itself is a behavioural reaction. It has already been noted that it can be a cover for other emotions (example [37]). Example (44) suggests that pride can at least be a factor which decides one's behaviour when one is faced with a challenge.

(44) No man of Mark's spirit likes to be managed, and when once the scheme by which he had been encouraged to marry for the [sic] sake of keeping him at home dawned upon him, all his *pride* and combativeness were carried over to Roxy's side of the question. "I am going to start to Texas by the 'Duke of Orleans,' he said one day, with great positiveness. (ARCHER: Fiction: 1878)

3.4. *Conceptual metaphors of PRIDE*

Most frequently, PRIDE is conceptualized in terms of containment: PRIDE IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER/THE BODY, PRIDE IS IN THE HEART, and PRIDE itself IS A CONTAINER. When A FLUID IN THE BODY, PRIDE tends to cause swelling (cf. Kövecses 1986: 43; 1990: 92). Example (45) also demonstrates the metaphor PRIDE IS IN THE HEART and several related concepts, or causes, which are deemed positive in this context (POSSESSIONS, LOVE, HAPPINESS, BEAUTY, LUXURY):

(45) My heart swelled with pride as I surveyed the beautiful domain I now owned— and thought how happy a home it would make when Sibyl, matchless in her loveliness, shared with me its charm and luxury. (ARCHER: Fiction: 1895)

In example (46), PRIDE is A FEELING which contains other feelings:

(46) 'No, madam! no, Mrs. Arlbery!' cried Camilla, in whose pride now every other feeling was concentrated, 'he does not, cannot see it!—' (ARCHER: Fiction: 1796)

The third example of a containment metaphor comes from the story in which a man is impoverished and has to change his life style (cf. example [29]). This, of course, has an effect on his wife's life as well:

(47) “And believe me, my friend,” said I, stepping up, and grasping him warmly by the hand, “believe me, she can be the same with you. Ay, more; it will be a source of pride and triumph to her—it will call forth all the latent energies and fervent sympathies of her nature; for she will rejoice to prove that she loves you for yourself. (ARCHER: New American Literature: 1820)

Another metaphor which occurs now and again and is actually related to containment (since containment requires something that is contained) is pride is an object or substance, sometimes a valuable commodity, which can also be quantified. The idea that pride is a valuable commodity suggests that it is related to or even synonymous with self-esteem (cf. example [32]). Not all of these metaphors are very clearly metaphorical, but depending on our reading, we might or might not include in this group example (44), in which Mark’s pride is “carried over to Roxy’s side of the question”. In example (48), pride is an object which one ought to get rid of (cf. example [29]). This is emphasized through adjectives denoting both positive and negative qualities in a man. Example (48) also conveys another metaphor used for pride in this particular sermon, pride is fire, a conceptualization certainly related to hell-fire. The passage can even be seen to talk about how pride brings a man down.

(48) Many and many a man who passes for a sober, conscientious, religious sort of man at fifty, if you put back into his cooled blood the hot life he had at twenty-five would be the same reckless, profligate, arrogant sinner that he was then. It is the life, not the pride, that he has lost. Many and many a man thinks that he has saved his house from conflagration because he sees no flame, when really the flame is hidden only because the house is burnt down and the fire is still lurking among the ashes [...] (ARCHER: Sermon: 18xx)

In the same sermon, pride is conceptualized in terms of reproduction, death and a contagious disease. It is seen as a container in another sermon, a vice in which people sink into, and go down with the Devil — this passage is replete with expressions concerning what is good and bad:

(49) [...] sinners: not only deprived of the favor of God, but also of His image; of all virtue, righteousness, and true holiness, and sunk partly into the image of the devil, in pride, malice, and all other diabolical tempers; partly into the image of the brute, being fallen under the dominion of brutal passions and grovelling appetites. (ARCHER: Sermon: 17xx)

Pride is also personified many times. In example (50), it appears to be a deity:

(50) I gain'd my Lady Stately, by sacrificing to her *Pride* [...] (ARCHER: Drama: 1706)

It can also be AN ENEMY. Then it is, of course, associated with bad things:

(51) Hence, giving way to dissipation, and being unused to labour, they proceed for support to fraud, and become the miserable victims of a false and ill-judged pride. (ARCHER: News: 1785)

