



UNIVERSITAT  
POLITÈCNICA  
DE VALÈNCIA



Programa de Doctorado en Lenguas, Literaturas y Culturas, y sus Aplicaciones

**A cross-linguistic study of metaphor variation  
in promotional discourse of the tourist sector  
in Spanish, English and German:  
implications for translation**

TESIS DOCTORAL

Presentada por: KATRIN STEPINS  
Dirigida por: DRA. HANNA T. SKORCZYNSKA SZNAJDER

Valencia, marzo de 2022

---

# Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Hanna Skorczynska Sznajder for her guidance and support especially during the last stage of this dissertation. Sincere thanks also to the administrative staff at the Departamento de Lingüística Aplicada who definitely made life easier for me.

I would also like to thank my friends and colleagues Josefa Contreras Fernández and Sabine Exner for their literature recommendations and our debates of difficult cases.

---

# Abstract

This dissertation focusses on the cross-linguistic variation of metaphorical language use on promotional tourism websites in British English, German of Germany and European Spanish. Despite the economic impact of the tourism industry and the high demand for translations in this branch, only few studies have ventured into metaphor use in tourism promotion so far. Research into metaphor translation in this field is even scarcer. The present study aims to fill these voids by describing metaphorical language use of this register for each language, comparing the results with the other two languages, and by seeking possible implications of the observed variation for the translatability as well as the translation process of metaphor vehicles.

For this purpose, three comparable corpora of regional promotional tourism websites from England, Germany and Spain were compiled, as well as three smaller, 20,000-word sample corpora. In a two-step process, the sample corpora first underwent a comprehensive manual metaphor analysis, which helped to identify metaphor groups with a source-target domain combination that is problematic from a translational point of view. These groups were further studied in the large corpora using source-domain vocabulary searches. The study was approached from a Cognitive Linguistics perspective, building mainly on Conceptual Metaphor Theory. One of the main contributions of this dissertation lies in the adaptation of the widely used metaphor identification procedure MIP (Pragglejaz, 2007) for the cross-linguistic comparison of the morphologically different research languages. Furthermore, a typology of mapping schemes and a description of the source and target domains were suggested which suit translation purposes better than existing ones. Finally, a methodology for the determination of the literal translatability of metaphor vehicles was developed.

The findings suggest that the metaphor use on promotional tourism websites in the three languages is largely similar with regard to the existence of different metaphor types and their distribution. However, differences can be found in their frequencies, their preferred linguistic realisation and their main discursive functions. The observed cross-linguistic variation in metaphor use can often be related to the markedly distinct styles of the promotional websites in the three languages. The data gathered in this study provide translators with information about which type of metaphor can or even should be reduced or increased in number in order to achieve a natural sounding translation and how morphologically necessary suppressions can best be compensated for, depending on the language pair and translation direction.

Keywords: metaphor, cross-linguistic variation, mapping schemes, MIP, tourism discourse, tourism promotion, promotional websites, translation, translatability, English, German, Spanish

---

# Resumen

Esta tesis se centra en la variación interlingüística del uso metafórico del lenguaje en sitios web turísticos promocionales en inglés británico, alemán de Alemania y castellano peninsular. A pesar de la importancia económica del turismo y la gran demanda de traducciones en este sector, el número de estudios sobre el uso de las metáforas en la promoción turística todavía es reducido. El volumen de publicaciones sobre la traducción de las metáforas en este campo es aún menor. Por ello, el presente estudio pretende colmar estos vacíos mediante la descripción del uso metafórico del lenguaje en este género para cada lengua, la comparación de los resultados y la exploración de las implicaciones que puede tener la variación observada para la traducibilidad y el proceso de traducción de las metáforas lingüísticas.

Con este motivo se compilaron tres corpus comparables de páginas web turísticas promocionales de los países Inglaterra, Alemania y España, así como tres corpus léxicos más pequeños de 20.000 palabras cada uno. En un proceso de dos fases, los corpus léxicos se sometieron primero a un análisis manual exhaustivo que facilitó la identificación de grupos de metáforas con una combinación de dominios fuente y meta problemáticos desde el punto de vista traductológico. Estos grupos se estudiaron en la segunda fase en los corpus grandes mediante la búsqueda de vocabulario de los dominios fuente. El estudio adopta un marco teórico propio de la Lingüística Cognitiva, basándose principalmente en la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual. Una de las principales contribuciones de esta tesis doctoral consiste en la adaptación del probado procedimiento para la identificación de metáforas MIP (Pragglejaz, 2007) para su uso en un estudio comparativo de tres idiomas morfológicamente distintos. Además, se elaboró una tipología de esquemas de proyección (mapping schemes) y una descripción de los dominios fuente y meta más adecuados para los estudios y la práctica de la traducción que los ya existentes. Finalmente fue desarrollado una metodología para la determinación de la traducibilidad literal de las metáforas lingüísticas.

Los resultados indican que el uso de la metáfora en los sitios web turísticos promocionales en los tres idiomas muestra grandes similitudes respecto a la existencia de diferentes tipos de metáfora y su distribución. Sin embargo, se observan diferencias en sus frecuencias, su realización lingüística preferida y sus principales funciones discursivas. A menudo, la variación interlingüística detectada en el uso de la metáfora se puede relacionar con los estilos claramente distintos de los sitios web promocionales en los tres idiomas. Los datos recopilados en este estudio proporcionan a los traductores datos acerca de qué tipo de metáfora puede o incluso debería ser aumentado o disminuido en un texto para lograr que una traducción suene natural, y como las supresiones debidas a las diferencias morfológicas pueden ser compensadas de la mejor manera, dependiendo de la combinación de idiomas y el sentido de la traducción.

---

Palabras clave: metáfora, variación interlingüística, mapping schemes, MIP, discurso turístico, promoción turística, sitios web promocionales, traducción, traducibilidad, inglés, alemán, castellano

## Resum

Aquesta tesi se centra en la variació interlingüística de l'ús metafòric del llenguatge en llocs web turístics promocionals en anglés britànic, alemany d'Alemanya i castellà peninsular. Malgrat la importància econòmica del turisme i la gran demanda de traduccions en aquest sector, el nombre d'estudis sobre l'ús de les metàfores en la promoció turística encara és reduït. El volum de publicacions sobre la traducció de les metàfores en aquest camp és encara menor. Per això, el present estudi pretén satisfer aquests buits mitjançant la descripció de l'ús metafòric del llenguatge en aquest gènere per a cada llengua, la comparació dels resultats i l'exploració de les implicacions que pot tindre la variació observada per a la traduïbilitat i el procés de traducció de les metàfores lingüístiques.

Amb aquest motiu es van compilar tres corpus comparables de pàgines web turístiques promocionals dels països d' Anglaterra, Alemanya i Espanya, així com tres corpus lèxics més xicotets de 20.000 paraules cadascun. En un procés de dues fases, els corpus lèxics es van sotmetre primer a una anàlisi manual exhaustiva que va facilitar la identificació de grups de metàfores amb una combinació de dominis font i meta problemàtics des del punt de vista traductològic. Aquests grups es van estudiar en la segona fase en els corpus grans mitjançant la cerca de vocabulari dels dominis font. L'estudi adopta un marc teòric propi de la Lingüística Cognitiva, basant-se principalment en la Teoria de la Metàfora Conceptual. Una de les principals contribucions d'aquesta tesi doctoral consisteix en l'adaptació del provat procediment per a la identificació de metàfores MIP (Pragglejaz, 2007) per al seu ús en un estudi comparatiu de tres idiomes morfològicament diferents. A més a més, es va elaborar una tipologia d'esquemes de projecció (mapping schemes) i una descripció dels dominis font i meta més adequats per als estudis i la pràctica de la traducció que els ja existents. Finalment, va ser desenvolupat una metodologia per a la determinació de la traduïbilitat literal de les metàfores lingüístiques.

Els resultats indiquen que l'ús de la metàfora en els llocs web turístics promocionals en els tres idiomes mostra grans similituds respecte a l'existència de diferents tipus de metàfora i la seua distribució. No obstant això, s'observen diferències en les seues freqüències, la seua realització lingüística preferida i les seues principals funcions discursives. Sovint, la variació interlingüística detectada en l'ús de la metàfora es pot relacionar amb els estils clarament diferents dels llocs web promocionals en els tres idiomes. Les dades recopilades en aquest estudi proporcionen als traductors dades sobre quina mena de metàfora pot o fins i tot hauria de ser augmentat o disminuït en un text per a aconseguir que una traducció sone natural, i com les supressions degudes a les

---

diferències morfològiques poden ser compensades de la millor manera, depenent de la combinació d'idiomes i el sentit de la traducció.

Paraules clau: metàfora, variació interlingüística, mapping schemes, MIP, discurs turístic, promoció turística, llocs web promocionals, traducció, traduïbilitat, anglès, alemany, castellà

---

# Table of contents

Table of contents .....	VII
Index of tables .....	XII
Index of figures.....	XVI
1.Introduction .....	18
2.The concept of metaphor .....	24
2.1. Metaphor theories .....	25
2.1.1. From Aristotle to cognitive metaphor .....	27
2.1.2. Main cognitive approaches to metaphor.....	32
2.2. Metaphor comprehension.....	34
2.3. Conceptual Metaphor Theory: Two-domain approach.....	38
2.3.1. Basic principles .....	39
2.3.2. Invariance hypothesis .....	40
2.3.3. Property selection .....	41
2.3.4. Degrees of conventionalisation .....	42
2.3.5. Conceptual metaphor typologies .....	45
2.3.6. Metaphor networks .....	48
2.3.7. Practical applicability .....	48
2.3.8. Metaphor and metonymy .....	49
2.3.9. Metaphor and personification.....	51
2.3.10. Linguistic realisations of metaphor .....	53
2.3.11. Critical views on conceptual metaphor theory (CMT).....	55
2.4. Metaphor functions .....	57
2.4.1. A literature review on metaphor functions .....	57
2.4.2. Metaphor functions in research studies .....	64
2.4.3. Metaphor function and deliberate use .....	65
2.4.4. Metaphor function and linguistic form.....	66
2.5. Metaphor and cross-linguistic variation.....	67
2.5.1. Universality, cultural variation and cultural specificity .....	67

---

2.5.2.	Non-universality of conceptual metaphor .....	69
2.5.3.	Implications for metaphor translation.....	76
2.6.	Summary .....	77
3.	Metaphor and translation .....	80
3.1.	Traditional and cognitive viewpoint .....	80
3.2.	Describing metaphor cross-linguistic variation for translation purposes.....	81
3.3.	Translatability of metaphors .....	83
3.4.	Possibilities and recommendations for metaphor translation .....	88
3.5.	Translation studies and corpus linguistics .....	94
3.6.	Summary .....	95
4.	Promotional tourism discourse .....	97
Institutional promotional websites and tourism discourse .....	97	
4.1.1.	Genres in tourism discourse .....	98
4.1.2.	Basic features of promotional tourism websites.....	100
4.2.	The language of tourism .....	101
4.2.1.	The language of tourism in general .....	101
4.2.2.	The language of tourism promotion .....	102
4.2.3.	The language of promotional tourism websites.....	104
4.2.4.	English.....	105
4.2.5.	Spanish .....	106
4.2.6.	German .....	108
4.3.	Cross-cultural differences in promotional tourism discourse .....	111
4.4.	Tourism Discourse and Translation .....	113
4.5.	Promotional tourism discourse and metaphor .....	117
4.5.1.	Terminology .....	118
4.5.2.	Source domains .....	118
4.5.3.	Discursive functions .....	119
4.5.4.	Translation studies.....	120
4.5.5.	Cross-cultural studies .....	121
4.6.	Summary.....	121

---

5. Corpora and methodology .....	123
5.1. Overall strategy .....	123
5.2. The corpora: design and compilation.....	124
5.3. Metaphor identification.....	129
5.3.1. Definition of linguistic metaphor for operationalization.....	129
5.3.2. Manual Identification using MIP and MIPVU .....	130
5.3.3. Application and adaptations of MIP .....	134
5.4. Analysis of the sample corpora.....	139
5.4.1. Data register.....	139
5.4.2. Discursive function.....	141
5.4.3. Locus of semantic tension .....	142
5.4.4. Source and target domain areas .....	143
5.4.5. Mapping schemes .....	144
5.4.6. Literal translatability .....	145
5.5. Analysis of the research corpora.....	148
5.6. Adjustments for cross-linguistic comparability .....	149
5.7. Dictionary-related difficulties .....	152
6. Results and discussion.....	157
6.1. Metaphor vehicle occurrences in the sample corpora.....	157
6.1.1. Absolute and normalised frequencies.....	157
6.1.2. Metaphor frequencies by regions .....	160
6.1.3. Accumulated metaphor vehicles to lexical unit ratio .....	163
6.1.4. Comparison with other frequency data.....	166
6.1.5. Type/token ratio for metaphorically used words.....	168
6.1.6. Most frequent metaphor vehicles .....	170
6.1.7. Research decisions prompted by specific metaphor vehicles.....	185
6.1.8. Summary.....	187
6.2. Grammatical aspects .....	188
6.2.1. Word class .....	188
6.2.1.1. Metaphor and word class in the English sample corpus .....	188

---

6.2.1.2.	Metaphor and word class in the German sample corpus.....	191
6.2.1.3.	Metaphor and word class in the Spanish sample corpus.....	192
6.2.1.4.	Cross-linguistic comparison.....	194
6.2.2.	Semantic tension.....	196
6.3.	Conventional and novel use.....	200
6.4.	Discursive functions of novel metaphors.....	206
6.4.1.	English sample corpus.....	208
6.4.2.	German sample corpus.....	212
6.4.3.	Spanish sample corpus.....	215
6.4.4.	Cross-linguistic comparison.....	219
6.5.	Mapping schemes.....	222
6.5.1.	Mappings based on the types of mapped features.....	229
6.5.2.	The conceptual scope of the mapping.....	233
6.5.3.	The domain areas of the mapping.....	237
6.5.4.	Special cases: pun and reversed metaphor.....	243
6.5.5.	Relationship between mapped feature and other schemes.....	244
6.6.	Source domains, target domains and their relationships.....	248
6.6.1.	Source and target domain frequencies.....	248
6.6.1.1.	Concrete and abstract source and target domains.....	250
6.6.1.2.	Large domain areas and ontological metaphors.....	255
6.6.1.3.	Primary metaphors and experiential correlation.....	262
6.6.1.4.	Topical areas.....	265
6.6.2.	Most frequent source-target domain combinations.....	268
6.7.	Literal translatability.....	274
6.7.1.	Literal translatability: English–German.....	275
6.7.1.1.	Quantitative Analysis.....	275
6.7.1.2.	Potentially problematic source-target-domain combinations and metaphor vehicles.....	280
6.7.2.	Literal translatability: English–Spanish.....	287
6.7.2.1.	Quantitative analysis.....	287

---

6.7.2.2. Potentially problematic source-target-domain combinations and metaphor vehicles .....	290
6.7.3. Literal translatability: German–Spanish.....	294
6.7.3.1. Quantitative analysis .....	294
6.7.3.2. Potentially problematic source-target-domain combinations and metaphor vehicles: German–Spanish.....	298
6.7.4. Literal translatability: summary.....	303
6.8. Problematic source-target domain relationships in the large corpora.....	306
6.9. Summary.....	315
7. Conclusions .....	320
References .....	337
Appendices .....	367
Appendix A: Corpus source texts .....	368
Appendix B: Metaphor analysis registers .....	374
B.1. 100 examples from the metaphor analysis register: English sample corpus .	374
B.2. 100 examples from the metaphor analysis registers: German sample corpus	385
B.3. 100 examples from the metaphor analysis registers: Spanish sample corpus	398
Appendix C: Metaphor frequencies by source and target domain.....	411
C.1. Metaphor frequencies by source and target domain in absolute number.....	411
C.2. Metaphor frequencies by source and target domains in percentages.....	413
C.3. Metaphor frequencies by source and target domain in metaphor vehicles/ 10.000 lexical units.....	415
Appendix D: Most frequent source-target domain pairings.....	417

---

## Index of tables

Table 2.1. Some typologies of metaphor theories .....	26
Table 2. 2. Equivalent terms: source domain – target domain .....	49
Table 2. 3. Differences metonymy - metaphor .....	50
Table 3.1. Similarity configurations of TIME IS MONEY in English and Hungarian according to Kövecses (2005:140) .....	83
Table 3.2. Translation strategies for figurative language according to Kövecses (2005) .....	90
Table 5.1. Overview corpora .....	126
Table 5.2. Composition of the Spanish corpora .....	127
Table 5.3. Composition of the German corpora .....	128
Table 5.4. Composition of the English corpora .....	129
Table 6.1. Metaphor vehicle frequencies in 20,000-word sample corpora .....	158
Table 6.2. Comparison of metaphor vehicle frequencies in 20,000-word sample corpora .....	159
Table 6.3. Metaphor vehicle frequencies, English by regions.....	160
Table 6.4. Metaphor vehicle frequencies, German by regions.....	161
Table 6.5. Metaphor vehicle frequencies, Spanish by regions .....	162
Table 6.6. Metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units in various registers in English .....	167
Table 6.7. Number of metaphor vehicles in sample corpora and type/token ratio.....	169
Table 6.8. Twenty most frequent metaphor vehicles and their absolute frequency in sample corpora.....	170
Table 6.9. Most frequent metaphor vehicles by discourse function.....	177
Table 6.10. Absolute frequency of the most frequent metaphor vehicles in the English sample corpus: comparison with their equivalents in the German and Spanish corpora. ....	179
Table 6.11. Absolute frequency of the most frequent metaphor vehicles in the German sample corpus: comparison with their equivalents in the English and Spanish corpora. ....	180
Table 6.12. Absolute frequency of the most frequent metaphor vehicles in the Spanish sample corpus: comparison with their equivalents in the English and German corpora. ....	181

---

Table 6.13. Number of basic meaning translations with metaphorical use(s): 30 most frequent items .....	182
Table 6.14. Ten most frequent metaphor vehicles in sample corpora across languages .....	184
Table 6.15. Metaphor vehicles by word class (English) .....	189
Table 6.16. Metaphor vehicles distribution by word class for five registers [%] .....	189
Table 6.17. Word class distribution and metaphorical use (English).....	191
Table 6.18. Metaphor vehicles by word class (German).....	192
Table 6.19. Word class distribution and metaphorical use (German) .....	192
Table 6.20. Metaphor vehicles by word class in Spanish sample corpus.....	193
Table 6.21. Word class distribution and metaphorical use (Spanish) .....	193
Table 6.22. Metaphor vehicles by word class: absolute frequencies.....	194
Table 6.23. Metaphor vehicles by word class in percentages .....	194
Table 6.24. Loci of semantic tension in sample corpora .....	196
Table 6.25. Distribution of conventional and novel metaphors in sample corpora.....	201
Table 6.26. Conventional and novel metaphor per 100 lexical units .....	205
Table 6.27. Discursive functions of novel linguistic metaphors in sample corpora.....	220
Table 6.28. Typology of conceptual mappings .....	228
Table 6.29. Mapping schemes based on type of mapped feature in sample corpora ...	230
Table 6.30. Percentages of mapping schemes based on type of mapped feature in sample corpora .....	231
Table 6.31. Examples of metaphors based on abstract resemblance, physical resemblance and experiential correlation .....	232
Table 6.32. Mapping schemes based on conceptual scope in sample corpora.....	233
Table 6.33. Percentages of mapping schemes based on conceptual scope in sample corpora .....	234
Table 6.34. Examples of metaphors based on generalisation, specification and reduction to important aspect .....	236
Table 6.35. Mapping schemes based on large domain areas in sample corpora .....	238
Table 6.36. Examples of metaphors based on personification, reification and modelling in space .....	242
Table 6.37. Examples of metaphors based on pun and reversed metaphors .....	244

---

Table 6.38. Mapping schemes listed by mapped feature.....	246
Table 6.39. Abstract and physical domain areas: metaphor vehicle frequencies .....	252
Table 6.40. Domain areas associated with ontological metaphors: metaphor vehicle frequencies.....	256
Table 6.41. Domain areas associated with primary metaphors and experiential correlation: metaphor vehicle frequencies.....	263
Table 6.42. Topical domain areas: metaphor vehicle frequencies .....	266
Table 6.43. Most frequent source-target domain pairings in normalised frequencies [metaphor vehicle/ 10,000 lexical units] .....	269
Table 6.44. Number and percentage of literally translatable and not literally translatable linguistic metaphors: English – German .....	275
Table 6.45. Number and percentage of literally translatable metaphors and their special cases: English – German.....	279
Table 6.46. Occurrences and percentages of not literally translatable source-target-domain combinations: English – German .....	281
Table 6.47. Problematic STD combinations: English to German .....	285
Table 6.48. Problematic STD combinations: German to English .....	286
Table 6.49. Number and percentage of literally translatable metaphors and special cases: English – Spanish .....	287
Table 6.50. Number and percentage of literally translatable metaphors and their special cases: English – Spanish.....	289
Table 6.51. Occurrences and percentages of not literally translatable source-target-domain combinations: English –Spanish.....	291
Table 6.52. Problematic STD combinations: English to Spanish.....	292
Table 6.53. Problematic STD combinations: Spanish to English .....	293
Table 6.54. Number and percentage of literally translatable and not literally translatable linguistic metaphors: Spanish – German .....	294
Table 6.55. Number and percentage of literally translatable metaphors and special cases: Spanish – German.....	296
Table 6.56. Occurrences and percentages of not literally translatable source-target-domain combinations: German–Spanish .....	299
Table 6.57. Potentially problematic STD combinations: German to Spanish.....	300
Table 6.58. Potentially problematic STD combinations: Spanish to German.....	300

---

Table 6.59. Proportion of literally translatable metaphorical vehicles.....	303
Table 6.60. Percentage of literally translatable metaphor vehicles with minor changes .....	304
Table 6.61. Vocabulary of movement describing physical object features.....	307
Table 6.62. Vocabulary of abstract activity describing physical object features .....	311
Table A.1. Corpus source texts: Spanish.....	368
Table A.2. Corpus text sources: German.....	371
Table A.3. Corpus text sources: English .....	373

---

## Index of figures

Figure 6.1. Development of metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units in English sample corpus .....	164
Figure 6.2. Development of metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units in German sample corpus .....	164
Figure 6.3. Development of metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units in Spanish sample corpus .....	165
Figure 6.4. Metaphor vehicles by word class [%] .....	195
Figure 6.5. Locus of semantic tension across languages .....	199
Figure 6.6. Conventional versus novel use of linguistic metaphor in sample corpora.	202
Figure 6.7. Conventional metaphor over absolute number of metaphor vehicles (English) .....	203
Figure 6.8. Conventional metaphor over absolute number of metaphor vehicles (German).....	204
Figure 6.9. Conventional metaphor over absolute number of metaphor vehicles (Spanish).....	204
Figure 6.10. Conventional and novel metaphors per 100 lexical units .....	206
Figure 6.11. Discursive functions of novel metaphor in English sample corpus .....	208
Figure 6.12. Discursive functions of novel metaphor in German sample corpus .....	212
Figure 6.13. Discursive functions of novel metaphor in Spanish sample corpus.....	216
Figure 6.14. Discursive function of novel linguistic metaphor in all three sample corpora [% within language].....	221
Figure 6.15. Mapping schemes based on type of mapped feature in sample corpora..	230
Figure 6.16. Percentages of mapping schemes based on type of mapped feature in sample corpora.....	231
Figure 6.17. Mapping schemes based on conceptual scope in sample corpora.....	234
Figure 6.18. Percentages of mapping schemes based on conceptual scope in sample corpora .....	235
Figure 6.19. Mapping schemes based on large domain areas in sample corpora.....	239
Figure 6.20. Mapping schemes based on large domain areas/ 100 lexical units.....	240
Figure 6.21. Percentages of literal translatability of all, conventional and novel metaphors: English - German.....	277

---

Figure 6.22. Percentages of literal translatability of all, conventional and novel metaphors: English – Spanish .....	288
Figure 6.23. Percentages of literal translatability of all, conventional and novel metaphors: Spanish – German.....	295
Figure 6.24. Metaphor vehicle occurrences for STD pairing ‘moving thing/creature_ object feature: physical’ .....	309
Figure 6.25. Metaphor vehicle occurrences for STD pairing ‘abstract activity_ object feature: physical’ .....	313

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

On the official promotional website of the South East of England, we can read the following description of the Oxfordshire Cotswolds:

*Throughout history, visitors have succumbed to the charm of the Oxfordshire Cotswolds. Steeped in history, rich in heritage and awash with natural beauty, the Oxfordshire Cotswolds is rural England at its very finest.*

We learn that visitors ‘succumb’ to the charm of the area as though they were experiencing some kind of physical force. Next, we read that the Cotswolds is ‘steeped in history’ and ‘awash with beauty’ as though ‘history’ and ‘beauty’ were liquids. The highlighted words in this extract are all linguistic metaphors, words that have come to mean something different than their original, basic meaning due to their use in a different context.

The goal of this dissertation is to explore the cross-linguistic variation of metaphor use on promotional tourism websites in three languages and to provide recommendations for translations in this genre. This introductory chapter presents the background to this study, the research problem and the research objectives and questions. It also briefly comments on its significance and limitations before outlining the structure of the dissertation.

In this study, a cognitive linguistics framework is adopted. For a long time, attention was paid only to a subgroup of metaphors, poetic and bold novel metaphors, which stand out because they are unexpected and breach common semantic rules. Conventional metaphors went largely unnoticed until the so-called cognitive turn in metaphor theory in the 1980s, when attention was drawn to the ubiquity of metaphor in language and thought (Richards, 1936; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Deignan, 2005; Johnson, 2008; Gibbs, 2010). This perspective holds that, on the one hand, metaphor is necessary for us to mentally organise abstract concepts and speak about them. On the

other hand, a large number of very concrete objects, phenomena and actions have been named with the help of metaphor. When dealing with this phenomenon, cognitive linguists make a clear distinction between conceptual metaphors, that is, the underlying cognitive frameworks, and linguistic metaphors, their instantiations in language.

The fact that metaphor varies across genres and registers has been shown by Deignan, Littlemore and Semino (2013). In metaphor studies in general, some genres have received more attention than others. So far, research into metaphor use has focussed largely on literary, political and religious texts (Shuttleworth, 2019:53). Tourism discourse has attracted less attention of metaphor scholars although tourism used to be the most important industry worldwide before the pandemic (Edo Marzá, 2012:52), generating a broad range of written text types. Spain, in particular, received 83.7 million tourists in 2019, who spent over 91,912 million Euros, which accounted for 12.4% of Spain's GDP (TURESPAÑA, 2020:42; INE, 2020). Despite its importance for the local economy, low quality translations have been reported to abound in the branch, and the need for better translations in tourism discourse in Spain and elsewhere has been voiced (Kelly, 2005:155f; Le Poder & Fuentes Luque, 2005:33; Martínez Motos, 2005:121; Suau Jiménez; 2013:22; Zaro Vera, 2005:11). The complexity of translations of promotional tourism discourse seems to be often underestimated (Pierini, 2007:99). Some scholars establish a connection between the reported low quality and too literal translations (Kelly, 2005:158; Marinic & Schmidt, 2017:167). Personally, I have been able to confirm this and observe the difficulties caused by metaphors in tourism texts in my inverse translation courses, where mostly Spanish students have to translate into their non-mother tongue German.

The metaphor-related studies in the field of tourism discourse can be divided into five types. The first kind reports on tourism terminology, metaphor being one of the common mechanisms for lexical creation in tourism discourse (Calvi, 2000; Planelles Iváñez, 2014). The second type is interested in the source domains of the employed metaphors (Corbacho Sánchez, 2014; Manca, 2018; Spinzi, 2013; Shylyiaeva, 2019). The third type looks into the discursive functions of the identified metaphors (Dann, 1996; González & Rocamora Abellán, 2015; Mattiello, 2012; Méndez Sainz, 2015; Jaworska, 2017), while the fourth and fifth type of metaphor research in tourism discourse are translation and cross-cultural studies. These are especially relevant for this dissertation. However, only one translational study that includes one of the research languages of this dissertation was found: Nordal (2013) analysed metaphors in the Spanish translation of a Norwegian tourist brochure focussing on their discursive functions and the translation strategies that had been applied. Cross-cultural studies, which pay special attention to metaphor and include one of the three languages analysed in this study are similarly rare (Planelles Iváñez, 2014; Manca, 2018). Especially interesting is the study by Manca (2018) which compares tourism websites of four English-speaking countries and Italy, finding significant differences in the predominant source domains. Gandin

(2019), in turn, reports on euphemistic metaphors in tourism for disabled clients in English and Italian from a cross-cultural and translational perspective. In conclusion, metaphor studies into tourism discourse are scarce and only very few contain information as to the translatability of metaphors or common translation practice.

In the field of Translation Studies, the translatability of metaphor has been dealt with extensively both from more theoretical perspectives and from more practically-oriented viewpoints, offering prescriptive rules for different metaphor types (Dagut, 1976; Van den Broeck, 1981; Mason, 1982; Dagut 1987; Azar, 1989; Rabadán, 1991; Samaniego, 1996; Prandi, 2010). However, these prescriptive rules rarely take into account genre or register. Each genre or register is characterised by its own typical style and conventions. Firstly, a good translation should comply with the style and conventions of the text type in the target language as far as possible. Secondly, the style and conventions help to draw up guidelines for and to make decisions during the translation process. Most of the mentioned publications take a general approach and split metaphors into two to four types, usually based on the degree of novelty of a metaphor. This division seems to be too coarse to actually provide guidance for translators. Moreover, none of them offers frequency-related observations extracted from corpora although the frequency with which a linguistic phenomenon generally occurs in a certain genre may be closely linked to its perceived adequacy in a specific text.

Extensive quantitative data on metaphor use in more specific communicative contexts in English (news, academic discourse, fiction and conversation) were provided by the Metaphor in Discourse project at VU Amsterdam. The metaphor identification procedure that was applied in this project, MIPVU, has also been tested for Dutch (Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr & Pasma, 2010) and a series of other languages (Nacey, Dorst, Krennmayr & Reijnierse, 2019). The main objective of these studies was to adapt MIPVU to these languages and test its functionality for languages other than English. However, cross-linguistic comparisons of metaphor use and methodological adaptations that might be necessary for this kind of studies have not been approached yet and still need to be addressed, especially for their application in translation practice.

As shown, there is need for more research into metaphor in tourism discourse. In particular, our knowledge about metaphor translatability is insufficient to provide efficient guidelines for the translation of this complex conceptual and linguistic phenomenon. Such guidelines could improve the reportedly frequent low-quality translations in the tourism industry. It is therefore necessary to conduct in-depth cross-linguistic analyses of metaphor use in comparative corpora in order to provide the basis for the mentioned guidelines. Furthermore, studies focusing on metaphor in specific genres can better inform both translator education and practice.

Therefore, the overall aim of this study is to provide a corpus-based cross-linguistic perspective of metaphor variation in tourism discourse as represented by regional

promotional tourism websites in British English, German of Germany and European Spanish. The data provided will help identify patterns of metaphor use and, in this way, assist in formulating guidelines for the translation of common metaphor types used in this kind of discourse.

The overall aim will be achieved through the following research objectives:

1. To compile comparable corpora representing the discourse of regional promotional tourism websites in England, Germany and Spain.
2. To manually extract, analyse and compare linguistic metaphors in the corpus samples with regard to their frequency, grammatical form, degree of conventionalisation and discursive functions.
3. To extract data from the sample corpora concerning metaphorical mappings, to elaborate a typology of mapping schemes and to analyse and compare the frequency and use of these mapping schemes.
4. To gather data concerning source domains and target domains in the sample corpora: frequency of metaphorical vehicles and source domain/ target domain pairings, and compare their use in three languages.
5. To identify literally translatable and not literally translatable linguistic metaphors for each of the language pairs and translation directions.
6. To determine source-target domain pairings that are problematic with respect to literal translatability and study their linguistic instantiations in search of underlying cognitive patterns with the help of the large comparable corpora.
7. To propose general guidelines on the translatability and translation strategies of frequent metaphor types used in promotional tourism discourse

Research objectives generally correspond to different chapters or sections in this dissertation. However, the observations and reflections concerning translatability are presented together with the findings and discussion of each studied parameter and metaphor type since they derive directly from these findings.

It is hypothesized that the limitation of the research field to a genre will provide more specific data of its metaphor use and the cross-linguistic differences and allow for more specific statements about the translatability of the metaphors than approaching metaphor from general language use. The study, furthermore, departs from the hypothesis that there are underlying conceptual patterns that can explain the preference for or lack of use of certain linguistic metaphors in a specific language.

The research will be driven by the following research questions:

1. What are the main features of linguistic metaphors in terms of their frequency, grammatical form, degree of conventionalisation and discursive functions in promotional tourism discourse as represented by sample corpora of tourism websites in English, German and Spanish, and how do they vary across the three languages?
2. What metaphorical mapping typology can be operationalised for studies of metaphor translatability and translation practice?

3. What metaphorical mappings have been used in the detected metaphors and what variations can be identified in terms of their type and frequency?
4. What source and target domain description can be operationalised for studies of metaphor translatability and translation practice?
5. How do the source-target domain relationships of metaphors in promotional tourism discourse as represented by sample corpora of tourism websites in English, German and Spanish vary across the three languages?
6. Which proportion of the linguistic metaphors in promotional tourism discourse as represented by sample corpora of tourism websites in English, German and Spanish can actually be translated literally into the other languages, and does the translation direction matter?
7. Which are the particularly problematic source-target domain combinations in promotional tourism discourse for the translation directions resulting from the combination of the three research languages and which are the underlying cognitive patterns that account for the lack of literal translatability?
8. What are the implications of the cross-linguistic variation features identified for metaphor translation of promotional tourism websites in the following language pairs: English – German, English – Spanish, German - Spanish?

The present research will offer a contribution to cross-linguistic metaphor studies and its methodology by comprehensively studying the metaphorical uses in a bottom-up approach and adapting existing analytical procedures to a trilingual project. Furthermore, it will provide helpful insights into literal translatability and offer recommendations for the translation of metaphors in tourism discourse. The findings of this study will hopefully benefit translators not only in the UK, Germany and Spain, but also in many other countries receiving English-, German- and Spanish-speaking tourists.

Given the time-consuming nature of a manual metaphor identification procedure and the time limitations of this study, the analysis had to be limited to an in-depth examination of sample corpora and further querying of larger corpora. Obviously, the analysis of larger corpora would provide more data and would increase their accuracy. A double annotation and comparison of the two researchers' decisions would also help to detect and reduce rater bias in the identification of metaphor, which is always subjective to a certain point. However, methodological measures have been taken to reduce possible bias as far as possible.

This dissertation is structured as described in the following paragraphs. The introductory chapter has briefly stated the scope and the rationale for this research, together with its aims, objectives and research questions.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the development of metaphor theory which has led to the current view. Conceptual Metaphor Theory and especially the two-domain approach

are summarised, focussing mainly on those aspects that are relevant to this dissertation. Starting from the two-domain perspective, possibilities of cross-cultural variation are summarised and their implications for cross-linguistic variation and translation are explored.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the main research areas in metaphor translation studies: cross-linguistic variation, translatability and metaphor translation procedures. Moreover, it shows how corpus linguistics have contributed to the field of translation studies and describes the advantages and disadvantages of different kinds of corpora.

Chapter 4 establishes promotional tourism websites as a genre within tourism discourse. Features of both tourism discourse and promotional tourism websites are described, paying special attention to linguistic aspects in the three languages. Relevant translation studies into tourism discourse and studies into cross-linguistic differences in promotional tourism websites are summarised. Finally, metaphor research in promotional tourism discourse is discussed.

The methodology that has been adopted for this dissertation is described in chapter 5, which includes the corpus design criteria, the operational metaphor definition and metaphor identification procedure for the small corpora, the typology of mapping schemes, the operational definition of translatability, the source domain and target domain classification and the search parameters for the large corpora.

Chapter 6 reports and discusses the results of the analysis. It first describes occurrences, grammatical aspects and the degree of conventionalisation of the metaphors identified in the sample corpora. The chapter then presents a mapping scheme typology and a list of conceptual domains which were elaborated based on the sample corpus analyses. With the help of these typologies, the frequencies and interrelations of the mapping schemes as well as the source domains, target domains, and domain relationships are described and compared cross-linguistically. Furthermore, chapter 6 offers an analysis of the literal translatability of the metaphor vehicles of all three sample corpora and a source-domain vocabulary search of two particularly problematic groups of metaphors. Each section in this chapter contains a discussion of the implications of its findings for translation.

