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Imagery as a Metaphorical Vocabulary Learning Strategy¹

abstract

The paper presents the results of a one-year investigation of how EFL students understand and interpret metaphorical vocabulary using the strategy of imagery. The theoretical background relies on the Theory of Conceptual Metaphor (starting with Lakoff and Johnson 1980), especially its use and application in foreign language acquisition, and language learning strategies (Oxford 1990), particularly strategies of figurative thinking (Littlemore and Low 2006).

The research was based on the work with two groups of students (N=40), who were divided into an experimental group, exposed to the metaphorical structured input over one academic year, and a control group, who attended traditionally organized classes. The research methodology takes a qualitative approach, i.e. the results presented in the paper were obtained through periodical interviews with the students from both the experimental and control groups. The three interviews conducted at the beginning of the research, at the end of the fourth month and at the end of the eighth month of investigation reveal notably growing differences in the way students from the experimental and control groups use the strategy of imagery in metaphor interpretation.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, figurative thinking, learning strategies, imagery, qualitative research, interviews.

1. Introduction

Like many other linguistic concepts, metaphor has proven to be a useful tool in the field of foreign language learning. Its potential was elaborated by Lazar (1996), who claims that figurative meaning, which is inevitable in native speakers' lexicon, enables them to understand and produce metaphorical expressions. Furthermore, she concludes that this is also a skill of great importance for foreign language learners, who should be able to deal with metaphoricity as their knowledge of the foreign language grows, develops and spreads. In a similar vein, Littlemore (2001) asserts that the introduction of metaphorical input in a foreign

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language classroom improves the linguistic production of foreign language learners and generally increases communicative competence since learners gradually become more successful at understanding metaphorical expressions in the foreign language.

As learners do not have the competence of native speakers, they will not always be able to process figurative meanings in the same way as native speakers. Instead, they will surely benefit from the analytical, ‘enquiring’ approach called figurative thinking (Littlemore and Low 2006). It is defined as “the use of a query routine which assumes that an unknown expression might be figurative, or which asks what the implications of using a figurative expression might be” (Littlemore and Low 2006: 6). In other words, when non-native speakers encounter words or phrases that they do not understand, they necessarily have to slow down if reading, or engage in an extensive process of online analysis if listening, and ask themselves a series of questions which will help them decipher the unknown segment of the sentence.

In order for non-native speakers to be able to understand figurative meaning, two different elements have to be connected and several inferences have to be made, whereby the decoding process includes discovering how the source domain and the target domain are interconnected. It is clear that foreign language learners have a difficult task to tackle and that they cannot achieve success without any help from the teacher. There is general consent that foreign language teaching should focus on raising metaphor awareness by making students realize that metaphor is not just a poetic form, but a pervasive linguistic and conceptual mechanism. As with any theoretical linguistic construct which is introduced in foreign language teaching, the question here is how much theory students should be exposed to and if they would benefit from that exposure. Littlemore (2004) proved that the theory-based approach clutters the teaching process with unnecessary information, especially because the metaphorical input can be taught not exclusively to language specialists who have some linguistic knowledge to rely on, and concluded that the practice-based inductive approach is more successful and more appealing to foreign language students so they achieve more success and deeper understanding of metaphors.

Littlemore and Low (2006: 24-25) describe in detail the inductive approach saying that, especially when simple transfers of meaning are concerned, basic questions regarding the appearance, function or position of an entity can greatly help students in arriving at the metaphorical meanings of words and phrases they encounter in a foreign language. Other expressions, however, will remain unknown, frequently because students do not know the basic meaning of the word or because the word itself is archaic or obsolete. The query routine

includes simple and direct questions concerning the basic meaning of the words and can point the students in the right direction. In addition, these questions can also trigger deeper understanding and information processing, during which students actively tackle the given topic, ask questions and make meaningful connections with other topics. This approach has proven to be necessary if students are to integrate the new meaning(s) of the word with the existing knowledge. Furthermore, it enhances the learning process and aids the retention of new information, ultimately resulting in students gradually achieving learner autonomy. To conclude, this method of vocabulary acquisition does not aim to replace other methods as a separate, special programme. Instead, it is supposed to be integrated with other approaches in foreign language teaching in order for both students and teachers to achieve better results (Boers 2000).