There does not appear to be such a diversity of metaphors as might be expected on the basis of the facts, considering that there is more data from this period than the earlier period and that the senses of the word *pride* are more varied. Perhaps the explanation is that the concept of *pride* is in flux in this period, and that in a phase which is formative to a meaning shift in the *pride* words their new meanings have not yet established an array of metaphors. Instead, the metaphors like to accompany the older dominant conceptualization of *pride* as a sin, although in Late Middle and Early Modern English this was not exactly so, for the metaphors were also used as tools for conceptualizing *pride* as something occurring in the mind and were thus perhaps paving way to the emergent conceptualization of *pride* as an emotion (cf. Beckmann 2001: 79–82 and *ibid.*, Koivisto-Alanko & Tissari 2006: 205). This hypothesis is nevertheless very much influenced by a couple of sermons and further evidence would be needed to prove it.

One piece of evidence concerning the beginnings of *pride* “hovering between virtue and vice” can be found in the Early Modern data (example [52]). The preposition *in* in it can be interpreted as a marker of containment, and it concerns behaviour associated with gender:

(52) [...] she'll be apt to tell you, That *Pride* is a Vice in men, but Virtue in a woman. (ARCHER: Drama: 1671)

3.5. *Summary*

In this period, *PRIDE* is still seen as A SIN, but the best way to summarize the general tendencies might be that it is seen both as A VICE and A VIRTUE. This would allow one to suggest that Kövecses's suggestion concerning the justification of *PRIDE* (1986: 46–47; 1990: 96) has strong

roots in this period, in which people seem to make a strong distinction between desirable and undesirable PRIDE—*pride* words are used both to condemn and to praise people— and that it is likely to be strengthened by the idea that a person can approach PRIDE rationally (cf. example [31]).

In the Late Modern data, *pride* words are often used in detailed characterizations of people and appear to receive rich and varied psychological readings. The data makes one think that pride may not only call forth reactions, but may in itself be a reaction to another emotion or some other trigger. The variation in metaphors, nevertheless, does not appear to be great. The religious texts are replete with metaphors that have their roots in the story of the Fall, and the other metaphors in other texts point to pride being conceptualized as an emotion, but are not very plentiful.

If the data were divided into even smaller periods, the eighteenth century would be more likely to show a negative appraisal of pride and the nineteenth to attach positive attributes to it, but there is also a clear continuum from the earliest data through the Late Middle to Present-Day English, in which pride receives increasingly positive interpretations.

4. Pride in Present-Day English (20th century)

4.1. Causes of PRIDE

In the FROWN data, PRIDE is mainly caused by one's profession or professional skills, often creative. This category appears to cover ca. 30% of the instances of *pride* words, and may involve one's professional achievements (Kövecses's cause 1, "achievements" [1986: 44; 1990: 94]), "belonging to a prestigious (professional) group" (cause 3) or leading such a group, and one's status as a representative of a certain profession (cause 7). Example (53) combines pride in a group of actors and their filming team's achievements:

(53) As the production notes *proudly* boast, there are eight Oscars and 38 Oscar nominations among the bunch. (FROWN: Press: Reportage: *The Arizona Republic*: 61)

PROFESSIONAL PRIDE is less frequent in FLOB, only adding up to 14% of the data, and the writers' attitudes to it seem to be slightly less enthusiastic.

I would distinguish the category of professional causes from political-moral causes, although these could be included in it. They are clearly less frequent in both corpora, but it is interesting that in this data, people's political pride tends to accompany a sense of moral achievement, and vice versa. It can be a professional politician's pride in his or her achievement, as in example (54), or a citizen's pride in taking part in a demonstration (FLOB: General Fiction: Dan Jacobson: *Hidden in the Heart*: 26).

(54) Marion Roe *prides herself on her 1985 Private Member's Bill which outlawed female circumcision*. (FLOB: Popular Lore: *Young People Now*: 26)

The second largest group of causes in FROWN, if combined, is ethnic, local, and national pride (Kövecses's cause 3, "belonging to a prestigious group" [1986: 44; 1990: 94]), covering 18% of the data. In FLOB, this is the largest group, amounting to 26% of the data. The examples immediately below attest the words ethnic and national. People also use the premodifier *civic*, as in example (83). Such premodifiers of course do not occur in every relevant context. Instead, people often simply write about a country or town and tell what the people there are proud of — its history, traditions and attractions. It can also be talk about the armed forces, sport, or the flag.