Chapter 7 contains the conclusions from the study. It summarises the main findings and answers the research questions. It then reports on the main contributions to the field of study both in terms of the methodological advances and practical applications, which in this case consist of recommendations for metaphor translation in tourism discourse. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the present research and provides a view on future research.

# Chapter 2

## The concept of metaphor

Over time, collective human intelligence changes, as do a society's values. As a consequence, conceptualisations of certain objects, activities and abstract ideas may undergo viewpoint alterations, which in turn may entail major practical changes. This is what Nerlich and Clarke (2010:589) refer to when they state that cognitive linguistics has a "long past and a short history". Philosophers, rhetoricians and linguists had been aware of the cognitive aspects of language in general, and metaphor in particular, since ancient times. However, it took changes in other scientific disciplines and in ideology, to bring these cognitive aspects to the fore. The 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century saw great advances in psychology and medicine, including neuroscience. As a new scientific branch resulting from the combination of these two fields, cognitive science ventured into the way humans perceive, process, store and access information. Findings from psychology and cognitive science, in turn, supported new viewpoints in semantics. Vocabulary was no longer seen as a collection of clearly defined labels for an objective, independently existing world, but rather as representative of encyclopaedic knowledge that is gathered by individuals through experience of and interaction with the exterior, surrounding world. Cognitive linguistics, as a scientific branch, is said to have its beginnings in the 1970s, when dissatisfaction with traditional formal theories, especially structuralist, generativist and computational approaches to language, led to the proposal of several new theories in line with findings from cognitive psychology, Gestalt psychology and neural sciences (Nerlich & Clarke, 2010:590; Evans, Bergen, & Zinken, 2007:263). The principle of working closely together with other disciplines dedicated to the functioning of the human mind is called the cognitive commitment. The second key commitment in Cognitive Linguistics is that of generalisation, which means that the models developed by cognitive linguists should be universally applicable to all languages. It is in this context that the conceptual metaphor theory was developed. Conceptual metaphor is closely related to conceptual metonymy and polysemy studies. Other main research fields in Cognitive Linguistics are embodiment of language and thought, and the Gestalt nature of language. Just as language is not an independent module but is integrated into

general cognitive skills, Cognitive Linguistics is not a hermetic science. Apart from maintaining a feedback cycle with psychology and neural sciences, the new cognitive perspective has opened up doors to collaborations with different fields of research, that with comparative linguistics being the most obvious overlap. Also translation studies are turning to Cognitive Linguistics to improve their translation procedures and reassess their validations of translated texts (Schäffner, 2004; Schäffner & Shuttleworth, 2013; Rojo & Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013). Critical Discourse Analysis relies on metaphor analysis to demonstrate underlying ideologies and possible intentions to influence hearers/ readers (Hart, 2008; Mueller, 2010; Trčková, 2014; Wageche & Chi, 2017; Gil Bonilla, 2018). Moreover, foreign language teaching is benefitting from cognitive-linguistic approaches, including conceptual metaphor (Littlemore, 2001; Boers & Lindstromberg, 2008; Piquer-Piriz, 2010; Skorczynska, 2010; Tyler, 2012; Berger, 2016). For more examples of applications, one can turn to the Mouton De Gruyter series *Applications of Cognitive Linguistics* with currently over forty published titles. Periodical publications dedicated specifically to conceptual metaphor include *Metaphor and Symbol*, *Metaphorik.de*, and *Metaphor and the Social World*. The latter exemplifies the importance of metaphor beyond linguistic theory in fields such as business, advertising, politics, psychotherapy, doctor-patient communication, to name just a few. Furthermore, the Associations for Researching and Applying Metaphor (RaAM) held their 13<sup>th</sup> Conference in 2020. Metaphor studies are no longer confined to poetry and literature. Our concept of metaphor has evolved, and the ubiquity and cognitive potential of metaphor are presently in the sights of linguists and attracting the attention of other researchers.

In this chapter, I am going to briefly describe different influential metaphor theories that have led to the current view of metaphor. Important aspects of conceptual metaphor theory and the two-domain approach will be described in more detail as they are of special interest for this dissertation. Starting from this two-domain perspective, I will then discuss how conceptual metaphor can vary cross-culturally and what this implies for cross-linguistic variation and literal translatability.

## 2.1. Metaphor theories

At this point, it would be convenient to be able to give a clear-cut definition of metaphor. However, the exact definition of metaphor varies depending on the theoretical framework to which it is subscribed. Unfortunately, there is a wide variety of slightly differing viewpoints in metaphor studies. As a result of this and due to the fact that there is no generally accepted and widely used classification of metaphor theories, it is not easy to determine the theoretical framework of a study. Table 2.1. gives an overview of different metaphor theory typologies. A rather straightforward classification of metaphor theories is the one that takes the so-called Cognitive Turn as the dividing line. Before the Cognitive Turn, metaphor was seen as a stylistic device, as

creative use of language. Since the Cognitive Turn around 1980, most scientist have accepted metaphor as a cognitive device, i.e. a basic strategy for abstract thinking that is reflected in our language use. Other linguists (e.g. Bowdle & Gentner, 2005) divide metaphor theories into those that see metaphor as a similarity (classical theory), those that describe metaphor as category members (e.g. Glucksberg & Keysar, 1990, Glucksberg , 2002: class inclusion model), and theories that see metaphors as analogies (e.g. Bowdle & Gentner, 2005).

**Table 2.1. Some typologies of metaphor theories**

<b>Cognitive Turn</b>	<b>Views of metaphoric mappings (Bowdle &amp; Gentner, 2005)</b>	<b>Sign process vs meaning making (Rolf, 2005)</b>
Metaphor as stylistic device: - creative use of language	Metaphor as similarity (classical theory)	Structural semiotic theories - 7 subcategories
Metaphor as cognitive device: - Basic strategy for abstract thinking	Metaphor as category member (e.g. Glucksberg & Keysar's class inclusion model) Metaphor as analogies (e.g. Bowdle & Gentner)	Functional semiotic theories - 5 subcategories Semantic semiotic theories - 5 subcategories Pragmatic semiotic theories - 7 subcategories

Rolf (2005) offers an extremely detailed general overview of the different currents of thought within metaphor studies. He established a typology of no less than 22 different metaphor theories, which can be divided roughly into two main categories: theories that see metaphor as a problem of the sign process (semiotics) and theories that see metaphor as a problem of the meaning making process (semiosis)<sup>1</sup>. This shall simply give an idea of the complexity of this field of research. Providing a more detailed account of these typologies, however, lies beyond the scope of this dissertation. The following section gives a brief outline of some of the most important contributions to metaphor theory since its beginnings with a focus on the cognitive aspect. This is aspect is the most relevant to this dissertation, as it hopes to find cross-cultural differences that can be accounted for in cognitive-conceptual terms.

<sup>1</sup> According to Rolf's typology, conceptual metaphor theory and most of its representatives such as Lakoff and Johnson or Kövecses would be a conceptualization theory belonging to the functional semiotic approach (Rolf, 2005:235ff)

### 2.1.1. From Aristotle to cognitive metaphor

This subchapter provides a historical overview of metaphor theory. I will report on some basic facts and the main characteristics of the most relevant theories leading up to the present-day understanding of metaphor.

The word metaphor itself can be translated as ‘transfer’, since the Greek prefix *metá-* often stands for ‘change’ and *-phor* comes from the verb *phérein*, ‘to carry/bear’ (Knowles & Moon, 2006:66). Aristotle is considered to have been the first author to write about metaphor (Kohl, 2007; Sulzer, 1771-1774). He defined metaphor as follows:

Metaphor is the application of a strange term either transferred from the genus and applied to the species or from the species and applied to the species or from one species to another or else by analogy. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1457b.7. cited in Levin (1982:24)

According to our current understanding, the first two types of Aristotle’s metaphors would be considered metonymies<sup>2</sup>. The third type coincides with modern cognitive definitions of metaphor. The fourth type, metaphor by analogy, requires four parts: A and B (e.g. day and evening) and C and D (life and old age). Combining B and D, we get ‘the evening of life’. Although Aristotle approaches metaphor from a rhetorical and poetic viewpoint, we can find some cognitive aspects in his works (Kohl, 2007:22). He pointed out that the cognitive ability to recognise similarities between different semantic areas is a precondition for metaphor. Furthermore, Aristotle acknowledged that a metaphor is sometimes the only available word to refer to an existing concept. He also observed that everyday language makes use of metaphor, but, in this context, recommended literal designations (Kohl, 2007:109). Other important classical authors who dedicated parts of their works on rhetoric to metaphor are Cicero (55BC) and Quintilian (approx. 95). Cicero saw metaphor as a shortened simile (Rolf, 2005:31) and stressed the illustrating effect of metaphor (Kohl, 2007:112). Quintilian described metaphor as a substitution (Rolf, 2005:32) and drew attention to the affective as well as the illustrating effect of metaphor (Kohl, 2007:113)<sup>3</sup>.

There are not many testimonies from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance indicating the awareness of the cognitive aspects of metaphor. In the Enlightenment period, the Swiss mathematician and philosopher Johann Georg Sulzer mentioned the cognitive function of metaphor in his *General Theory of Fine Arts*<sup>4</sup> (1771-1774:361), stating that most words in all languages are metaphors. He speculates that root words of any

---

<sup>2</sup> In Cognitive Linguistics, linguistic metonymy is defined as the use of a word for a concept within the same semantic field, e.g. a part for the whole, as opposed to metaphor, which is defined as the use of a word for a concept belonging to a different semantic field. Conceptual metonymy occurs within a conceptual domain, while conceptual metaphor entails mapping across different conceptual domains.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Die Metapher ist größtenteils dazu erfunden, auf das Gefühl zu wirken und die Dinge deutlich zu bezeichnen und vor Augen zu stellen’ (VIII,6,19 Bd 2, 225), ‘For while *metaphor* is designed to move the feelings, give special distinction to things and place them vividly before the eye, *synecdoche* [...]’ [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio\\_Oratoria/8B\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio_Oratoria/8B*.html)

<sup>4</sup> Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste (1771-74)

language were probably designators of physical concepts from which other words developed based on similarity (Sulzer, 1771-1774:571). This originally metaphorical vocabulary is necessary to speak and reason about all abstract concepts and events. Sulzer's contemporary Herder (1775)<sup>5</sup> argued a little later that metaphors are a normal part of thinking and language and that there is no time or spatial limit between cognition and language<sup>6</sup> (Kohl, 207:126).

Richards' (1936) and Black's (1955) metaphor theories have in common that both the concept of the metaphorically used word and the concept it actually refers to are active in a metaphor, but not to a full extent; rather, they influence each other, selecting and highlighting certain features. Although Richard speaks of vehicle and tenor and Black of focus and frame, their ideas run parallel to those described later on by blending theorists (Turner & Fauconnier, 2000; Fauconnier & Turner, 2008). The term vehicle refers to the metaphorically used word, and tenor is the subject the metaphorically used word actually stands for. Richards already saw metaphor as an "omnipresent principle of language" that pervades thought as well and describes it as "a borrowing between and intercourse of thoughts, a transaction between contexts" (1936:50-51). Black (1955:276) used the term focus for the metaphorically used word and frame for "the remainder of the sentence in which that word occurs". Differences in the frame will lead to differences in what Black calls the 'interplay' between focus and frame and may lead to different metaphors of the same word used as focus (Black 1955:276). This transaction or interplay is an interesting reflection that needs to be taken into account when trying to establish the mapping schemes that are active between a source domain and the target domain of a given metaphor, which constitutes an important part of this research.

In 1960, Hans Blumenberg published a book on metaphorology, the theory of the role that metaphors play in our understanding of reality. The book deals with the history of metaphors that have been essential for our conceptualisation of the world. In this publication, Blumenberg also stated that metaphors are indispensable especially in areas where no one would expect them, namely in scientific and philosophical contexts, since they help to overcome conceptual–logical shortcomings (Blumenberg, [1960] 2013:13-14). That means metaphors help to conceptualise abstract domains and to name new or undescribed objects and phenomena. This idea is also an essential part of conceptual metaphor theory and was taken into account in the present study when establishing the functions of metaphor, i.e. filling a lexical gap was added as one of these functions.

---

<sup>5</sup> Herder, Johann Gottfried (1775). "Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament." In Herder, Johann Gottfried *Sämtliche Werke*. Hg. v. Bernhard Suphan (1884), 33 Bde. Berlin: Weidemann Bd.7, 335-470

<sup>6</sup> "Metaphern sind ein normaler Teil des Denkens und der Sprache. Als solche entstehen und wirken sie prozessual, ohne dass sich zwischen Kognition und Sprache eine 'zeitliche' oder 'räumliche' Grenze ziehen ließe, denn das Wort wirkt als 'inneres und äußeres Wort'" - "Metaphors are a normal part of thinking and language. As such they arise and act procedurally without there being a 'temporal' or 'spatial' limit between cognition and language since word functions as 'inner and outer word'."

Weinrich ([1976] 1981) used the terms image donator and image receiver (*Bildspender-Bildempfänger*). What is interesting about Weinrich's theory is that he defines metaphor as a "word in a counter-determining context" (Weinrich, [1976] 1981:408). Metaphorical use creates a tension between the expectations raised by the original meaning of a word and the actual context when the word is used metaphorically. The actual determination by the context runs counter to the expectations of the determination of the word.<sup>7</sup> Another interesting observation of Weinrich is that the probability of metaphorical use is lower for words with a broad or vague meaning, such as 'das', 'sein', 'Ding' (that, being, thing) and higher for those with a specific meaning. Accordingly, proper names that generate very precise expectations are highly suited to create metaphors: if a writer is referred to as the '*Napoléon des lettres*', for example, most people would come to an interpretation quickly and rather effortlessly (Weinrich [1976] 1981:409).

In the 1970s, pragmatics received a lot of attention and also had its influence on metaphor theory, shifting the focus from metaphor as a semantic problem to metaphor in use. One of the most influential contributions to pragmatics back then were Grice's (1975) maxims or cooperative principles, which are usually followed by speakers and assumed by listeners<sup>8</sup>. If one of these rules is flouted, a special communicative intention of the speaker is assumed by the hearer. Metaphors are generally falsities that breach the maxim of quality. In order to capture the intended meaning, the hearer has to draw parallels between the metaphorically used word and what it actually refers to in order to reach a meaningful interpretation. This provided a useful model for the comprehension of non-literal language in general and metaphor in particular, the so-called standard pragmatic model<sup>9</sup>. Ortony (1980) applied Grice's maxims to metaphor, combining them with Gordon and Lakoff's (1971) sincerity conditions<sup>10</sup> and reducing them to two fundamental postulates that govern human communication: the sincerity postulate and the relevance postulate. The former implies truthful assertions, the latter connections between adjacent parts of the communication. Based on these postulates, Ortony (1980:74) conceived metaphors as language that fails to fit its context and therefore does not comply with the sincerity postulate, creating tension when the literal meaning

---

<sup>7</sup> "Se produce así un efecto de sorpresa y una tensión entre el significado originario de la palabra y lo que quiere decir, inesperado y forzado por el contexto. A este fenómeno lo llamaremos contradeterminación, pues la determinación efectiva del contexto se dirige contra la expectativa de determinación de la palabra. A través de este concepto podemos definir la metáfora como una palabra dentro de un contexto contradeterminante." Weinrich (1981 [1976]:408)

<sup>8</sup> The maxim of quantity requires the speaker to be as informative as possible, giving enough, but not too much information. The maxim of quality refers to the truthfulness of the information. According to the maxim of relation, the speaker should only give relevant information, and the maxim of manner requires the language user to be clear.

<sup>9</sup> According to this Standard Pragmatic Model for metaphor comprehension, literal meanings have priority in comprehension, and only if the standard meaning does not make sense, other meanings are checked and all contextually inappropriate meanings suppressed (Giora 2008:145). However, this model is not likely to represent the actual comprehension process as, for example, no processing time differences between literal and metaphorical meanings have been found for conventional metaphor (Glucksberg 2002:27)

<sup>10</sup> Gordon and Lakoff focussed primarily on requests when discussing sincerity conditions. In this case the postulate would be that one sincerely wants what one requests.

is applied, but whose tension with respect to the context is eliminated when interpreted according to the relevance postulate. He further concerned himself with the functions of metaphor that would justify non-compliance with his postulates and came up with three theses: the inexpressibility thesis, the compactness theses and the vividness thesis (Ortony, 1980:75-78)<sup>11</sup>. Another contribution of pragmatics to metaphor theory which is of interest to this dissertation is relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, 2008). Unlike the standard pragmatic model for metaphor comprehension, Relevance Theory states that there is no mechanism or other generalization specific to metaphor comprehension in comparison with literal language (Sperber & Wilson 2008:84). According to the communicative principle of relevance, “[e]very act of inferential communication conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance” (Sperber & Wilson, 2008:89). Some communications can be more relevant than others, i.e. relevance is a matter of degree and there are fundamentally two ways in which relevance can vary: “(a) The greater the cognitive effects achieved by processing an input, the greater its relevance.; (b) The smaller the processing effort required to achieve these effects, the greater the relevance” (Sperber & Wilson, 2008:88). Metaphors are efficient means of communication precisely because they tend to achieve greater cognitive effects and often do so using fewer words than literal language.

With their book *Metaphors We Live By*, which addresses a broad public, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) largely contributed to what is known as the Cognitive Turn in metaphor theory. They focussed on everyday language and the cognitive aspect of metaphor, indicating a connection between our sensorimotor experience and our conceptualisation of the world, in which metaphor plays an essential role. In Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980:3) words “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.” They argue that linguistic metaphors are possible precisely because there are conceptual metaphors in a person’s mind in the first place. These postulates are also supported by the research of other scientists. According to Pollio and colleagues (1977), we utter approximately six metaphors per minute of discourse. In her study on political-campaign discourse and literal use versus metaphorical use of words, Deignan (2005:29), concludes that “metaphors tend to account for a large proportion of the concordances of many words”. Furthermore, Baicchi and Pinelli (2017:1) go as far as to claim that most concepts are understood figuratively, while Gibbs (1993:253) pointed out that human cognition is essentially based on various processes of figuration, including metaphor. In other words, according to conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), linguistic metaphors are derivative of underlying conceptual metaphors.

---

<sup>11</sup> The inexpressibility thesis applies when the metaphorically conveyed message cannot be communicated using literal language. The compactness thesis holds that metaphor is a means to convey information that could otherwise only be communicated as a list of literally expressed features. Finally, the vividness thesis argues that metaphorical language is more image-evoking and, therefore, more vivid than its literal equivalents.

Since a conceptual metaphor can be expressed in various linguistic and non-linguistic forms, linguistic metaphors often occur in systematic networks (Trim, 2007). This systematicity can be observed at three different levels (Deignan, Littlemore & Semino, 2013:9): local, discursive and global systematicity. Local systematicity can be found within a discourse event and might be limited to a single situation in which the discourse event arises. Discourse systematicity refers to the metaphors which are typically used within a discourse community. Finally, global systematicity is observable across a range of discourse types. The present study aims to find systematicity at discourse level, specifically in promotional tourism websites.

After this overview of the development of metaphor theory since ancient times, I shall now define the core concepts of conceptual metaphor theory, which played an essential role in bringing about the Cognitive Turn and are shared by most approaches. Section 2.4. will provide further details on concepts that are central to the two-domain approach. The following paragraphs deal with metaphorical thinking, embodiment, primary Johnson (1980) exemplified this claim with the help of the three main categories of metaphors they had metaphors, basic level concepts and embodied reason.

The most important insight leading up to the Cognitive Turn in metaphor theory is that our conceptual system and our thinking are fundamentally metaphorical. Lakoff and identified: structural, orientational and ontological. Structural metaphors help structure a conceptual domain in terms of another, often more concrete, domain, i.e. arguing is understood in terms of war, time in terms of money, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:4-9). Orientational metaphors organize whole conceptual systems with respect to another conceptual system. Most orientational metaphors are organized with respect to a spatial system, for instance HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN; MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN, GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:14-19). Finally, ontological metaphors conceptualize events, activities, emotions and other abstract concepts in terms of physical entities and substances (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:25). The conduit metaphor for language is a well-known example of an ontological metaphor. For Lakoff and Johnson (1980:19), metaphor cannot be comprehended without its experiential basis. This experiential basis depends both on our physical body and on cultural presuppositions (1980:57). In later publications (Lakoff, 1987:302; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:16), the fact that our understanding of reality comes from our physical, or bodily, experience of the world is referred to as embodiment. For instance, we perceive the past as behind us and the future in front of us because of our usual way of moving – forwards. Due to our shared human physiology, Lakoff and Johnson and their followers expected to find a large number of universal metaphors. Primary metaphors are ideal candidates for universals. They are basic metaphors created by the regular co-occurrence of subjective experiences with sensorimotor experiences, especially in early years of our lives. Two experiences that co-occur regularly enough create neural links in our brain that shape our conceptualizations, influencing our future experiences and judgments (Lakoff &

Johnson 1999:46-47). Thus, primary metaphors derive from highly frequent co-occurrences that are related to our most basic physical experiences. A typical example of this type of metaphor is the association of 'up' or going upright with happiness and well-being, while 'down' is associated with negative emotional states. One could say that most primary metaphors either stem from the awareness of our bodily reactions or take the human body as direct reference point. The embodiment of human thinking is also visible, though to a lesser degree, in metaphors that draw on basic-level concepts as their source domains. According to Mervis and Rosch (1981), basic-level concepts represent the highest level at which a concept represents an entire category whose members share a similar physical appearance, and with which humans interact in a similar way. The basic-level concept 'chair', for instance, belongs to the superordinate category 'furniture', and includes subordinate concepts such as 'desk chair', 'folding stool' and 'feeding chair'. Basic-level concepts tend to be largely congruent across cultures and, as they are not too vague and generally known to people, they constitute good metaphor source concepts (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:27-30, see also Dobrovolskij & Piriinainen, 2005:128-131 for mappings in figurative language). Finally, physical experience also facilitates the necessary scaffolding for abstract reasoning. We do not only use vocabulary from the field of physical interaction to speak about abstract events and activities, but also project logical relationships from the physical world onto abstract matters. Consequently, major forms of rational inference constitute transfers of sensorimotor experience to a more abstract field. This phenomenon is referred to as embodied reason (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:42-43).

Conceptual metaphor can be realised linguistically as a word, a multiword unit or a more complex phrase or sentence structure (Kövecses, 2005:152). Actually, the vast majority of conceptual metaphors are realised through a cluster of linguistic metaphors. One-shot metaphors like 'pedigree' (= crane's foot) are rather rare. Given the complexity of brain research, conceptual metaphor is mostly studied through its linguistic realisations, as they are the principal directly observable evidence for conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:7; Deignan, 2005:27; Steen 2007:138; Cameron 2007:209).

### ***2.1.2. Main cognitive approaches to metaphor***

The new cognitive viewpoint inspired a large number of linguists and psychologists and led to many different theoretical frameworks in the field of metaphor studies. The four most relevant approaches according to Steen (2007:48-49) are:

- 1) the two-domain approach by Lakoff and Johnson
- 2) the many-space approach by Fauconnier and Turner
- 3) the class-inclusion approach by Glucksberg and Keysar
- 4) the career-of-metaphor approach by Bowdle and Gentner

The first two are the approaches with the greatest academic impact as they offer answers to most of the questions that are currently of interest in linguistic research (Steen, 2007:383). Each of these approaches shall now be described briefly, before moving on to metaphor comprehension.

The two-domain approach is based on an observation made by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:117): “We have found that metaphors allow us to understand one domain of experience in terms of another. This suggests that understanding takes place in terms of entire domains of experience and not in terms of isolated concepts.” They describe these domains as experiential gestalts, as whole structures. When thinking or speaking metaphorically, we project structures and features from the source domain (metaphorically used concept or word) onto the target domain of the metaphor (what the metaphorically used concept or word actually refers to in the given context). By doing so, some features of the target domain are highlighted while others are hidden. For instance, when politicians speak of economic crises as though they were natural disasters, the sheer force and vast extent as well as the damage caused by the event are highlighted, while the aspect of personal responsibility is downplayed. The two-domain approach has been highly successful in the sense that it has been applied in countless comparative and contrastive studies across languages and cultures (Ahrens & Say, 1999; Boers, 2003; Kövecses, 2005, 2008, 2010; Trim, 2007; Wang & Dowker, 2010; Baicchi & Pinelli, 2017), but also across genres (Skorczynska, 2001; Skorczynska & Piqué-Angordans, 2005; Skorczynska & Deignan, 2006; Partington, 2006; Deignan, Littlemore & Semino, 2013; Skorczynska & Ahrens, 2016) and across time (Allan, 2006; Koivisto-Alanko & Tissari, 2006; Tissari 2010). This is probably due to the relative simplicity of the model, which also allows for objective operationalization procedures such as the Metaphor Identification Procedure, MIP, (Pragglejaz, 2007; Steen, 2007) or its modified version Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit, MIPVU, which was developed at the VU University Amsterdam (Steen et al, 2010; Nacey et al., 2019). Since the two-domain approach was chosen as the theoretical framework for the present research, it will be explained with more detail in chapter 2.4.

Fauconnier and Turner (Fauconnier, 1997; Turner & Fauconnier, 2000; Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, 2008) found the two-domain approach too simplistic and proposed a many-space model. They argued that “conceptual products are never the result of a single mapping. What we have come to call ‘conceptual metaphors’, like TIME IS MONEY or TIME IS SPACE, turn out to be mental constructions involving many spaces and many mappings in elaborate integration networks” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2008:53). These involved spaces are areas in our mind in which mental representations are constructed as we process information. They are also called blending spaces, since thoughts and utterances typically draw on more than one mental space, which are somehow integrated, hence also the name blending theory. However, the suggested

mapping structures are often rather complex and not easy to operationalise for broad metaphor analyses in language use that try to find general patterns. Blending theory may be suited, however, to idiographic studies (Steen, 2007:282).

The class-inclusion approach is closely linked to prototype theory, which argues that within a semantic category there are more typical and less typical members. Despite the existence of good and bad examples within a category, the categorisation itself can vary from individual to individual, and our internal categorisation can have an influence on perception (Rosch, 1975:225). According to this approach, a metaphorically used word adds a new peripheral member to a category. Take for example the metaphor ‘cigarettes are timebombs’. Glucksberg and Keysar (1993:412) argued that ‘cigarette’ is added to the category ‘time bombs’. By doing so, all those properties from the category ‘time bombs’ that are reasonably applicable to cigarettes, are now attributed to them. This also explains why metaphors are not reversible and, therefore, not understood by mentally transforming them into similes, which, in turn, are reversible (Glucksberg 2008:68). Class-inclusion theorists have shown great interest in metaphor comprehension (Glucksberg 2002, 2008).

With their career-of-metaphor approach, Bowdle and Gentner (2005) focussed on the fact that most conventional metaphors once began as novel metaphors. They argued that “figurative statements begin as novel comparison statements and evolve gradually into category inclusion statements as the base (or vehicle) terms develop an associated metaphorical abstraction” (Gentner & Bowdle, 2008:109). Each time we mentally align a target concept with the literal base concept, an abstraction process takes place. With each alignment, the abstraction becomes more salient until a secondary sense of the base term is accrued, and the class-inclusion process is complete (Gentner & Bowdle, 2008:116). In other words, the first time language users align two concepts that make up a metaphor, they have to discard a certain number of unlikely correspondences; for a conventional metaphor they already have a stable set of adequate correspondences in their mind.

Although all these approaches are based on the existence of mental concepts and the transfer of properties from the metaphorically used word to the concept it refers to, they, differ in the kind and extent of the conceptual spaces that are involved and in details of the transfer process. This is also reflected in the explanations of the comprehension process offered by each of the approaches.

## **2.2. Metaphor comprehension**

In the context of this dissertation, knowledge about metaphor comprehension can help decision-makings when establishing classifications for the analysis. Therefore, I am going to briefly review the relevant models in this field. The first model will be the standard pragmatic model that postulates priority for literal meanings. The main tenet of the direct-access model, the relevance-theoretical model and the predication model is

that literal and figurative languages undergo the exact same comprehension process. The class-inclusion model and the space structuring model do not posit inherently different comprehension processes for literal and metaphorical language but observe processing differences that occur due to other aspects such as the degree of prototypicality or disambiguation through context. Finally, the career-of-metaphor model makes a distinction between the processing of novel metaphor and that of conventionalized metaphor.

The standard pragmatic model is the classical model and states that literal meanings have priority in comprehension. Only if the standard meaning does not make sense or flouts conversational maxims, other meanings are checked and all contextually inappropriate meanings are suppressed (Grice, [1975] 1991:30; Kittay, 1987:144, Morgan, 1993:128). This model is not likely to represent the actual comprehension process as, for example, no processing time differences between literal and metaphorical meanings have been found for conventional metaphor (Inhoff, Lima & Carrol, 1984; Glucksberg, 2002:27). Furthermore, the model has been criticised for leaving certain aspects such as the ubiquity of metaphor in language use, patterns repeated across languages and semantic change unexplained (Coulson & Matlock, 2001:297).

Supporters of the no-difference perspective (Rumelhart, [1979] 1993; Gibbs, 1993:255; Goatly, 1997:6; Sperber & Wilson, 2008; Kintsch, 2008) argue that there is no difference between literal and non-literal language regarding their comprehension process. This implies that there is direct access to metaphorical meanings: the hearer/reader does not have to activate the literal meaning and discard it before activating non-literal meanings. As a psychologist, Rumelhart (1979) was primarily interested in the mechanisms by which meaning is conveyed. He argued that children handle figurative language (which includes metaphors) from a very early stage, and not only after literal language has been mastered (Rumelhart, 1979:72). When communicating, children as well as adults have to find the word or concept that best conveys the idea they have in mind. Similarly, during the comprehension process, the hearer has to choose the meaning of a word or utterance that best fits the situation. The options to choose from may include both literal and non-literal meanings. Rumelhart (1979:72) therefore concluded that the distinction between literal language and metaphor is “rarely, if ever, reflected in a qualitative change in the psychological processes involved in the processing of that language”, and that our real-world knowledge plays an important role in these processes.

The field of research of this dissertation is Cognitive Linguistics, and relevance theory belongs rather to the field of pragmatics. However, as Tendahl and Gibbs (2008) argued, Cognitive Linguistics and relevance theory are not only compatible but complement each other. Regarding language processing, relevance theory states that there is no mechanism or other generalisation specific to metaphor comprehension in

comparison with literal language. These different types of language use do not form opposite categories but have to be understood as a part of a continuum which includes literal, loose and hyperbolic interpretations of language, metaphor being a linguistic phenomenon on one end of this continuum (Sperber & Wilson, 2008:84). According to the relevance-theoretical comprehension model, different interpretations of an utterance are checked for relevance based on accessibility, and discarded until a satisfactory, relevant interpretation is found. Accessibility here refers to the readily available associations or characteristics of an expression and is highly dependent on the semantic context. This theory is interesting for the present study in that it introduces the principle of relevance and degrees of relevance. According to the communicative principle of relevance, “[e]very act of inferential communication conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance” (Sperber & Wilson, 2008:89), which implies that some communications can be more relevant than others. In this sense, there are two ways in which relevance can vary: “(a) The greater the cognitive effects achieved by processing an input, the greater its relevance; (b) the smaller the processing effort required to achieve these effects, the greater the relevance” (Sperber & Wilson, 2008:88). These two degrees of relevance variation can be connected to functions of metaphors, especially of those that are consciously chosen. For instance, metaphors that are used for highlighting are likely to be metaphors that produce a significant cognitive effect. Moreover, metaphors are often preferred to literal language because they allow for the expression of the same content in fewer words, requiring a smaller processing effort and thus adding to speech economy.

Another model belonging to the no-difference perspective is Kintsch’s (2008) predication model. This model constitutes an algorithm based on latent semantic analysis (LSA). It parts from the assumption that there is no semantic lexicon in our brain, but there are vectors that connect a word with co-occurring words, and that the context of a word activates certain vectors more than others. According to this predication model, sense generation can be seen as an emergent process that depends on the context. This process is essentially the same for the comprehension of literal language and metaphors<sup>12</sup>. Despite the fact that more and more authors subscribe to the no-difference perspective, there is some psycholinguistic evidence against it. When processing metaphors, activity in the right brain hemisphere was detected in test participants, which was not observed when processing literal language. However, this activity seemed to be connected to the degree of complexity rather than to the degree of figurativity (Coulson, 2008:179, 188).

According to the class-inclusion model, “metaphor comprehension is mandatory, that is, automatic”. (Glucksberg, 2008:68) since metaphors are meanings that are added to a concept as non-prototypical examples. Glucksberg based this statement on the finding

---

<sup>12</sup> Kintsch (2008:129), however, expressly excludes artful literary metaphors that require some kind of cognitive problem solving to be understood.

that all potential meanings are activated in language comprehension, whether they are literal or metaphorical. Even if a literal meaning makes sense, our mind cannot ignore potential metaphorical meanings (Glucksberg & Keysar, 1993:403; Glucksberg, 2008:68-9). The disambiguation in the case of conventional metaphors occurs in the same way as it does in the case of polysemous words, i.e. the context and the conversational situation help disambiguate the meaning (Glucksberg & Keysar, 1993:404). Regarding novel metaphor, Gildea and Glucksberg (1983) observed that ambiguous metaphors are “understood immediately when preceded by relevant context sentences, but not when preceded by neutral sentences”. This is also supported by experiments conducted by Gibbs (1994).

Blending theory and the space-structuring model belong to the many-space approach, according to which a temporary mental space is created that imports information from the input spaces (source domain and target domain) and integrates these in order to achieve a meaningful interpretation (Fauconnier, 1997). The integration involves three processes: composition, completion and elaboration. In composition, information from the different input spaces is aligned and certain characteristics are mapped. Completion draws on information from the long-term memory. For instance, in our mind, we complete the information that someone went to an ice cream parlour with the information that this person had an ice cream there, which is what you usually do in this kind of establishment. Elaboration, on the other hand, creates a mental simulation in the blended space. This elaboration process is what makes us laugh when hearing sentences like ‘he hit rock bottom and has been digging since’. According to this theory, comprehension times are a matter of context quality. What makes blending theory superior to other models is that it allows for disanalogies<sup>13</sup> in metaphorical expressions, absurd scenarios<sup>14</sup>, double references<sup>15</sup> and accounts for humorous effects (Coulson & Matlock, 2001:299,313).

The career-of-metaphor approach implies that novel metaphors are processed like comparisons, while conventional metaphors are processed as category members. What changes is not the comprehension process, but our internal mental associations of a word, which are created with the first contact and become stronger with each repeated contact with the same sense or each use of the word in this sense: “As the base term develops a clear metaphorical abstraction that can be accessed during comprehension, a kind of shortcut becomes available. The listener can access the abstract metaphorical sense directly instead of having to derive it by aligning the two literal terms” (Gentner

---

<sup>13</sup> Example for disanalogy: “Titanic: unsinkable after all” as a newspaper headline referring to the success of the film, this runs counter to the invariance hypothesis that would expect the fact that the Titanic actually sank to be mapped onto the film (Coulson & Matlock, 2001:299)

<sup>14</sup> Example for absurd scenario: “lose one’s head” for irrational behaviour due to an emotional state, mostly of anger (Coulson & Matlock, 2001, 313)

<sup>15</sup> Example for double reference: “Titanic is a movie about the voyage of the Titanic”, designating the film and the ship (Coulson & Matlock, 2001:299)

& Bowdle, 2008:116). This approach is consistent with neurological models of the functioning of the brain and the reinforcement of neurological circuits.

Recent research in the field of metaphor comprehension seems to have both multiplied and focused: most experimental studies in this field seem to be concerned with primary and correlational metaphor. In these cases, the activation of the metaphorical sense seems to be automatic (Soriano, 2012:115). According to Giora (2008:154), brain research points to the fact that crucial differences in language processing do not lie between literal and nonliteral language but between salient and less or non-salient expressions. There is also a current of research that looks into individual differences in metaphor comprehension. Stamenković, Ichien and Holyoak (2019) applied the theory of crystallised and fluid intelligence to metaphor comprehension, finding individual differences: test subjects with a higher crystallised intelligence scored higher across a wide range of metaphors, whereas test subjects with a higher fluid intelligence tended to show better comprehension of complex metaphors such as those extracted from literary sources. However, the researchers concluded that it was not so much novelty but rather the complexity of metaphors that required strong analogical reasoning skills. As we can see, research on metaphor comprehension is still in its beginnings. Until progress in neuroscience allows for a more in-depth study of the functioning of the brain, cognitive linguistics will have to rely on inferences based on evidence from linguistics and cognitive psychology. The findings in this field cannot account for nor predict different mappings in metaphor comprehension as yet. However, we can conclude that there do not seem to be fundamentally different comprehension processes for literal and metaphorical language. Within metaphorical language, correlations of processing time and brain activity with a degree of conventionalisation have been observed. These differences do not seem to be conditioned by the metaphor type (novel or conventional) per se, but by a series of other factors such as salience, cognitive complexity, previous exposure to the metaphor, context information, and real-world knowledge. Some of these factors are, nevertheless, intrinsically linked to the metaphor type. In summary, a distinction of novel and conventionalised metaphor seems to be justified despite the various objections. Moreover, knowledge of the different factors that intervene in the comprehension of metaphorical language will help to explain possible motivations and functions of metaphor in the corpus and allow for conjectures about their adequacy.

