On the Embodiment of Binary Oppositions in Cinema

The CONTAINMENT Schema in John Ford's Westerns

Maarten Coëgnarts and Peter Kravanja

Abstract

This paper analyses how abstract binary oppositions such as civilisation vs. wilderness or the community vs. the individual are communicated visually in some of John Ford's Westerns. Borrowing insights from image schema research, we claim that these abstract concepts and themes are given form in individual films by way of the metaphorical expansion of spatial schemas, and in particular through the CONTAINMENT schema. This schema, which will be analysed as a dynamic pattern of our sensory-motor experience, is considered to be an universal spatialised structure for expressing higher-order oppositional thinking. Using Westerns of John Ford as an example we make the case that the CONTAINMENT schema plays a constructive role in the development of conceptual relations in the Western genre.

Résumé

Le présent article analyse comment des oppositions binaires relatives à des concepts abstraits tels que civilisation vs. désert ou communauté vs. individu sont communiquées visuellement dans un certain nombre de westerns de John Ford. En nous appuyant sur des idées venant des recherches au sujet des schémas-images, nous prétendons que ces concepts et thèmes abstraits prennent forme dans des films individuels au travers l'expension métaphorique de schémas spatiaux, dont notamment le schéma-conteneur. Ce schéma, qui est analysé en tant que motif dynamique de l'expérience sensori-motrice, est considéré comme une structure universelle pour exprimer des idées d'opposition. En nous appuyant sur des exemples tirés des westerns de John Ford, nous prétendons que le schéma-conteneur joue un rôle constructif dans le développement des relations conceptuelles dans ces westerns.

Keywords

Binary oppositions, containment, embodied cognition, image schema, John Ford, Western

Introduction

It has been frequently remarked that the Western as a film genre is grounded in a dialectic scheme of related oppositions. According to Jim Kitses' classical assessment of the Western film, for example, the genre grows out of a dialectic play of forces embodied in the master binary opposition of the wilderness vs. the civilisation (individual vs. community, nature vs. culture, West vs. East) (12-13). As such, the author offers a syntactic approach to the Western genre emphasising not so much the particular semantic elements and building blocks which make up the genre (the stagecoach travellers, the lonely sheriff, the

Indian, the family, etc.) as the structures and relationships into which they are arranged (tradition vs. change, savagery vs. humanity, etc.). A similar syntactic attempt to define the Western genre has been suggested by John Cawelti who argued that the hero in the Western often finds himself situated between two lands, and hence between two contradicting value systems. Although this syntactic view is limited in its applicability, Rick Altman finds it to have one important advantage, namely its "ability to isolate the genre's specific meaning-bearing structures" (11). Since signs take their value from what they are *not* (Saussure 115), paradigmatic oppositions are considered to be indispensable for the generation of meaning. As Roman Jakobson put it: "Opposites are so intimately interconnected that the appearance of one of them inevitably elicits the other" (235).

Jim Kitses' account of the Western can be viewed as a prototype example of structural film analysis. It entails identifying the constituent units in a semiotic system, the (opposite) structural relationships between them, and the relation of these parts to the whole (Chandler 83). An important question, therefore, concerns the location of these contrastive themes. If structural film analysis deals with the isolation of paired contrasts, then it is essential to determine where to look for these underlying thematic poles. In an attempt to answer this question, albeit not with a focus on oppositions, Noël Carroll has made a distinction between two thematic levels of organisation: the 'dramatic' level of articulation and the 'iconographic' or 'imagistic' level of articulation (17).

The dramatic approach can be viewed, according to Carroll, as the standard operating procedure for determining the (binary) thematic level of organisation (17). In this view the binary themes are isolated by focusing on a dramatic conflict in the story (e.g., a conflict between two characters), which in turn is then generalised into a schema of opposing values or forces. The main problem with this approach, however, is that it makes a real-time viewing experience of the film seem redundant (Carroll 2). One could easily distill the binary oppositions from the plot description without resorting to the specific audiovisual display of images. No notice is given to the fact that the binary oppositions are being expressed visually. By contrast, the iconographic or imagistic approach considers the visual content of the images at display to be the most fundamental level of thematic organisation. This view tries to locate the (binary) themes of the particular film through an analysis of its imagery and the arrangement of its visual elements such as its iconography and the use of filmic devices (camera movement, composition, editing, etc.).

In this article we adopt an iconographic approach to the Westerns of John Ford, by considering the following key question: How are the central abstract binary themes of the Western genre communicated in terms of its visual elements? What are the stylistic principles according to which, for example, the master binary opposition of the wilderness vs. civilisation is expressed in (a relevant subset of) John Ford's Westerns?

With regard to the question of representing abstract oppositions many studies have demonstrated that opposing values are commonly communicated by way of spatial schemas (Gattis) or orientational metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson). For instance, the anthropologist Robert Herz has observed that social constructs such as the oppositions between good and evil, superior and inferior, and light and darkness, are usually communicated by way of the right-left asymmetry of the human body, arguing that right

handedness is often considered to be superior to left handedness. In a similar way Lakoff and Johnson have demonstrated that most of our fundamental concepts are structured in terms of metaphors that are based in our physical and cultural experience (*Metaphors* 14-21). Using the spatial relation of UP-DOWN as an example they observe that UP has come to be associated with happiness as in the English expressions "I'm feeling *up*", or "That *boosted* my spirits", whereas DOWN is associated with sadness as in "I *fell* into a depression", or "He's really *low* these days." In more general terms Peter Woelert refers to the "spatialization of human thinking", arguing that "space is never merely a determinate and extrinsic object of study", but also a "medium through which differentiating concepts such as 'the object' are meaningfully established and delineated in the first place" (118). In other words, space not only limits the scope of human conceptual thought, it is also constitutive of human higher-order thinking.