2. Language learning strategies

Another field in foreign language teaching, whose aims include achieving greater student autonomy, is the field of language learning strategies. This concept has become highly influential and widespread in foreign language acquisition because of the influence of the cognitive theory of language learning, which maintains that language learning strategies are one of the most important cognitive processes in foreign language acquisition (Pavičić Takač 2008: 26). An explanation of how language learning strategies contribute to language acquisition and retention must include a whole range of variables, from the social and cultural contexts to different factors that influence the choice and use of strategies. In any case, this approach sees foreign language students as active participants in the teaching process and as individuals who use a variety of mental strategies to organize the foreign language system (Williams and Burden 2001).

While using strategies, students select, acquire, organize and integrate new information (Weinstein and Mayer 1986). Therefore, it is considered that learning strategies which activate mental processes are more efficient and can become automatized following frequent use (O'Malley and Chamot 1990). Complex cognitive skills like language learning strategies can be taught and learnt, which is a clear indication of their significance in the general effort to improve language learning. In the wider context of foreign language learning, this is a strand of the Language Awareness Movement, which is described by Boers (2000: 554) as a "broader pedagogical movement (...), where language learners are encouraged not only to perform in a language, but also to reflect upon its use and

characteristics“. Furthermore, Carter (2003: 64) asserts that this approach leads to “the development in learners of an enhanced consciousness of and sensitivity to the forms and functions of language,“ which ultimately results in the positive changes of students’ attitudes towards language and learning, especially because students are active participants in the process (Radić-Bojanić 2008: 416). Carter (2003: 65) concludes:

“Initial research in language awareness has shown increased motivation resulting from activities, especially task-based activities, which foster the learner’s involvement by promoting the inductive learning of language rules, which allows learners time and space to develop their own affective and experiential responses to the language, especially to its contextual meanings and effects.”

This leads to the following conclusions: (1) language learning strategies are a conscious effort made by students, who invest time and energy into the language learning process, thus taking control over their own learning, which helps them build self-confidence; (2) strategies influence the success of the learning process, which becomes evident very quickly and students get confirmation that their effort is well-invested; (3) strategies are one of the aspects of individual learner differences because different students will use different sets of strategies, depending on their personalities and educational backgrounds; (4) strategies are thought to be very prone to changes, since they can be learnt and practiced until they become automatized, i.e. until students become proficient and fast in their use.

This paper, therefore, discusses how students use language learning strategies when they encounter metaphorical vocabulary, or more precisely, one particular strategy, the strategy of imagery. The strategy is present in several different language learning strategy taxonomies, the most influential being Oxford (1990) and O’Malley and Chamot (1990). In both of these books the strategy of imagery is defined in a similar way. O’Malley and Chamot (1990: 138) define it as “[u]sing mental or actual pictures or visuals to represent information“, whereas Oxford (1990: 41) defines it as

“[r]elating new language information to concepts in memory by means of meaningful visual imagery, either in the mind or in actual drawing. ... This strategy can be used to remember abstract words by associating such words with a visual symbol or a picture of a concrete object“.

As the latter definition strikingly resembles one of the main principles of conceptual metaphor, the connection of the abstract and the concrete, it is rather interesting to investigate if the nature of this strategy can aid students in metaphorical vocabulary comprehension, and if it can, in what ways.

3. Research methodology

Since the research aims at investigating the use and changes in the use of the strategy of imagery with foreign language students, the useful data cannot be collected through testing and statistical analysis of test results, because the human conceptual system cannot be observed externally. For that reason the research relies on the naturalistic paradigm because it focuses on the behaviour of people in their natural surroundings (Tullis Owen 2008). One of the main tenets of this paradigm is that reality is subjective and socially conditioned (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 24-32) so that human communication is observed in its natural setting. Context is essential and, therefore, genuine knowledge about human interaction or mental processes is best acquired in every-day settings, not in controlled laboratory conditions (Eisner 1991: 32-33).