### **2.3. Conceptual Metaphor Theory: Two-domain approach**

Within conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), the two-domain approach has been highly prolific since it convincingly accounts for cognitive and linguistic phenomena across cultures and languages. Thanks to the vast number of studies conducted under this approach, new data do not stand alone, but can be contextualized and compared to related findings. The two-domain approach allows for a description of conceptual metaphors with simple and systematic labels that indicate target and source domain,

typically in small capitals following the pattern TARGET IS SOURCE. Furthermore, a tried and tested metaphor identification procedure, which is consistent with this approach, is available and has recently been adapted to several languages other than English. These are the main reasons why this approach was adopted in the present study and shall now be described in more detail. Specifically, I will first discuss the basic tenets and fundamental concepts such as the invariance hypothesis, property selection, multivalency, scope and diversification, novel versus conventional metaphor, conceptual metaphor typologies and networks. Then I shall turn to the practical applicability of the two-domain approach and to aspects that are of interest when researching metaphor in discourse, namely the (near) equivalence of terms used by different authors, metonymy, personification, multiword metaphors, metaphor clusters, and metaphor functions. Finally, critical views on CMT and the two-domain approach will provide helpful information to take informed methodological decisions and avoid classical mistakes.

### **2.3.1. Basic principles**

The Cognitive Turn in metaphor studies shifted the focus from creative linguistic metaphor to conceptual metaphor as a cognitive tool and the basis for linguistic metaphors. Many of our concepts are constructed metaphorically, i.e. we draw on an already known conceptual area to structure another new area. These areas are referred to as source domain (usually the more basic, more concrete or more physical domain) and target domain (usually the more abstract domain) that is understood through the source domain (Knowles & Moon, 2006:15f). For instance, we use our understanding of money management to talk about time management: we **save** time, we **waste** time, we **invest** time, etc.<sup>16</sup>. Underlying conceptual metaphors can be summed up in A IS B form, e.g. LOVE IS A JOURNEY, TIME IS MONEY, ANGER IS HEAT<sup>17</sup>. According to the two-domain approach, mappings of features are unidirectional, i.e. projections take place from the source to the target domain, but not vice versa, although later on Lakoff (2008) integrated blending into his theory.<sup>18</sup> One needs to distinguish conceptual metaphor as our underlying understanding of the world, and linguistic metaphor as the verbal surface manifestation of our conceptual models. Assuming this relationship between conceptual and linguistic metaphor is correct, linguistic metaphors allow us to draw conclusions about underlying conceptual metaphors (Gibbs, 2017:104). This is why conceptual

---

<sup>16</sup> Metaphorically used words will be marked in bold in sample sentences

<sup>17</sup> Generally, small capital letters are used for this purpose

<sup>18</sup> In “The neural theory of metaphor”, Lakoff (2008) re-explains metaphor based on the Neural Theory of Language, which combines neuroscientific knowledge and hypotheses from neural computing in order to understand natural linguistic processes. Most of the observations made about metaphors in Lakoff & Johnson’s early conceptual metaphor theory hold, but blends receive more attention in the Neural Theory of Metaphor. Lakoff describes metaphors as mappings, while blends are an instance of one or more neural bindings; he points out that metaphors exist separately from blends (Lakoff, 2008:31-33).

metaphors are studied indirectly via linguistic metaphor and represented linguistically — at least for now, until advances in neurolinguistics provide different means to study conceptual metaphor.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999:81-87) provided a long list of evidence in favour of the two-domain approach, such as generalisations over inference patterns, polysemy generalisation, novel-case generalisation, psychological experiments, historical semantic change, spontaneous gesture studies, language acquisition studies and sign language metaphor studies. More recent evidence was provided by Sanford (2010) who studied figurative language, frequency and representations in conceptual space. According to his approach, similar utterances are stored in close proximity in conceptual space. Sanford (2010:45) found that “[t]he most relevant types of similarity for metaphor, however, seem to be semantic (based on categorizations of the source domain and categorization of the target domain) and syntactic (based on surface form, in terms of constituent elements, of the expression itself)”. Since language users categorize metaphorical phrases and make similarity judgements based on source-target-domain relationships, applying the two-domain approach seems to be adequate for the present research, which aims to detect patterns in the use of metaphor. A secondary aim is to provide guidelines to translators for the identification of possibly problematic metaphorical expressions. In this respect, we can assume that a parameter (source-target domain relationship) that is naturally used by people for similarity judgements, will also be available to the translator for the recognition of certain types of metaphors.

### **2.3.2. Invariance hypothesis**

According to Lakoff (1990, 1993), mappings are fixed correspondences that recreate the structures of the source domain in the target domain, except where this is impossible due to the inherent target domain structure. Source domain features that have no correspondence in the target domain structure are simply omitted in the mapping process. Consequently, the term invariance is not interpreted in a strict sense. Nevertheless, the overall structure and typical features of the source domain are maintained when projected onto the target domain. This should lead to a high degree of systematicity with large numbers of correspondences. Evidence in favour of this hypothesis are metaphor network studies as conducted by Trim (2007).

This hypothesis was criticized by Brugman (1990:257) for not being clear about what degree of parallelism between source domain structure and target domain structure counts as preservation of the source domain structure. Other authors argued that it was insufficient to state that mappings are partial (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 1999:171; Wallington, 2010) and observed a lack of systematicity in mappings (Deignan, 1999; Deignan, 2005; Wallington, 2010:209). For instance, in the case of metaphors based on **light** and **dark**, these words are not used with opposite senses as one would expect

based on the invariance principle but show an asymmetrical distribution with “most metaphorical uses of light being associated with knowledge and most metaphorical meanings of dark being associated with unhappiness” (Deignan, 2005:189-190). This patchiness in the mapping of a whole source domain onto a target domain may mislead non-native speakers to create unusual metaphors.

It seems that the transfer of whole conceptual structures from a source domain to a target domain as postulated by the invariance hypothesis has to be seen as a potential. This potential may or may not be fully exploited by language use, which, in turn, opens up the possibility of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences, as different languages may have developed different areas of the full potential.

### **2.3.3. Property selection**

Given that actual language use exploits only a few of the core correspondences between source and target domain, some researchers wondered which properties might be selected in the mapping process. Ortony (1993a:345-346) used the example “billboards are (like) warts” to illustrate that “A is (like) B” does not highlight the same features as “B is (like) A”. He concluded that people seem to select features of the vehicle that are applicable to the topic. This is in line with Lakoff (1993:216), who stated that “target domain overrides”. This means that those characteristics of the source domain that are inconsistent with the target domain are not mapped. For instance, if “you give someone a kick”, the receiver should have it after receiving it from you, but according to the target domain rules, actions stop to exist once you have finished them. In an attempt to overcome the shortcomings of the invariance hypothesis, Ibarretxe-Atuñano (1999:172) proposed the property selection model. She studied perception verbs and suggested that it is the prototypical properties, and only some of them, that are mapped onto the target domain depending on the context. For instance, for the verb touch, the following prototypical properties were identified: <contact>, <closeness>, <internal>, <directness>, <detection>, <identification>, <voluntary> and <briefness>. In the sentence “John **touched** me very deeply”, only the properties <contact>, <closeness>, and <effects> are mapped onto the target (Ibarretxe-Atuñano, 1999:174-175). Another factor that seems to exert a certain influence on property selection, apart from the context, is the fact that concepts have a meaning focus, i.e. an aspect of their meaning which is most relevant. The properties to be mapped onto the target domain are selected in accordance with this meaning focus, which, however, can vary cross-culturally (Kövecses 2000:81-82). This hypothesis was supported by findings of a study on metaphor comprehension in a second language by Antoniou (2017). For example, the expression ‘this child is a match’ is associated with light, brightness and thus intelligence in Greece. In Russian and Arabic, the meaning focus for a match seems to be fire, which was then associated with anger and short-temperedness by Russian and Arabian students of Greek.

The incomplete and flexible nature of metaphorical mappings gives rise to the phenomenon of multivalency, that is the pairing of a source domain with several target domains (Soriano, 2012:105). In English, the vehicle term ‘dog’ is used to refer metaphorically to (at least) three different targets: an unpleasant female, a promiscuous man, or a loyal companion. Similarly, the well-known journey metaphor can be applied to a relationship, studies, running an enterprise, etc. The amount of target domains to which a given source domain can be applied is called the scope of this source domain. A closely related concept is diversification, which occurs when a target domain draws on several source domains. The idea of failure, for instance, can be expressed as division, falling, shipwreck, sinking, or going backwards (Goatly, 2007:12).

#### **2.3.4. Degrees of conventionalisation**

When researching metaphor, it is necessary to make a distinction between conceptual and linguistic metaphor. Conceptual metaphor is a cognitive mechanism used to conceptualize and comprehend the world, whereas linguistic metaphor is a phenomenon that can be observed in language and which is possible precisely because conceptual metaphors exist (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:5). If humans were not able to think in terms of conceptual metaphors, they would probably not be able to produce or comprehend linguistic metaphors.

Conceptual metaphor can be realized linguistically as a word, a multiword unit or a more complex phrase or sentence structure (Kövecses, 2005:152). Actually, the vast majority of conceptual metaphors are realized through a cluster of linguistic metaphors. One-shot metaphors like ‘pedigree’ (stemming from ‘crane’s foot’ in French) are rather rare (Lakoff, 1987:143). Given the complexity of brain research, conceptual metaphor is generally studied through its linguistic realizations, as they are the principal directly observable evidence for CMT (Deignan, 2005:27). However, conceptual metaphor does not only become apparent in language, it is also reflected in other aspects such as gesture, images and in our behaviour, which is motivated by our belief system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:156-158; Bolognesi, 2017; Pérez-Sobrino & Littlemore, 2017).

The degree of conventionalisation of a metaphor is the extent to which it is known and used by the language community. Several typologies of metaphor have been elaborated based on this degree of conventionalisation. Newmark (1988:107-113) suggested the following typology consisting of six categories, starting with the most conventionalized type: dead, cliché, stock, recent, adapted and original metaphor. For Newmark, dead metaphors are widely used and the speaker is hardly aware of the image that originated the metaphor. Like dead metaphors, cliché metaphors are also entrenched expressions, but they have lost their true function and are used as a substitute for clear thought. Stock metaphors, to the contrary, are established metaphors that are still useful and concise in conveying information. Recent metaphors are defined as metaphorical neologisms which have spread rapidly. Adapted metaphors, are also relatively recent in use, but

their main feature consists in that they constitute an extension or alteration of a stock metaphor. The least conventionalized type of metaphor in Newmark's category are original metaphors, which are defined as non-lexicalized and non-adapted. The main disadvantage of this typology is the fuzziness of its category boundaries (Fraser, 1993:330). The distinction of dead, cliché and stock metaphors depends on rather subjective criteria (Dickins, 2005:238), and the difference between recent and original metaphors is difficult to measure. Similar typologies can be found in literature: Van den Broek (1981:74-75), for example, distinguished lexicalised, conventional, traditional and private metaphors, and Goatly (1997) used the labels dead, buried, sleeping, tired and active metaphor, while Deignan (2005) proposed the categorisation of metaphor into innovative, conventionalised, dead and historical. Unfortunately, these models face the same problems as Newmark's typology. In practice, a distinction between novel and conventionalised metaphor seems to be sufficient for many studies as the widespread application of the metaphor identification procedures MIP and MIPVU shows. Novel linguistic metaphor, often also referred to as creative metaphor can be defined as follows:

Creative metaphors are those which a writer/speaker constructs to express a particular idea or feeling in a particular context, and which a reader/ hearer needs to deconstruct or 'unpack' in order to understand what is meant. They are typically new (another term is novel metaphor) although they may be based on pre-existing ideas or images, such as a traditional representation of fortune as a person, whether enemy or friend. (Knowles & Moon, 2006:5)

Knowles and Moon adopt a cognitive perspective, which makes their definitions especially suitable for this study. The opposite of novel metaphors are conventionalised metaphors, which are also referred to as conventional or lexicalised metaphors. They are defined as "metaphorical usages which are found again and again to refer to a particular thing" (Knowles & Moon, 2006:6). Moreover, the authors point out that conventionalised metaphors are often not recognised as such by average language users. As we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, it took a rather long time for conventional metaphor to draw the linguists' attention. This is probably due to the fact that novel metaphors attract the hearer's/ reader's attention more because they stand out cognitively and are relatively infrequent in discourse. Meanwhile, conventional metaphor is used mostly unconsciously by the speaker/ writer and requires very little processing effort on behalf of the hearer/reader. Even when working with only two categories (novel and conventionalised metaphor), it is not always easy to draw a clear line between them, considering that "it seems likely that all conventional linguistic metaphors must have been innovative at some point in history" (Deignan, 2005:40). Whether a speech community considers a metaphor as novel or is already fairly familiarised with its use may be subject to regional differences and may depend on social factors, such as age, profession, personal interests and education. In this context,

Trim (2007:144-45) concludes that "the definition of whether a metaphor is alive or dead at a particular point in time is controversial and open to variation according to individual perceptions of the item concerned and to speakers of different languages." This can be a problem in linguistic studies, especially in research groups, where inter-rater reliability has to be taken into account. Fortunately, a straightforward solution has been found: Generally, meanings of lexical items that are included in "the" dictionary are considered conventional, all other uses are considered novel (Steen 2007:5). The article is in quotation marks since in many cultures there is more than one officially accepted and widely used dictionary. If this is the case, researchers should state which dictionary was used, as two institutions rarely apply the exact same criteria and methodology to elaborate their dictionaries. Thus, in studies conducted with different dictionaries, comparability is affected negatively. This is especially true for cross-linguistic studies, where the use of dictionaries which have been compiled with differing criteria is inevitable. This problem is difficult to overcome and the only remedy seems to be the researcher's common sense and expertise, who, according to Semino (2019:319), should be allowed to override or ignore data in dictionaries where they detect inconsistencies or imperfections, as long as they record their decisions, justify them and apply them consistently.

Novel metaphor and its conventionalisation process are essential for the evolution of both languages and cultures. At a language level, novel metaphor can be considered one of the essential instruments of lexical growth (Richards, [1936] 1965:90-91; Miller, [1979] 1993:396-397; Saddock, [1979] 1993:45; Iñesta Mena & Pamies Beltrán, 2002:59). At a cultural level, conventional metaphors preserve the values of a particular culture and the way they understand the world, while "creativity in figurative thought (including metaphor and conceptual integration) can provide cultures with the potential of change and new experience." (Kövecses, 2005:284).

Metaphor can be found in grammar or usage. Metaphor in grammar comprises morphological metaphor (brain-drain), lexical metaphor (defend, attack, support) and phraseology, and is by definition conventional metaphor (Steen, 2007:5). Usage does not only contain conventional metaphor but can also display novel expressions of conventional conceptual metaphor (Steen, 2007:6) and manifestations of novel conceptual metaphor. Metaphor in grammar is prone to be subject to cross-linguistic variation and may cause problems for inverse translation as it is bound to prescribed linguistic forms, while novel metaphor poses the challenge of transferring the metaphor into the target language adequately, i.e. maintaining its register and connotations.

### **2.3.5. Conceptual metaphor typologies**

The aim of this dissertation is to find cross-linguistic differences at a conceptual level in order to help take decisions during the translation process. An important part of the literature review, therefore, consisted of searching for conceptual metaphor typologies that might be useful for this purpose other than the dichotomy conventional-novel. Some of the most commonly used conceptual metaphor classifications are listed here and will be described below:

- Structural, ontological and orientational metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980)
- Generic level and specific level metaphors (Lakoff and Turner, 1989)
- Primitive and compound metaphors (Grady, Taub & Morgan, 1996)
- Correlational and resemblance metaphors (Grady, 1997).
- One-correspondence and many-correspondence metaphors (Ruiz de Mendoza, 1997)
- Regular, image-schema and image metaphors (Peña Cervel, 2004)
- Metaphors based on reduction, substitution and projection (Prandi, 2010)

One of the earliest conceptual metaphor typologies put forward in Cognitive Linguistics was the division into structural, ontological and orientational metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Structural metaphors transfer a whole structure of relationships and features from one conceptual domain to another. Examples are ARGUMENT IS WAR, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, or TIME IS MONEY (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:4-9). Orientational metaphors structure not a single target domain, but a whole conceptual target system with respect to another system. The label 'orientational' is due to the fact that most orientational metaphors draw on our spatial system as their source, as can be seen in MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN, GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, SAD IS DOWN, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:14). Finally, ontological metaphors conceptualize events, activities, emotions and other abstract concepts in terms of physical entities and substances (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:25). They include, for example, EMOTIONAL STATES ARE CONTAINERS and THE MIND IS A MACHINE.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) postulated that there are generic-level and specific-level metaphors which relate to each other like a genus and a species in a biological taxonomy. Consequently, generic-level metaphors give some general features, but do not determine specific characteristics of the metaphor. Specific-level metaphors, on the contrary, have fixed lists of specific features. A generic-level metaphor typically contains several specific-level metaphors. For example, EMOTIONS ARE AGENTS contains

FEAR IS A TORMENTOR as in 'she was tormented by fear' and FEAR IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR as in 'his actions were dictated by fear'<sup>19</sup>.

Some metaphors can be described in rather simple ways, such as CLOSENESS IS WARMTH, DIFFICULTY IS WEIGHT, HUNGER IS DESIRE. These so-called primitive metaphors can often be traced back to a correlation of psychological and physical experience. Compound metaphors draw on two or more primitive metaphors. In this sense, IDEAS ARE BUILDINGS is based on the primitive metaphors LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. The distinction between primitive and compound metaphors was first put forward by Grady, Taub and Morgan (1996).

Grady (1997) observed that many metaphors are not based on similarity, but on what he calls primary scenes. These are short recurring subjective experiences, which are characterised by correlations between physical experience and cognitive response. A strong association between the physical circumstances and the cognitive response is formed and may generate a correlational metaphor such as EXISTENCE IS LOCATION HERE, QUANTITY IS VERTICAL ELEVATION, DIFFICULTY IS HEAVINESS, and IMPORTANCE IS CENTRALITY. In addition to correlational metaphors, Grady (1997) proposes the category 'resemblance metaphors' for those metaphors that are in fact based on similarity.

Ruiz de Mendoza (1997) made a distinction based on the amount of information that is mapped from the source domain to the target domain. One-correspondence metaphors take one salient feature from the source domain, while many-correspondence metaphors project a whole set of features and relationships from the source to the target domain. An industrial 'crane' is a one-correspondence metaphor based on the overall shape of the machine and the bird, without any further mappings taking place, whereas LIFE IS A JOURNEY maps the idea of a goal, progress, obstacles and decisions at a crossroads, among others.

Peña Cervel (2004) describes three different types of metaphor based on the nature of the source domain: regular, image-schema and image metaphors. Regular metaphors are those that draw on a rich source domain that allows for many analogies to be established between source and target domain; image-schema metaphors draw on schematic relationships like UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK as a source domain, while image metaphors simply have a picture as their source domain.

The metaphor typology based on the conceptual interaction between the source and the target concept put forward by Prandi (2010) was conceived specifically to develop a translation procedure for metaphors. The author distinguishes three types of interaction: reduction, substitution and projection. In the case of reduction, instead of enriching the

---

<sup>19</sup> Examples taken from Kövecses, Z.,(2000). *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.23

tenor with a set of associations, the vehicle is reduced to a small part of its meaning and over time comes to stand for the tenor: the ‘wing’ of a building loses the ability to enable flight and is reduced to a physical resemblance. Substitution occurs when the vehicle so obviously represents the tenor that the “addressee simply restores the tenor at the expense of the subsidiary subject, [and] no interaction is triggered” (Prandi, 2010:308-9). The example given is ‘tear of rain’, in which ‘tear’ simply stands for drop. Were the vehicle ‘tear’ used for the whole concept ‘raindrop’, this would invite the addressee to apply more aspects of the vehicle than absolutely necessary to the tenor, mapping for example sorrow and pity. When these rich transfers from source domain to target domain take place, Prandi (2010) speaks of projection. It seems difficult, however, to draw the line between substitution and projection.

All these typologies are comprised of very few classes and intend to be universal. This is too coarse for our purposes, since it does not allow the detection of cross-linguistic differences in mapping constraints which could provide information about the acceptability of a metaphor in another language. There are typologies with more subcategories, but those were conceived for other specific purposes than ours. For instance, Goatly (1997:230-231; 2011:244-246) suggests a classification of the grounds of a metaphor on the basis of their association with the vehicle and the topic: each of these two can adopt three different values: necessary - expected – possible. This adds up to nine different possibilities that are indirectly related to the adequacy of a metaphor. Yet, once again, the boundaries between the categories are difficult to establish. Furthermore, Goatly comments that this scheme is based on untested intuitions and that a possible problem consists in that the degrees of semantic association and psychological associations rarely coincide. Yet another typology was designed by Wang and Dowker (2010:109) in order to study the subjective interpretation of metaphor. However, the present study is not concerned with the individual comprehension process, but rather intersubjective interpretations.

Apart from the mentioned metaphor typologies, there are many publications based on the study of metaphors belonging to a specific conceptual source or target domain. For example, *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* by Kövecses (2005) provides a vast summary of such studies. Unfortunately, there are almost as many possible source domains and target domains as semantic areas. Moreover, the number of possible source-target domain combinations is even larger. It would require a lot of time to assemble a catalogue of all the possible combinations for a given language, which could then be consulted by the translator. Accessing this vast catalogue and locating the metaphors themselves takes time. Therefore, it is questionable whether this hypothetical comprehensive bilingual catalogue of metaphors would speed up the translation process. Possibly, it would be just as time-consuming as directly verifying the existence of the translation on the internet. What translators need for time-efficient translation of metaphors is a typology that is not too detailed, so that it is still easy to handle and can

ideally even be remembered without having to go back to a list each time. However, at the same time, it should be detailed enough to allow for detection of cross-linguistic differences. In order to provide translators with such a useful tool for metaphor translation, a typology based on mapping schemes was developed and will be presented in detail in chapter 6.5.

### **2.3.6. *Metaphor networks***

Many metaphors, both linguistic and conceptual, are not independent, but are somehow connected to others, forming a network (Trim 2007). If one conceptualises a severe illness as an intrusion or invasion, it is easy to imagine how patients and physicians may come to extend this metaphor and speak of attacks, defence, pushing back, defeating the illness, etc. A whole range of metaphors from the same semantic field, war in this case, may be applied to this medical condition, forming a whole network of linguistic metaphors. Cameron and Deignan (2006) studied how metaphors emerge in discourse. They observed how, in a single discourse event, new metaphors that were brought in by one participant were subsequently extended by the same speaker and even appropriated and modified by other speakers. These spontaneous extensions of metaphor networks may be repeated on other occasions and eventually become conventionalised. What is interesting with regard to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies is that the native language of an individual creates cognitive structures to perceive, interpret and model reality. In other words, during the acquisition process of a language, a person builds up a repertoire of metaphors based on the linguistic expressions and social interaction he/she experiences, which is influenced by the cultural context (Cameron & Deignan, 2006:675). If there were culture-specific or culturally preferred types of metaphor network extensions, this could help draw up guidelines for the literal translatability of metaphors in a language pair.

### **2.3.7. *Practical applicability***

According to Steen (2007:183), the two-domain approach is the approach which is best suited for the purpose of studying metaphor in grammar and for nomothetic studies of metaphor in use, i.e. when searching for general patterns. Furthermore, it has the advantage that it can address both conventional and novel metaphor in usage (Steen, 2007:283). The reason why the two-domain approach is adequate to study both linguistic and conceptual metaphor is that the conceptual domains can be re-interpreted as semantic fields. That is exactly what Ahrens (2010) did when she designed the conceptual mapping model based on the two-domain approach to operationally define underlying mapping principles, i.e. the reasons for a source-target domain pairing:

The main idea is that the lexemes involved in the conceptual metaphor must be identified and the associated groupings analyzed. Once the lexemes that map for a

certain conceptual metaphor have been analyzed, the underlying reason why a particular target has selected a particular source domain will be able to be postulated. (Ahrens, 2010:188).

The suitability of the two-domain approach to nomothetic studies and its relatively straightforward operationalisation seemed to make the two-domain approach the best candidate for the present study. Furthermore, the two-domain approach shares a broad theoretical basis with other approaches such as the interactionist theory (Richards, 1936, Black, 1955), the perspectival approach (Kittay, 1987) or the semantic field theory (Weinrich, 1976). This allows for findings and observations from other approaches to be taken into account when working with two-domain mappings. These different approaches adopted in metaphor studies in the past decades have originated a number of distinct terms often referring to the same concept. Table 2.2. lists those terms according to the approach and its author.

As can be seen, authors subscribing to conceptual metaphor generally use the terms “source concept”, “source domain”, “target concept” and “target domain”. These four terms all designate phenomena at a conceptual level. When analysing linguistic instantiations of conceptual metaphors in texts, some authors use the expression metaphor-related words (Steen, 2007; Dorst, 2011; Kaal, 2012). Another, shorter term for the metaphorically used word that can also be read frequently in CMT studies is “vehicle” as used by Richards (1936) and Goatly (1997).

**Table 2. 2. Equivalent terms: source domain – target domain**

<b>Author/ approach</b>	<b>Metaphor</b>	<b>Meaning of metaphor</b>
Conceptual metaphor theory, two-domain approach	source concept/ source domain	target concept/ target domain
Richards, Ivor A. (1936)	vehicle	tenor
Black, Max (1955)	focus (usually used with the term frame = rest of sentence)	[meaning of the metaphorically used word]
Weinrich, Harald (1976)	Bildspender (image donator)	Bildempfänger (image receiver)
Kittay, Eva F. (1987)	first order meaning	second order meaning
Goatly (1997)	vehicle	topic

### **2.3.8. Metaphor and metonymy**

Many scholars make a distinction between metaphor and metonymy based on the source and target domains that are active in the mapping, and concentrate on either metaphor or metonymy. The criteria for this distinction are described by Barcelona (2002) as follows:

Metonymy is an asymmetric mapping of a conceptual domain, the source onto another domain, the target. Source and target are in the same functional domain and are linked by a pragmatic function, so that the target is mentally activated. Whereas, metaphor is a symmetric mapping of a conceptual domain, the source, onto another domain, the target. Source and target are either in different taxonomic domains and not linked by a pragmatic function, or they are in different functional domains. Barcelona (2002:246)

In other words, metonymy involves one conceptual domain only, while metaphor involves two different domains (see also Kövecses, 2008:381). Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2013:200) even list four points of difference between metaphor and metonymy, which are summed up in Table 2.3.

**Table 2. 3. Differences metonymy - metaphor**

<b>Metonymy</b>	<b>Metaphor</b>
Based on contiguity of concepts	Based on similarity
Involves one domain	Involves two domains
Conceptual distance shorter	Conceptual distance larger
Single mapping with one correspondence	Mapping of whole sets of correspondences

However, not all authors would agree with these criteria. Lakoff and Johnson (1999:126-127) argue against the similarity thesis and Ruiz de Mendoza (1997) clearly identifies one-correspondence metaphors. Even when taking the one- or two-domain criterion as a point of reference, it is not always easy to draw a neat line between metaphor and metonymy. Deignan (2005:59), for instance, argues that “many of the most generic conceptual metaphors are grounded in physical experience”, so when we use a metaphor of the type EMOTIONS ARE TEMPERATURES, we use a physical aspect of an emotion to represent this emotion. Such a conceptual metaphor could, therefore, be considered a metonymy, according to its definition of a part representing the whole. Using Barcelona’s definition, we have to wonder where the boundaries of a conceptual domain lie. Take for instance the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT: does the conceptual domain ANGER include the body heat associated to it or does it not? Similarly, Kövecses (2008:391-92) speaks of a possibly universal experiential basis underlying conceptual metaphors, pointing out that conceptual metaphors often derive from metonymies. However, he does not clarify how to establish when a metonymy stops being a metonymy and turns into a metaphor. Steen (2007:61) stated that “metaphor and metonymy are not mutually exclusive ends of one continuum”, and Dorst (2011:291) observed in this respect that sometimes, a metonymic reading and a metaphorical reading are equally plausible and may occur alongside each other. Another

member of the same research team, Kaal (2012:111) commented: “The biggest problems for metaphor analysis turn up, however, when the distinction between metaphor and metonymy is involved. [...] Since metaphor and metonymy are often present at the same time, it is sometimes impossible to distinguish them from each other.”, and went on to describe the solution adopted in her research: “In these cases, MIPVU<sup>20</sup> again allows for ambiguous cases to be included for analysis by using the WIDLII<sup>21</sup> code”. Following the “when in doubt, leave it in”-criterion used by Pragglejazz and Steen’s team, the present research includes all cases that, depending on the viewpoint, could be understood as either metonymy or metaphor.

In their study on the differences between metaphor and metonymy, Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2013:200) remark that “metonymy is far less conspicuous in translation than, for example, metaphor”. The prototypical examples do not seem to pose problems in the translation process, i.e. cross-cultural differences are minimal. In the context of the present study, which intends to apply its findings to the translation process, Brdar and Brdar-Szabó’s (2013) observation speaks in favour of the “when in doubt, leave it in”-criterion described in the previous paragraph. As a consequence, borderline cases that could be understood either as metonymy or metaphor, depending on the viewpoint, have been included in this study since it seems preferable to include some cases that might turn out to be unproblematic in the translation process, rather than to exclude cases that might be subject to cross-cultural differences.

### 2.3.9. Metaphor and personification

In the course of the present research, it was necessary to decide whether personification should be treated as a subtype of conceptual metaphor or a phenomenon of its own. Historically, Quintilian described four types of metaphor depending on the animate or inanimate nature of source and target domain<sup>22</sup>, pointing out that the kind of metaphor that treats the inanimate as though it were animate is especially effective (Kohl, 2007:38). In other words Quintilian saw personification as a type of metaphor and a highly efficient one. Also according to the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* (Crystal, 2010:72) personification is “[a] type of metaphor in which an object or idea is represented in human terms”. Regarding personification, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:33) wrote: “Perhaps the most obvious ontological metaphors are those where the physical object is further specified as being a person. This allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities.” Also Newmark ([1981] 1986:85), Goatly (1997:56),

---

<sup>20</sup> Modified version of a metaphor identification procedure designed by the Pragglejazz group (MIP)

<sup>21</sup> WIDLII= when in doubt, leave it in, i.e. borderline cases are included, but marked as such

<sup>22</sup> The four metaphor categories can be characterised in a schematic way as animate > animate, inanimate > inanimate, animate > inanimate, inanimate > animate, reading the arrow as “is treated as”

Knowles and Moon (2006:6), Kohl (2007:38), and Kövecses (2010:39) consider personification a subtype of metaphor. The Spanish *Diccionario de Lingüística* by Dubois and colleagues (1994:481) distinguishes metonymic personification, metaphorical personification and personification through synecdoche. Here once again, the question is where to establish the boundaries and whether it would not be more realistic to consider the three types part of a continuum. In favour of this continuum argument, we can cite Dorst (2011:360), who points out that the personification of body parts proved to be problematic in the identification and annotation process as they were often ambiguous between a metaphorical and metonymic understanding. In her dissertation, Dorst (2011:311-313) even proposed a typology for different kinds of metaphorical personifications<sup>23</sup>.

Regarding the importance of personification in ancient times, in the first century A.D., Quintilian already described the metaphors which refer to the inanimate as though it were animate as especially efficient (Kohl, 2007:33). Trim (2007:47) shows how personification has been transmitted from certain cultures to others, and states that “[i]t also appears to be a human cognitive process in Western civilisation since time immemorial”. Kohl (2007:38) goes as far as to claim that the human being with its physical and mental attributes and abilities is the most important source domain of metaphor<sup>24</sup>.

The present research analysed promotional websites, which can be seen as a kind of advertisement. With respect to this genre, Kövecses (2010:65) observed that advertisements are a major area of manifestation of conceptual metaphors: products are often presented like a person, e.g. a friend, a helper; or the users depicted in the advertisement behave towards the product as though it were a person with whom they have a close relationship. Therefore, we expect to find a large number of personifications in our corpus. Another interesting study that is worth mentioning in the context of tourism language is that by Corbacho Sánchez (2014), who studied metaphors in Spanish and German textbooks for tourism students. Corbacho Sánchez (2014:35) concluded that the personification of tourism itself as well as tourist activities was extraordinarily diverse and frequent.

In summary it can be said that there seems to be a broad consensus that personification should be considered in metaphor studies. Given the long history of references to personification in rhetoric, its importance in conceptual processes generally and in

---

<sup>23</sup> Dorst (2011:311-313) suggests the following types of metaphorical personification: 1) conventional personification, i.e. both the human basic sense and the non-human meaning are contained in the dictionary; 2) novel personification, i.e. the non-human sense cannot be found in the dictionary; 3) default personification; when the basic sense description in the dictionary does not specify that the activity or attribute is restricted to humans, but our world knowledge tells us so; 3) personification-with-metonymy, i.e. a “personification based on a violation of the selection restrictions of the basic sense caused by the replacement of a human agent or patient with a metonymically related non-human agent or patient”

<sup>24</sup> "Der Mensch mit seinen körperlichen und geistigen Attributen und Fähigkeiten ist der bedeutendste Herkunftsbereich der Metapher, mit unterschiedlichsten Formen und Graden der Anthropomorphisierung sowie Zusammenwirkung mit anderen Figuren." Kohl (2007:38)

advertisement and tourism textbooks more specifically, I decided to include all kinds of personification in this study. This decision was made despite the fact that the metaphor identification procedure suggested by Pragglejaz (2007), which is adopted in the analytical part of this dissertation, does not detect personifications if the word is used in its basic sense. The procedure is only fit to identify personifications that would also be metaphorical if the personified concept was actually a person. Since this metaphor identification process is manual, this little change does not pose any problem apart from a reduced comparability to other studies.

### **2.3.10. Linguistic realisations of metaphor**

Traditionally, metaphors were thought of as following the pattern ‘A is B’ like ‘Juliet is the sun’ in the famous Shakespeare quote from *Romeo and Juliet*. Consequently, the typical metaphorical word was traditionally a noun. Today there are still authors with this idea of metaphor, who for example interpret the phrase ‘the flowers dance’ as an instantiation of FLOWERS ARE GIRLS, commenting that the vehicle in this metaphor is hidden, rather than locating the metaphor in the verb ‘dance’ (Al-Garrallah, 2016). Contrary to this traditional view, CMT sees the potential of metaphorical use in all grammatical categories, including the semantically laden categories ‘verb’, ‘adjective’ and ‘adverb’, as well as the less obvious categories ‘preposition’, ‘conjunction’, and ‘determiner’ (Dorst, 2011; Kaal, 2012; Hermann, 2013). Moreover, conceptual metaphor can be realised linguistically as a word, a multiword unit or a more complex phrase or sentence structure (Kövecses, 2005:152). Sanford (2010:21) classified the figurative language he studied into three categories: lexical metaphors, metaphorical idioms and formulaic metaphors. Lexical metaphors in Sanford’s sense consist of a single word. Metaphorical idioms consist of more than one word and their meaning cannot be derived from its components as is the case in ‘he spilled the beans’. Formulaic metaphors are multiword metaphors for which there is a standard interpretation as is the case for ‘the surgeon is a butcher’.