This paper will focus on one spatial medium in particular, namely the CONTAINMENT schema, which is one of the most commonly cited image schemas in the image schema literature. This schema, which is grounded in a wide range of common basic experiences, is considered to be of pivotal importance to our understanding of abstract oppositions.

The goal of this article, then, is to demonstrate how this schema, as a recurrent pattern of our sensory-motor experience, is used in the Western genre as a medium through which abstract binary oppositions establish themselves. Using a number of films of John Ford as a case-study, we aim to show how the master binary opposition of the wilderness vs. civilisation is delineated visually by way of the metaphorical expansion of the CONTAINMENT schema. But before addressing this empirical question, we will first consider the CONTAINMENT schema in more detail.

The CONTAINMENT schema as a dynamic pattern of sensory-motor experience

The notion of physical containment can be viewed as one of the most omnipresent features of our bodily experience. We experience our own bodies as three-dimensional containers into which we put certain things (food and water) and out of which other things appear. From the period of childhood we are instantly confronted with different experiences of physical containment in our environment. We walk through doors into rooms. We move in vehicles, clothes and various other bounded regions in space. We put things in and out of containers and so forth (Johnson *The Body* 21).

According to Johnson these different manifestations of being in something or of placing something within another thing are characterised by a recurring spatial and temporal organisation (*The Body* 21). They share a common structure that Johnson defines as "spatial boundedness" (*The Body* 21) and that Lakoff (1987: 271) labels as the CONTAINER schema (271) (cf. Lakoff and Johnson *Philosophy* 31-32). In an attempt to give a concise characterisation of CONTAINMENT, we can emphasize at least three important aspects.

First, CONTAINMENT is characterised by a three-part structure: an inside, a boundary, and an outside. As Lakoff and Johnson argue, this structure is a gestalt structure in that the three elements are bound together (*Philosophy* 32). One could not define an inside without the notions of a boundary and an outside (and vice versa).

Second, CONTAINMENT, like any other image schema, is cross-modal (*Philosophy* 32).[1] Being conceptual gestalts, image schemas are very flexible. Because of this flexibility a single image schema can manifest itself in multiple domains. Thus we cannot only impose CONTAINER schemas on concrete objects (rooms, cups, etc.) or bounded regions in space (basketball courts, football fields, etc.), but also on something we hear. One might separate conceptually, for example, one part of a piece of music from another.

Third and most important, CONTAINER schemas are inherently dynamic. Dewell, for instance, claims that CONTAINMENT cannot be a static structure, arguing that even when CONTAINER schemas represent static locational relations, they are structured as dynamic processes, related to paths and activities, and grounded in the perception of motion (370). More specifically he considers CONTAINMENT to be a merger of two experiential patterns that are related to the construal of motion events, namely ENTRY and ENCLOSURE. In both cases CONTAINMENT is linked to a specific path type, also known in cognitive linguistics as a trajector (TR)-landmark (LM) organisation. ENTRY can be viewed as the most obvious path type in the sense that it relates CONTAINMENT to the movement of an entity towards a location, resulting in the trajector's ending up inside the location. The boundary of the interior can be identified as the landmark and the object overlapping with the interior as a trajector. Consider, for example, the sentence "The cowboy enters the saloon." In this case the saloon is the landmark relative to which the cowboy, the trajector, is located. Visually this event can be diagrammed as follows:
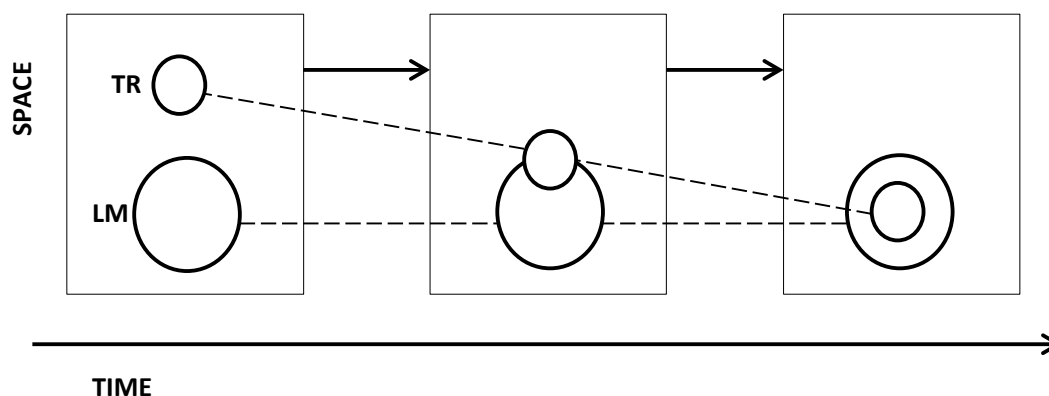