Data collection in naturalistic research implies some kind of face-to-face interaction between the researcher and informants. The researcher is considered to be the most important instrument in data collection, which can be conducted through observation (the researcher makes notes about what he/she sees), questionnaires, interviewing (the researcher makes notes about what informants tell him/her), etc. Qualitative interviews can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured, but all of them are open because informants can reply to the questions in any way they want and can talk for as long as they want (Schensul 2008).

The research presented in this article lasted for one academic year and was organized as follows: two groups of twenty students filled in consent forms agreeing to participate in the research and did a test.² After that, one group was designated as an experimental group, the other as a control group. Both groups attended the same English language classes at the B2 level of CEFR, using the same coursebook with the same teacher. The only difference was that the experimental group was given structured metaphorical input during the first semester, while the control group was not. The metaphorical input followed all the tenets of the

² The analysis of the test results indicated that the sample was homogenous, i.e. that the students from both groups achieved very similar results in terms of their overall ability to understand and interpret various metaphorical expressions, which is of great importance for the rest of the research as a starting point against which the progress of the experimental group is measured.

inductive approach, which means that the teacher presented a number of different metaphors through tasks which enabled students to make inferences and use query routines. After this semester followed another test, one more semester of teaching organized in the same way and the final test at the end of the academic year.

Each of the three tests consisted of a variety of tasks based on different metaphors, such as connecting the metaphorical expression from a text with its meaning or explaining the meaning of a sentence which contains metaphorical expression. When selecting the metaphors for the tests, care was taken that they did not overlap with the material covered in classes because that would give an unfair advantage to the experimental group.

All three tests were followed by qualitative interviews with informants,³ which is the source of the data analyzed for the purposes of this article. Each interview was aimed at clarifying the manner in which students tackled the tasks from the tests, so the questions devised for the interviews focused on students explaining their mental processes and query routines while doing the tasks in the tests. This means that students did the tasks again on the spot and reported on how they handled the expressions they did not understand. When they were not able to solve the problem, the interviewer would aid them with a series of questions that would eventually lead to the correct answer. All interviews were done in Serbian, the students' native language, because they did not have to concentrate on accuracy when speaking English and could focus their undivided attention solely on their mental processes.

4. Strategy of imagery use

4.1. First phase of research

The analysis of the interviews conducted after the first test, which took place at the beginning of the research, established that the strategy of imagery was used equally by students from both groups. Namely, they often used imagery to explain how they understood metaphors based on the source domain of human body (e.g. *head of a school*, *heart of the city*, *foot of stairs*, *mouth of a cave*). As it turned out, the use of imagery came naturally with these phrases since the metaphorical expressions themselves are based on mental images. An example to corroborate this claim is taken from an interview with a student from the

³ All interviews were done on the same day as the tests because that meant the students still had a vivid memory of how they handled the tasks, what their thoughts were and which questions they had asked themselves.

experimental group, where she explains how she understood the expression *nose of the plane*, which she claims she has not heard before (see Example 1).

Example 1.

S4-E1:⁴ This expression, *nose of the plane*, I just asked my friends, they also weren't sure if that was the part where pilots are. Is that the front part?

Interviewer: Yes, it is.

S4-E1: That's what I thought, that's what I wrote.

Interviewer: Why do you think it is that part?

S4-E1: Well, if we look at *nose* on our face, the nose is the first thing we see, the most protruding part.⁵ That was somehow logical. But I never heard of the expression *nose of the plane*.

The student is basically saying that her thinking process and metaphor interpretation relies on the image of human nose, its position on human face and its prominence in relation to other parts of the face (*the first thing we see*). In continuation, another student is describing how she interprets the phrase *mouth of a river*, where it is obvious that her interpretation rests on the image of a river “swallowing“ something (see Example 2).

Example 2.

Interviewer: Now, let's see about the river. Let's try to reach the answer together. What parts does each river have?

S6-E1: Well, it has its spring, its flow, its ... it flows into something.

Interviewer: What do you call that place where the river flows into something? Do you know?

S6-E1: *Ušće* (mouth of a river in Serbian).

Interviewer: Ok. Which, of all these parts, reminds you most of the *mouth of a river* in English?

