METONYMIC AND METAPHORIC EXTENSIONS OF THE EXPRESSION “KEEP AN EYE ON SOMEBODY/SOMETHING”

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to explore the expression “keep an eye on” in COCA data base with the intention to find out what the extended constructions are. The example analysis shows that the metonymy concept eye for watching is present in the sentences where an animate noun is the object. In the examples with inanimate nouns an additional metonymy concept watching is attention is observed. This semi-fixed expression can be extended by a modifier. If it is an adjective (“keep + an + adjective + eye + on”) a blend of metonymy and metaphor (metaphtonymy) may be noted. However, this is not the case in the examples where the modifier is a noun. This is in agreement with the findings of other linguists.

Key words: metonymy, metaphor, metaphtonymy, corpus analysis.

1 Introduction

In this paper we investigate the construction “keep an eye on” with the intention to find out if there are different patterns of this expression under investigation. This is a corpus driven analysis, i.e. a type of a research where “writing does not start with preexisting theories, which are simply confirmed or illustrated with the support of corpus data, but starts with the corpus” (Deignan 282).

This paper pursues two major aims: to find out what possible extensions of the construction “keep an eye on” exist in the English language and to analyze the details found in the corpus. Knowing that the examples in computer-searchable texts are representatives of language in use, we hope that the results will trigger new insights which would otherwise remain hidden.

This paper is organized as follows: section two lays out the methodology which was applied in extracting the examples from the database, as well as the meaning of this expression and a working definition of linguistic terms. The analysis of the examples is given in
section three. In the final section the observations are presented in the form of a conclusion.

2 Methodology

The lexeme “eye” is part of many expressions in different languages. It presents a rich source of figurative meaning (Goosens b, Kovecses and Szabo). According to cognitive linguistics most metaphors and metonyms (Deignan and Potter, Charteris-Black) are grounded in body part lexis. Although they are distinct processes, it appears that they are not mutually exclusive (Goossens a, 159).

As in every corpus based approach we put data before theory. It is assumed that the language found in the texts reflects the reality of contemporary English, so the obtained facts will be authentic.

The research of different types of texts is possible thanks to the development of large corpora. In order to get an overview into the patterns in different variations of the English language we have chosen COCA (The Corpus of Contemporary American English) - the largest freely-available computerized corpus of English which comprises more than 520 million words in naturally occurring texts. The advantage of this database is that it contains transcribed spoken data (spok), texts from popular magazines (mag), fiction (fic), newspapers (news), and academic texts (acad). As a collection of both spoken and written texts it may be considered a representative database of the language experience of all speakers. All the examples in this paper derive from this database.

The word “eye” occurs 178,438 times in COCA of which we have selected 3,149 where the noun is part of the expression “keep an eye on”. After identifying examples the next step was to analyze possible patterns of this expression. Within the obtained examples a search program helped us find those with the words that occur between the lexemes “keep” and “eye” hoping to find lexical units that co-occur. The extracted examples were then analyzed.

2.1 Conceptual Definition and Terminology

Although the meaning of this construction is explained in a rather similar way, in linguistic terms this group of words is defined in various ways. The entry “keep an eye on someone/something” is defined as:

- a verb (http://www.finedictionary.com) or more specific an intransitive verb (https://www.merriam-webster.com) or an
In this paper we are going to use the term “construction” defined as “a pairing of form with meaning/use such that some aspect of form or some aspects of the meaning/use is not strictly predictable from the component parts or from other constructions already established to exist in the language” (Goldberg 68). This definition is precise, indicating that the words exist independently and have their meaning, but when together “the meaning of the construction must be more than the meaning of its component parts” (Hilpert 124).

2.2 Metaphor and Metonymy

It has been noticed that although distinct cognitive processes, metaphor and metonymy frequently co-occur in phrases that contain a body part lexeme (Charteris-Black 291). For this reason it is important to define both terms.

Metaphor is an understanding of “one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain” (Kövecses 4). It consists of two domains. “The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain” (Kövecses 4).