Figure 1. Sequential scan of ENTRY (after Langacker 245; cf. Broccias and Hollmann 489)

The path arrow in Figure 1 illustrates a 'sequential scan' of an ENTRY path in that the dynamic temporal sequence of locations that begins somewhere outside the LM and ends inside it is depicted *successively* (as in watching a motion picture). It differs from what Langacker in his theory of Cognitive Grammar refers to as the process of 'summary scanning' where aspects of a scene are scanned *cumulatively* (as in looking at a photograph) (144-146). Where the former is connected to events that represent time as

1. The modality deals with the question as to how the image schema manifests itself to our senses. Forceville defines a mode as a "sign system interpretable because of a specific perception pphion process" ("Non-verbal" 23-24). With no claim to exhaustiveness he categorizes nine different modes of depiction: pictorial signs, written signs, spoken signs, gestures, sounds, music, smells, tastes and touch.

something dynamic, the latter is linked to static scenes that conceptualise time as a unified whole (cf. Evans and Green 535; Broccias and Hollmann 488-489).

As Dewell further points out, it is absolutely crucial that the process of ENTRY is accompanied by "a corresponding conceptual movement" (376). As he writes:

> "A person who watches an object move into a container will track the course of the object through space and time by moving the head and eyes, so that the person's gaze takes a course that corresponds to that of the objective path" (376).

In other words, there is not only the purely objective movement of the trajector towards the landmark, but also the conceptual tracking path of the viewer that accompanies it. Therefore, one could say that this movement on the part of the observer is closely related to what Vittorio Gallese labels Embodied Simulation (ES) theory ("Embodied Simulation"; "Neuroscience"). This theory was grounded in the discovery of mirror neurons. It states that the observation of an action results in the activation of the same neural mechanism that is triggered by executing that action oneself (Gallese and Guerra 184). Watching someone else executing an action thus activates the same brain regions normally activated when actually performing the same action. When, for example, we witness someone moving into a room, we simulate this entry action by activating our own motor system.

Assessing the implications of embodied simulation for our responses to visual works of art, Freedberg and Gallese have argued that these mirroring mechanisms in the observer can be activated through two complementary aspects (199). On the one hand, there is the activation through the representational content of art works. This aspect relates to the 'what' of aesthetic experience, and can be described in terms of the actions, intentions, objects, emotions, and sensations portrayed in a given visual scene. On the other hand, there is the activation by way of the formal aspects of the artwork. This aspect refers to the 'how' of aesthetic experience and entails, for example, the visible traces of the artist's creative gestures such as the goal-directed movement of a painter's hand.

When considering these insights in the light of the film medium one could argue, then, that there are three general levels of movement at play when analysing the process of ENTRY.

First, there is the objective physical movement of the entities on screen (e.g., moving actors, moving objects, etc.).

Second, there is the movement of the camera that negotiates with the objective motion of the moving bodies in front of the camera. In a tracking shot, for example, the camera as a whole travels through space forward, backward, or laterally along the characters. In this case the objective motion of the character coincides relatively with the objective motion of the camera. Note that while the movement before the camera can be plural, the movement of the camera is always singular. In *Barry Lyndon* (Stanley Kubrick 1975), for example, there is a scene where a garrison of British soldiers are walking from left to right towards the French enemy. This movement, which consists of the movement of hundreds of soldiers, is accompanied by a single lateral tracking shot. As such, the objective paths of the acting bodies are bound together by the absorbing unity of one objective camera movement.

Third, there is the 'movement' in the viewer: the activation of embodied mirroring mechanisms that is encompassing both 1) the objective movement of the bodies *before* the camera and 2) the objective movement *of* the camera.

These three forms of movement implied by a film can be viewed as sublevels of three more general categories of embodiment in cinema (cf. Gallese and Guerra 198-199). The first is related to the general category of 'acting' as a level of embodiment (operating on the ante-filmic level), the second to 'film style' (operating on the filmic level), and the third to the 'viewers' responses' (operating on the level of the brain). In a similar way D'Aloia speaks of the "character's body", the "film's body", and the "spectator's body" respectively (101).

In addition to ENTRY, Dewell relates also a second path to containment, namely ENCLOSURE. With regard to the kinds of experiential patterns Dewell makes a distinction between two poles (379). At one pole there are containers that are for the most part stationary receptacles with stable shapes. Think for example of jars, cabins and houses and other fixed regions of the setting that are intrinsic containers in their canonical states. At the other pole there are those that are not intrinsic containers by virtue of their shape. Think, for example, of experiential patterns such as a grasping hand or a wrapping napkin. In these cases the container actively closes in on the contained object. As Dewell argues, ENCLOSING differs with ENTRY in that it has a different figure-ground relation. In the latter the container is stationary, and the contained object is moving, while in the former the container, instead of being fixed, is moving (i.e., the activity of enclosing) and the contained object is considered to be the relative static figure.