S6-E1: *Mouth of a river*. Well, *ušće*.

Interviewer: Mhm. Why?

⁴ For the sake of students' privacy, the examples will not include students' names but codes (S1, S2, etc. for students; E1 for experimental group, first interview, E2 for experimental group, second interview, E3 for experimental group, third interview, C1 for control group, first interview, C2 for control group, second interview, C3 for control group, third interview).

⁵ Underlined text is an example of the use of imagery.

S6-E1: Because the river has to flow into something. If it has *ušće*, it flows into something. Whether it is another river or the sea, it doesn't matter. It flows into. Like it is being swallowed by that into which it flows.

Interviewer: That's it! *Mouth of a river* is *ušće*. Good!

In addition to using the strategy of imagery to interpret a variety of metaphorical expressions with the source domain of human body, students from both groups used this strategy to explain how they understood various instantiations of the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. During the interviews several students even made drawings of how they mentally imagined the text⁶ which was part of the task from the first test. These drawings accompany the students' interpretations (see Examples 3 and 4).

Example 3.

S9-E1: Two... Ok, this can be his school...

Interviewer: Ok.

S9-E1: Then he had, let's say, two options... He goes this way... And since he said *the usual path to college*, let's say that this path is a bit thicker. This is something normal. And then he went this way...

Interviewer: Ok, good, that is what he chose.

S9-E1: And then he stayed here, here he stayed for a while. This is him.

Interviewer: Good.

S9-E1: Then they came to him, two more friends.

Interviewer: Good.

S9-E1: ... And let's say, they could here... And then they went there. Then it all collapsed and they had to go back to the beginning. ... Complicated. ...

Interviewer: And then what happened?

⁶ After I left school, I didn't take the usual path to college. I had always enjoyed woodcarving, so I took the first step towards trying to earn some money from this hobby. I decided to open a stall at our local market, selling some wooden toys I had carved. The toys sold very well, and I couldn't make enough of them, so two of my friends joined me and I showed them how to do it. Our little business was on the road to success, when unfortunately there was a fire in the garage where we stored our toys. We lost all our stock. Step by step, we had to build up the business again.

After a few years of doing this, we felt we were at the crossroads. We could have continued to sell out toys in the market. But we decided not to go down that road any more. Instead, we decided to sell out toys over the Internet.

In the last few years the company has become very successful, but all of us are arguing about everything and I feel very bored. I think I am coming to the end of the road with this company. It's time to take steps towards doing something different. One positive step might be to get some advice from friends and family. What do you think I should do? (Lazar 2003).

S9-E1: Then they continued to do that. They succeeded. And then they got another chance. ... Again. ... They could stay here, on this path. Or they could go online to...

Interviewer: Good.

S9-E1: And then they forgot about this. And then they arrived here. Then they stayed here for a couple of years and their business became more and more successful. But then the fights started. Now, we'll do it this way, they started to... grow apart. Like so... And here is the ending of their story. Here... And then he says *it's time to...* and this is the end. Then he moved on, went to talk to his family.

Interviewer: Excellent!

S9-E1: And then he asks us what he should do. He is not entirely sure.

Interviewer: What to do next.

S9-E1: Good. Excellent, excellent. It turned out great.