(55) In this desire to put the polka on the map, the two themes of *ethnic pride* and *class pride* are interwoven. (FROWN: Popular Lore: Keil, Keil & Blau: *Polka Happiness*: 7)

(56) These collaborative ventures attracted a considerable amount of high level support and interest in their day but, as recent accounts have emphasised, the experiments did not prove to be especially easy for the participants. Both attempts were bedevilled by squabbles in production, by professional rivalry, and, to borrow Frank Capra's own words, by "*national pride* and prejudices". Nor, indeed, were the results particularly worthwhile as propaganda. (FLOB: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*: 12)

A third, fairly important category in both FROWN and FLOB is pride in other people, often members of one's closest family, e.g. what they have achieved and how they behave. It can also be pride in one's

marriage or family line. This covers 15% of the FROWN and 12% of the FLOB data. Example (57) concerns a friendship:

(57) The Petersons had a house in Brooklyn—we liked them, not simply because they were black, and were *proud* of the friendship. (FROWN: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: Mary McCarthy: *Intellectual Memoirs. New York 1936–1938*: 3)

In FLOB, “possessions” also play a role as a source of pride (Kövecses 1986: 44; 1990: 94). These need not be large in terms of physical size:

(58) The bursary made all the difference and, since last summer, Lindsay’s been the *proud owner of a wooden clarinet*. (FLOB: Skills, Trades and Hobbies: *Guiding*: 5)

There are many other causes of pride, none of which stand out as more important than the others, except perhaps gender and (gay) sexual orientation, which appear in FROWN, but not in FLOB (or in ARCHER either).

(59) There may, furthermore, be a blending of male desires evoked by viewing and recognizing the more traditional implications and identifications of melodrama as well as those desires evoked by male-genres that have always contained melodramatic elements presenting more suitable male desires: the fantasy of male achievement, the concern for manliness and the anti-feminine, masculine pride and ethos, and masculine nostalgia for its youth. (FROWN: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*: 8)

It should also be mentioned that pride does not always seem to have a clear cause. The *pride* words can be used simply to describe a person’s character or appearance, as in the Late Modern data, and the noun *pride* can approach synonymy with self-esteem.⁹ The dispraise in example (61) agrees with the idea that an invisible “mental scale” can be used to judge whether a person’s pride is justified (Kövecses 1986: 46–47; 1990: 96).

⁹ In this respect, the OED, with its focus on the negative aspects of PRIDE, differs from the more recent *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary*, which says that “*Pride* is a sense of dignity and self-respect”.

(60) More surprising is the recollection of his father's memory of calling on the great tragedian one morning to find him "fresh and dripping from the bath," entering the room upside down, walking on his hands, "the result [...] of mere exuberance of muscle and *pride* and robustious joie de vivre" [...] (FLOB: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: *Essays in Criticism*: 2)

(61) Descendants, my mother said, of the *conquistadores*. One or two such women lived in Santa María. My mother knew them but thought they were too proud. (FROWN: General Fiction: Lori Toppel: *Three Children*: 15)

(62) [...] reports of his impetuous involvements with a number of women were all embarrassing incidents, damaging to the tenor's *pride* and innate dignity. (FLOB: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: *London Magazine*: 7)

This period has 55 hits in ARCHER, in which the main category appears to be pride in someone else, their achievements, etc. ARCHER attests a somewhat different palette of causes from FROWN and FLOB. There is less ethnic, local and national pride, and less professional pride. Instead, there are specific cases like metonymic characterizations of a mountain and flowers (cf. example [41] above). There occurs a rather "old-fashioned" characterization of pride as a sin (example [63]), and a humorous dialogue in which a doctor prides himself on being sane (example [64]). It seems that pride, along with other sins, is like an animal or a person in example (63), since they "come flocking".