Although the dynamic concept of CONTAINMENT and its related two motion events ENTRY and ENCLOSING has its roots in the directly embodied experience of interacting with bounded landmarks, this schema can also form the basis for more abstract kinds of meaning. As Johnson writes: "The principal philosophical reason why image schemas are important is that they make it possible for us to use the structure of sensory and motor operations to understand abstract concepts and to draw inferences about them" ("The Philosophical" 24). Consider, for example, the following examples from Lakoff and Johnson:

> "The ship is *coming into* view.
> I *have* him *in* sight.
> He's *out of* sight now.
> There's *nothing in* sight.
> I can't get *all* of the ships *in* sight at once" (*Metaphors* 30).

According to Lakoff and Johnson these examples can be analysed in terms of the metaphorical projection of the CONTAINER image schema onto the abstract conceptual domain of a VISUAL FIELD (*Metaphors* 30). The logic behind it runs as follows. The nature of our bodies provides human psychology with a distinctive suite of concrete concepts like the CONTAINER image schema, which is something we come to understand simply in virtue of our embodiment. When we look at some territory, we experience its boundary, namely, the part that is visible to us. This embodied knowledge in turn will influence the

meanings of more abstract conceptual domains like a VISUAL FIELD. As our field of vision correlates with our experience of boundedness, the conceptual metaphor VISUAL FIELDS ARE CONTAINERS is thus formed. The result is a sort of "trickle up" effect in which our understanding of abstract concepts depends on a metaphorical expansion of more concrete concepts (Shapiro 88).

The examples from above all involve *linguistic* manifestations of conceptual metaphorical thinking. However, if metaphor is not just a matter of language, but primarily a matter of thought, as Lakoff and Johnson (*Metaphors* 6) argue, then it is plausible to assume that there exist also non-linguistic examples of conceptual metaphor (cf. Forceville "Non-verbal"). For instance, one might hypothesize that the image-schematic conceptual structure of CONTAINMENT is not only used in language to structure abstract conceptual target domains, but also in film.

Following other recent visual and multimodal examinations of image schemas and conceptual metaphors in film (Buckland; Brannigan; Fahlenbrach; Urios-Aparisi; Forceville; Forceville and Jeulink; Ortiz; Coëgnarts and Kravanja) we will now consider three of John Ford's Westerns (*Stagecoach*, *My Darling Clementine*, *The Searchers*) in the light of Lakoff and Johnson's conceptualisation thesis by presenting the CONTAINMENT schema as a possible solution to the problem of how to communicate abstract binary oppositions.

The CONTAINMENT schema in John Ford's Westerns

In his article *A Home in the Wilderness: Visual Imagery in John Ford's Westerns*, Michael Budd offers an imagistic study of the Westerns of John Ford. Examining the question of how the general and conceptual encounter of 'home' (as a collective term for civilization, community, family, protection, etc.) and 'wilderness' (referring to nature, individual, danger, etc.) is translated to the visual content of Ford's Westerns, the author distinguishes several visual strategies and motives of representation. More specifically he argues that the opposition between 'home' and 'wilderness' is more than a mere theme in the filmmaker's oeuvre, positing that it determines the formal structure of his films. As an example he refers to the countless variations of what he calls "the frame-within-a-frame configuration": imagery where the two opposing elements of meaning are juxtaposed within one single frame. On this interplay between form and content Budd writes the following:

> "The encounter of home and wilderness is more than a theme in Ford's Westerns: it is a central, formative viewpoint, a way of looking at the world. The viewpoint is communicated visually by a frame within the larger frame. Shots looking through doors, through windows, gates, porches, and canopies bring indoors and outdoors into juxtaposition. Such images are sufficiently pervasive to suggest a structuring vision of the nature of the frontier itself. (…) The complex of home-wilderness images seems central to the similarities among Ford's Westerns: not only does it bring together the underlying elements of the genre, connecting the dynamics of the Western to the specific concerns of the director, but it also permeates the formal pattern and texture of the films. The meeting of home and wilderness, the edge of the frontier, is constituted in the design of the images themselves" (62-63).

Continuing on Budd's insights this article argues that these visual strategies proposed by the imagery in John Ford's Westerns appeal to a specific schema of our physical experience, namely the CONTAINMENT schema, as discussed above. It is our claim that this structure of our sensory-motor experience serves as a matrix through which the encounter of 'home' and 'wilderness' expresses itself to the viewer. Through the CONTAINMENT schema the opposition is constituted in the visual design of the images themselves. In the following final part of our article we analyse three significant film scenes from three different Westerns directed by John Ford, namely: *Stagecoach* (1939), *My Darling Clementine* (1946) and *The Searchers* (1956). As our analysis will show, each example offers a specific stylistic solution for imposing the CONTAINMENT schema (and hence the abstract opposition) on the visual content of the scene in question.