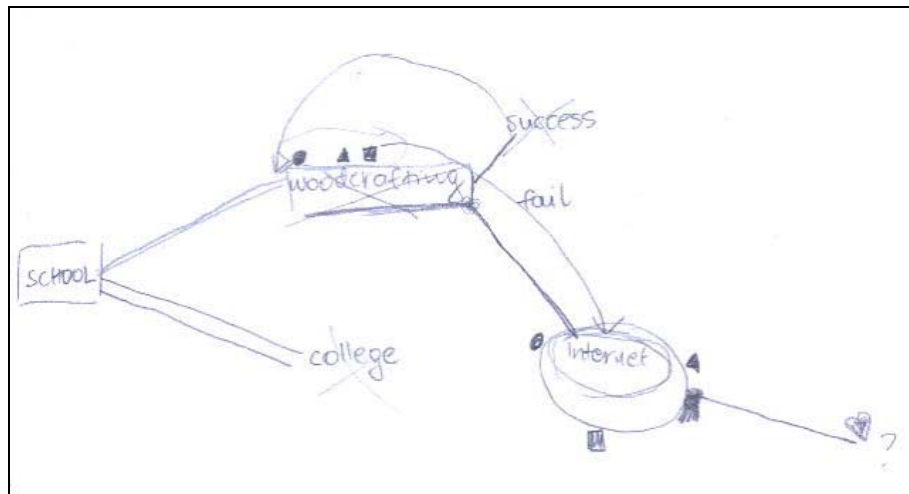


Image 1. A drawing of student S9-E1 accompanying Example 3.

Example 4.

Interviewer: Here, try to draw what you have imagined. So, this text...

S1-E1: Ah, ok.

Interviewer: ... that you have just retold me. So, what you have read, how would you visualize it now?

S1-E1: This whole text?

Interviewer: Not the whole text, you choose.

S1-E1: Or these words that I have mentioned. Since I already have a vision in my head, I don't know why.

Interviewer: Ok, try to draw what you already have in your head.

S1-E1: Ok, these words specifically. ... Ok, and the main highway. This is a side road. And then there's this man.

Interviewer: Good.

S1-E1: Who walks around in some shoes. And then he, everything was going easy and then he came to a crossroads. And then he had to decide if he would go this way or that way. This is a main road. And, and, and... Here, oh, what else?

Interviewer: Feel free to look at the text again if you have forgotten something.

S1-E1: ... Mhm. On this side, let's see how I can draw this... On this side there are these, let's draw them like little houses. That's his old life, what he already tried. Where he lived. This is a small place, like a village or something. With one church.

Interviewer: Good.

S1-E1: And this is a big town, which has huge skyscrapers. And big lights. And then he had to decide if he would go towards this old life. This is something he already tried and saw, or if he would go towards this new. And then he chose to go towards the new. But he had, here is his entire family. They are holding hands, his family. And his friends are here. They are all supporting him to go to the big town. And then he went to the big town.

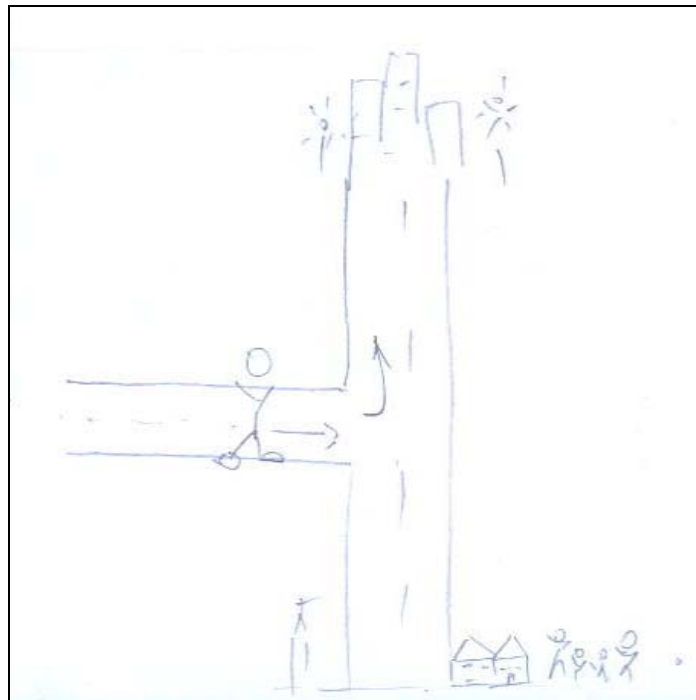


Image 2. A drawing of student S1-E1, accompanying Example 4.

The content analysis of the first interview leads to the following conclusion: the strategy of imagery is equally used by students from both groups, which is an indicator that the starting point of the research is the same in both groups and that the student sample is homogenous in terms of their previous knowledge of English, metaphorical comprehension and the use of the strategy of imagery.