When analysing a text, there are different ways of dealing with multiword metaphors. The Metaphor Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz, 2007) proceeds word by word. Since multiword metaphors usually contain one or two metaphorically used words, they are comprised automatically in the analysis. Occasionally, one idiomatic or formulaic metaphor might be counted as more than one metaphor: the expression ‘to be in hot water’, meaning that someone is in trouble, might be understood as containing two metaphors, or even three if one includes prepositions in the analysis. The preposition ‘in’ indicates the underlying metaphor SITUATIONS ARE PLACES, and so does the word ‘water’, while ‘hot’ has to be interpreted as ‘difficult’/ ‘disagreeable’. One could argue that ‘to be in hot water’ actually represents only one concept, the concept of being in trouble, in spite of consisting of several words. The same is true for many compound words in English as well as phrasal verbs and so-called polywords. The latter are fixed

multiword expressions such as ‘because of’, ‘a great deal’, ‘by means of’. Researchers at the VU Amsterdam were of the opinion that a metaphor count based on semantic units would be more accurate than a count based on orthographical units separated by a space. Thus, the metaphor identification procedure MIPVU was developed (Steen et al., 2010). MIPVU counts phrasal verbs, compound words and polywords as one lexical unit, it allows for direct metaphor (A is B, ‘Juliet is the sun’) to be included and provided further guidelines to improve inter-rater reliability and to overcome inconsistencies in dictionaries. In order to determine whether a group of words should be considered a polyword, MIPVU resorts to the polyword list of the British National Corpus, which may be a good solution for English. However, in many other languages, such a polyword list is not available. This problem was reported for instance for the languages French (Reijnierse, 2019:71), Dutch (Steen et al., 2010; Pasma, 2019), German (Herrmann, Woll & Dorst, 2019:118), the Scandinavian languages Danish, Swedish and Norwegian (Nacey, Greve & Johansson Falck, 2019:144), Polish (Marula & Rosiński, 2019:201) and Serbian (Bogetić, Bročić & Rasulić, 2019:223), to name just a few. The inexistence of an official polyword list and possibly differing criteria in the elaboration process of existing polyword lists increase the difficulty of cross-linguistic comparisons in metaphor studies. Finally, idiomatic expressions are analysed word by word in both MIP and MIPVU.

Linguistic metaphor has been reported not to be distributed evenly throughout our language production, but to appear in clusters. Corts and Pollio (1999) reported clusters of figurative language, including metaphor, in college lectures. This research was extended by Corts and Meyers (2002), who studied Baptist sermons. Koller (2003) analysed metaphor clusters, metaphor chains and the relations of individual linguistic metaphors with others belonging to the same conceptual metaphor chain. In a marketing article used as an example by Koller, a large proportion of the metaphors throughout the text were based on the source domains WAR, SPORTS and GAMES, with linguistic metaphors from two of the domains being used at times simultaneously to describe one and the same event or entity. A similar observation was made by Cameron (2003:267), who pointed out that linguistic metaphors belonging to two conceptual metaphors are often combined in a cluster in order to express the same idea in different ways, ensuring communicative success in doing so. Moreover, the phenomenon of metaphors with different source domains being interwoven in a phrase like ‘**reopen** economic **ties**’, ‘has **softened** his **stance**’ and ‘**warm ties**’ was described as mixing metaphors by Goatly (2011:287-289). Methodologically interesting with respect to metaphor clusters is an article on metaphor in conciliation talks by Cameron and Stelma (2004) as the authors compared different visual display techniques for metaphor clusters.

As we can see, linguistic metaphors are not limited to nouns, but can belong to a wide range of grammatical categories. Neither are they limited to single words but can take

the form of multiword expressions, which has methodological implications. Furthermore, metaphors have been observed to occur in clusters and can even be mixed.

### **2.3.11. *Critical views on conceptual metaphor theory (CMT)***

There are few theories in science that are fully accepted by the scientific community. This is especially true for relatively young scientific theories, such as CMT. The following paragraphs summarise the most common points of criticism that CMT has had to face as well as some persisting caveats.

At the beginning, many researchers in the field of conceptual metaphor worked with sets of linguistic metaphors that had been collected through introspection and as a result were accused of failing to reflect real language use (Quinn, 1991:63; Steen, 2007:175; Deignan 2008:151; Gibbs, 2017:63). In the mid-noughties, intuitive and often unsystematic approaches in metaphor studies continued to raise comparability and reliability issues, which the Pragglejaz Group (2007:1-2) aimed to address with their Metaphor Identification Procedure. Another closely related criticism was circular reasoning, i.e. many of the linguistic forms presented as linguistic examples of conceptual metaphors were collected presupposing the existence of a conceptual relationship between source and target domain in the first place (Steen 2007:175).

Embodiment as a cornerstone of CMT received criticism in that not all conceptual metaphors derive from an experiential basis (Steen, 2007:38; Koller, 2008:105). What would for example be the underlying bodily experience in THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS? Rather, there is a need to bring in abstract grounds as possible motivations for conceptual metaphors (Goatly, 2007:274) to explain uses like 'loud colours'. Both linguists and anthropologists have criticised CMT for underestimating the role of culture and social, political and historical circumstances as well as context (Fernández, 1991; Quinn, 1991; El Refaie, 2001; Dobrovolskij & Piirainen, 2005; Koller, 2008). Quinn (1991:60) holds that it is not mainly physical experience, but culture that shapes our understanding of the world and our thinking. According to this theory, metaphors are chosen to match existing culturally shaped models in our minds. Although Quinn (1991:65) recognises that Lakoff and Johnson are aware of the cultural aspect of metaphor, she makes the criticism that "culturally constituted meaning has no place of its own besides embodied meaning in Johnson's analysis and no systematically developed or well-articulated place in that of Lakoff". This is supported by Dobrovolskij & Piirainen (2005:124-129), who argue that some examples of language describing anger are more likely to derive from the humoral doctrine, dating back to Ancient Greek times and generally accepted throughout Europe in Medieval times, than to be based on the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Furthermore, when language users were asked to explain the motivation of linguistic expressions of ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, most interviewees named steam boilers, steam engines, and pressure cookers rather than a bodily reaction

(Dobrovolskij & Piirainen, 2005:124-129). What is more, even when cultural and moral models are considered beside bodily-motivated conceptual metaphor, it is difficult to determine which motivation is ultimately reflected in the linguistic metaphor and a researcher's decision might be influenced by subjectivity and personal bias (Todd & Low, 2010:33).

As a consequence of not fully taking into account the influence of culture on thinking, some studies in the field of CMT fail to see cross-cultural differences and falsely assume universality (Dobrovolskij & Piirainen, 2005:131-133). These scholars furthermore believe that figurative language, of which metaphor is a part, is irregular in nature and cannot be examined within an approach which emphasises regularity and universality (Dobrovolskij & Piirainen, 2005:355-356). Some scholars also question whether we really conceptualise the world in terms of our metaphors or whether we simply speak about it using metaphors (Quinn, 1991:60; Glucksberg, 2002:105; Dobrovolskij & Piirainen, 2005:139).

Finally, criticism has been raised regarding the identified domain mappings and their level of domain specificity (Clausner & Croft, 1997; Dobrovolskij & Piirainen, 2005; Steen, 2007; Stickles, David, Dodge & Hong, 2016). Clausner and Croft (1997:260) argue that the conceptual category levels chosen to formulate conceptual metaphors tend to be inappropriate because they are too general and give the false impression that vast networks of linguistic realisations deriving from these conceptual metaphors are possible. This, however, does not match empirical linguistic data. In accordance with the actually less schematic character of metaphors, many existing conceptual metaphors should be reformulated, e.g. THE CONVINCINGNESS OF THEORIES/ARGUMENTS IS THE PHYSICAL INTEGRITY OF THE BUILDING would be more appropriate than RATIONAL ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS (Clausner & Croft, 1997:260). In answer to this criticism, Kövecses (2008b:175) admits that “without establishing the appropriate level of schematicity, it is not possible to answer the question of which elements of the source domain are mapped onto the target, and which ones are not”. He adds that two very similar category members, such as ship and boat can display different metaphorical uses (Kövecses, 2008b:176). Formulation at the basic level of categorisation, and not at the superordinate level, is also preferred by Dobrovolskij & Piirainen (2005:128-131) who argue that the former is more relevant in conventional figurative language as specific properties of the image component become salient. Stickles et al. (2016:168) find that taxonomic, hierarchical relationships between metaphors and their representational models are underdeveloped. Many of those representations are simple lists of conceptually related metaphors. Stickles and his colleagues suggest solving this problem through Frame Semantics, which is capable of showing interrelations. Another unresolved problem of CMT is a certain degree of arbitrariness in determining underlying conceptual metaphors since many linguistic expressions can be interpreted as deriving from different conceptual metaphors (e.g. attack could belong to ARGUMENT

IS WAR, ARGUMENT IS BOXING, ARGUMENT IS CHESS) (Steen, 2007:36). Related to this criticism is Kittay's (1987:291) observation that semantic fields overlap and intersect. Therefore, it is difficult to find a word that only exists in one semantic field and to draw clear boundaries between conceptual domains.

The first criticism concerning the introspective data, which do not reflect real use, will not apply to the present research as it is corpus-based. An effort has been made to compile three balanced and representative comparable corpora. Regarding comparability and reliability issues, a widely used and tested metaphor identification procedure was chosen. The danger to engage in circular reasoning is reduced considerably by a bottom-up approach: all lexical units of the sample corpora are analysed manually in order to determine semantic fields to be searched automatically in the big corpora. The need to consider abstract grounds as motivation for metaphor besides embodiment is taken into account: abstract resemblance will be considered as a type of grounds. CMT has also been criticised for underestimating the role of culture and assuming universality where there is none. It is hoped that the cross-linguistic comparisons of this research will shed light on culturally motivated aspects of some metaphors and their linguistic realisations. Of course, the subjectivity and personal bias when determining the motivation for a metaphor can never be eradicated completely, but it can be reduced by a well-designed operationalisation process, taking into account observations and recommendations of experienced research groups. As far as the conceptual level at which domain mappings are formulated is concerned, the findings of the preliminary manual analysis of the sample corpora will be decisive. The aim is to formulate the mappings in a way that is helpful for translators and their daily work. Finally, the source domain selection is subject to a certain degree of arbitrariness as lexical units can belong to several semantic fields. We hope that the analysis in context and the fact that linguistic metaphors with the same underlying conceptual metaphors tend to cluster will help determine the source domain more easily and reduce ambiguous cases.

## **2.4. Metaphor functions**

In this section, I am going to review possible functions of metaphor as described in literature on the one hand, and how these functions are actually applied in research studies on the other hand. Then, the relationship between deliberate metaphor use and metaphor function as well as the influence of the linguistic form on function and possible implications for metaphor translation will be discussed.

### ***2.4.1. A literature review on metaphor functions***

According to the classical metaphor understanding, its main functions were to embellish language, express feelings and events in creative ways and to draw the attention to something through language use that departed from the norm. A typical non-literary

application that was recognised by classical theories was its rhetorical use in speeches. This function of metaphor is still an important research object in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), where theoretical frameworks for metaphor analysis (Hart, 2008; Musolff, 2012) along with more applied approaches to newspaper and political discourse (Mueller, 2010; Trčková, 2014; Wageche & Chi, 2017; Gil Bonilla, 2018) were provided.

Contrary to the classical understanding, CMT sees the main function of metaphor in conceptualizing abstract topics in terms of better-known physical concepts (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). For instance, time is often thought of like space. Philosophy, psychology and science make ample use of metaphor to designate concepts and describe events in their field (Blumenberg, 1960; Weinrich, 1981; Petrie & Oshlag 1993:587). Important metaphors in scientific understanding that provide a framework for the description of phenomena that lack an efficient non-metaphorical description can also be called theory-constitutive metaphors (Boyd, 1993:524) When these theory-constitutive metaphors are highly successful, their linguistic metaphors turn into terminology that is used by a whole scientific community (Skorczynska, 2012; Skorczynska, 2015). However, metaphorical language is not only used by experts. Laymen also use existing metaphors that belong in the stock of conventional language, and even create novel metaphors from them. They do this for example when talking about emotional consequences and philosophical concepts like guilt, as can be seen from the reconciliation talks studied by Cameron (2007). Whenever abstract topics are addressed, metaphor is necessary as a cognitive tool.

Enquiring about the reasons why speakers use metaphors instead of literal language, Gibbs (1994:124-125) came up with the inexpressibility hypothesis, the compactness hypothesis and the vividness hypothesis<sup>25</sup>. The inexpressibility hypothesis refers to the fact that many abstract concepts cannot be expressed literally or even conceptualised without metaphor, or, if they can, it requires a lot more words, time and effort to do so, which leads us to the compactness hypothesis. Furthermore, the vividness that can be achieved by the use of metaphor can be much more intense than a literal description. This applies to many poetic metaphors. A similar typology of functions of metaphor was presented by Glucksberg and Keysar (1993:420-421). According to these authors, metaphors are used a) to describe something new by reference to something familiar; b) to describe something in a very compact and efficient way; and c) to alert the hearer that a specific relation is intended.

Apart from these main functions, metaphor can have several other minor functions. There have been attempts to sum up all its functions as well as attempts to narrow down

---

<sup>25</sup> The vividness of an expression (Lebhaftigkeit im Ausdruck) was already described by Johann Georg Sulzer (1771-1774) in *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter aufeinander folgenden, Artikeln abgehandelt*. 2 Bde. Leipzig: Weidemann. The other two functions he mentioned are Embellishment of the imagination (*Verschönerung der Vorstellung*) and illustration of knowledge (*Veranschaulichung der Erkenntnis*).

the main functions. Goatly (1997) came up with an extensive list of thirteen functions which can be realised by metaphors: 1) filling lexical gap; 2) explanation and modelling; 3) reconceptualization; 4) argument by analogy; 5) ideology (which Goatly also calls the latent function); 6) expressing emotional attitude; 7) decoration, disguise and hyperbole, 8) cultivating intimacy; 9) humour and games; 10) metaphor calls to action or problem-solving; 11) textual structuring; 12) fiction; and 13) enhancing memorability, foregrounding and informativeness (Goatly 1997:154-177, 2011). In his intent to comprise all possible functions of metaphor, Goatly mixes functions at the lexical level, at sentence/paragraph level and at text level, as well as linguistic, conceptual and communicative functions, which makes it difficult to apply this classification to a systematic text analysis without adjusting it first to the specific purpose. I think this will become clearer with the description of each of the functions, which follows below.

#### 1) Filling a lexical gap

This function refers to the metaphorical use of words when no adequate term exists to describe a given object or phenomenon, when the available term is only approximately adequate, or when a process or quality can be made more precise by the metaphor. The lexical gap is plugged by “extension or transfer of the reference of an existing word” (Goatly, 1997:149). The role of metaphor in lexical creation and semantic extension has been commented on by many other scholars as well (Richards, [1936] 1965:90-91; Miller, [1979] 1993:396-397; Saddock, [1979] 1993:4; Nogales, 1999:5; Trim 2007:221). This gap filling phenomenon can be observed frequently in sciences that are growing. Once a metaphor is accepted as a technical term, it fulfils the secondary function of contributing to greater accuracy (Newmark, [1981] 1986:84).

#### 2) Explanation and modelling

Goatly mentions (1997:149-151) this function for cases when electricity is thought and spoken of like flowing water, or when we speak of light waves or light particles. Many intangible concepts such as emotions have taken their vocabulary form material concepts that show some kind of similarity or analogy with the intangible concept. Another vast conceptual area that makes use of this function is “time”, which is often thought and spoken of as though it were space. As Petrie and Oshlag (1993:580-584) put it, “metaphor can render radically new knowledge intelligible” by transferring understanding from what is well known to what is less well known. The ability to explicitly employ metaphor to transform either one’s own or somebody else’s existing knowledge into new knowledge can be trained and, therefore, improved (Sticht, 1993:631).

#### 3) Reconceptualization

Goatly’s third function (1997:152), comes into effect when the sender of a message wants to make the receiver see things from a different perspective. Reconceptualization is widespread in literary texts, especially in poetry, but it can also be found in politically

motivated discourse. A politician who uses vocabulary from the semantic field of natural disasters when referring to the economic crisis may have the intention to present the economic situation of the country as something inevitable, thus reducing their own responsibility in the matter.

4) Argument by analogy or false(?) reasoning

According to Goatly (1997:152-155), argument by analogy is an attempt to persuade the hearer by making use of a well-known, clear-cut case that shows certain analogies with the problem or situation of the conversation. Furthermore, argument by analogy often exploits emotive responses to the metaphor vehicle. While this kind of argument may be common in psychotherapy, it appears to be rather unusual in modern everyday language. One of the few examples that come to mind is the Spanish statement, or sometimes also question, “*aceptamos ‘pulpo’ como animal de compañía*” [we accept ‘octopus’ as a pet]. This phrase goes back to a television advertisement from the nineties and entails a certain kind of criticism. By using it, you let the hearer know that his/her position is not actually right, but you accept it due to the circumstances or due to your appreciation of him/her as a person. In Goatly’s explanation it is not really clear what he means by “false(?) reasoning”. He seems to refer to those cases where the reasoning is not based primarily on logic, but rather on emotive responses to the metaphor vehicle. My main concern with this function, Argument by Analogy, is that it is realized through function two, three and seven, i.e. Explanation/ Modelling, Reconceptualization, and Decoration/ Disguise/ Hyperbole. Therefore, it should maybe not be considered a function of its own, or one should distinguish between primary and secondary functions.

5) Ideology

The same kind of criticism can be applied to the fifth function, “Ideology”, also referred to as the ‘latent function’. Metaphors can be seen as a means to construct reality by helping to maintain or challenge power relations in society (Goatly, 1997:157). In my opinion, this is achieved through more basic functions of metaphor such as Reconceptualization, Expressing Emotional Attitude, Metaphorical Euphemism or Hyperbole. Making use of argument by analogy, we could ask: If murder is not a function of knife, can ideology be considered a function of metaphor?

6) Expressing emotional attitude

Since the activation of an image in our mind conjures up emotions associated with the activated concept, metaphors are a means to create emotional responses in the hearer. In this context, Goatly (1997:158) refers to MacCormac (1990) and the general illocutionary force of metaphor to produce emotions such as wonder and puzzlement. This obviously applies mainly to literary metaphor. Metaphorical swearing, on the other hand, expresses an extreme emotional attitude on entirely affective grounds (Goatly 1997:158). Finally, Goatly observes that emotion is often expressed by non-prototypical members of a semantic field, for instance ‘turgid’ and ‘slushy’ convey disapproval as

opposed to the more prototypical 'flowing'. With regard to this function, Goatly does not make a clear distinction between expressing emotion and intentionally creating an emotional response in the hearer. The latter seems to be closely related to function 3 (Reconceptualization) and 7 (Decoration, disguise and hyperbole).

7) Decoration, disguise and hyperbole

In this category, Goatly gathers metaphors that do not radically change our understanding of something, but rather slightly modify our perception of and emotive response to it. This also includes euphemisms. Although Goatly (1997:158-159) describes the metaphors realizing this function as at the other extreme to reconceptualization metaphors, I only perceive a difference of degree. Both functions serve to make the reader or listener perceive things differently. Therefore, decoration, disguise, hyperbole and euphemism might be understood as special cases of reconceptualization, in my opinion.

8) Cultivating intimacy

This function can be observed in the case of metaphors that are shared by a small group of users only. These metaphors are often not easily interpretable since the knowledge that is necessary for a valid interpretation lies rather in the speaker and hearer than in the expression itself. As a consequence, individuals that do not belong to this restricted social group are excluded.

9) Humour and games

This function is carried out by metaphors that deliberately tease or puzzle the hearer by means of riddles and by puns. Goatly (1997: 161-162) speculates that what makes these metaphors so joyful might be the initial confusion turning into sudden illumination.

10) Metaphor calls to action or problem-solving

Lacking an adequate noun, this function is summarized as "Metaphor calls to action or problem-solving". This category also includes persuading the hearer not to take action (Goatly, 1997:163). The example given is that of a group of people trying to escape from an engine room of a ship when one of the characters encourages the others with the sentence: 'Don't think of it as you're seeing it, but simply as a mountain to be climbed'. Based on this example, the difference between this function and Argumentation by Analogy is not really clear to me. With regard to problem solving, Schön (1993:137) suggests that there are generative metaphors which transfer frames or perspectives from one domain to another, helping to better understand and solve problems. According to Schön, the conceptual metaphor we use to describe a problem may lead us to certain possible solutions and blind us to other solutions that would be possible but are not congruent with the conceptual metaphor chosen to conceptualize the given problem.

11) Textual structuring

This function does not refer to the linguistic linking devices in a text, but to the ideational organization (Goatly, 1997:163). In order for this function to be realized, a system of metaphors is necessary. This system might be an extended metaphor or a chain of metaphor modifications as the text moves on. Goatly gives the example of an attack of ants that is described as though it were a military operation. Once again, one wonders if this function is not actually realized by Modelling and Reconceptualization.

12) Fiction

With this function Goatly goes one step further in the same direction, suggesting that literary narrative can be seen as “one whole extended metaphor” as it invites interpretation as an Analogy for or Mimetic of the real world.

13) Enhancing memorability, foregrounding and informativeness

Goatly (1997:164-166) argues that metaphors can enhance memory because of their visual nature, and that hyperbolic metaphors grab attention. Since the processing effort is greater for active metaphors than for literal language or dead metaphors, all else being equal, a psychological foregrounding effect is achieved. Due to this effect, active metaphors receive more attention and are recalled more easily. This aspect reminds us of Gibbs’s vividness hypothesis (1994:124) and of Petrie and Oshlag (1993:589), who argue that metaphors make learning more memorable. Returning to Goatly’s typology, a certain overlap of this sub-function and function 7, Decoration/ Disguise/ Hyperbole, can be observed. Rather than a function, Memorability/ Foregrounding/ Informativeness might be considered benefits of metaphor use and may be the reason why the speaker chooses the metaphor over literal language. Regarding informativeness, Goatly provides the example of giving a fictional character the name of another well-known character. By doing so, the informed reader receives a considerable amount of additional information. This may be true, but this example seems to be a rather marginal member of the semantic category ‘metaphor’.

In summary, in an attempt to cover all possible functions of metaphor, Goatly combines ideational, interpersonal and textual functions as well as metaphors at word level, sentence level, and text level in one list. Furthermore, no distinction between immediate, primary functions, and less immediate, secondary functions is made. For these reasons, a direct application of Goatly’s typology to an analysis at word level seems complicated.

Kohl (2007:66-71) offers a similar summary of possible metaphor functions, which is probably more based on literature reviews and less on original work than Goatly’s. However, Kohl’s category labels are more straightforward; the category boundaries seem to be better defined and the examples given are clearer. The following typology of metaphor functions based on Kohl is, therefore, intended to be read as a simplified, more user-friendly version of the more detailed description of Goatly’s categorisation:

- Conceptualisation of new mental and scientific fields  
(e.g. chemical structures and processes, events on the stock market, psychological processes)
- Filling lexical gaps  
(e.g. computer mouse, computer virus, website)
- Activation and conveying of emotions  
(used in all kinds of contexts where the reader/listener is to be persuaded, or when emotions are a main content of the conversation, for instance in psychotherapy, political reconciliation talks, intimate conversations)
- Aesthetic stimulus  
(often found in poetry and prose, in advertisements, but also sometimes in everyday conversations and phraseology, for instance idioms with alliteration)
- Stimulation of imagination  
(as in poetry and creative language in literature in general)
- Entertainment (puns, amusing personifications, absurd identifications, to be found in all kinds of discourse aimed at a close interpersonal relationship or at least the illusion of it)
- Focussing attention (e.g. in political speeches, lectures and classes, newspaper articles)
- Moral engagement (e.g. in political or religious discourse)
- Inducing action (e.g. in political or religious discourse and advertisements)

As I see it, the first three functions of metaphor in this list (conceptualisation, filling lexical gaps, conveying emotions) depend upon metaphor use in the sense that it is almost impossible to accomplish these tasks without metaphor. Therefore, these three functions could be considered primary functions of metaphor. Moreover, I would add another primary function, namely creating new or activating existing associations with other concepts that are usually not immediately linked to the target domain in our conceptualisation of the world. These associations can be of all possible kinds: positive or negative connotations, which cause positive or negative emotional responses, analogies that help solve problems, exaggerated or absurd comparisons that amuse, allusions to insider knowledge that produce a feeling of intimacy, remotely comparable attractive images that add an aesthetic effect, etc. If we consider “creation and activation of associations” to be the fourth primary function, most of the remaining functions of the list can be considered secondary functions, i.e. activation and conveying of emotions, aesthetics, stimulation of imagination and entertainment depend on the activation of certain associations. Finally, there are tertiary functions, like focussing attention, moral engagement and inducing action, which result from one or several secondary functions. People do not start to act because a metaphor has connected two otherwise independent conceptual domains, but because of the emotional response caused by this connection. Neither do metaphors *per se* increase attention or retention of

information, unless they have the secondary effect of producing some noteworthy emotional response in the hearer/ reader, be it fear, surprise, excitement, repulsion, curiosity, etc.

#### **2.4.2. Metaphor functions in research studies**

The following paragraphs give some examples of research into metaphor functions and how the problem of long lists of functions at different levels has been dealt with. Littlemore (2001) studied the use of metaphor in academic lectures and the comprehension difficulties this caused among overseas university students. Based on a literature review, she compiled a typology consisting of five main functions of metaphor that are likely to occur in lectures: 1) evaluating, 2) labelling new concepts, 3) allowing the speaker to be vague, 4) providing a framework for ideas, and 5) making language entertaining (Littlemore, 2001:335-336). Labelling new concepts is equivalent to filling lexical gaps. Providing a framework for ideas is also a widely accepted function of metaphor, as well as making language entertaining. Evaluating can be achieved by activating emotional responses and associations. What is new with respect to Goatly's and Kohl's typologies, is the observation that metaphor allows the speaker to be vague.

Koller (2003) made use of Halliday's meta-functions (interpersonal, ideational and textual) to study the functions of metaphors by macro-section (beginning, mid-text, and end) in marketing articles. Furthermore, Koller studied the function of individual metaphors with respect to other metaphors in a metaphor chain. The list of within-chain functions was compiled from a literature review and extended by Koller, finally comprising the following functions: elaborating, exemplifying, extending, generalizing, intensifying, attenuating, questioning, negating, and echoing.

Skorczynska and Deignan (2006) studied economic metaphors in popular and scientific business discourse. They took Henderson's main uses of metaphor in economic texts as a starting point. According to Henderson<sup>26</sup>, these main uses are: 1) decoration or illustration, 2) organizing devices and 3) modelling for problem solving and theory building. The authors excluded the second category, generic metaphors that occur in all language, in order to concentrate on metaphors that are specific to business discourse. Finally, they added another category, leading to three functions in total: illustrating (e.g. [The CDPD voice network] is the **tank**, and it is never going to be a **race car**.), modelling (e.g. in game-theoretical models in economy, viewing economic agents as players in a game) and filling terminological gaps (e.g. **bull** market). Surprisingly large differences in use were found between the scientific research corpus and the popular science corpus, not only in terms of conceptual domains involved in metaphorical language, but also with regard to metaphor function, which reflected the different registers, especially the type of readership. In this study, the authors had narrowed down

---

<sup>26</sup> Henderson, W. (1986). "Metaphor in economics" in M.Coulthard (Ed.), *Talking about text*. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. 109-127

the possible functions of metaphor to the ones that were most relevant in the corpora they studied. Functions that are not typically expected in research and popular science articles would be for instance aesthetic uses, stimulation of imagination or puns and humour, and were actually not found in the corpora.

Nordal (2013) studied metaphor in a Norwegian tourist brochure and its translation. For her analysis of discourse functions of metaphors (2013:28), she drew on Semino's typology. According to Semino (2008:32), metaphors can either be representational (naming or labelling the object of reference), interpersonal (expressing attitudes and emotions, entertaining or involving, reinforcing intimacy, conveying humour, etc.), or textual (facilitating the internal and intertextual coherence of a text). This typology seems to be inspired by Halliday's meta-functions of language.

Abrahamson, Gutiérrez and Baddorf (2012) had a look at the functions realised by idiosyncratic metaphors used during mathematical problem solving. The test participants were 11-year-old students, whose dialogues with a researcher had been recorded for originally other purposes. The observed metaphors fulfilled the following functions: 1) generalise knowledge, 2) isolate certain aspects of the problem, 3) help build and elaborate view, 4) help recalibrate interpretive schemes, 5) are used as an individual's semiotic signs. The last point is comparable to lexical gap filling at an individual's level. All other described functions occur at a conceptual level. Unfortunately, the corpus was rather restricted (three test participants only) and there might be other functions apart from these.

A linguistic metaphor is not limited to one function, but can display two or even more functions at the same time (Kaal, 2012:31). This will have to be taken into account in the design of the analytical process, i.e. the research team has to decide how many functions to mark per linguistic metaphor and how to determine the main function.

Summarizing the research on metaphor function, we can say that, on the one hand, there are not so much research on metaphor functions. On the other hand, most of the cited studies were able to narrow down the typology to a maximum of five functions. The functions differ from study to study and arise from the register or genre studied and the respective research questions.

#### ***2.4.3. Metaphor function and deliberate use***

We have seen that in some cases there is simply no choice whether to use metaphorical or literal language. In other cases, the use of a metaphor seems to be a conscious and deliberate choice. If a metaphor is the only option in a given context, the discursive function is an inevitable by-product of the context. In other cases, there might be a non-metaphorical alternative, but the choice of the metaphorically used lexical item might be strongly influenced by its frequency of use in similar contexts. That is, the metaphor might well have a discursive function, but this might not be the result of the

speaker's/writer's intention. Therefore, only when a metaphor is used deliberately, can its intended function be deduced with a high degree of reliability. This is why Steen (2011) recommends making a clear distinction between the discursive functions of deliberately and non-deliberately used metaphors. However, it is generally hard to tell whether an author of a text has used a metaphor deliberately or not. Although it is not accurate, the solution might be to treat creative metaphors as deliberate metaphors and to assume that conventionalised metaphors are used unconsciously, and therefore, consider them non-deliberate metaphors. This is the solution opted for in the present research. As a consequence, only the discursive function of novel metaphor was studied.

#### 2.4.4. *Metaphor function and linguistic form*

Conceptual metaphors can be instantiated by a broad range of linguistic metaphors in discourse, which in turn, can belong to a variety of grammatical categories. The grammatical form seems to carry implicit meanings and add to the function of the metaphor. Therefore, different grammatical instantiations of a conceptual metaphor are not completely exchangeable without concessions to meaning. According to Kohl (2007:46-50), metaphorically used adjectives determine the qualities of the concept expressed by the noun they collocate with; they can be illustrative and, especially when they are present participle adjectives, add dynamism. On the other hand, metaphorically used verbs stimulate imagination. Cross-linguistic variation may occur when there are different preferences for the use of noun metaphors or verbal metaphors in different languages. Different grammatical rules might also lead to limitations in one language with respect to another. When Kohl (2007:48) states that a participle used as an adjective adds dynamism, one has to take into account that these participle adjectives can be compared to participles used as adjectives in English, but not in Spanish, since the Spanish language usually uses adjectives ending in *-nte*, not participles, for this purpose. Due to such morphosyntactic limitations a literal translation might lose some of its connotations or even be impossible. In English, for example, it is relatively easy to form a verb from a noun like in 'to dog sb.', 'to pig oneself on some kind of food' or 'to weasel out of a situation'. In German and Spanish, forming verbs from nouns is more complex and therefore less common. Therefore, the given examples have no literal equivalent, but have to be paraphrased, often with a comparison, or substituted by another metaphor with a similar meaning. To make things even more complex, sometimes there is a metaphorical verb derived from the same noun, but with a different meaning in the other language or with other connotations. In this sense, the verb 'to fox sb.', meaning to trick somebody into something or confuse somebody, cannot be translated by the German *fuchsen*, meaning to make somebody angry, nor is it recommendable to translate it by the Spanish *zorrear* (although the dictionary displays a definition with a similar meaning as in English) since *zorrear* is mostly used in its obscene sense. The worth in studying grammatical categories of metaphorically used words and their functions, lies in obtaining information on typical and preferred uses.

Such quantitative data on cross-linguistic variation will help translators to make informed choices when translating and when opting for compensation strategies in order to achieve a natural-sounding target text with the same function as the source text.

## **2.5. Metaphor and cross-linguistic variation**

Shortly after the Cognitive Turn in metaphor studies, a principal concern was to demonstrate that metaphor was a universal phenomenon common to all languages. Another closely related concern was to find universals, i.e. features of metaphor that would apply to all languages and cultures. Nevertheless, it was soon evident that differences both in linguistic and conceptual metaphor do exist across languages and cultures. This section will describe universality and cultural specificity and possible reasons for the latter.

### ***2.5.1. Universality, cultural variation and cultural specificity***

Universal conceptual metaphors are generally based on sensorial and psychomotor experiences that are common to all human beings. On the linguistic level, however, given the great variety of languages, it seems improbable that truly universal linguistic metaphors exist. Nevertheless, there are aspects of linguistic metaphors that might be universally true. Two of these aspects might be the possibility to divide them into novel and conventional metaphors and the possibility to make a distinction between primary and compound metaphors (Grady, Taub & Morgan, 1996). The ability to form extensive metaphor networks also seems to be universal (Trim 2007:47).

An interesting fact pointed out by Lakoff (1987) is that conceptual metaphors that are candidates for being universal tend to be at the basic semantic level. These basic level concepts comprise objects, actions and properties as well as the basic neurologically determined colours: black, white, red, green, blue and yellow.

The opposite of universality is cross-linguistic and cross-cultural variation, which comprises all kinds of differences between the metaphors of distinct languages and cultures. One of the most frequently cited definitions of culture is that by Tylor ([1871] 1920:1): “Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” Cultural groups are often distinguished from others due to the use of an own language, although this does not always apply. Hispanic Latin-American cultures differ among each other and are certainly distinct from the peninsular Spanish culture. If we concentrate on common features of Western countries, we can speak of a Western culture. In addition, if one wishes to zoom in, one can find regional cultures or subcultures based on political convictions, religious beliefs or lifestyle, etc. within a society. In the context of this research, culture usually refers to national culture unless indicated otherwise. In terms

of metaphor analysis, cross-linguistic variation may be due to differences in the language system and/or may be evidence of cross-cultural variation at a conceptual level. This means that the ideas, assumptions and beliefs of a culture are present in its linguistic metaphors, especially in its networks of conventional metaphors (Knowles & Moon, 2006:12). Since conceptual metaphors are based on our physical perception of and interaction with the world around us, the physical reality of a culture shapes its metaphors, which later perpetuate a specific way of perceiving and understanding the speakers' environment. Therefore, cross-cultural differences are bound to arise (Goschler, 2012:5), even if two cultures share the same conceptual metaphor as they may have developed differing linguistic instantiations of it (Soriano, 2012:97). An example of how challenging linguistic metaphors can be for non-native language users is the study on academic discourse by Littlemore (2001), in which sixty non-native college students had to underline difficult language in extracts from university lectures. Metaphorically used language accounted for an overwhelming 90% of the words or expressions that had been identified as problematic by the test subjects.

Linguistic differences can be observed not only across languages, but also across speech communities and time (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2006:9-10; Sharifian & Jaramani, 2013:351). Two important functions of metaphor are to describe new knowledge in terms of what is already known and to express complex matters in a compact way, also based on prior knowledge and experiences. On the one hand, the conceptual domains and experiences that are highly frequent in a speaker's daily life are likely to be chosen as source domains for metaphors since they are cognitively readily available. On the other hand, both the speaker and hearer must be familiar with the source domain of a metaphor. Professional speech communities also need to develop terminology and ways of communicating about their common activity, that is professional jargon. Furthermore, professional speech communities can also be expected to develop metaphors based on their daily activities. Deignan et al. (2013), for instance, reported a study on figurative language in a children's nursery, in which she found differences in staff-staff, staff-children and staff-parents conversations and their use of metaphors. Smaller speech communities, like participants in terrorism reconciliation talks or patients and their psychotherapists have also been shown to develop their own metaphors (Cameron, 2007; Killick, Curry & Myles, 2016). Therefore, we may also expect to find metaphors that are typical of or even specific to the tourism speech community. There is furthermore research on the development of metaphors across time such as the study of intelligence metaphors from Old English to present-day English by Allan (2006) or the study of love metaphors in early modern and present-day English by Tissary (2010), which can help to explain cultural and linguistic differences in present-day languages.

Cultural specificity occurs when a conceptual or linguistic metaphor is based on a concept that is not shared by other cultures. This is the case when a metaphor's source

domain belongs, for instance to the area of culture-specific food, cultural activities such as bull fighting, or endemic flora and fauna. Although tourism websites contain a lot of culture-specific terms, these are not expected to be used metaphorically since they are not part of the knowledge shared by all readers, assuming that tourism websites do not only address a national but also a broad international readership and want to assure successful communication.

In summary, we can say that metaphors originate from our bodily experience, which is similar in all human beings and may lead to universal metaphors. However, metaphors are not only shaped by bodily experience but also by their cultural context, which results in cross-cultural variation and cultural specificity. In the following section, I am going to discuss how metaphors can vary cross-culturally as well as possible reasons for the non-universality of conceptual metaphors.