Stagecoach (1939)

Stagecoach is John Ford's first Western following *Three Bad Men* (1926). It is generally considered to be the Western that definitively put the genre on the map as the quintessential American film genre. The film tells the story of a group of passengers travelling by stagecoach on their way to the town of Lordsburg. During this journey through the vast space of Monument Valley they are attacked by Apaches. In order to communicate the abstract opposition between 'home' and 'wilderness' visually, the film makes convenient use of the CONTAINER schema. The spatial opposition of interiority and exteriority is articulated formally through both montage and intra-frame montage or frame-within-frame configuration. On the one hand, shots of the stagecoach and the inhabitants are intertwined with recurring shots of the attacking Indians, thus spatially separating 'civilisation' from 'wilderness'. On the other hand, the Indians are framed through the windows in the background behind the passengers inside, thus bringing the interior, as a microcosm of the towns between which they travel, and the exterior (the Indians) into visual confrontation within the same shot. The opening in the landmark's (LM) surface (the windows of the stagecoach) allows both the attacking native Americans (in the background) and the passengers (in the foreground) to be shown. The visual distinction within the image allows one to impose a conceptual CONTAINER schema on the visual scene with an inside, a boundary, and an outside. As such, the denotative quality of the images is neutralised by the spatial arrangement of the visual elements in the frame, thus allowing the conceptual encounter of 'home' and 'wilderness' to be expressed visually. The CONTAINMENT schema provides the expressed visual content with a schematic conceptual structure, which is essential to evoke a higher level of meaning. Although the Indian attackers (TR) are trying to invade (ENTER) the space of the stagecoach (LM), they never succeed as the attack is first held back by the passengers themselves, and later on by the cavalry who re-establishes a circle of safety and civilisation around the stagecoach. The trajector ('wilderness') and the landmark ('civilisation') remain separated during the whole chase sequence.[2]

---

2. The absence of a fair-use provision under Belgian copyright law has persuaded the authors to replace screenshots taken from *Stagecoach* and other films discussed in this paper by drawings representing the essential characteristics of these images. The drawings have been made especially for this paper by Anthony Blampied. Without them, the abstract image schemas would have remained bodiless indeed.
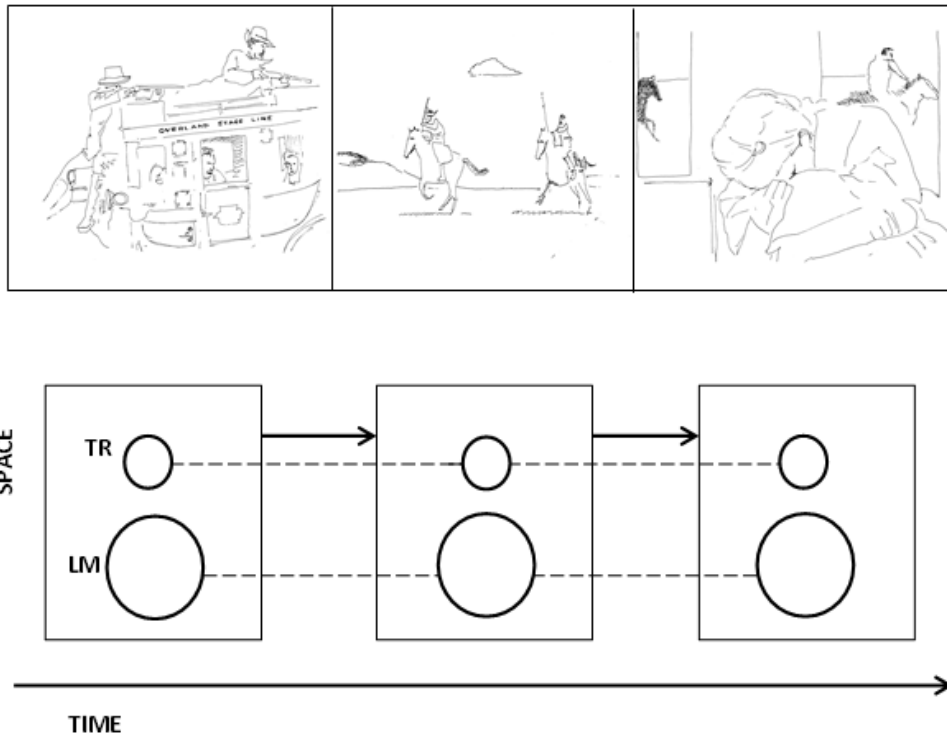
Figure 2. Sequential scan of the Apaches attack sequence from My Stagecoach (1939)

My Darling Clementine (1946)