(63) After one has passed the stage of committing the grosser sins and even of being tempted by them—temptation having been removed by age or lack of opportunity—then the hidden spiritual sins come flocking: pride, envy, jealousy, anger, all forms of concealed unlovingness, and that sin considered today to be the top one of all, hypocrisy. (ARCHER: Journal, diary: 1973)

(64) (*Roisin*) [...] what you say is sort of [...] original.
(*MacCarthy*) Original? My dear, I pride myself on never having made an original remark in my life.
(*Roisin*) That's a queer thing to be *proud* of.
(*MacCarthy*) The only people who make original remarks are my patients. They're all completely original. (ARCHER: Drama: 1958)

4.2. Concepts related to PRIDE

It has already been mentioned that Kövecses (1986: 46–49) names JOY and SATISFACTION as concepts related to PRIDE. He also discusses SELF-

ESTEEM, CONCEIT and VANITY in connection with PRIDE (1986: 49–59; 1990: 98–107). This data does not suggest that he is entirely wrong. The examples above show that JOY and SATISFACTION go together with PRIDE, that PRIDE is linked with SELF-ESTEEM, and that it is seen in terms of CONCEIT and VANITY. However, it might also be good to point out other concepts related to PRIDE, at least SUCCESS, and perhaps ORIGIN or ROOTS, or both — FAMILY, ETHNIC AND NATIONAL. HONOUR is also directly mentioned in some contexts (example [65]).

(65) “I think her father is not aware of all the ramifications” — Paulo rolled the word off his tongue with a touch of justified pride — “of marrying into the honored family of the elder Alcester. He forbids the match.” (FROWN: Romance and Love Story: Jeanne Savery: *A Handful of Promises*: 48)

Success is often professional, but more generally, it is success in any enterprise, even picking mushrooms (example [66]). Since origin hardly includes a person’s descendants, pride in them could be seen as related to their success, or success in parenting, although people in the data take pride in (and are joyous about) the very existence of their children (example [67]). Pride does not always aspire to a higher social status.

(66) A group of villagers knocked on the door, proudly bearing a large basket full of mushrooms. (FLOB: Miscellaneous: *The Gazette. John Lewis Partnership*: 45)

(67) When Dolores was born, Juan Gabriel had been exultant with *pride*, and he had not questioned this sudden miracle. (FROWN: Mystery and Detective Fiction: Phyllis A. Whitney: *The Ebony Swan*: 12)

In ARCHER, pride is explicitly discussed as one emotion among others. Note also that in example (68) pride is explicitly discussed as a reaction to something (cf. example [44]).

(68) If we are sensitive, we often feel it and react with joy or sorrow, with shame or pride, and mostly with mixtures of these emotions. (ARCHER: Sermon: 19xx)

ARCHER suggests that pride can be accompanied both by aggression, anger, complacency and obstinacy, and by confidence, devotion, diligence, good cheer, joy, love, pleasure, respect, strength and valour. The impression is that the vice-virtue discussion is being continued in that material.

Since “possessions” are clearly one of the causes of pride in the FLOB, and are mentioned by Kövecses (1986: 44; 1990: 94), it might also be reasonable to consider power and wealth as pride-related concepts. This is suggested by example (69), which also attests the metaphor pride is a fluid/sea.

(69) [...] all the trade from Asia Minor and Persia had flowed in by ship and caravan, bringing to Trebizond the wealth and *pride* and power that made her the Queen of the Euxine, and now the wealth and the *pride* and the power had ebbed away and Trabzon was like the descendant of some great line who has become of small account [...] (ARCHER: Fiction: 1957)

4.3. *Behavioural reactions to PRIDE*

In example (65), Paulo “rolled the word off his tongue with a touch of justified pride”. Although this is an unusually complicated way of expressing what he does, verbal expressions of PRIDE seem to be the most usual behavioural reactions to PRIDE in FROWN. The verbs used to express this behavioural reaction in the Present-Day English data include *to announce*, *to brag*, *to boast*, *to mention*, *to point out* (which can also denote physical action), *to say* (the most frequent choice), *to state* and *to tell*. These verbs are most typically complemented with *proudly*, or *with pride*, or people use the phrase (*I’m/We are...*) *proud to say*. It is also likely that when people *pride themselves on* something, they express it verbally (cf. Kövecses’s metonymies TELLING PEOPLE ABOUT ONE’S ACHIEVEMENTS and BOASTING [1986: 41–42; 1990: 90–91]).