### ***2.5.2. Non-universality of conceptual metaphor***

Although conceptual metaphor is an all-pervasive phenomenon, common to all human beings, not all cultures share the same conceptual metaphors. The question how conceptual metaphors can differ across cultures is closely linked to the question why they differ, in the sense that the existence or absence and the specific characteristics of environmental and cultural factors establish the basis for our conceptualisation of the world, including possible source and target domains. Since this is a broad field involving many factors, I shall first provide a schematic overview before discussing it in more detail. The following list includes possible cross-cultural differences in conceptual metaphor and it draws mainly on Goatly (2007:256) and Kövecses (2005:151-55):

- 1) Inexistence of target concept in other culture
- 2) Target concepts differ
- 3) Inexistence of source concept in other culture
- 4) Source concepts differ
- 5) Co-variation of source and target concept
- 6) Inexistence of source-target pairing in other culture
- 7) Mapping differences at a general level
- 8) Mapping differences at a specific level
- 9) Preference of one source concept over another
- 10) Different degrees of conventionalisation
- 11) Different degrees of specificity
- 12) Different degrees of metaphorical transparency
- 13) Different degrees of metaphorical autonomy
- 14) Different degrees of preference of metaphor/metonymy

For this study, the first nine points, the ones related to source domains and target domains, are especially interesting since these differences are the most easily detectable

and are most likely to cause misunderstandings or an impression of oddness when not translated appropriately. The last five points (10-14) address finer differences which are more difficult to detect and quantify, but still contribute to cross-cultural variation in metaphor use and comprehension. When asking why all these factors listed above might differ cross-culturally, there is a generic answer that applies to all of them: cultural context (Quinn, 1991; Kövecses, 2008; Yu, 2008; Goschler, 2012; Allan 2006; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013). The subsequent question is how and why cultural context varies, and the following are possible answers according to these authors:

- 15) Physical environment
- 16) Values, interests, concerns
- 17) Experiential focus
- 18) Viewpoint preference
- 19) Source concept versions and prototypes
- 20) Disproportionally large impact of small changes due to the dynamic nature of language

The items on this second list try to explain the motivation of cross-cultural variation and are therefore of interest for the discussion section of this dissertation. Once the linguistic metaphors and their source-domain-target-domain relationships have been identified, underlying patterns and tendencies as well as possible motivations for this cross-cultural difference will be sought. If there are patterns and tendencies that can be explained by these factors, it will be an aid for translators to point out areas with possible translation traps. In the remainder of this section, I shall explain the ways in which conceptual metaphor can vary cross-culturally and the possible reasons thereof with a little more detail.

One of the ways in which metaphors can vary cross-culturally is the inexistence of the target concept of a metaphor in one of the cultures, which implies the lack of need for this metaphor in that culture. One would expect this target concept to be a cultural object or activity, or a culturally-grounded abstract concept. Should one try to make such a metaphor understandable to a member of the other culture (e.g. in a translation), additional explanatory information will be necessary. For instance, the metaphors used to describe a god or holy personality such as ‘Lord’, ‘Father’, ‘*pater putativo*’ (putative father used to refer to Saint Joseph) in Christian faith do not exist in radically different religions.

Another type of variation is when two seemingly identical metaphors convey distinct information because their target concepts differ from one society to another due to the cultural context. For example, metaphors for a perfect mother will be interpreted differently in cultures where the prototypical mother stays at home and looks after her children, husband and home than in a culture where most mothers are working mums.

In the case of inexistence of the source concept in the other culture, this occurs when the source concept of a metaphor belongs to the domain of geographically and culturally typical objects, activities or abstract concepts. Examples of linguistic instantiations of such metaphors are ‘home run’ taken from the domain baseball, or ‘*salir por la puerta grande*’ (put on an outstanding performance) taken from bull fighting. Translations of metaphors with an inexistent source concept in the target language are mostly metaphors with a similar meaning or literal equivalents.

When source concepts differ cross-culturally, either the salient qualities of the concept or the prototypical appearance and use differ. For instance, when the word ‘*vaca*’ (cow) is used metaphorically in Spanish, the qualities that are usually mapped onto the target concept are heaviness and large size, while the salient quality of a cow in India is its holiness in Hinduism.

Co-variation of source and target concept is observable when both source and target concept of a metaphor have different prototypes or salient qualities in two cultures, resulting in apparently equivalent metaphors, which, however, might have different meanings. To be able to recognize this, a translator or language user needs to have profound background knowledge of the two cultures.

The inexistence of a certain source-target pairing in the other culture is something that most foreign language learners have become aware of at some point or another. This happens when two cultures share identical source and target concepts, but one culture simply has not recognized or has disregarded the similarity or analogy the other culture has established (Goatly, 2007:256; Bernárdez, 2013:316). For instance, both English and Spanish have largely congruent concepts for a kind person and for heaven. However, only Spanish has developed the metaphor A KIND PERSON IS A HEAVEN, represented by linguistic expressions like ‘*eres un cielo*’ (‘you are a heaven’ meaning ‘you’re a sweetheart’) or ‘*Juan es un cielo*’ (‘Juan is a heaven’ meaning ‘Juan is a sweetheart’). In general terms, we can say that only two cultures that choose the same source domain for a target concept, and select and combine the same elements of this domain, will have the same conceptual metaphor (Yu, 2008:259).

Cross-cultural differences in conceptual metaphor can also be due to mapping differences at the general level. General level here refers to the conceptual dimension of source and target domain. For instance, ‘house’ or ‘vehicle’ are considered to be at general level as compared to ‘mansion’, ‘hut’, or ‘plug-in hybrid’. Mapping differences at general level may arise because mappings are usually only partial, i.e. not all qualities of the source concept are mapped onto the target concept (Cameron & Deignan, 2006:688). In this selection process, one culture might map some of the qualities while another culture applies other qualities to the target concept. In the case of the metaphor A PERSON IS A MACHINE, one culture might foreground the efficiency and perfection of a machine, while another culture might foreground tirelessness, and yet, another might map the lack of feelings onto the target concept as a salient feature. Goatly (2007:256)

refers to the same phenomenon, speaking of “different grounds”. Antoniou (2017:132) speaks of “different meaning foci” and reports that the metaphor ‘this child is a match’ was interpreted by Greek students as ‘this child is very intelligent’ putting the meaning focus on light > brightness > intelligence, while Arab students put the meaning focus on fire > anger/irritation, interpreting the expression mostly as ‘this child is short-tempered’.

There may also be mapping differences at a specific level. At a general level, two languages might share a source-target concept pairing, but at a more specific level, there might be differences. For instance, both the US American and the Chinese culture have the general-level metaphor POLITICS IS SPORTS. At a specific level, however, the US American culture draws mainly on the source domains AMERICAN FOOTBALL and BASEBALL, while in China the typical source domains are TABLE TENNIS, VOLLEYBALL or EUROPEAN FOOTBALL (Yu, 1998). Mollica and Wilke (2017) studied the conceptualisation of migration in the German and Italian Press. They found that both cultures shared the metaphor MIGRATION IS A JOURNEY, but Italian texts drew more on expressions from sea travel, while German texts displayed more expressions from the field of overland travel.

Finally, preference of one source concept over another is possible because an experience giving rise to a metaphor may have several aspects. The metaphor, therefore, may be based on one of these aspects. Which aspect is chosen ultimately depends on the cultural context (Kövecses, 2008:395). At a given time, two or more metaphors for a target concept might coexist in a culture, while there is a clear preference for one or two of them. These preferences can fluctuate over time. Gevaert (2001), for instance, describes in her study of Old and Middle English how the conceptualisation of anger, realized mainly through metonymy, hyperonymy and metaphor, changed over time. In the period prior to 850, the conceptualisation of anger was subject to Germanic influences. Frequent conceptual metaphors in this period were ANGER IS SWELLING and ANGER IS AFFLICTION. From 850 until 950, expressions reflecting conceptualisations of Latin origin are noticeable, probably due to translations from Latin into Old English by King Alfred and others. As a consequence, heat metaphors for anger became more frequent. Also influences from various biblical sources can be found in that period. From 950 until 1050, Germanic anger metaphors prevailed again. This can be linked to the popularity of English preachers such as Aelfric and Wulfstan who spoke and wrote in vernacular in that period. Gavaert’s study is highly interesting because it makes both diachronic and cross-cultural variation as well as cross-cultural influences evident.

The following five points refer to subtler cross-cultural differences which are not so much linked to the existence of a source-target domain pairing in a given culture and its language(s), but rather to aspects of actual use. When transferred from one culture to another, these metaphors do not cause serious comprehension problems, but the precise effect on the hearer/ reader might be altered.

Although a given metaphor can be found in two cultures, it might display different degrees of conventionalisation. Just like linguistic metaphors, conceptual metaphors can be novel, conventionalised or even obsolete. A given metaphor might be well established in one culture, while it might be relatively new in another. Metaphors with a low degree of conventionalisation may be known only to certain socio-cultural groups. For instance, nowadays, due to globalisation and the Internet, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic influences are larger than ever. Therefore, some “newly-imported” metaphors might only be known to the younger population that watches certain translated or subtitled series or has intense internet contact with a popular foreign culture.

There may also be a difference in the degrees of specificity. While one culture might only have developed rather general metaphors based on a source-target pairing, another culture might use rather specific instantiations. For example, one culture might have metaphors exploiting heat and body temperature for anger (ANGER IS HEAT), while another culture might use much more specific metaphors such as ANGER IS STEAM IN A CLOSED CONTAINER. Another example is provided by a study of family-based figurative expressions in business English and French conducted by Trim (2007), which shows that both languages have developed metaphors from the core concept of the family, such as ‘parent company’, ‘sister company’, ‘marriage’ or ‘baptism’. However, the metaphor network seems to be more extensive in French, having developed more specific metaphors like ‘*mariage a trois*’, ‘*repas de mariage*’, ‘*baptême du feu*’ or ‘*fonts baptismaux*’ (Trim, 2007:79).

Another source of cross-cultural differences may be different degrees of metaphorical transparency. We speak of high metaphorical transparency when an expression is used both in source domain and target domain contexts, i.e. both literally and metaphorically. Accordingly, we speak of low metaphorical transparency when an expression is used (almost) exclusively in target domain contexts, and the origin is no longer obvious for the average language user. Therefore, the same metaphor might trigger more associations with the source domain in a language where it displays a high degree of metaphorical transparency than in a language where it has a low degree of transparency. The metaphor A DEFIANT COLOUR IS A DEFIANT SOUND exists in both English and Spanish, although ‘a loud colour’ in English is more transparent since ‘loud’ is used both literally and metaphorically. The Spanish ‘*un color llamativo*’ is less transparent than ‘*llamativo*’, and is only used in its metaphorical sense (Kövecses, 2005:155). The English word pedigree is considered a dead metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:125) stemming from the French expression for crane’s foot, i.e. its metaphorical transparency is basically inexistent for the average language user. Meanwhile, the German equivalent ‘*Stammbaum*’ (tree of origin) has a high metaphorical transparency since the word ‘*Baum*’ (tree) is still in use and the physical resemblance is evident. A closely related concept is metaphorical strength, i.e. the ability of a term to evoke a given source domain (Sanford, 2010:156).

Different degrees of metaphorical autonomy influence the associations that are activated when hearing a metaphor. Specific instances of a metaphor may develop strong automatic and idiosyncratic interpretations relative to the cross-domain mapping overall. In other words, the language user may associate non-typical features of the source domain and the cross-domain mapping as a whole in case of a specific metaphor. This is called metaphorical autonomy (Sanford, 2010:156). The ‘mouse’ used as a controlling device for a computer, for example, has reached a high degree of autonomy. Cross-culturally, an apparently equivalent metaphor might actually conjure up rather different associations in people’s minds.

Two cultures may show different degrees of preference for metaphor or metonymy. Many target concepts can be represented either metonymically or metaphorically and languages can show preference for one of these two figurative processes (Kövecses, 2005:257; Bernárdez, 2013:333). For instance, Charteris-Black (2003) studied figurative language in English and Malay involving the words ‘lip’, ‘mouth’, and ‘tongue’. He found that English had a preference for metonymic expressions, such as the cause-for-effect metonym ‘hold one’s tongue’, or ‘to be tight-lipped’, or the behaviour-for-stance metonymy ‘tongue-in-cheek’. Malay, on the contrary, uses mainly metaphorical expressions such as ‘*mulut bocor*’ (mouth rotten - someone who cannot keep a secret) or ‘*lilah tak bertulang*’ (tongue not bone – to make unreliable promises). Charteris-Black, however, concedes that many of the metaphorical Malay expressions may be motivated metonymically or contain metonymic aspects. According to the author, the English preference for metonymy may be explained by the fact that the English culture places less constraint on facial expressions and, at the same time, makes extensive use of hyperbole. The Malay preference for metaphor may be linked to the deep-rooted use of euphemisms in this culture.

After explaining in which ways conceptual metaphor can differ cross-culturally, the following paragraphs will discuss possible motivations for these variations. If universal metaphor is grounded in embodiment and variation is induced by differing cultural contexts, it seems logical that the physical environment should be one of the main factors leading to cultural differences, and thus, to variation in conceptual metaphor. People living in different environments experience different natural phenomena, including flora and fauna. They will have developed different typical objects to confront the challenges posed by this environment or to enjoy their free time. The concepts representing objects with which people are constantly in contact are more likely to be used as source domains than other concepts representing objects with which people have little contact. Some of these objects might even be culture-specific. The way people relate to other members of their society might also be influenced by the landscapes and the climate they live in, which are likely to be reflected in the metaphors of a culture.

The values, interests and concerns of a society are reflected in the metaphorical systems of a language as they are frequent topics in the overall discourse of the society, and comprise a wide range of abstract concepts. In a study that analyzed metaphors from English, French and Flemish texts on economics, Boers and Demecheleer (1997)<sup>27</sup> found that the most frequent source domains corresponded to national stereotypes: British texts favoured gardening metaphors while the French texts used more cookery metaphors. Similarly, the fact that sports metaphors are particularly popular in American English might be due to the general action-orientedness of the US-American culture (Kövecses, 2005:244). Furthermore, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013) described a phenomenon she termed 'culture sieve', i.e. a socio-culturally acquired network of knowledge, beliefs, worldviews, etc. which does not only serve as a database that provides context information, but actively selects those elements that are in accordance with a culture and adds cultural connotations to a mapping.

Regarding the experiential focus, the bodily experiential basis of metaphor might not be used in the same way or to the same extent in two different cultures (Kövecses, 2005:246). Some cultures give more importance to the front-back orientation than to the up-down orientation or might altogether envisage balance and centeredness as desirable states (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:24). Some cultures might be more mentally focused pursuing total control of their emotions, others might pay more attention to physical and emotional reactions, addressing them more often and developing more metaphors in this area.

Cross-cultural differences in metaphor may also arise from distinct viewpoint preferences. This means that a culture's use of metaphor might be influenced by a preferred or exclusively chosen viewpoint when different, but equally well motivated perspectives exist. Kövecses (2005:252) gives the example of ego-aligned perspective and ego-opposed perspective cultures. In our ego-opposed perspective, the simple phrase 'in front of the tree' means that something is located between us and the tree, whereas in a culture with an ego-aligned perspective, this phrase means that something is at the far side of the tree, seen from the speaker's viewpoint or reference point. This can have far-reaching implications for all kinds of container metaphors, personalisation of inanimate objects and conceptualisations in space, such as the widespread conceptualisation of time.

When there are different source concept versions, one culture might choose one version, while another culture selects a different one for its conceptual metaphor. Likewise, the prototypes of a source concept may vary cross-culturally. Kövecses (2005:254) exemplifies this with a metaphor chosen by Gorbachev and the reaction of the EU. When the Russian leader was about to open the Soviet Block to the West, he intended to

---

<sup>27</sup> Boers, Frank & Demecheleer, Murielle (1997). "A few metaphorical models in (Western) economic discourse". In W. Liebert, G. Redeker, & L. Waugh (Eds.), *Discourse and Perspective in Cognitive Linguistics*, 115-129. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Cited in Deignan 2005:99

suggest some kind of collaboration between the European Union member states and Russia. He is reported to have made use of the metaphor ‘common European house’. While the typical Western home is a detached house inhabited by one family, most Soviet citizens live in blocks of flats where each family has their own unit. European politicians and the public were shocked at the idea of a common European house because they were thinking of a detached family home, which involves a lot of contact and interaction among the inhabitants compared to living in a block of flats. As a consequence, the house metaphor seemed to suggest too much intimacy and too much possible interference in each other’s politics, and was, therefore, generally rejected.

Finally, there is another possible explanation for cross-cultural variety, which is the phenomenon of small changes being caused by an unproportionally large impact. When studying the emergence of metaphor in discourse, Cameron and Deignan (2006:687) concluded that “in complex systems, a single, small factor can impact on the system and produce changes out of proportion to its significance”. New ideas and new ways of seeing things were conveyed via linguistic metaphor, adopted and developed by others. This means that neither our conceptualisation of the world nor language are static systems. Far from it, they are dynamic and can be used creatively and evolve in sometimes unexpected ways. Some of the new creations are short-lived; others are repeated over and over again, and eventually become conventionalised metaphors.

### ***2.5.3. Implications for metaphor translation***

After discussing the factors intervening in the cross-cultural variation of conceptual metaphor, I will now focus on the implications of such variation for linguistic metaphors.

Firstly, there are cross-cultural differences that render the literal translation of certain metaphors impossible. This occurs when the target concept of a metaphor does not exist in the target language (see point 1 in section 2.5.2.), when the source concept does not exist in the target language (see point 3 in section 2.5.2.), or when the source-target concept combination does not exist (see point 6 in section 2.5.2.).

Secondly, there are cross-cultural differences in conceptual metaphor that are likely to lead to non-equivalent interpretations and connotations when its linguistic metaphor is translated literally, even if the conceptual and linguistic metaphor do exist in both cultures. This is the case when either the target concept, or the source concept or both vary in the target language (see point 2, 4, 5 in section 2.5.2.), or when the metaphors in the two languages show a different degree of metaphorical transparency or metaphorical autonomy (see point 12 and 13), or when the mapping schemes differ (see point 7 and 8).

Thirdly, some cross-cultural differences in conceptual metaphor may cause an impression of oddness or lack of naturalness when translated literally. This may happen

when the source and target language show different preferences regarding the source domains that are chosen for a certain target (see point 9 in section 2.5.2.), or a different preference for metonymy or metaphor in a specific target domain (see point 14). In addition, differing degrees of conventionalisation and specificity might cause an impression of inappropriateness of a translated metaphor in a given context, even when this linguistic metaphor exists in the target language (see point 10, 11).

Just like metaphorical mappings, which are mostly partial, the linguistic realisations of conceptual metaphors seem to be partial too in the sense that not all possible linguistic instantiations are equally acceptable for language users; rather there is a limited number of linguistic metaphors deriving from a conceptual metaphor that are used over and over again (Sanford, 2010:30). There also seems to be a lack of systematicity in the actual use of linguistic metaphors. Deignan (2005:189) observed that, instead of being used antonymously and distributed evenly in the domains KNOWLEDGE, EMOTION and GOODNESS/EVIL, metaphorical uses of ‘light’ referred mainly to knowledge and ‘dark’ was used mainly to refer to emotion. Moreover, metaphorical language seems to be “subject to much more restricted grammatical choices than literal uses” (Deignan, 2005:162). This suggests that linguistic form matters more, or at least at another level, than conceptual content.

The actual use of a linguistic metaphor may also be restricted to certain registers, and there might be cross-linguistic differences in this area as well. Skorczynska and Deignan (2003) reported differences in metaphor use in popular science and academic articles. They related the kinds of metaphor that were used in each text type to their readership, that is, to their assumed knowledge and expectations regarding the register. In other words, a linguistic metaphor that is perfectly adequate in one register, may be inappropriate in another. One could imagine that in a society with high social mobility and a small social gap which values dissemination, the differences in register in these two genres might be smaller than in a country with low social mobility, where academic knowledge and achievement is admired and where scholars strictly follow prescriptive norms for formal language use as a way of marking their social status. It is to be expected that such differences in register are also reflected in metaphor use. Another factor that might intervene in cross-linguistic differences in metaphor use in a given register or genre is the overall use of metaphor in a language. Arabic and Malay, for instance, have been reported to be more inclined to metaphor use than English (Al-Garrallah, 2016; Charteris-Black, 2003).

## **2.6. Summary**

Over the last century, our understanding of metaphor has changed drastically. The focus has shifted from the linguistic, and more precisely the rhetorical and poetic, aspects of metaphor to its cognitive role in our conceptualisation of the world and to its importance

in lexical creation. According to CMT, metaphor involves different conceptual domains and a transfer of properties from one to another or an interaction between them, highlighting certain aspects of the metaphorically described topic, while hiding others. There is no unanimity among scholars as to how exactly this transfer of features occurs and how metaphoric language is actually processed in the human mind. The most prolific current in CMT is the two-domain approach, which assumes a primarily unidirectional transfer of properties from a source domain to a target domain. In accordance with the invariance hypothesis, in this transfer, the source domain structure is not altered, although properties that are incompatible with or irrelevant to the target domain can be suppressed. The two-domain approach has been applied extensively in cross-cultural studies, especially in the target domain EMOTIONS and in source domains such as SPORTS, WAR, JOURNEY. Many of these studies, however, are based on introspection, dictionary entries, or text analysis with top-down approaches. The present dissertation hopes to make a contribution to the understanding of the wide variety of metaphors used in a specific genre, namely promotional tourism websites, and the cross-linguistic differences in this field by using a bottom-up approach.

An important distinction made by CMT, is that between novel and conventional metaphor. Novel metaphors are based on an unknown, highly uncommon combination of source and target domain, while conventional metaphor has become a well-established part of a culture or language by means of repetition. Little attention has been paid to the cross-linguistic variation in the proportions of novel and conventionalised metaphor use in research so far. This caveat shall be addressed in this dissertation. Moreover, most metaphor typologies comprise very few categories, as for example the novel-conventional distinction. The more complex typologies that can be found in literature were usually designed for a rather specific purpose. Unfortunately, a typology that would be precise enough to detect cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences in order to be helpful for translators has not been found in literature. Such a typology shall be suggested as part of this dissertation. Given the fact that metaphor and metonymy can be considered part of a continuum and that many metaphors are metonymically motivated, one can expect to find a certain number of borderline cases in any corpus-based metaphor analysis. There are also few studies on personification, a special kind of metaphor, and the degree to which it is employed in different cultures. Unfortunately, two of the most widely used metaphor identification procedures, MIP and MIPVU, do not detect all cases of personification. This dissertation will look into both these personification-related aspects. Finally, linguistic metaphors can fulfil a wide range of functions in their discourse context. This study will help to further the understanding of the discursive functions of novel metaphors in tourism discourse.

The cross-linguistic variation in metaphor use can be explained by a number of factors. It may be related to differences in the existence, combination and preference of source and target domains in the compared cultures. Differences in use might also be a matter

of degree as in the case of conventionalisation, specificity, metaphorical transparency, or metaphorical autonomy. All these cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences may ultimately be explained by a culture's physical environment, values, interests, concerns, experiential focus, viewpoint preference and disproportionately large impacts of small changes due to the dynamic nature of language. The factors outlined in this paragraph, should be of great help at the discussion stage of this dissertation when seeking to explain some of the cross-linguistic variations found in the research corpus.

# Chapter 3

## Metaphor and translation

The present dissertation is concerned with the cross-linguistic variation of metaphor use on tourism websites, and this cross-linguistic variation becomes clearly evident in the translation process. Several studies applying different methodologies have observed that cross-linguistic variation in metaphor use slows down the translation process as it seems to require more cognitive effort from the translator (Mandelblit, 1995; Tirkkonen-Condit, 2001, 2002; Sjørup, 2013). As a consequence, improved knowledge of this kind of cross-linguistic variation can be expected to benefit both the efficiency of the translation process and the quality of the final product. The objective of this dissertation consists not only in describing the observed cross-linguistic variation in metaphor use in tourism discourse, but also in discussing possible implications for translations in this genre. In order to provide a broader context for the study of metaphors in the three research corpora, the present chapter will give an overview of the main research areas in metaphor translation studies: cross-linguistic variation, translatability and metaphor translation procedures. Finally, this chapter will also address the contributions of corpus studies to this field of research and briefly describe different kinds of corpora. This description and the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of different kinds of corpora contains the explanation, as to why this research is based on comparable corpora as opposed to parallel corpora.

### 3.1. Traditional and cognitive viewpoint

According to the traditional viewpoint, metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon consisting in a deviation from the standard use of a word or expression in order to embellish a text or make an impact on the reader/ listener. Traditional metaphor translation studies, therefore, used to focus on language form and function in the text. Since the cognitive turn in metaphor studies, the approach has changed slightly. The majority of translation studies in the field of metaphor have recognised metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon but have resorted to traditional classifications of metaphor and continued to treat

metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon (Samaniego Fernández, 2013:161; Schäffner, 2004:1253-4). Although, thanks to advances in cognitive linguistics, translation studies can now provide more realistic results, the application of cognitive linguistics to metaphor studies in translation has been slow and incomplete according to Samaniego Fernández (2011:262; 2013:161). Despite this criticism, Shuttleworth (2014:60) stated that Conceptual Metaphor Theory “seems in fact to be the most frequently adopted theoretical framework for research into metaphor in translation”. Apart from the consistent application of findings from cognitive linguistics, another desirable improvement in the area of metaphor studies in translation would be the combination of online and offline methodologies to meet the requirements of cognitive linguistics (Halverson 2013:59). Independently from the viewpoint (traditional or cognitive) and the degree of application of new cognitive theories, the main concerns in the field of metaphor translation research seem to be the following:

- How can and do metaphors vary cross-linguistically?
- Is metaphor translatable?
- How are metaphors translated in terms of the translation process?
- How are metaphors translated in terms of equivalence of source text and the translation product?
- How should metaphors be translated?

The first question is relevant to this dissertation, since the focus of the research is the cross-linguistic variation of metaphor use. Translatability is also of interest, as one of the secondary research questions is why some metaphors can be translated literally and others cannot. Therefore, I shall discuss these areas in more detail. There is a wide variety of studies in the complex field of translation processes and evaluations of translation products, many of which, however, adopt a traditional viewpoint. Giving a detailed overview of these research fields would go beyond the scope of this dissertation as I will focus on the cross-linguistic variation, not the translation process or product. However, the findings of these studies on the translation process and translation equivalence have been distilled into recommendations for the translation of metaphors by several scholars (Van den Broeck, 1981; Newmark, 1982; Toury, 1982; Prandi, 2010; Al-Garrallah, 2016). These recommendations will be commented on in section 3.4.

### **3.2. Describing metaphor cross-linguistic variation for translation purposes**

Many authors have concerned themselves with the description of cross-linguistic variation in metaphor from a theoretical perspective, paving the way for a practical application in translation studies, translation practice and foreign language teaching (Schäffner, 2004; Kövecses, 2005, 2014; Trim, 2007; Arduini, 2014; Steen, 2014). Kövecses (2005:133), for instance, provides a systematic and particularly comprehensive classification of metaphor, which facilitates the description of cross-

linguistic variation. This classification is basically binary, that is the analyst has to decide whether four parameters are the *same* or *different* in the two compared languages. The four parameters are:

- a) word form: same/different?
- b) literal meaning: same/different?
- c) figurative meaning: same/different?
- d) underlying conceptual metaphor: same/different?

While other authors typically suggest three to six categories of cross-linguistic variation/similarity (e.g. Deignan, Gabrys & Solska, 1996:355<sup>28</sup>; Trim 2007:29<sup>29</sup>), Kövecses's classification comprises sixteen possible cases, resulting from the combination of the two possible values (same/different) and the four parameters (word form, literal meaning, figurative meaning, underlying conceptual metaphor). Admittedly, some of these combinations are highly unlikely to occur and others seldom. For instance, it seems difficult to imagine two linguistic metaphors with the following relationship: *same word, same literal meaning, same figurative meaning, different underlying conceptual metaphor*. Two corresponding metaphors might share the same word form if the languages are closely related, like Norwegian and Swedish or Spanish and Catalan, or if the metaphorically used word is a calque in one of the languages. Sharing the same word form with the same literal and figurative meaning, it is, however, hard to imagine different underlying conceptual metaphors. On the contrary, the most typical configurations were exemplified in a study of the metaphor TIME IS MONEY. Kövecses (2005:140) was able to make the following generalisations about the Hungarian translation equivalents of sixteen metaphorical expressions in English deriving from this conceptual metaphor. The most frequently found relation was different word form, same literal meaning, same figurative meaning and same underlying conceptual metaphor (see also table 3.1.). The combination of different word form and literal meaning, but same figurative meaning and underlying conceptual metaphor was less frequent. Finally, the least frequent relation of equivalent figurative expressions was different word form, different literal meaning, different conceptual metaphor, but same figurative meaning. This suggests that Hungarian and English are conceptually rather closely related, while lexically different in form. In this regard, the author points out some syntactic constraints that hinder literal translation in the case of a few of the studied expressions (2005:134, 136).

---

<sup>28</sup> 1. Same conceptual metaphor and equivalent linguistic expression 2. Same conceptual metaphor but different linguistic expression 3. Different conceptual metaphor used 4. Words and expressions with similar literal meanings but different metaphorical meanings

<sup>29</sup> "(i) two languages share the same linguistic form, (ii) two languages share the same conceptual metaphor, but not the same linguistic form; and (iii) two languages share neither, that is one conceptual metaphor may exist in one language with no equivalent in another or they have two different metaphors to convey the same figurative meaning."

**Table 3.1. Similarity configurations of TIME IS MONEY in English and Hungarian according to Kövecses (2005:140)**

	<b>Word form</b>	<b>Literal meaning</b>	<b>Figurative meaning</b>	<b>Conceptual metaphor</b>
<b>Most frequent</b>	Different	Same	Same	Same
<b>Less frequent</b>	Different	Different	Same	Same
<b>Least frequent</b>	Different	Different	Same	Different

Consequently, for a metaphor to be translatable literally, the similarity configuration with the corresponding metaphor in the target language needs to be *same/different, same, same, same*. That means that the word form can be the same or different but has to represent the same literal meaning in both languages. In addition, the figurative meaning in context and the underlying conceptual metaphor must be identical. In all other cases, there will either be a partial or complete loss of equivalence when translating literally. To avoid this loss of equivalence, the translation needs to be adapted, substituted or paraphrased in order to convey the same information and have the same effect on the reader/listener in the target text. Nevertheless, it is not always possible to achieve both. In the next section, I am going to give a brief overview of different perspectives on the translatability of metaphors and the factors that have been identified to exert an influence on metaphor translatability.

### 3.3. Translatability of metaphors

Metaphorical expressions doubtlessly add difficulty to a translation text. Newmark (1988:9) described metaphor as "the most significant translation problem", and so does Fernández Rodríguez (2020:116), while Shi (2014:769) calls metaphor translation a "risky business". This is not only true for translators, but also seems to hold for translation theorists. According to Samaniego Fernández (2002:47), "translation of metaphors is one of the main stumbling blocks within the scope of Translation Studies today." Such a background leads to questions concerning the degree to which linguistic metaphor can be translated, what the translation difficulties can be attributed to and whether these difficulties are predictable.

Traditionally, most research on metaphor translation dealt exclusively with literary translations, where metaphor was viewed as a linguistic phenomenon only. Some scholars supporting this traditional standpoint did not consider metaphor translation as any more problematic than the translation of non-metaphoric language, and recommended a word-by-word transfer into the target language (Kloepfer, 1967; Reiss, 1971). Only after Dagut's article *Can metaphor be translated?* was published in 1976, did the question as to whether metaphor can be translated at all receive a great deal of

attention. The answers to this question can be classified into four groups (Samaniego Fernández, 2013:164):

- Metaphor is fully translatable
- Metaphor is untranslatable
- Metaphor is translatable but with a considerable degree of inequivalence
- Whether a metaphor is translatable or not depends on many factors

Those who postulated the untranslatability of metaphor (Dagut, 1967; Nida, 1964; Vinay & Darbelnet, 1958) argued that what determines the translatability of a metaphor is ultimately the cultural experience and semantic associations of the metaphor vehicle in the source and target language. These, however, cannot be identical since two different cultures and linguistic systems intervene. A less extreme viewpoint describes metaphor as translatable with a certain loss of equivalence due to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences, such as references to culture-specific concepts, differing associations that are triggered by the same concept, or constraints related to available space, metrics, rhyme and other phonetic (dis)similarities (Van den Broeck, 1981; Toury, 1982; Rabadán, 1991). Yet another posture argues that whether a metaphor is translatable or not ultimately depends on many factors, including the particular metaphor's structure and function within the text (Snell-Hornby, 1988:58), the conceptual systems in source and target culture (Schäffner, 2004:1258), and socio-cultural and political factors (Sharifian & Jarami, 2013:36).

Some scholars pointed out that it is extremely difficult to make generalisations about the translatability of metaphors, as metaphor is a complex phenomenon (Dagut, 1976:32; Toury, 1982:30) and each case of metaphor use must be treated on its own (Mason, 1982:140). Nevertheless, quite a large number of generalisations have been put forward regarding the difficulty of metaphor translation. In the following summary of the factors that influence the degree of translatability of a metaphor, high translatability has to be understood as the possibility to transfer a source language metaphor literally into the target language with a minimal loss of meaning. Meanwhile, low translatability suggests that there is a high risk of having to abandon the metaphorical expression, replacing it by a non-metaphorical expression, a description, definition or paraphrasing it. Medium translatability is associated with substitution through another conceptual metaphor, a metonymy or a simile.

- a) **Cultural overlap:** The greater the cultural overlap between the source language and target language, the higher the translatability (Dagut, 1976; Newmark, 1982:88). This is supported by translation process studies, which found that it takes translators longer to translate a metaphor if the semantic source domain equivalent in the target language is conceptually different from the domain in the source language (Tirkkonen-Condit, 2001; Sjørup, 2013:207). This difference in translation time can be explained by the need to discard an inappropriate literal translation and to find an alternative metaphorical expression that draws on a

different source domain since the literal translation is not acceptable in the target language. In the case of little cultural overlap, major translation problems can arise from the use of cultural concepts which do not have any equivalent in the target culture of the translation (Visser, 2010:201). Furthermore, cultural overlap comprises not only the existence of a conceptual metaphor but also its frequency of use, which is intrinsically linked to the acceptability and naturalness of a translation. In this context, Trim (2007:64) speaks of language-specific saliency, which he defines as the suitability of a metaphor in a certain language. If a metaphor is highly salient in the target language, its translatability from the source language to the target language will be higher. Corpus studies into the translation of fear metaphors from English to Chinese confirmed that metaphorical expressions with a high frequency in both languages were likely to be preserved, while literal translation equivalents with a low frequency of use tended to be replaced by other metaphors with the same figurative meaning but a higher degree of entrenchment in Chinese (Ding, Noël & Wolf, 2010).

- b) **Overlap of semantic associations:** The more the semantic associations of the metaphor vehicle in source and target language overlap, the higher its degree of translatability (Dagut, 1976; Van den Broeck, 1981).
- c) **Cultural elements:** The fewer cultural elements a metaphor contains, the higher its degree of translatability (Dagut, 1976; Rabadán, 1991). An equivalent rule was formulated by Newmark (1982:88-89) and Trim (2007:67). However, they based their rule on the opposite concept of culture-specificity, i.e. on universality: figurative expressions that exploit more universal or more basic concepts show higher translatability than those drawing on more culture-specific concepts. Unless, of course, there is great cultural overlap between source and target language, which implies that the two cultures share a great deal of their cultural concepts. This rule is also supported by observations made by Lakoff and Johnson (1999:555) that basic-level-concept metaphors<sup>30</sup> tend to be largely congruent across cultures and, not being too vague and generally known to people, they make up good metaphor source concepts.
- d) **Amount of information conveyed by the metaphor:** A metaphor that conveys little information will be easier to translate than a metaphor that provides a great amount of information (Van den Broeck, 1981:84). Here, we can also include the occasional cases of metaphor where both literal and figurative meaning are of relevance in the text or where the author exploits the ambiguity of a polysemous word, many of which have metaphorical meanings. These metaphors can become real challenges to the translator when the vehicle term

---

<sup>30</sup> Basic level here refers to the level which usually labels a semantic category, e.g. house, car and chair as opposed to building or mansion, vehicle or Ferrari, furniture or stool.