This metaphorical mapping from one concrete source domain (space) onto an abstract target domain (the binary opposition) can also be found in *My Darling Clementine*, Ford's adaptation of the legendary rivalry between the brothers Earp and the Clayton family. The scene where the first church of Tombstone is inaugurated with a dance ritual serves as an illustration. In this scene the CONTAINER schema is extended metaphorically to emphasise Wyatt Earp's (Henry Fonda) transition from individual to community. Initially, both entities are filmed separately. A parallel series of images is shown in which Wyatt and his beloved Clementine (Cathy Downs) are confronted with the dancing members of the community. Grounded in dialectic editing, the spatial logic of the CONTAINER schema is transferred to the images. The couple as the trajector (TR) is placed *outside* of the group as the landmark (LM). Through montage the space and its content (i.e., the character's bodies) are divided into two parts, thus clearing the conceptual path for the binary opposition to flourish. Notice also the difference in image size. Wyatt and Clementine are shown together in a medium shot, whereas the community is presented in a long shot. As in *Stagecoach*, the filmic imagery reaches a form of aesthetic density through the imposed order. This formal density is necessary to induce the abstract opposition between the individual and the community, as the relationship between these concepts cannot be discerned integrally in each separate frame. When Wyatt asks Clementine to dance in the following shot, the situation is reversed. The film shows the members of the community as they form a circle around the couple, literally closing them in, thus turning them into the centre of the community. The trajector has entered the landmark. The couple is no longer *outside* but *inside* the container. The opposite poles meet each other, and the film reaches a pinnacle of communal harmony.
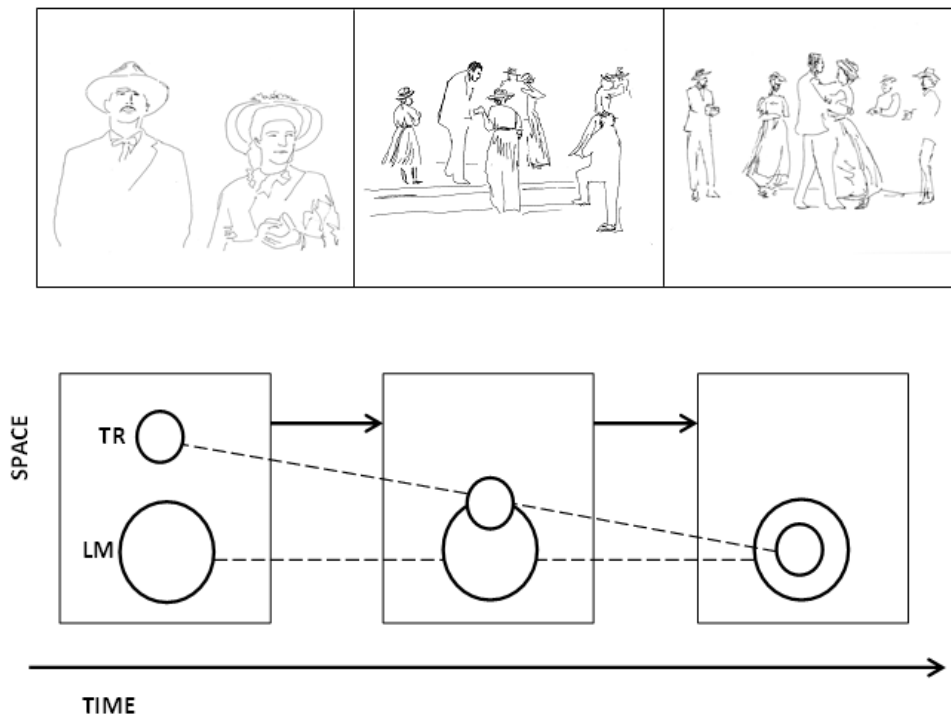
Figure 3. Sequential scan of the church dance sequence from My Darling Clementine (1946)

The Searchers (1956)

The CONTAINER schema may be fulfilled in the most iconic way in *The Searchers*, in many ways John Ford's most complex and layered film. This masterpiece, dealing with Ethan Edwards' (John Wayne) obsessive search for the two kidnapped daughters of his murdered brother, begins and ends with the image of a door opening and closing onto the vast space of a North-American landscape. As the film begins, Martha, his brother's wife, opens the door onto Ethan and Monument Valley, thus introducing the wilderness into the Edwards' family house. The shot is one of contrast. At first she is only a silhouette against the bright light of a shining rectangle. Then she crosses the threshold towards the porch, leaving the dark shadows of the interior behind. In one forward movement, the camera imitates Martha's steps going from the darkness inside to the clear blue sky outside, thereby intensifying not only the movement of the character, but the spectator's experience as well (cf. D'Aloia). The movement of the camera (the "film's body") is motivated by a concrete bodily gesture on the ante-filmic level (the "character's body"). As in the previous examples, the CONTAINER schema imposes order to the concrete content of the imagery. The spatial marker of the door designates the terms inside and outside within the frame, thus dividing the visual space into two parts. As Elsaesser and Hagener write: "A threshold always points in two directions, because it simultaneously connects and separates – a border can be crossed precisely because a division always implies spatial proximity" (37). In the case of *The Searchers* it is the door that simultaneously connects and separates two distinctive worlds. The spatial distinction within the frame neutralises the denotative quality of the images, allowing the conceptual co-existence of 'home' and 'wilderness' to arise. Contrary to the example from *Stagecoach*, the scene depicts the motif of entering: as Ethan (the trajector) appears from the horizon, he enters the house (landmark), leaving one space