Other ways to make people aware of something a person or group is proud of are expressed by such verbs as *to display*, *to reveal* and *to show*, even *to show off*. In FLOB, people who are proud of something edit and publish it (a genealogy [FLOB: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: Ronald Taylor: Kurt Weill: 9]), somebody’s works [FLOB: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: Peter Raby: S. Butler. A Biography: 13]). Ways of expressing national pride include wearing a white rose and flying the flag (FLOB: Press: Editorial: Craven Herald and Pioneer: 54–55, cf. example [77], ARCHER: News: 1979, cf. Late Modern example [33]). These latter reactions can hardly be called spontaneous. Rather, they are learned ways of behaving in a certain situation.

The Present-Day English data even suggests that pride itself is something that is learned, or rather, that one sometimes should learn to be

proud of certain things. Pride also seems to be a conscious choice people make. Example (70) employs these ideas for ironic effect.

(70) As citizens and taxpayers, you should be proud. The next time you or your co-workers are victims of crime, take comfort in knowing that there are no bare bosoms on Miami's beaches [...] (FROWN: Press: Editorial: *The Miami Herald*: 87)

Example (71) possibly represents Kövecses's metonymy erect posture, and example (72) shows his metonymy head held unnaturally high (1986: 42; 1990: 90), both of which may to some extent motivate the metaphor pride is up.

(71) [...] he remained a man who was calmly *proud* of the way he believed he had served his people (and he always seemed to fit a western-tailored suit better than anyone else in Uganda). (FLOB: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: Donald A. Low: *Eclipse of Empire*: 3)

(72) Abby lifted her chin proudly. (FLOB: Romance and Love Story: Jessica Hart: *A Sweeter Prejudice*: 43)

Although the behavioural reactions reported in the data are not always the fittest possible ones for each social context, there appears to be a tendency to regard pride as something which does people good and gives them extra energy.

(73) There is an invigorating sense of civic pride in Dublin [...] (FLOB: Press: Review: *The Sunday Telegraph*: 30)

4.4. Conceptual metaphors of PRIDE

The most frequent metaphor is PRIDE IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER (THE CONTAINER being THE BODY), although it is not very frequent, appearing four times in FLOB and only once in FROWN and ARCHER. This result suggests that PRIDE is conceptualized above all as AN EMOTION. In example (74) this emotion is quantified but not experienced:

(74) He is also creeping with some certainty towards a statistic that fills him with little pride. (FLOB: Press: Reportage: *Sunday Express*: 33)

Another metaphor which occurs several times is pride is in the eyes, which occurs twice in both FROWN and FLOB. It may or may not go together with the metaphor pride is light, as in example (75). In this data,

pride is also (light) in the face (example [76]). These metaphors can also be seen as actual physiological effects of pride, but it is worth pointing out that Loos & al. (1998) regard them as general metaphors of emotion. This confirms the assumption that pride is primarily conceptualized as an emotion in Present-Day English.

(75) Kathleen's gray eyes flashed with *proud* defiance as she read the disdain in his features. (FROWN: Romance and Love Story: Elizabeth August: *Pirate Bride*: 22)

(76) Tom glowed with *pride* but couldn't trust himself to say anything. (FLOB: Romance and Love Story: *Woman's Realm*: 56)

The metaphor pride is a valuable commodity underlines that pride is something positive. If the phrase *with pride* is understood as metaphorical, this metaphor occurs three times in each of the Present-Day English corpora. The idea that *with pride* might represent the metaphor pride is a valuable commodity can perhaps best be understood with the help of example (77), if it is interpreted as suggesting that people wear not only the white rose, but also pride.

(77) We still wear the white rose *with pride*. (FLOB: Press: Editorial: *Craven Herald and Pioneer*: 54)

The VALUABLE COMMODITY can also be related to SELF-ESTEEM.

(78) John Raper made a play for the nurse, and was repulsed with antiseptic skill; he took a look at Clandestine Lebourget, and shook his head—a man must have some pride—; then he applied himself to whisky and water, drinking George Forsdik level with mutual appreciation. (ARCHER: Fiction: 1956)

That pride is related to the concept of self-esteem, as suggested both by Kövecses (1986: 49–53, 1990: 98–102) and several examples above, is further corroborated by example (79), in which personified pride, and presumably also the self, is injured, and example (80), in which pride could be seen as a rope to which a person clings. Consider also example (62), in which pride is a brittle object. Lakoff and Johnson introduce the metaphor the mind is a brittle object as early as in their 1980 book (p. 28), and Loos et al. (1999) talk about the metaphor vanity is a sensual person, which especially agrees with the idea of injury and even with example (81), which talks about offence to national pride.