Metonymy is a concept that “allows us to use one entity to stand for another” (Lakoff and Johnson 36). There are several types of metonymy, but here we will mention the concepts producer for product, object used for users, and place for the institution (Lakoff and Johnson 38) expressed in the following sentences: “He bought a Ford.”, “The buses are on strike.”, and “Wall Street is in a panic.”

Metaphor is based on resemblance and metonymy is based on contiguity (Warren 130). This can be summarized as follows: “A metonymic mapping occurs within a single conceptual domain…”, whereas “metaphoric mapping involves a source domain and a target domain” (Lakoff 288). Following this definition, in metaphoric form the conceptual key is “A is B”, and in the metonymy form it is “A for B” (Charteris-Black 294).
Metonymy containing a human body part is a body part for function metonymy (Charteris-Black 298), and instantiates the instrument for activity metonymy. In our examples, noun “eye”, as a part of body, is used for the function of watching (eye for watching):

(1) “[...] kept a protective eye on Mia.”
This example includes visual perception, so the phrase “keep an eye on Mia” is literal and it refers to the physical act of watching.

However, there are some examples with more than pure literal meaning such as:

(2) “[...] time to interview possible workmen and to keep a general eye on progress.”

In this example the targeted activity differs. The context indicates that the expression “keep an eye on” cannot have literal meaning, because the object, “progress”, is an abstract noun and therefore cannot be watched. There is another issue in this sentence. The first metonymy eye for watching is extended by another metonymy watching for attention, so the metonyms “stack on top of each other” (Hilpert 129). This is an example of chained metonymy which is possible only when the metonymic concepts belong to the same domain (Hilpert 128).

In the example:

(3) “[...] working with grown-ups is that there’s no need for me to keep a literal eye on anybody.”

it is obvious that the speaker is aware of the possibility of literal and figurative meaning of this construction, therefore (s)he stresses what kind of watching should be used in this specific situation.

3 The Examples in COCA Database

There are different expressions with the lexeme “eye”. In this paper we will concentrate on the construction “keep an eye on” and find out if different patterns may be observed and labeled as sub-patterns.
3.1 Basic Pattern and the Meaning

The basic construction consists of a verb (“keep”) + a noun with the indefinite article “an” (“an eye”) + a preposition (“on”) + a noun phrase. The noun phrase is an object and in the selected examples it is filled by the words denoting human beings (for example “fellow”, “daughter”, “client”, “students”, “son”, or personal names, like “Mia”, “Larsen”), object pronouns (for example “us”, “it”, “me”, “him”), or inanimate nouns (for example “window”, “ball”, “map”, “committee”, “radish crops”), but in some sentences there are also abstract nouns which cannot be visually perceived (such as “homework”, “progress”, “finances”, “problem”, etc.).

The dictionaries rephrase this construction in various, but similar ways. Usually it is defined as an action where your “attention is directed to someone or something” (http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com), so you “watch” (http://www.merriam-webster.com), “pay attention” (http://www.yourdictionary.com) or “keep under careful observation” (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com). You “look after someone or something (http://www.macmillandictionary.com), but with the intention “that they are not harmed, damaged, etc.” (http://www.-oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com). The doer of the action has to “watch closely or carefully” (https://ahdictionary.com). This can be done in a literal sense – by your eyes or in a metaphorical way - “follow with the eyes or the mind” (http://www.finedictionary.com).

We named this form the basic construction. However, the examples in COCA indicate that it can be extended by a modifier. These extended forms we called the sub-pattern. In the following paragraphs a detailed analysis of these sentences will be given.

3.2 Sub-patterns with the Modifiers (Morpho-syntactic Classification)

The COCA search engine provides the possibility to find out the ways in which the construction may be extended. Using the above mentioned methodology the following sub-patterns have been noted: a modifier that is either an adjective or a noun before the “eye”, so the obtained construction is “keep + a + modifier + eye + on + noun phrase”. The analyses show that the examples may be divided into different sub-groups according to the meaning of the construction.

Out of all the examples extended with a modifier only 3 have been recorded in dictionaries, and the explanations are the following:
- “keep a watchful eye on” means “to watch (someone or something) closely” (http://www.merriam-webster.com)
- “keep a sharp eye on” means “to watch (someone or something) carefully” (http://www.merriam-webster.com)
- “keep an eagle eye on” means “able to see or notice things that are very difficult to see” (www.macmillandictionary.com).