- does not have the same figurative meaning in the target language (Van den Broeck, 1981:82; Rabadán, 1991:119, 123).
- e) **Originality:** The more original a metaphor is, the higher its translatability will be in the sense that it is more likely that it can be translated literally since it relies on salient features of the vehicle term (Kloepfer, 1967:116; Newmark, 1982:92).
- f) **Functional relevance in the text:** A metaphor that is structurally linked with the text is more difficult to translate since its function and relation with other text elements have to be taken into account (Van den Broeck, 1981:82-83; Snell-Hornby, 1988:58; Arduino, 2002:1). Functional relevance may for instance arise when both the literal and the figurative meaning of a metaphorically used word are relevant (Van den Broeck, 1981:82), when a metaphor is part of an isotopic pattern (Vissen, 2010:197), or when a conceptual metaphor is linguistically developed, i.e. repeated, expanded and/ or changed, in a text. With respect to developed metaphors, Snell-Hornby (1988:58) gives the example of a Swiss article on Belfast titled “*Trostloses Meer verrusster Häuserreihen*” [literally: Desolate sea of sooty rows of houses]. In the article the sea metaphor is taken up again and developed. The problem here consists of the fact that the word ‘sea’ can be used metaphorically in English to refer to a vast group of like objects in motion, but not for static images. If the source domain SEA is substituted by another conceptual domain in the English translation, all metaphors that build on the title should be adapted to this new source domain in order to preserve the cohesion that was created by developing the metaphor contained in the title.
- g) **Type of metaphor:** The most common typologies of metaphors used to predict their translatability are those which distinguish by degree of conventionalisation. Several of these typologies were discussed in chapter 2.3.4. Some authors agree, for example, that creative/ novel metaphors show a higher degree of translatability than lexicalised/ conventional metaphors (Van den Broeck, 1981:84; Rabadán, 1991:141-142). The danger in translating traditional and lexicalised metaphors lies in rendering them as a creative metaphor in the target language, which will alter the effect on the reader and may hamper the comprehensibility of the metaphor (Van den Broeck, 1981:81-82). A different, slightly contrasting viewpoint makes distinctions between dead metaphor (very high translatability), stock or standard metaphors (low to high translatability, depending on cultural distance), and original metaphors (high literal translatability) (Newmark, 1982:88-91)<sup>31</sup>. Not all authors agree with these generalisations and see creative metaphor as more problematic in translation since its interpretation has to take context into account in order to be translated adequately; interpretation, in turn, depends on subjective factors to some degree

<sup>31</sup> For a detailed description of Newmark’s metaphor typology please refer to chapter 2.3.4.

(Collombat, 2019:3). The typology put forward by Prandi (2010, 2019), on the other hand, classifies metaphors following the criterion of consistency with the general conceptualisation of a culture and its language use. Conflictual metaphors are easier to translate than consistent metaphors<sup>32</sup> (Prandi, 2010:319), as conflictual metaphors are often based on such a stark contrast with general conceptualisation that they are more likely to have the same effect of surprise and semantic tension, while consistent metaphors confront the translator with the need to find an equally consistent metaphor that provokes the same associations in the target language. In the end, conflictual metaphors are largely congruent with novel metaphors, and consistent metaphors with conventional ones. Hence, Prandi (2019:26) holds that the distinction between conventional and novel metaphors is essential. Other authors who base their theoretical or applied work on this dichotomic distinction are Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), Beekman and Callow (1974), Snell-Hornby (1988), Dobrzyńska (1995), and Dickins (2005) amongst others.

- h) **Deliberateness:** According to Steen (2014), those metaphors that are used deliberately often show a high dependence on the conceptualisation of the source domain, while non-deliberate metaphors are used unconsciously and, thus, comparable to polysemous words. Therefore, “deliberate metaphor might be translated more often as verbatim metaphor than non-deliberate metaphor” (Steen, 2014:23), i.e. the literal translatability of the former is higher.
- i) **Limiting contextual factors:** The context can influence the appropriateness and acceptability of a metaphor in the target language, although a literal equivalent might exist (Newmark, 1982:92; Van den Broeck, 1981). Each discourse has its own typical traits and norms and a language as it is used in a given culture can be considered a macro-discourse. The norms which govern this macro-discourse may differ cross-linguistically and might lead a translator to prefer a non-metaphorical expression over a metaphorical rendering of the metaphorical original, or vice versa (Steen, 2014:12). In this context, Nida (1964:94) commented on two different cultures with rather opposed attitudes towards metaphor: The Mexican language Tarascan does not readily admit new metaphors, while the language Cuna, which is spoken in Panama, not only uses a wide range of conventional metaphors but also shows great appreciation for new ones. Another limiting contextual factor may be the prevailing moral code of the target culture (Van den Broeck 1981:80)
- j) **Aesthetic limitations** in the target language or target culture may include loss of alliteration, onomatopoeia, rhyme, meter or, to the contrary, the creation of cacophony or undesired associations due to phonetic similarity (Toury, 1982:35;

---

<sup>32</sup> By conflictual metaphor, Prandi understands a metaphor that is in conflict with the conceptualisation of the world in a given culture and the common language use, while consistent metaphors are in line with existing conceptual metaphor or the general conceptualisation of its culture and is therefore interpreted more easily.

Rabadán, 1991:128; Van den Broeck, 1981:80). For instance, when comparing several English translations of the German moral story for children *Max und Moritz* told entirely in rhymed couplets, Toury (1982:35-36) found that the more literal translations suffered a considerable aesthetic loss in terms of rhyme and rhythm, while the least literal translation kept these essential features and, therefore, created a similar effect in its readers to the German original.

- k) **Limitations regarding register and genre:** A metaphor might have a literal translation, which is lexicalised in the target language but may not be considered appropriate for the given genre or register (Newmark, 1982:94; Van den Broeck, 1981:86; Snell-Hornby;1988, Steen, 2014:23). In this context, Newmark (1982:94) comments that metaphors in foreign medical texts are usually removed in English and German translations. Furthermore, some text genres imply special constraints caused by meter and rhyme or spatial limits (Toury, 1982:35). The latter may be the case in the localisation of websites and applications, or in brochures and advertisements.
- l) **Morphosyntactic limitations:** It is perfectly possible for a metaphor to consist of semantic compounds that have largely congruent equivalents in the target language, but for morphosyntactic limitations of the target language to prevent a word-by-word transfer (Marinic & Schmidt, 2017:155; Kövecses 2005:134,136). An additional difficulty is that, when changes in the morphosyntactic features of metaphor are made due to the target language limitations, this may produce different semantic attributes (Trim 2007:29).

In summary, we can say that there is a great deal of theoretical and some applied research on the translatability of metaphor as a culturally shaped semantic phenomenon. Scholars have pointed out a series of factors that influence metaphor translatability and have produced generalisations which are bound to have numerous exceptions to the rule and tend to be continuums with fuzzy boundaries. The present study aims to produce language-pair-specific generalisations for the combinations English-Spanish, English-German and Spanish-German based on the conceptual mapping schemes that are active in a metaphor. It is hoped that these generalisations are more precise those found in literature, as they are language-specific and operate on a more detailed conceptual level than the degree of conventionalisation or dichotomies like conflictual/consistent, functional relevant/ functionally irrelevant.

### **3.4. Possibilities and recommendations for metaphor translation**

Although many standard textbooks on translation mention metaphor, the references made have been criticised for being short, for oversimplifying the complexity of metaphor or for adopting outdated approaches and methodologies (Snell-Hornby, 1988:55; Trim, 2007:63; Naciscione, 2011:272, Samaniego, 2011:266). Due, in part, to this criticism, a shift from linguistic-prescriptive approaches to cognitive-descriptive

studies has taken place, which has led to an increase in the number of corpus-based studies over the last decade (Ding, Noël, & Wolf, 2010; Manfredi, 2014; Agorni, 2014; Schäffner, 2014; Tcaciuc, 2014; Tebbit & Kinder, 2016; Johansson Falk, 2018; Rossi, 2019; Gandin, 2019; Fernández Rodríguez, 2020). For this section, it is necessary to define what is generally considered a successful translation. Translation theory has advanced from a merely lexico-grammatical understanding of equivalence to functional-communicative equivalence. That is, the generally accepted objective of a translation at present is to produce a translated text that achieves the same communicative effect in its readers as the original text in the original readership (Nida, 1964:159; Van den Broeck, 1981:77; Wotjak, 2010, 218-226; Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Filipović, 2013:251). With regard to metaphor, this means that the audience of the translation should be able to follow the same cognitive path and reach the same conclusions about the tenor as the original audience (Rojo & Valenzuela, 2013:284; Tobias, 2015:19; Prandi, 2019:33). The dilemma this entails for any translator, and especially those who are translating between two culturally distant languages, was made explicit by Bachmann-Medick (2004:154-157): In an ideal translation, the images of the foreign culture should be transferred to the target language in a comprehensible way, while respecting the original culture and its perception of the world, thus avoiding a Eurocentric (or, expressed in general terms, ethnocentric) interpretation. However, preserving the original image while achieving comprehensibility and naturalness is not always easy or even feasible (Dobrzyńska, 1995:600; Bachmann-Medick 2004:157; Trim, 2007: 70).

The present section will describe the most influential models and observations regarding metaphor translation in chronological order starting from the 1980s, when the cognitive understanding of metaphor began to gain popularity in linguistics. The overview will also include some lesser-known alternative proposals that focus on cognitive mapping as these are of special interest to this dissertation.

In his much-cited article on the limits of translatability, van den Broeck (1981) presented what he called “a tentative scheme of modes of translation”. The described modes were: translation ‘*sensu stricto*’, substitution and paraphrase. The first translation strategy refers to the literal transfer of the vehicle term into the target language, which may be successful if source and target language are conceptually close, but bears the danger of creating a semantic anomaly or a daring innovative metaphor. Substitution, as van den Broeck understands it, occurs when the source language vehicle is replaced by a different target language vehicle which, nevertheless, conveys approximately the same meaning as the original metaphor. Finally, paraphrase renders the source language metaphor as non-metaphorical language and is judged by the author as a commentary rather than an actual translation (van den Broeck, 1981:77). These basic categories were contained in most of the translation strategy models that followed it. This was, for example, the case in Newmark’s (1982) textbook on translation, which contains a list of metaphor translation strategies that has been widely commented on and also applied to

some translation studies since (Kristeva, 2019). In this textbook, Newmark (1981:88-91) expounded the following translation possibilities for metaphors:

- 1) Reproducing the same image in the target language
- 2) Replacing the image in the source language by a standard target language image
- 3) Translation of metaphor by simile
- 4) Translation of metaphor by simile and sense
- 5) Conversion of metaphor into sense (i.e. literal language)
- 6) Same metaphor combined with sense
- 7) Deletion of the metaphor, when it is redundant

In comparison with van den Broeck's translation possibilities, the first two items are identical, while possibilities 3) to 6) can be seen as specifications of van den Broeck's paraphrase. What is new on Newmark's list is the option to actually delete the metaphor from the text when it is not relevant. Two more translation strategies, namely the translation of a non-metaphorical expression into metaphor and the addition of a metaphor in the target text which does not correspond to anything in the source text ('zero into metaphor'), were described as translation possibilities by Toury (1982:32) in his rationale for descriptive translation studies. These metaphor translation strategies had not received any attention in prescriptive literature up to then, but became evident in Toury's descriptive corpus study. Kövecses did not add any new translation strategies for metaphors, but he has a talent for systematically exploring theoretical possibilities and presenting them in easily understandable ways. In section 3.2., his classification method for the cross-linguistic similarity of metaphors was presented. Based on this work, Kövecses (2005:141) concluded that there are four possible strategies for the translation of figurative language, as can be seen in table 3.2. In the first column, the author also indicates the frequency with which these strategies can be found.

**Table 3.2. Translation strategies for figurative language according to Kövecses (2005)**

	<b>Word form</b>	<b>Literal meaning</b>	<b>Figurative meaning</b>	<b>Conceptual metaphor</b>
<b>Most frequent</b>	Different	Same	Same	Same
<b>Less frequent</b>	Different	Different	Same	Same
<b>Least frequent</b>	Different	Different	Same	Different
<b>Literary works</b>	Different	Different	Different	Different

The same conclusions had been drawn by Al-Zoubi Mohammad, Al-Ali Mohammed and Al-Hasnawi Ali (2009:238) in their descriptive study of English-Arabic translations in the light of Mandelblit's cognitive translation hypothesis (1995).

The descriptions of metaphor translation strategies commented on above are largely compatible and what they have in common is that, despite taking into account cognitive-linguistic theories, their main concern is with linguistic metaphors (Samaniego Fernández, 2013:161; Schäffner, 2004:1253). The implications of these studies for a translator's daily routine can be summarised as follows: Bearing in mind all the different possibilities, the first thing a translator should do when facing a metaphor is to establish which conceptual domains are involved in the metaphorical mapping, and try to recreate this mapping in the target language. If this is impossible, an alternative conceptual mapping involving other, but equivalent, domains should be sought for (Rojo & Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013:22). Should these two strategies not be available, the translator is advised to opt for an explanatory simile or a literal translation with an explanation (Ahrens & Say, 1999:101; Tebbit & Kinder, 2016:406). The most difficult cases seem to have the simplest solution: Iñesta Mena and Pamies Beltrán (2002:241) recommend translating culture-specific metaphors, such as expressions from bullfighting or national cuisine into literal language. In a more recent publication, Kövecses (2014:37) points out that an ideal translation of a metaphor should feature an identical scope of the source domain, matching correspondences between source and target domain and identical encyclopaedic knowledge associated with the source domain. This however is difficult to comply with in most cases.

Al-Harrasi (2001) set out to consistently apply Conceptual Metaphor Theory to his descriptive metaphor translation study. The main difference with earlier studies was that Al-Harrasi did not focus on the linguistic form, but on the nature of the conceptual mapping. In his analysis, the distinction between image schemata and rich images was essential. Image schemata are conceptually more generic, more skeletal; examples are PATH, FORCE, BALANCE, etc. Meanwhile, rich images tend to be more specific and are usually concretisations of an image schema, e.g. STREET, FLOODWATERS, SCALES OF A BALANCE. As a result of this distinction between image schemata and rich images, the category "reproducing the same conceptual metaphor" was subdivided into eight different translation strategies, which are listed below (Al-Harrasi, 2001:277-288). Since the original texts in Al-Harrasi's study were written in Arabic, I will give the literal translation followed by the actual translations in brackets to illustrate the categories:

- 1) Same image schematic representation (balance >> balance)
- 2) Concretising an image schematic metaphor (in the core of >> in the heart of)
- 3) Reproducing only a functional aspect of the image schema (core/ essential >> strong; core/essential >> distinctive)

- 4) Maintaining the same image schema and same rich image (traditionally referred to as keeping the same metaphor)
- 5) Same rich image, but alerting the reader (so to say, or other metaphor markers)
- 6) Same image schema, different rich image (power of pulling >> gaining the upperhand)
- 7) Rich image translated as image schema (time whose dust was about to bury it >> era of stagnation)
- 8) Same mapping but different perspective (university X, where our sons will receive Y >> university X, which will provide Y)

The remaining translation strategies observed by Al-Harrasi were similar to those reported in other studies: adding a new instantiation of a conceptual metaphor (cf. Toury's zero into metaphor), using a different conceptual metaphor, and deletion of the expression of the metaphor. This typology allows for a detailed description of changes which occurred in the translation process, but not for the prediction of possible translation difficulties in a given language pair since it is based on universal aspects of metaphor on a very general level.

An interesting instruction on how to translate metaphor was put forward by Prandi (2010). He distinguished consistent and conflictual metaphors. Consistent metaphors are well integrated in people's ways of using language, i.e. this category comprises conventional metaphors and some novel metaphors that are widely used and understood but have not yet made their way into the dictionary. Conflictual metaphors are those that contain a conceptual conflict with their context and are usually the 'most novel' metaphors. When translating metaphor, its nature, either consistent or conflictual, should be maintained. In the case of a consistent metaphor, the meaning should be translated. If it is not possible to reproduce the meaning with a metaphorical expression, the best solution is literal language. In the case of conflictual metaphors, the semantic support should be translated word by word. If the conceptual conflict gets lost in this process, it is legitimate to restore the conflict changing the metaphor.

In an attempt to unify the Western and Arabic notions of metaphor, Al-Garrallah (2016) puts forward a new typology of metaphors and a translation procedure for what he terms implied metaphor, i.e. linguistic metaphors in which either tenor or vehicle are absent from the text. Unfortunately, the definition and translation procedures are not compatible with the two-domain approach or the commonly used analytical procedure MIP/MIPVU in that Al-Garrallah seems to assume that the vehicle is always a noun<sup>33</sup>.

---

<sup>33</sup> Al-Garrallah (2016:183) suggests the following metaphor typology: "1- Vehicle-oriented metaphor: it requires the textual presence of the vehicle in the metaphorical expression as in "Your eyes strike arrows." 2- Tenor-oriented metaphor: it requires the textual presence of the tenor in the metaphorical expression. The vehicle is hidden, but a relevant indicator to it is explicitly stated. This indicator semantically does not go with the vehicle (i.e. it deviates from the norm). For instance, when one says: "The flowers dance," he likens flowers to girls. He deletes girls and retains an indicator (dance). 3- Tenor-vehicle-integrated metaphor: it requires the textual presence of both the tenor and vehicle. Both are explicitly stated in the metaphorical expression as in "John is a lion." It is important to iterate that this type of metaphor is considered an expressive simile in Arabic rhetoric. 4- Implied metaphor: it includes either vehicle-oriented metaphor or tenor-oriented metaphor." In 2., it becomes evident that a metaphor vehicle can only be a noun for the author.

Despite the large number of prescriptive studies with their well-intentioned instructions when to use which kind of translation strategy, and despite the rising number of highly informative descriptive studies, the reality in translated texts is not always consistent with theory. Contrary to the recommendations of looking for a metaphor with a similar meaning if a source text metaphor does not exist in the target language, the findings of a study of English and Spanish newspaper articles suggest that translators tend to create new metaphors in the target language by calque rather than search for equivalents (Samaniego Fernández, 2013:192). These calque translations are also common in the Croatian media informing on economics and have been shown to create comprehension problems (Milić & Vidaković Erdeljić, 2017). With regard to financial and political terminology, Naciscione (2006:112, 2011:275) reports from her experience as an EU translator and interpreter that Latvian tends to transform metaphorical terms such as ‘money laundering’ or ‘credit crunch’ into non-metaphorical defining terms. The author laments the loss of memorability and rapid retrieval which this process involves. Systematic demetaphorisation had already been commented on by Newmark (1982:94) in the case of medical translations into English and German.

Another point of criticism of the above recommendations is the assumption that all deviations from the suggested translation strategies are translation mistakes. Schäffner (2014:82) argued that the choice of a translation does not only depend on the availability of the same conceptual metaphor and its lexical instantiations in the target language but is also determined by the discourse type and the social context. Al-Harrasi (2001:301) had partially addressed this problem by giving different recommendations for documentary translations, which are to be close to the original, than for functional translations, whose main objective is flawless communication. In this line, Shi (2014:769) points out that there are a number of factors apart from the source text metaphor itself that have an influence on the decision whether to foreignise or domesticate a metaphor in translation. These include contextual factors of the source text, referential accuracy, acceptability as perceived by the audience of the translation and pragmatic economy.

Above all, however, there is one intrinsic difficulty to the recommendations above: the translator needs to identify the semantic unit as metaphorically used language first. Moreover, in order to correctly apply the recommendations, the translator needs to have a good command of both source and target language, which is not always the case, especially not in countries with a low degree of professionalisation in this field. Furthermore, the metaphor translation procedures are presented in a way that makes them universally applicable. The disadvantage of this universal approach is that it does not include language-pair specific difficulties nor instructions how to overcome these.

### 3.5. Translation studies and corpus linguistics

There is a need to base theories on empirical data, which, in the field of language studies, means on the analysis of real language use, as reflected in written texts and oral communications. A collection of texts, transcripts, audios or videos compiled with a certain research purpose in mind is called a corpus. Indeed, it is corpus linguistics that strongly advocates the need for empirical data: although many publications with ad hoc examples, provided by the researcher, seem convincing at first sight, corpus studies have proven that the researcher's intuition is not always right. In addition, corpus linguistics has shown that language does not follow innate structures and fixed rules, but seems to be usage-based; so, in order to understand the true nature of language, real language usage needs to be studied (Rojo & Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2013:11).

At the beginning of the 1990s, computer science allowed for large corpora to be used. Most translation studies back then applied this new technology to study parallel corpora, i.e. original texts and their translation(s). By aligning a text and its translation sentence by sentence, a translation memory can be created, which allows for searches of identical sentences or phrases. This approach, however, is limited to existing translations. A new source text that needs to be translated may show a certain overlap with existing parallel corpora if it is a new version of another document, or a document for a similar product by the same company. Mostly however, only a few short phrases and terminology can be extracted from existing parallel corpora. There are a lot more monolingual texts in each language than professional translations, and the former can also give the translator valuable information on terminology and actual language usage. This is why many linguists started mining information from comparable corpora instead (Sharoff, Rapp, Zweigenbaum & Fung, 2013:1-2; Shuttleworth, 2014:61). Moreover, a translated text is always influenced by the source text and might contain all kinds of calques. Therefore, studying monolingually produced texts provides more reliable data if the objective is to obtain knowledge about real language use and not the translation process itself.

Sharoff and colleagues (2013:2-3) classify bi- and multilingual corpora into four categories:

- 1) **Parallel corpora** consisting of exact translations or translations with minor cultural adaptations;
- 2) **Strongly comparable texts**, i.e. heavily edited and adapted translations or closely related text written about the same event or topic, often by the same or a similar source in different languages;
- 3) **Weakly comparable texts** comprise texts in the same domain but a different subdomain or in the same topic domain and genre but describing different events;
- 4) **Corpora with unrelated texts** can still be used for certain kinds of linguistic studies or to extract teaching material.

Parallel corpora offer the translator the advantage of quick translation equivalent retrieval and are ideal to draw conclusions about translation processes based on a comparison of original text and translation product. Furthermore, parallel corpora of previously elaborated translations help ensure terminological consistency with earlier translations by the same translator and especially for the same client. However, translation products are often influenced by the source language and have been shown to differ from monolingually produced texts of the same genre (Toury, 1982:29; Halverson, 2013:49,51). For this reason, cross-linguistic difference is better studied in comparable corpora than in parallel texts. The present study uses comparable corpora as it aims to describe metaphor use in authentic texts, which are free of interferences from other languages. Since the locations, traditions, products and services offered in each of the three countries (England, Spain and Germany) differ from the others, the corpora used for this study have to be considered weakly comparable texts, although the overall topic and purpose as well as the sources of the websites are similar. Finally, corpora of unrelated texts are valuable tools for morphosyntactic and semantic studies, such as use and meaning of prepositions or polysemy. They also offer language learners and translators the possibility to verify technical terms and other word choices, collocations, verb patterns or the saliency of an expression.

### **3.6. Summary**

In this chapter, we have seen that cognitive linguistics is gradually being applied to translation studies. For instance, Kövecses' (2005) classification of similarity configurations of corresponding metaphors in two languages is based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In order to be able to translate a metaphor literally, the following similarity configuration needs to be given: same or different word form, same literal meaning, same figurative meaning and same conceptual metaphor. In all other cases, the equivalence of the translation will be incomplete or incorrect. The degree of translatability of a metaphor depends on many different factors: cultural elements contained in the metaphor, amount of information conveyed by the metaphor, type of metaphor, cultural and semantic overlap in the language pair, limitations of the target culture and language, etc. Strategies to achieve a higher degree of equivalence when a word-by-word transfer is dissatisfactory include change to another target concept or target domain, translation by simile, complementary sense and conversion to literal language. Since a primary objective of a good translation should be to maintain the original text's communicative effect on the reader, a metaphor consistent with general language use should be translated as a consistent metaphor and a conflictual metaphor as a conflictual one (Prandi, 2010). As valuable as all these contributions might be, none of them study translatability at the level of mapping schemes or source-domain/ target-domain combinations, which is the objective of this dissertation. This study, therefore, will provide useful insights into different preferences for certain kinds of conceptualisation in metaphor production in English, Spanish and German.

Finally, corpus linguistics has contributed notably to the empirical study of language usage since the 1990s. Although, translation studies initially showed great interest in parallel corpora, more and more researchers have taken to studying comparable corpora in order to extract information from authentic language instead of source-language influenced texts. Moreover, comparable corpora enable researchers to draw from a larger collection of texts. This study is, therefore, in line with a relatively recent direction in the study of metaphor translatability that draws conclusions from monolingually produced texts in order to provide valuable information for translation processes (Shuttleworth, 2014:61).

# Chapter 4

## Promotional tourism discourse

The topic of this dissertation is cross-linguistic metaphor variation in promotional tourism websites. Therefore, this chapter will describe promotional tourism websites as a genre within tourism discourse. General features of both tourism discourse and promotional tourism websites will be dealt with and special attention will be paid to the linguistic features of the latter. Here it will be necessary to make a distinction between the three languages of the present study, English, German and Spanish. In addition, this chapter will sum up research into the translation of tourism discourse in general and cross-linguistic differences in promotional tourism discourse as a specific genre. The chapter concludes with a literature review regarding research into metaphor in promotional tourism discourse.

### **Institutional promotional websites and tourism discourse**

It is important to determine the text genre which is being studied since metaphor use does not only vary with the overall topic or scientific discipline (Partington, 2006), but has been shown to depend on the specific genre and its expected readership or audience (Skorczynska & Deignan, 2006; Steen et al. 2010:86; Deignan, Littlemore, & Semino, 2013). Genre is also relevant for metaphor translation as genre-specific linguistic and textual features may vary cross-linguistically (Steen, 2014:21; Mattiello, 2018:113). In order to establish the genre of the texts in the present research corpus, it will be necessary to define the concepts 'genre' and 'discourse community' first. Once these terms have been clarified, different typologies of genres in tourism discourse will be presented and the basic features of tourism promotional websites will be summarised.

There is a vast number of definitions for the term genre, most of which were formulated from a literary perspective. In the present research, I will rely on a definition that has been used in the context of metaphor studies before, according to which genre can be defined as a specific text type that is used by a specific discourse community for specific purposes (Deignan, Littlemore, & Semino, 2013:21).

The term discourse community, first used in the early 1980s, was based on the concepts of speech community and scientific community and, like these, shares discourse conventions which are determined by its community members and their common practices (Kim & Vorobel, 2017:269). A detailed definition of discourse community was offered by Swales (1990:24-27), according to whom a discourse community has a broadly agreed set of common public goals and mechanisms of intercommunication, which its members use to provide information and feedback; thus they possess one or more genres and specific lexis with which to pursue their common objectives. Furthermore, in order to be considered a discourse member, a minimum level of knowledge and an active command of the discourse conventions are required. In addition, there are different roles within a discourse community, which became evident in Beaufort's 1997 discourse community study of a non-profit organisation (Kim & Vorobel, 2017:270). In metaphor studies, Barton's (2007:75) definition of discourse community as a "a group of people who have texts and practices in common" has been applied by several authors.

In order to define a genre, there needs to be discourse community. This brings us to the question of whether the users and the creators of promotional tourism websites can be understood as a discourse community. If one applies the Swales definition in the strict sense, the answer has to be no, since the audience is made up of an extremely wide range of different people from different backgrounds and cultures, whose active knowledge and command of the discourse conventions is questionable. Furthermore, travellers and tourist boards do not normally communicate directly with each other and the exchange of information via promotional websites is fairly unidirectional (cf. Dann:1996:64, Mioduszevska Andrzejewska 2007:162), although some of the websites analysed in the present study, mainly the German ones, have started to integrate interactive elements where users can create content and seek advice from tourism professionals. If we apply Barton's (2007) looser definition of discourse community as a group of people who have texts and practices in common, the answer would be: yes, there is a discourse community to which tourism language in general and promotional tourism websites can be attributed. The discourse community is made up of institutional agents, consumers of the goods and services offered by the tourism industry and economic agents as some promotional websites include commercial features. Tourism, in turn, is defined by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation as "a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes".

#### ***4.1.1. Genres in tourism discourse***

As tourism is a vast area with different agents (private businesses, institutions, travellers) that has to cover all basic needs (food, accommodation, transport, safety) and

offer entertainment options, a wide range of text types have been created to organise and promote all these activities. Given this wide range of agents and activities, it is difficult to cover all aspects of tourism communication and researchers often specialise in a subarea. As a consequence, “tourism textual typologies are numerous” (Federici, 2018:107). Proceeding in chronological order, we will now see several classifications of tourism genres that allow us to situate promotional tourism websites within tourism discourse.

In his extensive book on tourism language from a sociolinguistic perspective, Dann (1996:135-170) proposed a classification according to the medium (written, audio, visual/sensory, and combinations thereof) and the stage of trip (pre-trip, on-trip, post-trip). Probably due to the publication date, Dann did not mention promotional websites in his classification. Nevertheless, promotional tourism websites could be considered to be included in ‘Internet’, which is given as an example in the category ‘pre-trip written and visual/sensory media’.

Calvi (2010:22-23) and the Linguaturismo project work with classifications on multiple levels, which are based on different criteria. Genre families (*familias de géneros* in Spanish) are defined by the professional community that produces them and by their main objectives. The author identified the following genre families: editorial genres, institutional genres, commercial genres, organisational genres, legal genres, scientific and academic genres as well as informal genres. Tourism promotional websites belong to the category ‘institutional genres’ since they are created by official organisms, such as national, regional or local governments, in order to promote a destination. Calvi (2010:23-24), furthermore, distinguishes five macrogenres (*macrogéneros*) according to the sender and the channel, taking into account the main objective of the text. These macrogenres are guidebooks, brochures, travel magazines, travel catalogues and webpages. The last category comprises websites set up by official institutions, commercial organisations or traveller communities and typically contain descriptive guides, practical guides, legal information, as well as blogs and forums for travellers. The next level in Calvi’s classification is genre itself. This is the level at which distinctive linguistic features become evident (Calvi, 2010:24). The different genres (*géneros*) proposed by Calvi are: descriptive guide, itinerary, practical guide, travel programme, article, advertisement, tourism report, organisational documents (tickets, bookings, contracts, menus, etc.), tourism legislation, and travel blogs and forums. A promotional website will typically contain several of the listed genres. For instance, descriptive and practical guides, itineraries and advertisements are common features, but pages where bookings can be made or forums where travellers can exchange information are becoming more and more frequent on official promotional websites as well. Finally, subgenres (*subgéneros*) are created by specifying the topic that a group of texts within a genre is addressing. In summary, according to Calvi (2010), promotional tourism websites belong to the family ‘institutional genres’ and to the macrogenre

'websites'. They are not considered a genre *per se*. Instead, according to this classification, promotional tourism websites feature several tourism discourse genres, such as descriptive and practical guides, itineraries, etc.

In order to answer the questions as to whether promotional and commercial tourism websites can be considered genres of their own, Mariottini (2011) analysed user expectations regarding these two types of tourism websites. She concluded that a clear set of expectations as to which features should be included in these two kinds of websites and where they should be located is an indicator that these promotional and commercial tourism websites can be considered independent cybergenres.

Another scholar who classified tourism-related internet genres and described their main features is González García (2012). Her classification comprises five main categories, namely: 1) tourism webpages, 2) tourism weblogs, 3) social networks, 4) travel wikis, and 5) virtual worlds. Regarding webpages, she distinguishes commercial websites and promotional tourism websites. The latter are described as belonging to a state, regional or local political organism and aiming to promote tourist destinations (González García, 2012:18). The discursive and linguistic features the author observed in this genre will be described in the following section.

There is no absolute consensus as to whether promotional tourism websites are to be seen as a genre of their own, but more recent classifications focussing on the communication channel Internet do actually concede promotional tourism websites the status of an independent cybergenre. This is the viewpoint I will adopt for the present research.

#### ***4.1.2. Basic features of promotional tourism websites***

In the previous section, some of the most essential characteristics of promotional tourism websites have already been elicited in order to classify them: they are sites on the internet which are created by local, regional or state governments or by boards and companies that are commissioned by these governments to formulate a promotional strategy and design the corresponding web contents. Their main communicative purpose is to persuade and to inform (Fuentes Luque, 2005:62; Pierini, 2007:88). The target audience is extremely broad as promotional tourism websites address the national and international general public that may be interested in information about the promoted destination (Pierini, 2007:88). The tenor of this kind of websites is expert to non-expert communication with the peculiarity that the sender tries to reduce social distance and uses inviting verbal techniques, while the mode is written and displays a high degree of unidirectionality as most genres in tourism discourse (Dann, 1996:64). Regarding non-verbal features, photographs play an important role in this genre (Pierini, 2007:88), and one may also add that the use of audio-visualson tourism websites is constantly on the increase.

The basic organisational feature of a promotional tourism website is a homepage with links to other webpages within the same site, most of which offer descriptive contents of the destination and the tourist activities that can be found there (González García, 2012:18). Moreover, promotional tourism websites typically contain slogans that promote the destination (González García, 2012:19). The reason why some scholars hesitate to consider this kind of website a genre of its own may reside in the fact that they comprise several text types which are the electronic equivalent of traditional printed tourism genres, such as brochures, practical guides or itineraries. What differentiates these websites from those traditional genres is their hypertextuality, interactivity and the possibility of regular up-dates (González García, 2012:24; Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:18-19). Apart from these points, the promotional efficiency is also enhanced by advertisements and search engines that are often embedded on these websites (Calvi, 2010:20).

## **4.2. The language of tourism**

When linguists refer to tourism language as a specialised language, they generally do so only hesitantly or classify it as a semi-technical language (Almela Sánchez-Lafuente, 2012:260; Durán Muñoz, 2012b:265). This may be due to the fact that tourism language is usually not perceived as a specialised language by laymen, as the language directed at them by professionals and institutions is subject to a special effort not to create linguistic or conceptual barriers. Despite this effort, there is another area of tourism language which relies heavily on specialised terminology and acronyms (Amiradis, 2011:68)<sup>34</sup>. This dissertation and, consequently, the present chapter focus primarily on expert-layman communication, which is closer to general language. The main objective of this kind of communication is to fulfil the wishes of the traveller, and it is characterised by politeness and a mutual dependency: the tourist depends on the expert's knowledge while the expert depends, directly or indirectly, on the tourist's spending (Amiradis, 2011:69). In the following sections, I will summarise the findings of a literature review on tourism language in general, on promotional tourism language and finally on language on promotional tourism websites.

### ***4.2.1. The language of tourism in general***

Tourism language has been described as highly heterogeneous on all linguistic levels, which is partially due to the large number of subject fields in tourism and to the overlaps with other disciplines such as history, leisure, accommodation, or management, to name just a few. As a result, tourism discourse is multidimensional and multidisciplinary (Agorni, 2012:6; Edo Marzá, 2012:52; Carpi, 2013:51; Maci, 2018:26). A secondary effect of this multidisciplinary nature is the internal structure of text

---

<sup>34</sup> For a detailed rationale why tourism language can be considered a specialised language see: Durán Muñoz (2012b).

types within tourism discourse. Most other disciplines display a gradual specification of their text types, whereas tourism discourse can be seen as a combination of texts deriving from multiple activities and disciplines (Calvi, 2010:19). As a consequence, tourism language has assimilated a large variety of terms from other disciplines (Calvi, 2000:1; Durán Muñoz, 2012b:268). With regard to semantics, tourism terminology can be divided into four main areas, namely accommodation, leisure, travel and restoration (González Pastor & Candel Mora, 2018:83). Technical terms are often loans or calques from English and, occasionally, from French (Durán Muñoz, 2012b:268). Another aspect that contributes to heterogeneity in tourism discourse is the dissimilarity among its discourse participants: on the one hand, there are official institutions, on the other, there are private economic agents, and finally there is the community of travellers in all its diversity (Chierichetti, Garofalo & Mapelli, 2019:5). They all have different interests and levels of knowledge, which have to be taken into account in tourism communication, resulting in a wide range of genres.

It is difficult to find linguistic features that apply to all tourism discourse genres. Even publications that use the expression ‘language of tourism’ usually refer to a subsegment of tourism discourse only. For instance, Dann (1996:62-67) asserts that there are some distinctive qualities that differentiate tourism language from other types of discourse, namely lack of sender identification, monologue, euphoria, and tautology. Nevertheless, Dann seems to refer to expert-layman communication only here, more precisely to tourism promotion and advertising. Durán Muñoz (2012b) also predominantly focusses on promotional and commercial tourism language. The linguistic features of this area within tourism discourse will be described in more detail in the following section of this chapter.

#### ***4.2.2. The language of tourism promotion***

Promotional discourse in general combines two basic functions: on the one hand, it has to establish communication, although this communication may be fairly unidirectional, and on the other hand, it has to convey information about the products or services on offer (Piñeiro Maceiras, 2000:255; Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:11). Up to very recently, the role of the receivers was limited to a reaction: they could only decide to buy or not to buy, to visit the promoted destination or not to visit it (Piñeiro Maceiras, 2000:257). Slowly but surely, this is changing due to interactive features of online promotion. The ultimate aim of informing the potential travellers is to persuade them to purchase a product or service, which may involve recommendations and warnings (Blanco Gómez, 2012:84).