('wilderness') in favour for the other ('home'). The sequential scan underlying this scene is similar to the one shown earlier in *My Darling Clementine*.
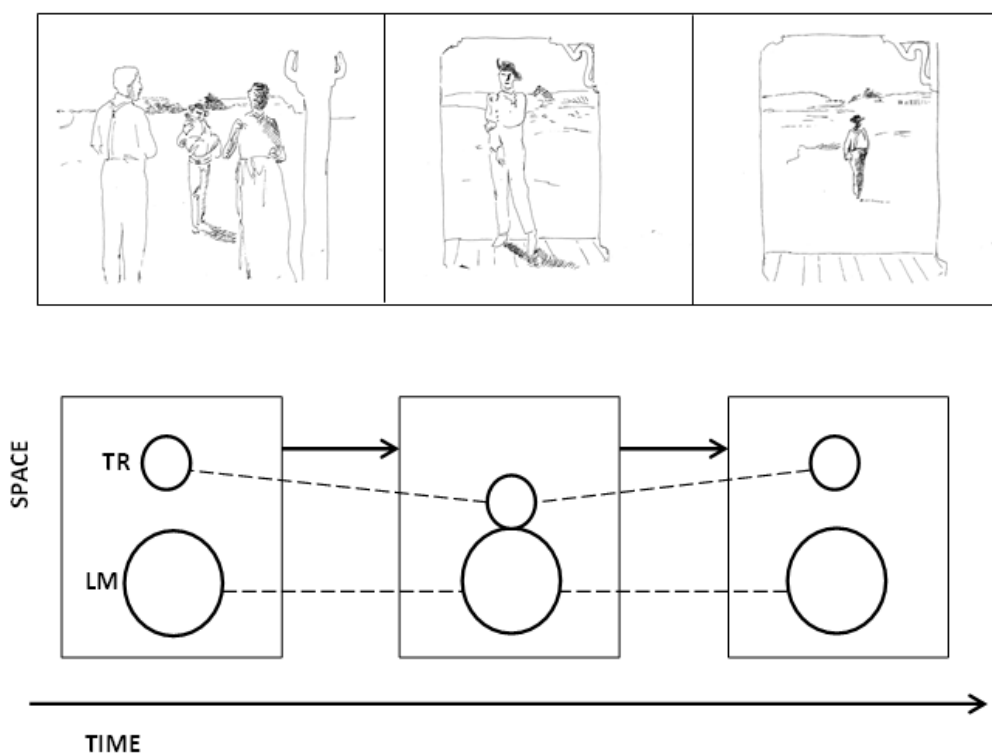

Figure 4. Sequential scan of the end scene from The Searchers (1956)

At the end of the film, when Ethan returns and brings Debbie (Nathalie Wood), one of the daughters, back home, the same visual schema is applied, but in reverse. The camera tracks backwards into the darkness of the Jorgenson home, thereby intensifying not only the literal bodily movement of the characters on screen, as first Debbie and Mrs. Jorgensen enter the house, but also the metaphorical transition from wilderness to home. As the other family members soon follow, Ethan stays behind in the door opening. As he forms a dark figure in the bright rectangle of the illuminated doorway, he finds himself at the threshold between two poles, that borderline between civilised land and the wilderness. Contrary to the opening scene the trajector does not enter the landmark: the final, iconic image shows him as he walks off into the distance towards the horizon of the vast American landscape, while the door gently closes, leaving the bright light outside behind. The natural order of things has been restored.

Conclusion

Without making a claim concerning the importance of image schemas in film or even concerning the particular importance of the CONTAINER schema to the Western genre in general, our analysis of these three examples emphasises its importance in John Ford's Westerns. As recurring and analogous patterns of our physical and sensory-motor interactions with the world, they fulfil a fundamental role in the development of abstract meaning and the conveyance of binary oppositions. Due to its schematic and highly flexible nature, the CONTAINMENT schema is capable of imposing structure or order to the ante-

filmic content of the images. As such, it allows the filmic imagery to be released from its particularity, and to arrive at a form of abstraction or density which is indispensable for the construction of meaning on a higher, more conceptual level. Finally, it is unlikely that the oppositions presented in this paper are limited to John Ford's films. As the Western genre tends to evoke several kinds of spatial markers and points of crossing, we strongly suspect that other Westerns employ the CONTAINER schema as well.

Bibliography

Altman, Rick. "A Semantic/Syntactic Approach to Film Genre." *Cinema Journal* 23.3 (1984): 6-18. Print.

Broccias, Cristiano, and Willem B. Hollmann. "Do We Need Summary and Sequential Scanning in (Cognitive) Grammar?" *Cognitive Linguistics* 18.4 (2007): 487-522. Print.

Branigan, Edward. "How Frame Lines (and Film Theory) Figure." *Film Style and Story: A Tribute to Torben Grodal*. Ed. Lennard Hojbjerg and Peter Schepelern. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2003. 59-86. Print.

Branigan, Edward. *Projecting a Camera: Language-Games in Film Theory*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Print.

Buckland, Warren. *The Cognitive Semiotics of Film*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Print.

Budd, Michael. "A Home in the Wilderness: Visual Imagery in John Ford's Westerns." *Cinema Journal* 16.1 (1976): 62-75. Print.

Carroll, Noël. *Comedy Incarnate: Buster Keaton, Physical Humor, and Bodily Coping*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. Print.

Cawelti, John. *The Six-Gun Mystique*. Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1971. Print.

Chandler, Daniel. *Semiotics: The Basics*. New York: Routledge, 2007. Print.

Coëgnarts, Maarten, and Peter Kravanja. "Towards an Embodied Poetics of Cinema: The Metaphoric Construction of Abstract Meaning in Film." *Alphaville: Journal of Film and Screen Media* 4 (2012a): 1-18. Web.

Coëgnarts, Maarten, and Peter Kravanja. "Embodied Visual Meaning: Image Schemas in Film." *Projections: The Journal for Movies and Mind* 6.2 (2012b): 84-101. Print.

Coëgnarts, Maarten, and Peter Kravanja. "The Visual and Multimodal Representation of Time in Film, or How Time is Metaphorically Shaped in Space." *Image [&] Narrative* 13.3 (2012c): 85-100. Web.