(79) What lies behind Zhang's attachment to this eighteenth-century Confucian? Compensation for his own injured pride? (FROWN: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: Vera Schwarcz: *Time for Telling Truth is Running Out: Conversations with Zhang Shenfu*: 6)

(80) Still, Malcolm himself clung to his diminished pride and his ambitions, continually battered through they were. (FROWN: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: *Political Studies*: 50)

(81) In view of the conciliatory tone of yesterday's Note, it should be possible to give reasonable satisfaction to the Italian requests without offence to Yugoslav national pride. (ARCHER: News: 1928)

With the exception of such behavioural reactions as the one exemplified in sentence (72), pride is associated with an upwards direction (pride is up) once in each corpus. In FROWN, somebody is proud of the Marine Corps, because it is "the highest and finest branch of service". In FLOB, pride transcends other sentiments. Neither of these contexts suggests that pride is something one should not feel, indeed it is quite the contrary.

(82) My father was in the corps for 38 years and I am a *proud* son. The Marines have always been my idea of the highest and finest branch of service. (FROWN: Press: Editorial: *San Francisco Examiner*: 50)

(83) [...] civic pride was openly shown to transcend religious differences. (FLOB: Belles Lettres, Biographies, Essays: Ronald Taylor: *Kurt Weill*: 20)

The UP-DOWN contrast and the metaphor SIGNIFICANT IS BIG appear in a text which discusses revengeful thoughts and includes several negative concepts:

(84) Then, Wilson's malice was gratified by the thought that Gourlay, who hated him, should have to serve, as helper and underling, in a scheme for his aggrandizement. That would take down his *pride* for him! (ARCHER: Fiction: 1927)

Although the idea that pride could be harmful is more infrequent in FLOB and FROWN than in the other corpora, it surfaces in the metaphor pride is blindness.

(85) National pride helps blind them. (FROWN: Press: Review: *The Wall Street Journal*: 24)

In ARCHER, pride is also an instrument (example [86]), a plant (example [87]), and a sharp object (example [88]). Example (86) also attests the common behavioural reaction of talking with pride. Instrument and sharp object metaphors are probably related to the metaphors wit(/reason) is an instrument and wit is a sharp object, especially considering that pride is associated with reason (or “stupidity”) and the brain, for example in examples (87) and (89), and that wit denotes “intelligence in speech and writing” (Koivisto-Alanko & Tissari 2006: 191–192).

(86) Otto, in his narrative, dwelt on the kick with special *pride* and pleasure.
(ARCHER: Fiction: 1935)

(87) [...] as the high hopes and the *pride* begin to wilt, you begin to curse your own stupidity [...] (ARCHER: Fiction: 1960)

(88) Harriet felt a stab of *pride* in him, yet felt, at the same time, some resentment that his first consideration was not their own safety. (ARCHER: Fiction: 1962)

(89) Somewhere in the back of this turtle-sized brain of mine I feel just a little *proud!*
(ARCHER: Drama: 1970)

If the metaphors which thus connect pride with the mind are more frequent in Present-Day than in earlier English (cf. example [17]), as this data suggests, this is likely to originate in the idea popular during the Late rather than Early Modern period that one can use one’s reason to measure whether someone’s pride is justified, and also in the idea that pride is an emotion, which is connected to the workings of the mind. Both ideas can exist simultaneously with, but are very likely to be suppressed by a belief that pride is the original sin, because as the original sin pride can influence one’s reason so that one is blinded to the truth, and consequently cannot make objective statements about the justification of anyone’s pride.