Obviously, not all extended forms of this construction have been recorded yet. The reason may be the fact that these expressions are transparent and their meanings are easily understood. This is evidence that metonymy is “a conceptual tool that enables people to understand non-literal meaning” (Hilpert 146).

It is perfectly natural to expect that the slot before the noun is filled with a collocate. In order to prove this assumption, we used Oxford Collocation Dictionary. The collocates are adjectives and nouns.

1) Adjectives – Collocates of the Noun Eye

Out of all the adjectives listed as collocates to the noun “eye”, the adjectives “good”, “keen”, “careful”, “sharp”, “close”, “suspicious” and “watchful” were found in our examples:

(4) “Keep a good eye on us, would ya?”
(5) “He has begun to keep a keen eye on the fuel gauge.”
(6) “He would have to keep a careful eye on the fellow.”
(7) “Keep a sharp eye on summer radish crops.”
(8) “You have to keep a close eye on the situation.”
(9) “Yet China continues to keep a suspicious eye on proselytizing.”
(10) “All we can do is keep a watchful eye on it.”

The other collocates (like “quick”, “cautious”, “critical”, “wary”, “stern”, “jaundiced”, “sympathetic”, “discerning”, “experienced”, “expert”, “practiced”, etc.) were not found in this construction in COCA database, however it is not excluded that they exist in the English language.

2) Nouns – Collocates to the Noun Eye

Besides the adjectives, a frequent collocate to the noun “eye” is another noun – “eagle”. Eagle is a predator that can see its prey from a height of 10-15,000 feet
(http://largestfastestsmartest.co.uk/animals-with-the-best-vision-in-the-world/) so no wonder that this noun collocates to the noun “eye” as exemplified in:

(11) “He was a fixture on the town’s Finance Committee where he keep an eagle eye on the town budget.”

Hawk is a bird with the same ability, but this noun is not listed in Oxford Collocation Dictionary. Yet, it may be found in the sentence:

(12) “[...] he kept a hawk eye on me the rest of the week.”

3.3 Sub-patterns with the Modifiers (Semantic Classification)

Our next step was to analyze the semantics of the expressions extended by a modifier. The results of the research provided the base for dividing these constructions into the following groups.

1) Modifiers Indicating Emotions of the Subject

All the modifiers classified in this group are adjectives indicating emotional relationship between the subject (the one who is watching, i.e. paying attention) and the object. The emotions vary. They can be love, as in:

(13) “[...] so is Whitney, the mother, keeping a loving eye on her own daughter.”

or a lack of respect, as in:

(14) “[...] but sits amid a cluttered collection of posters and photographic equipment, keeping a sardonic eye on the students.”

or a wish to guard and control the object as in:

(15) “[...] a private detective and the owner of Atlas Security, to keep a protective eye on his client.”
(16) “Nevertheless, he kept a proprietary eye on her.”
The object noun in these examples is always a human being. The adjectives used in these constructions seem to indicate a kind of a relationship existing between the subject (i.e. the person watching) and the object (the person(s) watched). It seems that the accompanying adjective evaluates this relationship.

As with all the constructions with body parts a metonymy *body part for function*, i.e. *eye for watching* is present. However, the adjectives in these sentences refer to people and trigger another idea where it can be noticed that more than one cognitive process is present: beside a metonymy concept *eye for watching*, there is a metaphor concept (*adjective*) *eye is a person*. This blend of metonymy and metaphor is named metaphtonymy (Goossens a, 159). The above given examples prove the results of investigation in English and some other languages (Charteris-Black 298) which argue that metonymies with the body part lexis have a tendency of metaphor concept, especially when extended by an adjective.

2) **Modifiers Indicating the Attitude of the Subject**

The modifiers, again all adjectives, classified in this group inform us about the state of mind of the subject, i.e. what concerns the subject when (s)he is doing the action. The subject thinks that something bad might happen, as in:

(17) “[...] chose duty in local militia companies where they could keep an anxious eye on homes and families.”
(18) “She goes in search of Robert’s mother, keeping a worried eye on him the entire time.”
(19) “I kept a nervous eye on the altimeter.”