D'Aloia, Adriano. "Cinematic Empathies. Spectator Involvement in the Film Experience." *Kinestheic Empathy in Creative and Cultural Practices*. Eds. Dee Reynolds and Matthew Reason. Bristol-

Chicago: Intellect, 2012. 92-107. Print.

Dewell, Robert. "Dynamic Patterns of CONTAINMENT." *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics*. Ed. Beate Hampe. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter, 2005. 369-394. Print.

Elsaesser, Thomas, and Malte Hagener. *Film Theory: An Introduction Through the Senses*. New York: Routledge, 2010. Print.

Evans, Vyvyan, and Melanie Green. *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Print.

Fahlenbrach, Kathrin. "Embodied Spaces: Film Spaces as (Leading) Audiovisual Metaphors." *Narration and Spectatorship in Moving Images*. Eds. Joseph D. Anderson and Barbara Fisher-Anderson. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholar Press, 2007. 105-124. Print.

Fahlenbrach, Kathrin. "Emotions in Sound: Audiovisual Metaphors in the Sound Design of Narrative Films." *Projections: The Journal for Movies and Mind* 2.2 (2008): 85-103. Print.

Forceville, Charles. "Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor in a Cognitivist Framework: Agendas for Research." *Multimodal Metaphor*. Eds. Charles Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009. 19-42. Print.

Forceville, Charles. "The Journey Metaphor and the Source-Path-Goal Schema in Agnès Varda's Autobiographical Gleaning Documentaries." *Beyond Cognitive Metaphor Theory: Perspectives on Literary Metaphor*. Ed. Monika Fludernik. London: Routledge, 2011. 281-297. Print.

Forceville, Charles, and Marloes Jeulink. "The Flesh and Blood of Embodied Understanding: The Source-Path-Goal Schema in Animation Film." *Pragmatics & Cognition* 19.1 (2011): 37–59. Print.

Freedberg, David, and Vittorio Gallese. "Motion, Emotion and Empathy in Esthetic Experience." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 11.5 (2007): 197-203. Print.

Gallese, Vittorio. "Embodied Simulation: From Neurons to Phenomenal Experience." *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences* 4 (2005): 23-48. Print.

Gallese, Vittorio. "Neuroscience and Phenomenology." *Phenomenology & Mind* 1 (2011): 33-48. Print.

Gallese, Vittorio, and Michele Guerra. "Embodying Movies: Embodied Simulation and Film Studies." *Cinema: Journal of Philosophy and the Moving Image* 3 (2012): 183-210. Web.

Gattis, Merideth. *Spatial Schemas and Abstract Thought*. Ed. Merideth Gattis. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press/Bradford Books, 2001. 1-12. Print.

Hertz, Robert. "The Pre-Eminence of the Right Hand: A Study in Religious Polarity." *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification*. Ed. Rodney Needham. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1909/1973. 3-31. Print.

Jacobson, Roman, Linda R. Waugh, and Monique Monville-Burston. *On Language*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990. Print.

Johnson, Mark. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. Print.

Johnson, Mark. "The Philosophical Significance of Image Schemas." *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics*. Ed. Beate Hampe. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005. 15-33. Print.

Kitses, Jim. *Horizons West: Directing The Western from John Ford to Clint Eastwood*. London: British

Film Institute, 2004. Print.

Lakoff, George. *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Our Categories Reveal About the Mind*: Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. Print.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980. Print.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books, 1999. Print.

Langacker, Ronald. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Volume I*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987. Print.

My Darling Clementine. Dir. John Ford. 20th Century Fox, 1946. DVD.

Ortiz, María J. "Primary Metaphors and Monomodal Visual Metaphors." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43 (2011): 1568-1580.

Saussure, Ferdinand De. *Course in General Linguistics*. Trans. R. Harris. London: Duckworth, 1916/1983. Print.

Stagecoach. Dir. John Ford. Warner Home Video, 1939. DVD.

Shapiro, Lawrence. *Embodied Cognition*. New York: Routledge, 2011. Print.

The Searchers. Dir. John Ford. Warner Home Video, 1956. DVD.

Urios-Aparisi, Eduardo. "The Body of Love in Almodóvar's Cinema: Metaphor and Metonymy of the Body and Body Parts." *Metaphor and Symbol* 25.3 (2010): 181-203. Print.

Woelert, Peter. "Human Cognition, Space, and the Sedimentation of Meaning." *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences* 10.1 (2011): 113-137. Print.

Maarten Coëgnarts has an MA in Film Studies and Visual Culture (University of Antwerp) and an MA in Sociology (University of Antwerp). His research primarily focuses on metaphor in film and embodied visual meaning. He also has a special interest in film analysis and in the relation between film and philosophy. He is currently preparing a PhD in film studies at the University of Antwerp.

E-mail: *maartencoegnarts@gmail.com*

Peter Kravanja is a research fellow at KU Leuven (Faculty of Arts, research unit Literature and Culture). He holds an MS and a PhD in Mathematical Engineering and Computer Science (KU Leuven), an MA in Cinema Studies (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3) and a BA in Philosophy (KU Leuven). His research interests include analytic philosophy of art applied to cinema, questions concerning analysis, interpretation and form, as well as the relation between film and the other arts.

E-mail: *peterkravanja@gmail.com*

Website: www.kravanja.eu