4.5. *Summary*

The data suggests that PRIDE has travelled quite a journey from Late Middle and Early Modern to Present-Day English, in which it is seldom conceptualized as the origin of other evils, but rather as something

predominantly good, or simply as AN EMOTION which can be more or less justified. What remains from the earlier conceptualization of PRIDE as something undesirable finds its apt place at the lower end of the “imaginary scale” suggested by Kövecses (1986: 46–47; 1990: 96)—PRIDE that is not justified is socially unacceptable. Descriptions of PRIDE focus on PRIDE as AN EMOTION, but also convey the idea that PRIDE is something quite verbal: people are expected to talk about what they are proud of. It is slightly surprising how frequently PRIDE originates in people’s family or their geographical or ethnic roots, although English speakers also seem to value professional success.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This article has been a general survey of the usage of *pride* words, above all *pride*, *proud* and *proudly*, in corpus data from the Late Middle, Early and Late Modern, and Present-Day English periods. An analysis of these words in their close contexts tells us much about how PRIDE has been conceptualized, and what kinds of changes have occurred in the course of time. Although the purpose has been to tease out distinctions between these periods, there is also heterogeneity within single periods, and continuity between them. When assessing the results, one should remember that we are dealing with a limited set of data. While it is quite useful, it does not reveal the whole truth, and one could expand the discussion to cover more literature on the topic of PRIDE. Tissari (2006) suggests that Kövecses’s descriptions of emotion concepts could also be used as a basis for developing more detailed descriptions of the linguistic expressions for emotions, beginning with words like *shame*, or in this case, *pride*.

This data suggests that there are two major conceptualizations of pride which compete with each other. One is the belief that pride is a sin, another is that pride is an emotion. However, the history of *pride* words can hardly be discussed without noticing that even if pride is conceptualized as an emotion, people distinguish between “good” and “bad” pride—and hence “good” pride can be considered justified (Kövecses 1986: 46–47; 1990: 96). It is very likely that to flourish, this idea required the age of reason and a trust in human ability to judge what is good and bad, which is something that strong interpretations of the Fall

exclude, positing that pride, which is self-centred, separates humans from the true source of goodness, their God.

If the data is read this way, one can see a general development beginning from the conceptualization of pride as a sin which leads to the conceptualization of pride as an emotion through a phase in which pride can be seen either as a vice, or a virtue. It seems possible that Kövecses's interpretation of the concept of pride looks backwards to this central stage and that pride is on its way to be conceptualized less in moral terms and more as an emotional experience. In this conceptual model, the pain felt at the realization of having experienced pride that is not justified, and the consequent loss of a positive emotion, may be a more salient characteristic of "bad" pride than moral judgments concerning it.

It is possible to name a further strand of conceptualization of pride, which competes with pride as a sin, and pride as an emotion—pride as an attitude, which appears to be gaining more ground in the Late Modern English period. In a number of items in the Late Modern and Present-Day English data, pride is seen as a characteristic behavioural reaction of people to outward triggers such as other emotions or nuisances of life. While such pride can be censured, it can also be seen as a way of surviving the evils of life, which requires a shift of focus from pride as corruption to pride as something essentially more neutral.

Note also that be it a sin or vice, a virtue, an attitude, or an emotion, pride itself can be seen as the cause of something else, and not only as caused by something. A reading which appears to become popular in the Late Modern English period is that self-esteem requires a certain amount of pride, or can even be equated with pride. This reading is central for metaphors emphasizing the fragility of pride, in which the loss of pride is not necessarily seen as the loss of a sin or vice, but above all as the loss of one's dignity (i.e. as the loss of face).

The metaphorical discussions of pride as a sin in this data suggest the possibility that although this understanding of pride is firmly based on the story of the Fall from one period to the other, elements of this story can descend to deeper and deeper layers of the discourse. In the Late Middle and Early Modern data they seem to provide the background for most of the discussions of pride, suggesting above all that any ascension caused by pride is short-lived, while in a Late Modern sermon, hell-fire provides the metonymic basis for the metaphor pride is fire.

Another issue which could actually be studied in more depth is how metaphors which are shared by several periods change in terms of how they are evaluated. For example, in the earliest data the emphasis appears to be on the fact that pride goes before a fall, while in the later data people rather seem to hope that pride would remain up, or they can wish that their proud enemies would fall, without implying a general rule for all proud people. Kövecses (2005: 155–160) discusses similar issues in terms of what he calls the “cultural-ideological background”.

In any case, while even speakers of Late Middle and Early Modern English certainly measured pride, their scale was decidedly different from the typical Present-Day English one, with a dominant zero point, God, compared to whom nobody else could feel justified pride in themselves. This insight could be useful for intercultural comparisons in general: although the “scalar” conceptualization is likely to be shared by all these periods to some extent, it plays a different role in each of them.

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