Typical linguistic features of promotional discourse are a predominantly nominal style, relative use of articles, comparatives and superlatives, as well as the frequent use of imperatives, metaphor, hyperbole, expressive adjectives, rhetorical questions, loan words, ellipsis, simple sentences and enumerations (Borrueco Rosa, 2007:18-19).

Tourism promotional discourse shares many of these features with general advertising (Mănescu, 2020:228). The typical verbal techniques used in tourism promotion as a means of establishing a relationship with the reader and encouraging persuasion are the following: ego-targeting, pseudo-dialogue, keying, contrasting, exotising, comparing, poetic devices and humour (Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:25; Mănescu, 2020:223-226). Other scholars, furthermore, mention language euphoria (Cappelli, 2007:103, Calvi 2010:193) and slogans, as well as the use of the present tense, conditional sentences, noun groups and elliptic sentences (Blanco Gómez, 2012:82-92) as typical of promotional tourism discourse. These verbal techniques will now be explained in more detail.

Ego-targeting refers to the strategy of addressing receivers of a text directly and making them feel special by causing the impression that they have been singled out from the crowd (Dann, 1996:185; Cappelli, 2007:103; Manca, 2018:91; Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:25; Mănescu, 2020:223). The impression of a (pseudo-)dialogue is created through direct questions, imperatives and informal register (Blanco Gómez, 2012: 91; Mănescu, 2020:223). The keying technique consists of the repetition of carefully chosen words in order to create the desired image of a destination (Dann, 1996:175; Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:26; Mănescu, 2020:224). Contrasting often occurs by comparing the tourist destination and its benefits to the big city and daily routine. Linguistically, contrasting draws on antonyms (Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:27; Mănescu, 2020:225). An exotic atmosphere can be created by using foreign words. If well employed, exotising (also referred to as languaging) can enhance memorability (Dann, 1996:183). Comparing is used as a discursive technique in tourism promotional discourse in order to reduce the degree of unfamiliarity and to make the potential tourist feel at ease. This is often achieved by employing metaphors and similes (Dann, 1996:172; Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:28; Mănescu, 2020:225). Tourism promotional discourse may also use poetic devices in order to enhance the appeal and memorability of a text. The most frequent poetic devices one can find in tourism discourse are alliteration, consonance and assonance (Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:29; Mănescu, 2020:226). Furthermore, the use of humour in promotional tourism discourse may help overcome apprehension (Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:29; Mănescu, 2020:223; Martí Marco, 2007:123). When Cappelli (2007:103) uses the expression language euphoria, she mainly refers to the typically abundant use of adjectives and emphatic use of language in general in tourism promotional texts. With regard to language euphoria, Calvi (2010:193) pointed out the recurrent use of evaluative adjectives and nouns, and Dann (1996:36) and Blanco Gómez (2012: 91) commented on the frequent use of superlatives in tourism discourse, which seems to be related to a desire of attracting visitors by breaking records. Another typical feature of promotional tourism discourse is slogans, which try to distil the message of a promotional campaign into a catchphrase, such as ‘I need Spain’ or ‘*Tous sous le sol*’ (Martí Marco, 2007:126; Blanco Gómez, 2012:86). Conditional sentences reduce the degree of imposition on the reader but can also be a part of ego-targeting and

of defining the target audience (Blanco Gómez, 2012:92). Meanwhile, noun groups and elliptic sentences increase conciseness and reduce sentence complexity, thus making reading effortless (Blanco Gómez, 2012:82).

Finally, although not a linguistic feature, it needs to be mentioned that promotional tourism discourse depends heavily on the use of images and symbols as it is in combination of a precise lexical choice and visual contents that the image of a tourism destination is created (Maci, 2007:43; Federici, 2018: 108).

#### ***4.2.3. The language of promotional tourism websites***

As a subcategory of tourism promotion, tourism promotional websites can be expected to share the characteristics described above. What has been mentioned in literature as being specific to this kind of website as compared to tourism promotional discourse in general is the unclear and cooperative authorship, the fact that it is extremely reader-oriented and the role of keywords.

The contents of a website are often written by more than one author and are being continually updated, which increases the probability of multiple authorship (Cappelli, 2007:100, 104; Magris & Ross, 2018:282). This may lead to a heterogeneous mixture of styles and communicative strategies. While it is usually clear who commissioned the website, it is extremely difficult for researchers to contact the actual authors in order to retrieve data about their consciously chosen strategies and the writing process.

Promotional tourism websites are highly reader-oriented, that is, apart from being easy to read and understand, they seek to offer the image and information the readership is most likely to expect and to be looking for (Cappelli, 2007:107). Since the addressee of this kind of website is, theoretically, the broad international public, it is difficult to create a mixture of images and strategies that appeals to all kinds of national audiences. For this reason, many tourism website texts are modified, expanded or optimised in the translation process to better suit the target readership of the translation (Cappelli, 2007:107).

Given that most travellers do not know the exact URL address of the websites they will be consulting, they use search engines and introduce keywords of their interest. Search engine rankings will first show those websites with the highest keyword concentration in the first text segment(s). In order to achieve a good position in the search engine results, the keywords are repeated several times on the homepage. In some cases, excessive repetition may lead to a lack of elegance and naturalness. Cappelli (2007:105-106) goes on to explain that the chosen keywords should be short and informative, thus adding to conciseness. The way search engines work also has an effect on the morphological and syntactic level. In order to achieve a high keyword concentration, the blending of terms is preferred over the separate spelling of compound terms (e.g. 'campsite' instead of 'camping site'); well-known acronyms, abbreviations and

reductions are preferable to their full versions ('user id' instead of 'user identity'), and subordinated clauses are avoided by using affixation ('self-catering'), participles ('pre-paid') and noun-groups ('three-night getaway'). Although the examples offered by Cappelli are in English, we can expect similar strategies to be applied in all languages.

Up to now, the focus has been on the description of tourism discourse without focussing on one specific language. The following sections will summarise findings from studies that concentrated on the languages English, Spanish or German.

#### 4.2.4. *English*

In her study of British and Italian tourist board websites, Pierini (2007:89) was able to confirm many of the features described above as typical of international tourism discourse. In this sense, her English corpus exhibits features of virtual orality or pseudo-dialogue and ego-targeting, such as questions, imperatives or frequent use of first and second person pronouns and possessive adjectives. Persuasion is achieved through descriptive, evaluative and superlative adjectives, nouns with positive connotations, and figures of speech such as metaphor and simile. As in international studies, the present tense was found to be predominant on the English websites. The linguistic features from Pierini's (2007) study that might not be mirrored in other languages are a light style with a tendency towards short and simple sentences, a preference for a restricted range of morphosyntactic forms (modals 'will' and 'can', stative constructions), restricted technical vocabulary, and the frequent use of stock phrases, such as 'friendly atmosphere' or 'superb climate'. One might venture that the limited range of morphosyntactic forms and technical vocabulary is based on a conscious decision to make the texts accessible to an international readership.

Montañés (2010) focussed on the English language used in tourism promotional and commercial material from an English for Specific Purposes perspective. She concluded that tourism English draws on a variety of semantic fields, that positive adjectives, acronyms and neologisms were frequent and that borrowings from French, mainly in the semantic fields of cuisine, fashion and architecture, and from Spanish (*siesta*, *fiesta*, *tapas*) could be found. Regarding grammatical aspects, the third person singular in the present tense was the most frequent verb form, mainly used for giving information. Other frequent grammatical features in tourism promotional websites are imperatives; modals and auxiliaries used for suggestions and giving information; emphatic 'do'; indirect questions; hedging as a politeness strategy; predominance of active voice; good cohesion and coherence; and ellipsis, often in slogans (Montañés, 2010:154-158).

A study of mostly British tourist office websites in English by Maci (2007) concluded that the websites intend to convey a message of authenticity, distinctiveness/difference and euphoria, which is reflected in the use of evaluative adjectives. Furthermore, verbs were mainly expressed in imperatives and the second person, often in combination with

the ‘will’-future or the modal verb ‘can’. The discursive effect of the ‘will’-future is a combination of certainty and the implication of the reader, while ‘can’ combines experiences on offer and reader implication (Maci, 2007:57). In a later article, Maci (2018:35) pointed out that modal verbs are, moreover, a means of informing about obligations and prompting to action while keeping the degree of imposition relatively low, which is an especially important aspect in the British understanding of politeness. In the same publication, Maci (2018:31) reported that “the features most frequently used more than in general discourse are: premodification, nominalization, person pronouns, verb tenses, modals and passive forms”. Both premodification and nominalisation help reduce sentence complexity and can improve cohesion (Maci, 2018:32). These two strategies are common and easy to achieve in English. Regarding terminology, Maci (2018:28) remarked that semantic evolution in English tourism discourse is often related to the rapid development of information technologies and draws on the specialisation of general language (‘sustainability’), new coinage from existing lexemes (‘e-tourism’, ‘eco-tourism’) and metaphorisation (‘escape’, ‘recharge energy’, ‘shell’ – space in a brochure/catalogue for agencies to place their contact details). In accordance with Pierini’s (2007) observation of a tendency towards short and simple sentences, Maci (2018:36) stated that English tourism texts prefer coordination to subordination.

The traits of English tourism language that appear to be most interesting to this dissertation are the extensive use of positive adjectives and premodifiers, as part of them can be expected to have metaphorical motivations, and the metaphorisation observed in terminological new formations.

#### 4.2.5. Spanish

The language used in tourism communication in Spanish has been described as having a tendency towards sophisticated lexis and a high register (Calvi, 2000:1). This may be reminiscent of the dictatorial past of Spain when official institutions sought to strengthen their authority by linguistically creating social distance. Regarding lexis, Spanish tourism language is reported to use many Anglicisms, acronyms, abbreviations and standardised formulations (Calvi, 2000:2, 2006:57-65). Neologisms in this field are often calques of English terms, such as *cheque de viajero/ viaje* (traveller’s cheque) or *turoperador* (tour operator) (Calvi, 2000:2; González Pastor & Candel Mora, 2018:95). What stands out in lexical creation in Spanish tourism language is the redetermination of a word from general language or a term from other disciplines, such as *paquete turístico* (tour package) or *congestion del tráfico aéreo* (air traffic jam), by addition of a modifier which redefines the semantic field of the word (Calvi, 2000:3). This is of special interest to the present study. By transferring a word from one conceptual domain to another, metaphor is created. In these cases of redetermination, the modifier indicates the target domain. Furthermore, Calvi (2000:15) found that colour metaphors are quite frequent in Spanish tourism discourse (*turismo verde* for eco-friendly rural tourism,

*bandera azul*, a blue flag to indicate high water quality on coasts, or *semana blanca*, white week for skiing holidays). Otherwise, Calvi (2000:15) reported metaphor not to be frequent in her corpus as compared to popular science, for example. In contrast to other specialised languages, Spanish tourism language has revived some historical words like *azafata* (stewardess) or *parador* (parador hotel<sup>35</sup>), and frequently recurs to historical names for products and services as, for example, in *Al Andalus Express*, which makes reference to the historical name of Andalusia (Calvi, 2000:4).

Promotional Spanish tourism discourse is, moreover, characterised by a vast amount of evaluative language, such as qualifying adjectives and superlatives, which aim to positively influence the traveller's perception of a potential destination (Calvi, 2006: 85, 2012:1). The most common adjectives according to Calvi (2006:85) highlight beauty, richness, size, variety, uniqueness, impressiveness, power of suggestion (*espectaculares, idílicos, paradisíaco, misterioso, mítico*), old age and historical relevance. Recurrent collocations to describe iconic features (*crystalina pureza* – crystalline purity, *playas vírgenes* – virgin beaches) are typical as well. It is also common to find adjectives combined in pairs (*afable y bella tierra* – affable and beautiful land, *revoltoso y mágico viento* – riotous and magic wind), and to encounter accumulations of several adjectives in a paragraph describing the same concept. The relatively high frequency of evaluative adjectives and the accumulation of these adjectives was confirmed by Rodríguez Abella (2013:236) in her analysis of the official Spanish web portal [www.spain.info](http://www.spain.info). Many of these descriptive and evaluative adjectives are likely to have a metaphorical motivation.

With regard to adverbs and prepositions, Calvi (2006:78-81) observed a large number of locative examples in her corpus, but temporal examples were also common. As the passing of time is usually perceived in terms of movement in space, this can be interesting from a metaphorical point of view. The predominant tenses were present tense for descriptions, past tenses for narratives and future tenses for descriptions of itineraries, possibilities and obligations.

Rodríguez Abella (2013:237) remarks that, nowadays, Spanish promotional tourism websites use the same strategies to capture the readers' attention as in ancient rhetoric: imperatives, second person verb forms, novelty, hyperbole. Depending on the target readership, Spanish websites employ either *tú* (informal address) or *usted* (formal) and, in a less direct style, also impersonal formulations or the inclusive first-person plural (Calvi, 2006: 74). In their study of the seventeen official regional tourism websites in Spain, Malenkina and Ivanov (2018) made a series of interesting observations with regard to the interpersonal discursive aspects. They confirmed that these promotional webpages display a constant alternation of informative and persuasive language (Calvi, 2006:25; Rodríguez Abella, 2013:238). Persuasion was achieved by the use of boosters

---

<sup>35</sup> Parador hotels are a kind of high-quality accommodation with traditional features, often in a historical building.

such as adverbs (*sin duda* – undoubtedly, *por supuesto* – of course, *sencillamente* – simply, *especialmente* – especially), verbs of feeling (*enamorarse* – fall in love) and descriptive adjectives, which persuade by attributing desired qualities to the tourist destination. Another frequent persuasive device was attitude markers (*claro* – clear; *ideal*, *indispensable*). Somewhat in contrast with the anonymous authorship postulated by Dann (1996) is the fact that 12% of the metadiscursive language identified in Malenkina and Ivanov’s corpus accounted for self-mention, mainly in the form of the first-person plural (2018:210). This, however, can be explained by the desire to create the illusion of communicating with a group of people. The same effect is achieved with engagement markers, such as imperatives, or by simply addressing the reader directly in affirmative sentences (2018:211). Moreover, Malenkina and Ivanov (2018, 208-209) found hedging devices to be a frequent strategy of non-imposition, giving the readers the impression that they can choose and, therefore, avoid a distant, defensive attitude. The hedging was realised through modal verbs, adjectives (*posible*, *probable*), adverbs (*tal vez/ quizás* – maybe, *probablemente* – probably) often used with superlatives, and negative sentences for positive suggestions (*no puede perder X* – should not miss X, *no puede Y sin Z* – you cannot Y without Z). Regarding word frequencies and keywords, the most salient nouns and adjectives primarily describe the particular features of each region in a very positive light (Malenkina & Ivanov, 2018:213-14). The Spanish regional websites are apparently less commercial than their English equivalents, as ‘hotel’ is only among the top ten keywords on the website of the Catalanian region, while Maci (2007:60) found ‘hotel’ and ‘hotels’ to be the two most frequent tokens in her corpus of British official tourism websites.

In summary, we can say that, given a certain amount of terminology including neologisms, the large number of descriptive as well as evaluative adjectives, and a certain number of verbs that describe feelings, linguistic metaphors are likely to be found on Spanish promotional tourism websites.

#### 4.2.6. German

Not much has been published about the linguistic features of German promotional tourism websites (cf. Suau Jiménez & Labarta Postigo, 2017:208<sup>36</sup>). On the one hand, this might be due to the fact that specialised tourism language in German closely resembles economic language, while the expert-layman communication in the field of tourism is based on general language with some specialised terms from tourism itself and a wide range of related topics (Amiradis, 2011: 64-69). On the other hand, tourism is not one of the main industries in Germany and the welfare of the country does not depend on a successful promotion of tourist destinations. This might have resulted in a

<sup>36</sup> “En comparación con los análisis realizados sobre otros tipos de textos especializados, como por ejemplo el lenguaje académico, el económico empresarial o el de anuncios publicitarios, los estudios sobre textos turísticos en alemán son escasos.” (Compared to analyses about other specialised text types such as academic language, business and economic language or advertising language, research into tourism texts in German are scarce).

lack of research grants for this field, which, in turn, leads to scholars focussing on topics with better funding possibilities. As a consequence, most of the findings presented in this section are extracted from bachelor's and master's dissertations and a leaflet on writing for tourism published in collaboration by several Spanish universities.

Both Amiradis (2011:69) and the leaflet on writing for tourism (Llahí Ribó, 2020:3) recommend employing a formal and polite style. Llahí Ribó (2020:2) further states that a neutral and informative style is preferable in German even though on social media this style is blurred with a more direct and informal use of language.

At the University of Seville, several bachelor theses consisting of grammatical analyses of the texts on tourism websites in German have been written in recent years. They cover the German of the Federal Republic of Germany, Swiss German and Austrian German. According to these studies, the language on promotional tourism websites in German is characterised by a large number of compound nouns, including specialised terms, the frequent use of proper names, descriptive and evaluative adjectives, the present tense and *Präteritum* (comparable to the past tense), the passive voice, few modal verbs and few imperatives, and an overall formal style (Salas Acosta, 2017; Tajuelo Martín, 2017; Rueda Martín, 2019). The findings of the three studies differed as to the frequency of Anglicisms and Gallicisms and sentence complexity. I shall now describe these findings in some more detail.

With respect to nouns, it was found that the analysed websites displayed a large number of compound nouns, some of which are specialised terms taken from fields such as architecture, art history and cuisine. This underlines the fact that tourism language employs terminology from related fields of knowledge. While Rueda Martín (2019:9) reported the absence of Anglicisms and Gallicisms on the German site on castle tourism, Salas Acosta encountered some on the Swiss website, and so did Tajuelo Martín (2017) on the Austrian website on the city Graz. Rueda Martín (2019:9) also pointed out the high frequency of proper names referring to places, buildings, owners and historical agents.

The large number of mostly descriptive and evaluative adjectives and their tendency to form clusters may be due to the descriptive text types that are typical of tourism websites. Among these adjectives, some clearly belong to specialised language (Rueda Martín, 2019:12). Salas Acosta (2017:11) furthermore reports a large number of comparative and superlative forms as well as a large proportion of compound adjectives such as *schneeweiß* (white as snow), *naturverbunden* (emotionally attached to nature/ in close contact with nature) or *reizvoll* (full of charm). These compound adjectives tend to be very descriptive and often contain a metaphorical element, which means they are of interest for the present study. Tajuelo Martín (2017:30) points out the frequent use of present participles as adjectives or adverbs as in *atemberaubend* (breath-taking), *einladend* (inviting/ welcoming), *strahlend blauer Himmel* (brilliantly blue sky/ clear

blue sky). Here once again, the probability of finding underlying conceptual metaphors and personifications as a special subtype of metaphor is high.

Regarding verbs, the predominance of the present tense can be explained by the abundant descriptions of current states and possibilities. The present tense was followed by *Präteritum* (comparable to the past tense), which is used to describe past states and events, but mainly in written language. Any text primarily employing this tense will automatically be perceived as formal. The counterpart of *Präteritum* is *Perfekt*, which is usually used to refer to the past in oral communication and strongly associated with an informal style. On the castle tourism website, for instance, Rueda Martin (2019:18) did not find any occurrences of *Perfekt*. We can thus conclude that the website does not try to create the impression of a dialogue with the reader, which is also supported by the absence of imperatives. On the Swiss website, Salas Acosta (2017:24) found few imperatives, which were in the third-person plural, the polite form. This means that the websites maintain a respectful distance with the reader and follow the rule of non-imposition as a sign of courtesy, which ranks higher in the German understanding of politeness than in Mediterranean cultures for example. Interestingly, there was only one case of modal verbs on the Swiss website (Salas Acosta, 2017:24) and Tajuelo Martín (2017:22-23) gives one example for each of the six German modal verbs of which only two examples (*können, sollen*) are taken from his research corpus. This suggests that the use of modal verbs on promotional tourism websites in German is rather limited, which may be partially explained by the lack of pseudo-dialogues and the tendency towards non-imposition mentioned above. In addition, the formal style reported for this kind of website implies impersonal formulations, such as *es ist möglich + Infinitiv* (it is possible to + infinitive), and nominalisations, as in *Besucher haben die Möglichkeit* (visitors have the possibility). These nominalisations of modal verbs, in turn, are based on conceptual metaphor. The last aspect concerning verb forms I shall consider here is the passive voice: all three theses agree that the passive voice is used with a higher than usual frequency. Unfortunately, there are no numbers offered for the findings nor comparisons made with reference corpora.

With regard to pronouns, the Austrian website displayed mostly third person pronouns (Tajuelo Martín, 2017:12), which points to the descriptive function and the interpersonal function of the website as the polite address in German is realised through third person plural. Sentence complexity was found to vary from website to website. The Swiss website was reported to contain mainly simple sentences. The German site made frequent use of relative clauses and temporal clauses, whereas the Austrian site contained long sentences based on coordination, not subordination. In summary, the German castle tourism website seems to be closest to the traditional German style, which is very factual, formal and maintains a respectful distance with the reader, while the Swiss website seems to display the most international textual features and might even have been written with its translation and localisation in mind. All three websites

seem to contain a good deal of language based on conceptual metaphor due to compound nouns, compound adjectives and nominalisations.

Just like Spanish tourism language, its German equivalent has adopted quite a few terms from the English language. Furthermore, Balbuena Torezano and Álvarez Jurado (2016) draw our attention to loan words from French that are of vital importance in German tourism language, especially in the hotel business. Some of these Gallicisms were introduced in the twentieth century (*Garage, Animateur* – holiday entertainer), others found their way into the German language even longer ago (*Hotel, Restaurant, à la carte, Menü, Büffet, Portier, Chef, Rezeption, Garderobe, Saison, Tour*). Loanwords from other languages add to terminological precision by avoiding ambiguities and polysemy. Therefore, the extensive use of loanwords from another language reduces the probability of metaphorically motivated terms from the own language, German in this case.

### 4.3. Cross-cultural differences in promotional tourism discourse

This section will focus on cross-cultural differences in original texts as opposed to translation studies. The aim is to gather information on culturally motivated differences, which is difficult to accomplish when working with translations since those source text features which are in conflict with the target culture conventions for the given genre may be (and often are) transferred to the target text. This problem will be discussed in more detail in the following section. In cross-cultural studies, it is more difficult to find exact equivalents of linguistic phenomena and to draw precise conclusions than in translation studies, where each text segment can easily be aligned with its translation in the other language(s). This might be the reason why translation studies are much more abundant than cross-cultural studies in tourism. Narrowing down the research area further to promotional tourism discourse which involves one or more languages that are of interest to the present research, the number of cross-cultural studies is even lower. Nevertheless, some interesting work has been published in this field.

A group of researchers belonging to the IULMA institute<sup>37</sup> started the COMET.VAL project in 2009. COMET.VAL is a multilingual tourism text corpus designed to analyse tourism discourse in French, English and Spanish. Due to the practical orientation of the project, its corpus focusses on commercial and promotional text types. The book *Discurso Turístico en Internet* (Sanmartín Sáez, 2012) consists of studies based on the COMET.VAL corpus. Among the chapters of this book, we can find two cross-cultural studies: Suau Jiménez (2012b) studied interpersonal metadiscourse in English and Spanish concluding that hedging and self-mention are more frequent in the English texts of the corpus, while Spanish makes extensive use of boosters; Edo Marzá (2012) compared adjectivation in English and Spanish commercial and promotional websites,

<sup>37</sup> IULMA = Instituto Interuniversitario de Lenguas Modernas Aplicadas

finding that the use of adjectives in both languages is similar, with Spanish using more comparative forms. In a related study, Suau Jiménez (2012a, 128; 149) found that the highlighters used in Spanish mainly underline how historical, traditional and grandiose the destinations are, while the English texts highlight how spectacular, modern, exciting and unique their attractions are. Suau Jiménez (2013) went on to study interpersonality in English and Spanish promotional websites and their effect on persuasion, confirming her 2012 results and showing that website translations display patterns of interpersonality which differ from original texts written in the target language. These differences, in turn, may hamper communicative efficiency (Suau Jiménez, 2013:33). Similar conclusions were drawn by Suau Jiménez and Labarta Postigo (2017) when applying the same approach to Spanish and German texts in tourist guides, a genre which is linguistically closely related to promotional tourism websites. With respect to interpersonality on promotional tourism websites, Rodríguez Abella (2013:225) also points out that direct instructions are typical on Spanish websites, similarly common on English ones, but rather rare on French websites, which prefer indirect instructions and suggestions.

English and Spanish tourism texts have been reported to be different in style due to their cultural background. While English is more colloquial, Spanish texts tend to be more formal and employ more poetic devices in their descriptions (Merkaj, 2013:323).

Manca (2018) analysed highly frequent linguistic techniques on the official tourism websites of five countries. The verbal techniques under scrutiny were comparison, keywords, keying, testimony, languaging and ego-targeting. Each website made use of all these strategies. However, they were employed with different frequencies depending on the languages/cultures. This should be taken into account when designing or translating a promotional campaign for another country (Manca, 2018:91).

Stoian (2015) researched the differences between institutional promotional and commercial websites describing World Heritage Sites in England, Spain and Romania. The Spanish websites were found to favour visual elements, connotation and indirectness, thus displaying more features of a high-context culture. The British sites were found to be more informative, direct and clear, which is associated with low-context cultures. Meanwhile, the Romanian websites combined features of both cultures. In a later study, Stoian (2018) compared the English versions of the Romania Tourist Office website and the official Spanish promotional site [www.spain.info](http://www.spain.info). The national styles were reflected in the translations, most notably in sentence complexity and register: the language on the Romanian site featured more complex syntax and higher register. While Romanian texts mainly described the sights in detail, the Spanish texts mainly identified and conveyed information (Stoian, 2018:194).

Not a cross-linguistic study itself, but one that sheds light on the stylistic differences between English and Italian tourism texts is a chapter on Italian websites and their English translations by Mattiello (2018). Translators obviously feel that figurative

language use is more limited in English than in Italian: Mattiello (2018) found that in the translations of three Tuscan promotional tourism websites, out of 666 cases of figurative language (metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole, personification, simile), only 452 or 67.9% were rendered as figurative language in the English translations.

These cross-cultural studies exemplify how the use of comparable corpora can yield valuable information for the translation and localisation of tourism texts in order to ensure efficient communication and to achieve the ultimate goal of attracting visitors. So far, research has concentrated on interpersonal discourse, semantic aspects of adjective use, and style. The authors mostly chose linguistic and discursive approaches combined with a cultural perspective to account for the findings. Multimodal studies are gaining popularity as well. However, cognitive approaches are not common. Cross-linguistic studies on metaphor in tourism discourse are scarce and will be dealt with in section 4.5.

#### **4.4. Tourism Discourse and Translation**

In this section, once again, when employing the term ‘tourism texts’ or ‘tourism language’, the focus will be on the language used in promotional tourism materials. The creation and translation of these texts are crucial for the success of any promotional campaign (Federici, 2018:106). Within this promotional discourse, the translation of tourism websites has been described as a “thorny issue” and the translation of figurative language on tourism websites in particular, which is of special interest to this dissertation, seems to be “an extremely delicate subject” (Mattiello, 2018:113). Several scholars argue that, due to this difficulty, tourism translation must be considered a kind of specialised translation and should be taught as such in translation and interpretation degrees (Merkaj, 2013; Durán Muñoz, 2012b; Mattiello, 2018). In fact, the complexity of tourism translation seems to be underestimated frequently by both commissioners and translators themselves (Pierini, 2007:99; Calvi & Suau Jiménez, 2018). This section will define the features of a quality translation in promotional tourism discourse. Next, the typical problems and difficulties encountered in this kind of translation will be summarised, and finally, possible solutions to overcome these problems and difficulties will be described. These possible solutions include increased investment in translation, requirements for the translation process and, consequently, translator training, and, finally, research fields and methodologies that may shed some more light on the nature of these problems. This literature review will provide theoretical background information that is useful for the adequate interpretation of research data and for the formulation of conclusions for translating metaphor in tourism texts.

In the context of website translation analysis, Pierini (2007:92) applied the following working definition of translation quality: "the TT [=target text] shows a good quality when it is a native-like text, well-written according to the genre style and Web writing style, achieves the intended effect (persuasion), and does not exhibit unintended side

effects (humour, offence)". In order to be native-like, criteria of adequacy and acceptability have to be met. Adequacy entails the morpho-syntactic and semantic accuracy as prescribed by language norms, while acceptability is linked to language usage and the end-user perception of a text. Any deviation from linguistic and usage norms, including genre conventions, may result in an awkward or humorous effect and, therefore, diminish the persuasive force of the text (Pierini, 2007:92; Merkaj, 2013:321). In other words, the pragmatic effect of the translated text should be equivalent to the pragmatic effect of its source text in order to fulfil the main purpose of a promotional tourism website, i.e. to turn a potential visitor into an actual visitor. Federici (2018:106) emphasises the need to adapt the translation to each target market, as one translation cannot cater successfully for the wide international market, or as Manca (2013:123) and Mele and Cantoni (2018:132) put it: tourism websites need to be translated linguistically and culturally. They further explain that this cultural adaptation requires a high degree of translators' intervention, bordering at times on rewriting, since the translator has to take into account not only the communicative culture of the intended readership for successful reader involvement, but also their background knowledge (Agorni, 2012:7). In this respect, it is identities and culture-specific aspects that need to be mediated in intercultural translation (Agorni, 2012:10). For these reasons, instead of website translation, professionals often speak of website localisation (Mele & Cantoni, 2018:154).

There is a long list of problems and difficulties that may hamper successful communication in tourism translations. Durán Muñoz (2012a:106-111) provides a useful overview, making a distinction between translation problems that are always a challenge, no matter how experienced a translator is, and translation difficulties, which are challenging for unexperienced translators but can be overcome with practice and expertise. Durán Muñoz identified the following problems: subordination of the text to visual material and lack of information; ambiguous phrases and words with double meaning; culture-specific concepts; constant positive and poetic language; and confusing language in the source text. The translation difficulties of tourism texts according to Durán Muñoz (2012a:109-111) are: the proper names of people, museums, institutions, etc.; toponyms; inverse translation; neologisms; the reliability of sources. The first translation problem, subordination of the text to visual material, derives from the fact that visual material is key in creating an image of the tourist destination and the text is a supportive element in this process and may make reference to some of the visual elements. Unfortunately, translators are often not provided with the images or the final format of the product they are translating, nor do they receive explicit information on the underlying promotional strategy or related material belonging to the same campaign which might be relevant. Without this kind of information, a translation is less likely to be coherent and successful as an overall product (Durán Muñoz 2012a:106). The second translation problem, intentionally ambiguous phrases and double meanings, may be hard to overcome if source and target language are

semantically different. For instance, the promotional campaign *Andalucía te quiere* cannot be transferred into English or German, because these languages do not have a verb that represents all the different aspects of the verb *querer*, which are ‘love’, ‘want’, ‘desire’ and ‘need’ (Durán Muñoz 2012a:107). This may be relevant for metaphor translation as most linguistic metaphors are an instantiation of a polysemous word. With respect to culture-specific concepts, Merkaj (2013:322) observed that the main problem is that translators lack the necessary training and cultural knowledge to deliver high quality translation in tourism; some translators did not receive any academic training at all and are not aware of the fact that culturemes need to be mediated. A study into the treatment of ten typical culture-specific concepts in guidebooks about Valencia showed that those texts written in English most often used the strategy of combining a loan or a calque translation of these concepts with one or two descriptive strategies, while the guidebooks that had been translated from Spanish to English used pure loans or calque translations without descriptive information more often than the untranslated texts (González Pastor & Candel Mora, 2013). These findings suggest that there is a lack of awareness regarding the need for mediation pointed out by Agorni (2012:10). Furthermore, promotional tourism language is characterised by a constant use of positive and poetic language. That means that not just any equivalent of a given word fits, but that the translation needs to have similar positive connotations to the source text lexeme. As for poetic language, it may be difficult to find a pragmatic equivalent.

The last of the five translation problems suggested by Durán Muñoz (2012a) is confusing language in the source text and can only be solved with the help of the commissioner or original copywriter. Another problem one could add to the list is the small amount of money that is generally invested in the translation of tourism texts, which reduces the likelihood of quality translations (Calvi, 2012:1; Calvi & Suau Jiménez, 2018:81).

As opposed to translation problems, translation difficulties can be overcome with experience. Among these difficulties, proper names, toponyms, and the reliability of sources which are used by the translator to solve translation problems are of little relevance to this dissertation. Neologisms, on the other hand, may be based on metaphor and translators who have to coin a new term in their language are advised to maintain the metaphorical aspect for better memorability and back-translatability (Naciscione, 2006). The high proportion of inverse translations carried out in Spain, just like in many other popular holiday destinations, may be the main reason for the generally low translation quality (Le Poder & Fuentes Luque, 2005:33; Kelly, 2005:155). Even when a translation of a tourism text is free of grammatical and terminological mistakes, it can be perceived as hilarious, as shown by a study on German tourists in Spain (Nobs, 2005). The author of this study ventured that the relatively high ratings for hilarity even in error-free brochures may be due to the literal translation of metaphors and the cross-linguistic difference of metaphor use between Spanish and German. Fairly correct, but

nevertheless unnatural, texts were also reported in website translations from Italian to German (Magris & Ross, 2018:233). Kelly (2005:158) related bad translation quality to overly literal translation, as well. Had these texts been translated by native speakers of the target language, the comic or unnatural effect would probably have been reduced considerably or even eliminated.

In summary, there is possible overlap between the identified translation problems/difficulties and metaphor use in the area of intentionally ambiguous phrases, double meanings, and constant positive and poetic language. If the translator is not aware of the degree of translatability of such linguistic instantiations of metaphor, this may result in loss of meaning and loss of communicative efficiency (Pierini, 2007:98-99).

The solution to these problems is threefold: increased investments in quality translations, improved translator training and more research into tourism discourse. Better budgets for translations of tourism websites are desirable since they may solve the inverse translation problem, pay for trained professionals and proof-reading, and generally improve the translation process. The resulting higher quality will most probably constitute a competitive advantage for the commissioner of the translation (Calvi & Suau Jiménez, 2018:81-83). As for translator training, we have seen that a high degree of intervention on behalf of the translator is necessary to adapt tourism promotional texts and specifically tourism websites to a different target market (Federici, 2018:106; Mele & Cantoni, 2018:154). In order to successfully do so, a translator needs both semantic, syntactic and morphological knowledge as well as discursive, pragmatic and technological<sup>38</sup> competence (Capelli, 2007:108; cf. translator competences by Durán Muñoz, 2012b:273). This includes taking into account the genre conventions in the target language as well as the background knowledge and expectations of the target language readership, i.e. the translator needs to decide what to explain and what to highlight (Calvi, 2012:2; Agorni, 2012:7).

In order to take adequate decisions in the translation and localisation process of tourist texts, the translator needs to consider the following influences according to Merkaj (2013:324): "(1) the influence of associative and connotative meanings; (2) the influence of different understandings and thoughts, (3) the influence of metaphors and expressions; (4) the influence of religions and myths; and (5) the influence of values and lifestyle." In the first two points, cognitive metaphor may be at play, the third item refers to metaphor directly, and the last two points are reflected in the metaphors of a culture. Sulaiman and Wilson (2019) suggested a cultural-conceptual translation model for effective cross-cultural promotion. This model includes a step called cultural profiling, which takes into account cultural characteristics, such as religious beliefs, individualism versus collectivism, indulgence versus constraint, power distance, high versus low context cultures, orality versus literacy, and actual language use in the target

---

<sup>38</sup> For information on the functioning of internet search engines and its implications for website copy-writing please see section 4.2.

reader community (Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:74-78). Furthermore, the cultural-conceptual translation model perceives close contact and strategical engagement with the commissioner(s) of the translation as indispensable. In their book, Sulaiman and Wilson (2019) apply this model to analyse and improve the translation of an Australian website to Malay. They find frequent use of conceptual metaphors for the creation of the destination image. What stands out from our perspective is the absence of the paradise metaphor in Malay (Sulaiman & Wilson, 2019:90). Since the vast majority of the Malay population is Muslim and the concept of paradise has very strong religious connotations, but no conventionalised metaphorical meanings, the use of the word 'paradise' with reference to tourist destinations seems inappropriate. All these different aspects concerning requirements for translations should be addressed in translation training to ensure quality translations of tourism texts.

The third approach to improvements in tourism translation is related to research. There is a need to gather more empirical data on tourism discourse in different languages and language pairs which professionals and educators can draw on. Pierini (2007:99) argued that specialised electronic corpora in the target language can help translators produce more natural target texts. Duran Muñoz (2008b) advocated for the compilation of parallel corpora for the evaluation of translation quality and as a tool for translators. Comparable corpora, on the other hand, are useful to study cross-linguistic differences (Shuttleworth, 2014:61). A combination of both parallel and comparable texts can help to determine whether a translation is closer to the genre conventions of the source language or the target language and to provide useful insights for translation practice and training. This strategy was applied to tourism discourse by González Pastor and Candel Mora (2013) and Suau Jiménez and Labarta Postigo (2017) as described above in section 4.3.