The same meaning may be expressed in another type of construction, with an adverb of the same root as in:

(20) “Naydra kept one eye nervously on the window.”

In these examples metonymic expression “keep an eye on somebody/something” is extended by an adjective preceding the noun “eye”. An eye, as a body part, cannot be anxious, worried, or nervous. These adjectives refer to a person that does the action of watching, so the extended form triggers another concept: *eye is a person*, which is a metaphor concept. This is in agreement with some other linguists who did some research on the presence of metaphor and metonymy in oral
body parts and concluded that “the figurative meaning is the result of a combination of a referential sense of the body part to its function... with an expressive metaphoric sense of the accompanying adjective... that offers an evaluation” (Charteris-Black 293).

These sentences are examples of metonymy and metaphor blend expressed in one construction: the metonymy eye for watching concept is intertwined with the metaphor concept (adjective) eye is a person.

3) Modifiers Regarding the Manner of Watching

The analysis of the examples found in COCA can be classified into an additional sub-group – the modifiers belong to the same pattern, but differ in semantic aspect. All of them are adjectives indicating the manner in which watching should be done. As the following examples show, it can be without moving, in a strict, relaxed, pathetic or another manner, as in:

(21) “Border Patrol agents in helicopters and trucks keep a strict eye on the crowd.”
(22) “Ask neighbors and friends to keep an unobtrusive eye on things and trust your instincts.”
(23) “One inspired social climber who kept an artful eye on the mighty committee [...]”
(24) “Ever since we’d sat down, she’d been keeping a vigilant eye on the entrance.”
(25) “He knew he would be keeping a subtle eye on the future dealings of Aaron Marks.”
(26) “[...] daily account of votes and debates in Congress – were essential for keeping an informed eye on Washington.”

In all these examples the subject is a person and the variety of manner is achieved by using different adjectives. The adjective inserted into the base form (“keep an eye on”) actually refers to a person, what triggers the metaphor concept (adjective) eye is a person in the already existing metonymy eye for watching, providing some more examples of metaphtonymy.

In the following example:

(27) “In the future, your home will keep a digital eye on your health.”
the subject is a human being, but the adjective before the noun “eye” indicates that watching is carried out by a device. There is a prediction that the action of watching will be done with the help of a modern gadget (“digital eye”) that will perform the action. Obviously, the advance in technology will help people in a variety of ways, and one of them is to watch, i.e. pay attention to some-body/something by using various devices. Yet, a human being will probably have to retain the role of supervisor.

4) Modifiers Regarding the Distance

The adjectives classified in this group tell us more about the distance in space between the subject and the object. Watching, in the literal sense, is an action that can be done only if the subject and the object are in the same vicinity. However, the example:

(28) “When he and his partner Glen and Les Charlse – who kept a long-distance eye on thing from their Northern California [...]”

indicates that the subject (a person) is far away. This gives a rise to the blend of metonymy and metaphor, where the eye for watching metonymy concept is extended by the (adjective) eye is a person metaphor.

5) Modifiers Regarding the Duration/Time

In some examples the extension of the pattern indicates the duration of the action. There is an example of an adjective which stresses regularity and persistence of the action, as in the sentence:

(29) “One of them kept a constant eye on her.”

Another way of stressing the duration is by using a compound noun “around-the-clock”, emphasizing that the action lasts without ceasing, for a 24 hour period, as in the sentence:

(30) “[...] keeping an around-the-clock eye on Iraq’s borders.”

In this example the cognitive process differs. The metonymy concept is the only concept, because the metaphor concept eye is a person is not expressed in the examples when the modifier is a noun.
6) Modifiers Regarding the Intensity or Quality

There are two different notable constructions among the sentences that may be included in this sub-pattern.

In the first one the intensity of the action is achieved by using the comparative form of an adjective (“closer”) as in:

(31) “[...] to a small school, closer to home, where they could keep a closer eye on him.”

An additional type to this sub-pattern would be the construction with an adverb (“such”, “particularly”, “pretty”, “especially”) before the adjective in its basic form, as in:

(32) “Why do you need to keep such a close eye on your finances?”
(33) “Keep a particularly close eye on the Hellas Basin.”
(34) “China’s leaders are keeping an especially fearful eye on the economic crisis.”

or an adjective in a comparative form as in:

(35) “A manufacturer should keep a much closer eye on assets.”