4.2. Second phase of research

The second test, immediately followed by the second round of interviewing, took place four months after the first one, which for the experimental group was the period of exposure to the implicit metaphorical input. The strategy of using imagery was much less frequent in the second interview in comparison with the first one because students were not that well acquainted with the metaphors underlying the tasks in the second test (ORGANIZATION IS A MACHINE, GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN, LIFE IS A GAME). In addition, these metaphors are not based on embodiment, unlike the metaphors found in the first test, so the students were not able to visualize them so easily. Despite that, the strategy of imagery was occasionally spotted in the interviews and there was a significant difference in the level of elaboration between the students of the experimental and control groups.

Examples that illustrate the use of imagery are based on how students interpreted metaphorical expressions from a text⁷ from the second test which relies on the overarching,

⁷ **RACE TO REPORT SPORT**

Sports TV, the British television sports channel, is this month choosing its chief sports reporter. Job description? To report on all the major sporting events of the year – Wimbledon, the FA Cup Final, the Derby and so on. And of course, every four years there is a bonus – the Olympic Games! The interview panel, consisting of six people from the world's of sport and TV, will be meeting next week to interview the three candidates for the job. So, who are the candidates?

Mike Glynn

Tall, dark and handsome, Mike is an ex-footballer who has been angling for this job for years. He is playing for high stakes as he'd already turned down a lucrative position at a sportswear company because he wants this job so badly. With his charm and good looks, he will probably sail through the interview, but will the interview panel choose somebody who has a reputation for being arrogant and disorganized?

Paula Georgiades

For Paula, life has never been plain sailing. Brought up in poverty, she became a top athlete against all odds. Hardworking, ambitious and knowledgeable, she has been working at Sports TV for two years as a junior reporter. Her colleagues report that her only flaw is that she can be vain and is constantly fishing for compliments. It was a surprise to hear that she wanted the job, as she always keeps her cards close to her chest, and nobody knew her plans for the future.

Bill Hayes

Previously a journalist who reported on politics, Bill has never played any sport in his life. But he is extremely knowledgeable about sport, and is a fanatical supporter of Manchester United. If he plays his cards right, he could impress the interview panel with his knowledge and excellent TV manner. But will the panel question him about rumours that he was involved with match-fixing a few years ago? How will he skate over this subject without appearing dishonest?

rather general metaphor LIFE IS A GAME. Many of target expressions in this task are visual in nature (e.g. *fish for compliments* or *keep one's cards close to one's chest*), but the question is how much students from both groups were able to spot the potential with regards to the use of imagery. Example 5 illustrates how a student from the control group describes in very few words what it looks like when someone *skates over the subject*, whereas in Example 6 a student from the experimental group interprets and illustrates in great detail the phrase *plain sailing*, which she then develops and extends using her own life experience and world knowledge.

Example 5.

S6-C2: *To avoid talking too much about something because it may be embarrassing, I connected that with he will skate over the subject. I mean, it kind of visually reminds me when I try to imagine it.*

Interviewer: What do you mean ?

S6-C2: I mean, to jump over these ... Some things he doesn't want to talk about, bad things about him. I mean, somehow avoid them.

Example 6.

Interviewer: What was her life like if it wasn't *plain sailing*?

S2-E2: Well, it wasn't an easy life.

Interviewer: Why?

S2-E2: It was a hard life. I don't know what *plain* means, but...

Interviewer: *Plain* means *simple*. *Simple*.

S2-E2: Aha. So, she didn't have a simple life. She suffered a lot. Just like in a film I saw, she lived in poverty, she didn't have it easy. I mean, financially, and in other things as well.

Interviewer: How is sailing connected with that?

S2-E2: Well, *sailing* is when you are peaceful, calm, when there is no storm.

Interviewer: OK.

S2-E2: If it is idyllic when people go sailing, on those magnificent yachts, then the sea is

This race is really an exciting one! And who is the favourite to win? Staff at Sports TV say this could be a problem, as each candidate may have two strong supporters on the interview panel. And this could mean that there is a stalemate, and then what? (Lazar 2003).

calm, they are close to the shore, there are seagulls, everything is beautiful, the sun is shining. They are sunbathing, everything is perfect. For people who are not seasick.