There are two cognitive processes in these sentences – both metonymy and metaphor: a blend of the metonymy concept *eye for watching* with the metaphor concept *(adjective) eye is a person* (as explained in 3.3.4).

The second possibility for stressing the intensity of the action (i.e. watching) is achieved by another mechanism: by changing the number of eyes involved in the action. Although healthy human beings have two eyes, this construction uses the noun “eye” in singular. However, we find there are some different examples as well, as in:

(36) “McCain and Obama will keep at least one eye on the Electoral College map.”

This may mean that if both eyes are not focused on the object, than “at least one eye” will provide the quality of given attention.

There are other changes in the structure regarding the number of the noun “eye”. The expression “keep an eye on” means “to watch”
“to pay attention” – the expression “half an eye” means that the action is performed with lesser quality: not all the attention of the subject is given to the object, as in the example:

(37) “He was helping the kids with their homework, all the time trying to keep half an eye on the television [...]”

“More than one eye” is an indicator of better performed action as in:

(38) “Argus would keep more than an eye on the cow.”

If two eyes are focused on the object the attention if full, both in intensity and quality. The English language does have the expression “keep both eyes on” and “keep all eyes on”, but these examples were not found in COCA database.

Having two eyes, but concentrated on two different objects as in:

(39) “Veysha kept living with one eye on the past the other far ahead on future days.”

means that the quality of watching is increased, however it indicates that the attention, for some reason, is split.

In these sentences the inserted modifiers do not trigger another cognitive process. The expressions remain within the frame of the metonymy concept eye for watching.

6 Conclusion

Our research on the construction “keep an eye on” resulted in the following conclusions.

The basic pattern is composed of the verb (“keep”) + an indefinite article (“a”) + a noun (“eye”) + a preposition (“on”) + an object noun (noun phrase). This construction may be extended by a modifier before the noun. When speaking about the morpho-syntactic aspect of the modifiers, these modifiers may be collocations – either adjectives (sentences 4-10), or nouns in adjectival position (sentences 11-12). The semantic analysis indicates a variety of possibilities. The first one comprises the modifiers that are either adjectives or nouns. Here we classified the examples where the adjectives indicate emotional connection between the subject and the object (sentences 13-16). The second group consists of the examples where the
adjectives indicate the attitude of the subject (sentences 17-19). The adjectives in the third group (sentences 21-26) point on the manner in which the action (watching, i.e. paying attention) should be carried out. The adjective in the fourth group (sentence 28) informs us about the distance. In the remaining sub-groups we find two types of modifiers: both adjectives and nouns. They inform us about the duration/time (subgroup five, sentences 29-30) and intensity or quality of the action (subgroup six, sentences 31-39).

This research has revealed a variety of cognitive processes. When used with animate nouns the basic pattern is a metonymy eye for watching, in its literal meaning (sentence 1). However, with the inanimate nouns (sentence 2) there are two different metonymies: the first metonymy, eye for watching, is extended by the second metonymy watching for attention. The construction extended by a modifier is a blend of metonymy and metaphor, but only if modifier is an adjective (“keep an adjective eye on”) where a metonymy eye for watching is chained by an (adjective) eye is a person metaphor (sentences 13-19, 21-26, 28, 31-35). If the modifier is a noun (sentences 11, 12, 30) or a numeral (sentences 36, 37 and 39), the metaphor, as a cognitive concept, may not be found.

Keeping in mind the fact that most of these expressions have not been recorded in dictionaries, it seems that there is a tendency of extending the existing structure in a way of creating new expressions with new meaning. They are innovative, but since semantically transparent they may eventually become conventionalized. A further investigation may reveal other examples of this pattern.

References:


**Websites:**

METONYMISCHE UND METAPHORISCHE ERWEITERUNGEN DES AUSDRUCKS “KEEP AN EYE ON SOMEBODY/SOMETHING”


Schlüsselwörter: Metonymie, Metapher, Metaphtonymie, Korpusanalyse.