The difference in the level of elaboration and detail is quite apparent so it is safe to conclude that the students from the experimental group have made certain progress and that, if pointed in the right direction, will be able to make the next step without much prompting from the interviewer, whereas the students from the control group stay on the surface of their explanations.

To conclude, it is noticeable that at the end of the second phase of research the students from the experimental group have a higher level of awareness of the metaphoricity of expressions they are analyzing and describing. In addition, it can be seen that these students are much more skilled at explaining the meanings of phrases from the tasks. Finally, they seem to use a wide variety of resources, such as different kinds of knowledge and personal experiences when interpreting the meanings of given expressions.

4.3. Third phase of research

The last phase of research, i.e. the third test closely followed by the third round of interviews, also contained a number of cases when the strategy of imagery was used. Similarly to the previous stage, the students from the experimental group demonstrated a developed ability to describe their mental images in great detail and connect them with other kinds of knowledge and personal experience, which is clearly seen in Example 7. Here a student explains, without any prompts from the interviewer, how she interprets the expression *one branch of his family*.

Example 7.

S6-E3: Then one branch of his family still lives there. Well, we know that the family can be drawn in the shape of a tree, when we want to draw it, we draw a tree, and then the family is just one bough of a large family, actually just one branch. And just like a tree has branches, this family has a foundation, ancestors, grandparents, and then they get offsprings, and then the offsprings get offsprings and it all branches out and continues. But they are all connected with blood relations. Actually, just like a tree is connected with its heartwood.

On the other hand, Example 8 taken from the interview with a student from the control group clearly illustrates that she needs a lot of help in order to provide an explanation for the expression *put down roots*.

Example 8.

S2-C3: Put down roots, I connected it with settle in .

Interviewer: Why ?

S2-C3: Well, she put down roots.

Interviewer: Why ?

S2-C3: Why ?

Interviewer: Yes .

S2-C3: Well, I don't know. So, ... She was going somewhere, then she stopped and now is planning to stay somewhere, in England, for a long time, so she put down roots so she won't be able to move again. Again I literally imagined it as a man growing roots.

The results of the analysis of the third and last interview lead to the following conclusion: students from both experimental and control groups used the strategy of imagery in the process of metaphorical vocabulary comprehension, but it was discovered that the experimental group used this strategy autonomously and independently, while the control group used imagery only if the interviewer asked them questions and led them towards the use of this strategy. Furthermore, the mental images of students from the experimental group are more elaborate and much richer in detail and students themselves are capable of describing their mental images which are evoked by a certain metaphorical expression. The final stage also indicated that, in addition to employing various kinds of knowledge and personal experience, these students started combining a number of different learning strategies with imagery (such as deductive reasoning or guessing intelligently while using linguistic or extralinguistic clues), which is clear evidence of a high level of proficiency in strategy use.

5. Conclusion

Oxford (1990: 41) defines the strategy of imagery use as “[r]elating new language information to concepts in memory by means of meaningful visual imagery, either in the mind or in actual drawing.” She further elaborates that imagery implies associating abstract

words with visual symbols or pictures of concrete objects, which, when translated into the terminology of cognitive linguistics, resonates of conceptual mapping between the source and the target domains, whereby the source domain in this case would be the ‘visual symbol’ or ‘a picture of a concrete object’ and the target domain ‘abstract words’.

The interviews, therefore, demonstrate how students perform the mappings and, consequently, how their figurative thinking query routines work (e.g. *the nose of the plane*: the most protruding part of the human face → the most protruding part of the airplane). Another result that the research clearly illustrates is the increase in skillfulness of the experimental group in the use of imagery, the greater ease with which they establish the mappings and the interplay of different types of linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge, which provides deeper understanding and greater self-confidence. In addition, students from the experimental group increasingly rely on their personal experiences, which adds to the richness of imagery and helps them understand and, even more importantly, retain the new information because of the strong links they establish with the knowledge they already possess. Finally, the interviews show that students from the experimental group are able to skillfully use the strategy of imagery with the metaphorical expressions they have not encountered before, which is clear evidence of a high level of student autonomy, something modern educators definitely strive for.

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