In this section, it has become evident that there is a lack of awareness of the complexity and real cost of tourism website translation. Furthermore, there is a need for more and better translator training in several areas of tourism translation, many of which are directly or indirectly related to metaphor. The research conducted specifically into metaphor in promotional tourism discourse will be presented in the following section. In this section, we have also seen that translation studies on tourism discourse are advancing from parallel corpora to comparable corpora and mixed methodologies that make use of both types of text corpus.

#### **4.5. Promotional tourism discourse and metaphor**

The number of studies on metaphor in promotional tourism discourse is reduced, but the existing studies cover quite a wide range of topics. The main areas on which metaphor studies in this field concentrate are terminology, the source domains these metaphors draw on, their discursive functions, translational aspects and cross-cultural differences.

#### 4.5.1. Terminology

As pointed out by Calvi (2000:15) in her book on lexis in tourism language, metaphor can be observed in some of the specialised vocabulary in tourism, where single words undergo semantic change due to the context or due to their use in compound terms, such as ‘package’ in ‘package holidays’, where package comes to mean organised. Maci (2018:29) even holds that “in tourism discourse, metaphors are mainly used for catachretic purposes”, i.e. in the creation process of new terminology. The author goes on to list the advantages of using metaphors for this purpose: terminological transparency due to semantic associations with an already existing element, terminological conciseness, and the exploitation of images for complex concepts that are otherwise difficult to explain (Maci, 2018:29), which is in line with the inexpressibility and compactness hypotheses by Gibbs (1994). In her study on neologisms in Spanish and French-Canadian promotional material for health tourism, Planelles Iváñez (2014) found metaphors that were created due to semantic extension and metaphorical elements of compound terms (as described by Calvi, 2000:15), as well as non-lexicalised personifications. Furthermore, the study includes an analysis of metaphorically motivated proper names of establishments and services. The metaphorical neologisms detected in French and Spanish were reported to be similar in type and frequency (Planelles Iváñez, 2014:317).

#### 4.5.2. Source domains

With regard to the source domains of tourism metaphors, information can either be extracted from studies that have a different main focus but make interesting observations on common source domains, or the information can be the answer to one of the research questions of a study. The first is the case in the studies by Calvi (2000) and Mattiello (2012), the latter is true for the more recent studies by Spinzi (2013), Shyliaeva (2017) and Manca (2018).

In her studies into Spanish tourism language, Calvi (2000:15) mentioned that colour metaphors are especially frequent in Spanish tourism language: *semana blanca* (white week) refers to winter holidays dedicated to skiing; *turismo verde* (green tourism) promotes remote destinations and ecological products; a *bandera azul* (blue flag) indicates beaches with clean water; etc.

Mattiello (2012) approached metaphor in tourism discourse on the web from a relevance-oriented framework and identified frequent use of personification as a special kind of metaphor. For example, in ‘Córscica seduces every visitor’, the island is depicted as a person capable of having a will and carrying out actions. From a two-domain perspective, personification builds on the source domain HUMAN BEING.

The study into metaphor on ecotourism websites in Italian and English by Spinzi (2013) reported that this type of holiday is conceptualised by drawing on the source domains of

WEIGHTLESSNESS, DISCOVERY and RELATION. Cross-cultural differences were found in that Italian websites present ecotourism as a conduit to tradition, history and the habits of a living territory, and not so much as the discovery of untouched land as the English sites do. Moreover, British websites represent nature as a victim in need of protection, a conceptualisation that was marginal on Italian websites.

A study into the tourist discourse of the Danube region by Shylyieva (2017) found metaphors from the source domains SOCIAL STATUS, BODY PARTS, HUMAN ACTIONS AND ABILITIES, OCCUPATIONS AND PROFESSIONS, MUSIC, READING, PLANTS, SEA, TREASURES, BUILDINGS and ORGANISATIONS. She concludes that these metaphors play a vital role in construing a vivid and attractive image of the Danube region.

In a comprehensive cross-cultural study of the official tourism websites of five countries (USA, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and Italy), Manca (2018) detected five dominant conceptual domains, which she labelled ‘value and preciousness’, ‘positive imaginary worlds’, ‘discovery and adventure’, ‘dream and magic’, ‘tasting’, and ‘immersion’. Each of the five source domains was found in all national sample corpora, but displaying different frequencies. Although there is a certain overlap with the Spinzi and the Shylyieva studies, the source domain description seems to occur at a slightly different level of specificity.

Of course, other studies take into account the source domain of metaphors in tourism language as well; they do so, however, not by analysing the source domain as a main research objective, but rather to reason other aspects, such as persuasion, interpersonal relations or the mitigation of strangeness. Such research has been included in the following section on the discursive functions of metaphor in promotional tourism discourse.

#### **4.5.3. *Discursive functions***

The great potential of metaphors in promotional discourse is closely linked to the fact that they tend to highlight certain aspects of the target domain or concept while hiding others, a feature that was already described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:10) in their seminal work “Metaphors We Live By”. This capacity of metaphor can be exploited to influence the perception of a fact or message according to the speaker’s intentions (Deignan, 2010:46). Therefore, it is not surprising that, in their study into twenty advertisements of American and European airlines, García González and Rocamora Abellán (2015) concluded that conceptual and visual metaphors are the main persuasive tool of many publicists, regardless of the language. An interesting feature of this article was, moreover, that the authors demonstrated the metonymic base of several of the metaphors in the research corpus. The sociocultural study by Méndez Sainz (2015) on metaphors in the narrative, or self-portrayal, of Mexican villages showed that the metaphors overwhelmingly focussed on highlighting the importance of the village’s

historical–material heritage. By doing so, they narrowed down a potentially more pluralistic narrative: what was supposed to differentiate the destination from others turns into a repetitive representation of the place stripped of meaning (Méndez Sainz, 2015:92).

Apart from persuasion, it has also been found that metaphor is employed to mitigate strangeness. According to Dann (1996:171-172), the typical tourist looks for strangerhood and novelty, but only to a certain degree. He states that strangerhood and novelty are linguistically reflected by binary structures, contrasting nouns and contrasting adjectives, while comparison in the form of metaphor and simile mollifies the strangeness and unfamiliarity of a tourist destination as the following examples illustrate: 'the Tunisian Saint Tropez', 'Venice of Mali', 'Lourdes of Ceylon'. Metaphor is the faster, more efficient way of changing the reader's attitude, however, a metaphor that is not shared by the reader may cause misunderstandings. Simile, on the other hand, is a weaker verbal technique than metaphor, but cognitively more accessible to the reader (Dann, 1996:172). Jaworska (2017) set out to verify the strangeness mitigation hypothesis by studying the use of metaphor for the online commercialisation of British, European and Asian/Pacific destinations. The results of the study confirmed that the further away a destination, the higher the frequency of metaphors. The dominant metaphor source domains for the Britain corpus were BODY and PHYSICAL MOVEMENT. For the Europe corpus and the Asia/Pacific corpus, the three dominant source domains were the same: NATURAL PRECIOUS ELEMENT, RELIGION, and BODY. There was, however, one significant difference in the order: RELIGION was the most frequent source domain in the faraway corpus due to the use of the word 'paradise', and NATURAL PRECIOUS ELEMENT the most frequent source domain in the Europe corpus.

With regard to the functioning of persuasive metaphor in tourism discourse, Mattiello (2012) argues that metaphors may be interpreted literally and activate a mental image which is then projected onto the tourist destination, although this image may be that of an imagined world.

#### **4.5.4. Translation studies**

There seems to be very little research on the translation of metaphor in tourism discourse. Nordal (2013) approached metaphor from a discursive and translational perspective, analysing a Norwegian tourist brochure and its Spanish translation. The discursive functions of metaphor identified in the brochure were highlighting the authentic, highlighting recreational value and highlighting strangerhood. Regarding the translation strategies, some of the metaphors were translated with a direct linguistic equivalent. Most of the time however, the linguistic form was altered while maintaining the same conceptual metaphor. Although in some cases the conceptual metaphor was substituted by a different one in the translation, the global discursive function in the translation was preserved with minimal changes.

#### **4.5.5. Cross-cultural studies**

In the section on metaphor and terminology in tourism language, I have already mentioned Planelles Iváñez (2014), who did not find substantial cross-cultural differences with regard to metaphorical neologisms on Spanish and French-Canadian health tourism websites. Unlike Planelles Iváñez, Manca (2018) did observe cross-cultural differences on the official promotional websites of five countries. While DISCOVERY AND ADVENTURE was the predominant source domain on the four websites in English, in the case of the Italian website, the most commonly used conceptual source was the domain VALUE AND PRECIOUSNESS. Moreover, the source domain IMMERSION constituted 0.05% of the Italian corpus, whereas it was only 0.02% in the Canadian and Australian corpora. On the US website, metaphors with the source domain IMMERSION were rarely used, and on the British website they were altogether absent. This might be explained by the fact that English-speaking cultures are more action-oriented, whereas the Italian culture is more being-oriented. Significant differences were also found for metaphors based on POSITIVE IMAGINARY WORLDS, which are more widely used in the American and Italian corpora than in the British, Canadian and Australian. Italy made the greatest overall use of metaphors (0.31%) and Canada and Great Britain the lowest (both 0.2%).

Studies into metaphor in promotional tourism discourse in non-European languages have not been taken into account in the literature review to narrow down the scope of studies to the languages that are essential to this study. Here, essential means that they either refer to one of the three analysed languages, or are linguistically, culturally and economically close to one of these languages. Italian, for example, belongs to the family of Romanic languages like Spanish, and tourism is equally important for the Italian economy as it is in Spain.

#### **4.6. Summary**

Promotional tourism websites may be considered one of the new cybergenres, although their status as an independent genre is controversial due to the fact that they are composed of text types that derive from independent printed genres, such as tourist guides, brochures, itineraries or even travel documentaries. Promotional tourism websites are commissioned by local, regional or national governments and address the general public, which is why the language is consciously kept at a level of difficulty that can easily be managed by laymen. The main purpose of these sites being to inform and persuade, their language is rich in descriptive nouns and evaluative adjectives. This is an area, in which metaphorically motivated language can be expected. Moreover, the frequent nominalisations on German websites often imply ontological metaphor, i.e. the treatment of abstract nouns as though they were physical entities. Furthermore, metaphor plays an important role in the creation of new terminology, especially that

shared by experts and customers, as metaphorical components increase the comprehensibility and memorability of terms.

From the cross-cultural studies in tourism discourse, we learn that there are indeed cultural and linguistic differences. This is best shown in comparable corpora. An interesting methodological tendency in translational studies consists of the combination of parallel and comparable corpora, or the comparison of a corpus of translated text against monolingual corpora of untranslated material. These strategies have helped to show that, although translations are adapted to better suit the target language conventions, translations tend to be closer to the source language conventions than to the actual target language use. Therefore, monolingual and comparable corpora, such as the ones used in the present study, can therefore contribute to translational research and practice as reference points, which help to ensure the acceptability of the target text as regards its naturalness. An overlap of translation practice and metaphor use can be observed in the area of intentionally ambiguous phrases, double meanings, constant positive and poetic language, metaphorical neologisms and naturalness. Grammatically correct translations may still be perceived as amusing, and this, in turn, may be due to a too literal translation of metaphors. If the translator is not aware of the degree of translatability of a linguistic metaphor, this may lead to misunderstandings or awkwardness. In order to improve the often low translation quality of tourism texts in Spain, higher budgets should be designated to the translation of tourism material, translator training should pay special attention to tourism genres and research in this field should be furthered.

Research on metaphor in tourism discourse is far from abundant and, in our research languages, it concentrates on terminology and discursive functions. Source domain analyses are seldom at the centre of tourism discourse research but play a role in discursive studies. For the language pairs of this dissertation, translational and cross-cultural studies into metaphor in tourism are scarce. This is in line with Corbacho Sánchez's (2014) statement that there is a need for more metaphor research in tourism discourse

# Chapter 5

## Corpora and methodology

### 5.1. Overall strategy

This chapter will describe the corpora which were built for the research, the metaphor identification procedure and the analytical process. The general objective of this dissertation was to describe the use of metaphor in promotional tourism discourse in British English, German of Germany and peninsular Spanish. Therefore, the study can be characterised as synchronic with an interest in language use (as opposed to the language system) and real language users (as opposed to idealized users). It is a corpus-based approach, relying on empirical data rather than introspection. Although this dissertation uses a cognitive framework, its main purpose is not to study conceptual metaphor and draw conclusions about the relation between mind and language, but to produce inferences about linguistic metaphor use, its cross-linguistic variation and the implications that arise from this variation for metaphor translatability.

For this purpose, comparable corpora of texts from regional promotional websites in the three research languages were compiled. In the next step, reduced sample corpora were used to manually extract, analyse and compare linguistic metaphors with regard to their form and functions. Moreover, data concerning the most frequent source domain/ target domain relationships and mapping schemes in the large corpora were collected, and their use in the three languages was compared. Furthermore, literally translatable linguistic metaphors were identified for each of the language pairs. This laid the basis for determining the relationship between literal translatability and metaphor formal and functional features. Based on these data, general guidelines on the translatability of the most frequent metaphors and those with the lowest literal translatability used in promotional tourism discourse were proposed.

## **5.2. The corpora: design and compilation**

The research material of this dissertation can be divided into six corpora, three large corpora used for computer-aided searches, and three sample corpora created from the large corpora for the preliminary manual search. The number of the big corpora and sample corpora is equivalent to the number of research languages, which are German of the Federal Republic of Germany, British English and peninsular Spanish. The choice of the languages was due to the fact that we are in Spain and the largest groups of incoming tourists are the British and the Germans (FRONTUR, 2018). The selected texts were strictly written texts, excluding any multimedia material. Comparable corpora were chosen over parallel corpora since the risk of morphosyntactic and pragmatic interferences from the other language is high for parallel corpora which work with translations<sup>39</sup>. For contrastive studies in general it is advisable to use untranslated texts as they reflect general language use and genre-specific conventions more reliably than translations. When compiling comparable corpora, it is necessary to establish clear criteria as to which kinds of texts should be included in order to keep the heterogeneity of the texts within acceptable limits, which allows for comparison and valid conclusions.

The first criterion was related to the research languages. Linguistic variation does not only exist across different languages, but there is also intercultural linguistic variation within one and the same language. The Spanish of Latin America and Northern American English, for example, differ from their European equivalents due to the influence of indigenous and immigrant languages, cultural differences and linguistic policies. In order not to mix linguistic varieties and to be able to draw more concrete and more valid conclusions for a specific segment of the tourism market, the study has been limited to texts from regional websites of England, Germany and Spain.

The second criterion for the text selection was high quality, that is the texts should display a minimum of errors and, on the whole, language that is considered adequate for tourism promotion. In order to ensure this high quality, the texts must have been proof-read, preferably by experts. Proof-reading, however, is an additional cost which not everybody can afford to pay. For this reason, promotional texts of towns and other small or private entities were discarded given that their budgets do not always allow for this quality control step, nor are these clients always aware of the importance of quality copywriting. Official regional tourism websites, on the contrary, are usually backed by a good budget and the commissioners are interested in high quality promotion. The choice of regional tourism websites was also influenced by the accessibility of the texts, as well as the expected size and representativeness of the corpus that could be extracted from them. A corpus extracted from only one national website might not yield as many words as many regional websites.

---

<sup>39</sup> For a more detailed description of corpus types and their advantages and disadvantages, please refer to chapter 3.5.

The third criterion, representativeness, is an additional reason to choose regional websites over national promotional websites. A corpus consisting of several source texts by different authors is more likely to actually represent genre conventions than a single bigger source. Working with web portals, which unite many different sources, might solve the corpus size problem and the representativeness issue, but would make it difficult to draw the line between the texts that should be included in the corpus and those which should not. Moreover, there is a certain risk that a web portal may favour certain regions over others, or even exclude some of them. However, each region has its own geographical, cultural and social characteristics and its own tourist attractions. Since this variety is likely to be reflected in the websites' language, omitting one or several regions would therefore reduce the representativeness of the corpus. As pointed out in chapter 4, tourism promotional discourse covers a wide range of topics, such as practical information on accommodation and transport, descriptions of geography, flora, fauna and architectural heritage, or less tangible aspects such as cultural events and sports activities. In order for the corpus to be representative of the regional and topical variety, texts of all regions in the three selected countries and from all topics that were given their own structural space in a website were included in the corpora.

The fourth criterion for the text selection was balance. Although it is difficult to measure and prove that a corpus is balanced (Köhler, 2013:81,86), the balance of a corpus should be strived for. In this study, all texts from the highest level of a website were extracted and included in the corpus. Getting deeper into the website, texts may become repetitive. Identical descriptions of a sight may be included on the page 'Top 10' and the page 'Monuments', for instance. In the case of duplicate texts, only one of them was used for the corpus. Repetition of standard sentences and high frequency phrases may occur in the case of service or product descriptions, e.g. hotels and restaurants, or the directions of how to get to a sight or business, etc. Whenever this was the case in a regional website, depending on the overall number of similar texts, three to five representative samples were chosen, and the rest of the same text type was discarded. If clearly distinct subtypes were distinguishable (for instance, hotels, inns, youth hostels, cottages) one sample for each of the subtypes was selected. One could argue that this selection of a few texts reduces the degree of balance in comparison with the text on the home page. However, the focus of this study is on promotional tourism language, and the promotional aspects of these kinds of texts (product/ service descriptions, directions) are often secondary to commercial and informational aspects. Therefore, a selection of representative examples was deemed justified.

Websites often contain a large number of text fields and many hyperlinks to other pages within the website. Therefore, text extraction was carried out from the upper left to the lower right corner. The purpose of this procedure was to avoid omitting any of the texts involuntarily. Regarding link texts of hyperlinks, only those of links leading to a site within the same web domain were included. Links to other domains were disregarded.

Due to our interest in contemporary descriptive language, which can be considered a fifth criterion, the following types of texts were avoided as far as possible: a) lists of places, services, timetables, opening hours, addresses, contact details, and price lists; b) advertisements that are marked as such; c) schematic or telegraph style directions; d) texts written in historical language; and e) menus.

The result were three research corpora of approximately 275,000 words and three sample corpora of about 20,000 words. Table 5.1. summarizes their composition before describing the corpus building process in detail.

**Table 5.2. Overview corpora**

	<b>Spanish</b>	<b>German</b>	<b>English</b>
<b>Research corpus [words]</b>	<b>275,684</b>	<b>275,255</b>	<b>274,991</b>
Website text [words]	247,075	275,255	274,991
Text from brochures [words]	28,609	0	0
Number of regions	19	16	9
Number of text documents	33	16	9
Average size webtexts [words]	13,004	17,203	30,055
Average size brochures [wds.]	2,044	0	0
<b>Sample corpus [words]</b>	<b>19,992</b>	<b>19,999</b>	<b>20,004</b>

To determine the final corpus size, the Andalusian website was exploited according to the criteria established above and taken as a reference. Andalusia is a typical destination for both cultural and beach holidays and a quick scan had revealed that, in comparison with other regional promotional websites, the Andalusian texts seemed to be average in terms of length and quantity. The complete text extraction yielded approximately 15,000 words, which became the target for the other subcorpora. If a website was especially rich in texts, not all of them were included in the regional subcorpus, but an effort was made to keep an equivalent proportion of texts per topic. In the case of smaller websites, the regional subcorpus was supplemented with texts from printed brochures that were available on the same website as pdf files (see Table 5.1.). Only in one case, the region Ceuta, it was not possible to reach this target. With nineteen autonomous regions, the Spanish corpus would have contained approximately 285,000 words. Since no more than 5,400 words could be extracted for Ceuta, the final target size of the comparable corpora was determined to be 275,000 words in each language. In the case of the German websites, no compensation strategies were necessary since the target number of words was extracted from all official regional websites without difficulties. Among the English regions, the East of England website yielded fewer words than the target number, and so did the website of Nottinghamshire, which was

exploited as a substitute for the non-existent regional website of the East Midlands. Since it is not customary on English tourism websites to offer downloadable brochures, the low word numbers for the mentioned regions were compensated with texts from the websites for Greater London and Yorkshire, which are the two most extensive regional websites. An exception to the rule not to branch out to other websites was made for North East England, which heavily promotes their Hadrian's wall, but redirects readers to the official Hadrian's wall website for detailed information. The exact composition of the corpora is described in Appendix A. In tables 5.2., 5.3. and 5.4., a list of the corpus documents and their size as well as the size of the extracts taken for the sample corpora is given.

**Table 5.2. Composition of the Spanish corpora**

Spanish			
Text	Source text file	Research corpus	Sample corpus
1	S1 Andalucía	15,036	1,091
2	S2 Aragón	14,995	1,067
3	S3 Cantabria	9,352	850
4	Folleto S3 Cantabria-General	5,600	212
5	S4 Castilla y León	12,599	1,036
6	Folleto S4 Castilla-Leon-General	2,443	0
7	S5 Castilla-La Mancha	10,731	816
8	Folleto S5 1 Castilla LaMancha	1,050	0
9	Folleto S5 2 Castilla LaMancha Ciudad Real	657	60
10	Folleto S5 3 Castilla LaMancha Albacete	633	158
11	Folleto S5 4 Castilla LaMancha Cuenca	678	0
12	Folleto S5 5 Castilla LaMancha Guadalajara	581	0
13	Folleto S5 6 Castilla LaMancha Toledo	676	0
14	S6 Cataluña	10,415	868
15	Folleto S6 Catalunya	4,690	197
16	S7 Ceuta	5,411	398
17	S8 Comunidad de Madrid	15,036	1,091
18	S9 Comunidad Valenciana	15,003	1,079
19	S10 Extremadura	15,070	1,110
20	S11 Galicia	9,292	648
21	Folleto S11 Galicia Top 10	4,678	420
22	Folleto S11 Galicia Patrimonio	1,043	0
23	S12 Islas Baleares	15,002	1,111

24	S13 Islas Canarias	15,018	1,090
25	S14 La Rioja	10,677	888
26	Folleto S14 LaRioja Vino	2,791	232
27	Folleto S14 LaRioja Paisaje	1,539	0
28	S15 Melilla	15,012	1,134
29	S16 Navarra	15,018	1,115
30	S17 País Vasco	13,439	1,106
31	Folleto S17 PaisVasco General	1,550	0
32	S18 Principado de Asturias	15,009	1,127
33	S19 Región de Murcia	15,001	1,115
	Total web text	247,075	1,279
	Total brochures	28,609	18,713
	<b>Total Spanish</b>	<b>275,684</b>	<b>19,992</b>

Table 5.3. Composition of the German corpora

German			
Text	Source text file	Research corpus	Sample corpus
34	D1 Baden-Württemberg	17,200	1277
35	D2 Bayern	17,203	1263
36	D3 Berlin	17,208	1252
37	D4 Brandenburg	17,209	1276
38	D5 Bremen	17,202	1255
39	D6 Hamburg	17,202	1258
40	D7 Hessen	17,205	1230
41	D8 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	17,213	1243
42	D9 Niedersachsen	17,207	1257
43	D10 Nordrhein-Westfalen	17,208	1257
44	D11 Rheinland-Pfalz	17,196	1233
45	D12 Saarland	17,199	1235
46	D13 Sachsen	17,199	1243
47	D14 Sachsen-Anhalt	17,199	1249
48	D15 Schleswig-Holstein	17,200	1225
49	D16 Thüringen	17,205	1246
	<b>Total German</b>	<b>275,255</b>	<b>19,999</b>

**Table 5.4. Composition of the English corpora**

<b>English</b>			
<b>Text</b>	<b>Source text file</b>	<b>Research corpus</b>	<b>Sample corpus</b>
50	Greater London	46.545	3310
51	South East England	35.535	2562
52	South West England	30.135	2153
53	West Midlands	30.082	2165
54	North West England	30.016	2151
55	North East England	30.006	2175
56	Yorkshire and the Humber	56.504	4062
57	East Midlands	3.669	256
58	East of England	12.499	1159
	<b>Total English</b>	<b>274,991</b>	<b>19,993</b>

From the large research corpora that were designed to be representative and balanced, sample corpora of 20,000 words were created for manual identification of metaphorical expressions, since this method has been shown to be more precise than introspection or a source-domain term search (Stefanowitsch, 2006:63, 66).

The sample corpora were created manually by extracting approximately 220 words roughly every 3,100 words of the large corpora, respecting sentence boundaries. The number 220 was established in an attempt to find a balance between covering a wide range of topics on the one hand, and the clarity with which the topic can be determined from the context on the other hand, taking into account the average sentence length in the research corpora, which is 25.3 for the Spanish research corpus, 18.5 for the German research corpus and 23.9 for the English.

### **5.3. Metaphor identification**

#### **5.3.1. Definition of linguistic metaphor for operationalization**

When setting out to find metaphors in texts, it is essential to clearly define one's understanding of metaphor. For this study, the definition by Knowles & Moon (2006) was employed, because it is perfectly compatible with a cognitive-linguistic framework. At the same time, it is broad enough to include metaphor-metonymy-borderline cases and personifications, which were expected to be frequent in the research corpus.

Knowles and Moon (2006:3) define metaphor as “the use of language to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to, or what it ‘literally’ means, in order to suggest some resemblance or make a connection between the two things.” Although this definition does not mention underlying source domains or target domains, the concept source domain is closely linked to the original or literal meaning, while the actual, different use of the word can clearly be associated with the target domain of a conceptual metaphor.

### ***5.3.2. Manual Identification using MIP and MIPVU***

In this section the metaphor identification procedures MIP and MIPVU shall be presented and implications of some of their main characteristics for the present study shall be discussed. This discussion contains the reasons why finally MIP was applied with minor modifications to better suit the research objective.

MIP is an identification procedure for metaphor in discourse developed by the research group Pragglejaz (2007) paying special attention to objectiveness, inter-rater reliability and interdisciplinary applicability. It does not analyse conceptual metaphor but is meant to detect linguistic metaphors, which can then be grouped together and allow conclusions about possibly underlying conceptual metaphors. In other words, MIP is a direct tool for linguistic metaphor identification and an indirect tool for conceptual metaphor analysis.

The procedure consists in:

- 1) Reading the text to gain a general understanding of it
- 2) Determining the lexical units in the text
- 3) Establishing the meaning of each word in the given context
- 4) Determining, with the help of a dictionary, if the word has a more basic contemporary meaning, i.e. a more concrete, more precise, body-related or historically older meaning
- 5) Establishing whether the contextual meaning can be understood in comparison with the more basic meaning
- 6) If this is the case, the lexical unit can be marked as metaphorical

This is a relatively time-consuming method since it needs to be carried out manually, but it is highly reliable since every word in the text is checked and its results display greater validity than studies that use a predetermined list of source domain words for the search, as these lists are often incomplete (Cameron & Maslen, 2010:98).

MIP is restricted to single words. This is an approach which has sometimes been criticized by researchers who study multiword units such as metaphores (Cameron & Deignan 2006). An updated version of MIP, named MIPVU and developed by a research group at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, addressed this shortcoming and others (Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr & Pasma 2010). Steen and his research team

summarise the differences between the MIP developed by the Pragglejaz group and their MIPVU as follows:

"We operationalize metaphor as indirectness by similarity or comparison. The Pragglejaz Group have pitched this operationalization at the level of language, testing whether lexical units are used indirectly. We have moved it to the level of conceptual structure, testing whether concepts are used indirectly, in order to cater to other forms of expression of metaphor than indirect language use." (Steen et al., 2010:21)

This means primarily that MIPVU takes into account similes, analogies and other non-literal comparisons (Steen et al., 2010:93). The MIPVU approach takes into consideration so-called polywords, compounds and phrasal verbs. Compounds that are spelled in two words but constitute one lexical item are treated as a single unit in the analysis, and so are phrasal verbs. MIPVU understands by polywords fixed multi-word expressions that are analysed as one lexical unit in the BNC<sup>40</sup>. Examples of polywords are 'a good deal', 'by means of', 'of course'. Another addition to MIP is the inclusion of cases where the metaphorically used word basically maintains its meaning while the semantic tension of the metaphor derives from a violation of selection restriction (Steen et al., 2010:105). An example of this violation would be the combination of a verb usually used for animals with a human subject, e.g. 'purr', 'groom', 'howl' or the attribution of a typically human action to a place or object as in 'the museum tells the story of this famous seaman'. Just like MIP, MIPVU is a time-consuming method (Steen et al., 2010:183).

Somewhat in contrast with the MIPVU objective of taking the metaphor identification procedure from the lexical to the conceptual level are the following decisions: a) the more basic meaning has to be from the same grammatical category, b) the contextual meaning has to be compared only within the same role (linking verb, primary verb, modal verb, verbs initiating complex verb constructions, causative verb, full verb), c) the decision not to compare transitive and intransitive meaning, and d) not to compare countable and uncountable forms of the same word (Steen et al., 2010:35-36). These decisions may help to increase inter-rater reliability by reducing the number of complex and unclear cases but will disregard linguistic expressions motivated by conceptual metaphors such as verbs derived from animal names (to dog, to fox, to weasel out of something.) or from objects (to rocket, to plummet). The claim that MIPVU takes metaphor identification from the lexical to the conceptual level is related to the fact that MIPVU allows for annotation of similes, analogies and other non-literal comparisons which cannot be detected by MIP since there is no formal incongruity (Steen et al., 2010:93). Another addition with respect to MIP was the marking of implicit metaphor expressed by pronouns and demonstratives or implied in ellipsis.

---

<sup>40</sup> BNC = British National Corpus <https://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>

When analysing the main features of MIP from a cross-linguistic and translational perspective, potential problems become evident. The same concept may be expressed by a different number of words in different languages. When two or more words representing independent conceptual units are combined to represent a new, more specific conceptual unit, this can happen in various ways at the linguistic level. In German, compound nouns are written as one word as a general rule. This is in stark contrast with English and Spanish, where only a small percentage of the compound nouns are closed forms, i.e., spelled together. Spanish prefers joining the different components using prepositions. *De* is the most commonly employed pre-position for this purpose, as in *punto de encuentro* (meeting point, *Treffpunkt*), but other prepositions can be found to join units of meaning too, for instance *respetuoso con el medio ambiente* (environmentally friendly, *umweltfreundlich*) or *rico en colores* (colourful, *farbenfroh*). Single words combining two word stems without a space in between are a lot less frequent in Spanish than in the other two research languages. Examples found in the research corpus are: *rompeolas* (breakwater, *Wellenbrecher*), *audioguía* (audio guide, *Audioguide*), *videojuego* (video game, *Videospiel*), *histórico-artístico* (artistic and historical, *historisch und künstlerisch/ kunsthistorisch*). Hyphenated compounds, like the last example, were included since they are counted as one word in natural language processing. The German language is greatly consistent in the use of joined compound words such as *Fremdenverkehrsbüro* (tourist info, *oficina de información turística*), *rebenreich* (rich in vines, *rico en viñas*) or *weitgehend* (to a great extent, *a gran medida*). The English language, on the other hand, displays a combination of different word formation strategies. Apart from the most common strategies in Spanish and German, i.e. joining components by prepositions and forming a single new word without spaces, English often combines two nouns or a noun or adverb and an adjective, as in ‘river cruise’, ‘Pennine Way National Trail’ or ‘first class service’. This kind of compound words, like *blinder Passagier* [stowaway, literally: blind passenger], are rather scarce in German and are mostly loan words such as *Art déco* or *à la carte*. Although the three languages employ all these word formation strategies, they do so to a different degree. This has consequences for the amount of potentially metaphorically used words in a text of a given length and the interlinguistic comparability of the results. For instance, compare the equivalents of the compound noun ‘world heritage’, which are *patrimonio de la humanidad* in Spanish, and *Weltkulturerbe* in German. That means, in the English expression, there are two words and two potential metaphor vehicles according to MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007). In Spanish, this would be four words and four potential metaphor vehicles according to MIP. And in German, the word *Weltkulturerbe* counts as one word and therefore as one potential metaphor vehicle, but actually contains three word stems: *Welt* (world), *Kultur* (culture), and *Erbe* (heritage). MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010) suggested considering compound words one lexical unit. In order to ensure interrater reliability, MIPVU draws on the dictionary, to decide whether two or more words can be considered a compound,

and therefore one lexical unit, or should be treated as a noun with premodifiers, i.e. as several lexical units. The downside of this procedure is that dictionaries are incomplete and different editorials may apply differing criteria and display different voids. As of December 2020, the Macmillan Online Dictionary does not include the entry ‘world heritage’, although there is an entry for ‘world heritage site’. The German online dictionary Duden features the entry *Weltkulturerbe*, while the Spanish online dictionary by RAE does neither have a separate entry for *patrimonio de la humanidad*, nor does it appear under the entry *patrimonio* like the closely related concept *patrimonio nacional*. In order to handle voids in dictionaries, MIPVU added the rule that compounds spelled in two words count as one unit in the analysis if the stress is on the first component (e.g. stock market). This language-specific rule is not exportable to German where compounds are generally stressed on the first component and spelled as one word with the exception of compound loan words. Neither can the rule be applied to Spanish, where most compound words have a slightly more stressed second component.

These differences are a serious hindrance for cross-linguistic comparisons, which however can be overcome if the standard MIP procedure is modified. In order to ensure cross-linguistic comparability, either all compound words have to be analysed as one unit or all of them have to be decomposed into their semantic components.

In addition to the compound word problem, there is no official polyword list in Spanish or German that is comparable to the BNC polyword list, which is a disadvantage especially for the language German, since it has been reported to be particularly rich in polyword expressions (Herrmann, Woll & Dorst, 2019:114). The fact that MIPVU does not compare verb meanings for different grammatical roles (full verb, primary verb, auxiliary verb, causative verb, modal verb, etc.) will exclude metaphors that constitute potential translation problems, since polysemous verbs are one of the main traps in inverse translation, occasionally even for bilingual translators. This is also true for changes in meaning due to the intransitive use of transitive verbs or vice versa, which may be possible in one language but subject to restrictions or morphological changes in another language. For instance, the Spanish verb *vivir* [live] can be used in the sense of ‘experience something’ as in *vivir una aventura* [experience an adventure], whereas this is not possible for the German verb *leben* [live]. In order to use the German verb in a transitive structure, a prefix needs to be added: *ein Abenteuer erleben*. Apart from this, transitive and intransitive meanings are clearly related on the conceptual level and should therefore be included in an analytical procedure that aims to shift the focus from lexical to conceptual metaphor.

Similarly, the decision not to compare across grammatical categories implies omitting conceptual mappings in the analysis, which may actually reduce differences in a multi-lingual analysis. In the case of the present study, German and Spanish are morphologically richer than English, and a simple change from one grammatical category to another in English generally goes hand in hand with a change in form in the

other two languages. The next modification, establishing restriction violations as a criterion for metaphorical use allows for the detection of certain cases of personification and reification, which would not be detected by strictly following MIP rules. This is interesting since selection restrictions may vary cross-linguistically, and the use of personification may be influenced by cultural preferences. Similes and analogies, on the contrary, rarely pose problems in translation, and if they contain a specific difficulty, it is usually not due to the fact that the translator overlooked the metaphorical character of the phrase. Therefore, the inclusion of this feature in MIPVU is not essential to the present study.

Implicit metaphor, which is often expressed through pronouns and demonstratives or implied in elliptical sentences, does not have any negative impact on the translation process or product and is thus not of interest for the present study. Far from it, in the language combination Spanish-English and Spanish-German, counting implicit metaphor would hamper cross-linguistic comparability as Spanish omits personal pronouns wherever they are not necessary to avoid misunderstandings, while in English and German pronoun use is obligatory (see also Semino, 2019:318). When the analysis for this dissertation was carried out, the book ‘Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages. MIPVU around the world’ by Nacey, Dorst, Krennmayr and Reijnierse (2019) had not yet been published. The book describes the adaptation of MIPVU to several languages. The lack of a polyword list was a recurring problem and so was the demarcation of lexical units due to compound words and/or agglutination<sup>41</sup>. Other controversial grammatical features were reflexive and separable verbs.

As can be seen, MIP leaves some points open, which MIPVU aims to clarify. The guidelines given by MIPVU, however, are often very specific to the English language and not plainly applicable to other languages. Furthermore, additions made by MIPVU with respect to simile, analogies and implicit metaphor, are not of great interest to this study. For these reasons, it was decided to apply MIP with some adaptations and specifications, which shall be explained in the following section.

### ***5.3.3. Application and adaptations of MIP***

The present section documents the research decisions taken with respect to the metaphor identification. These research decisions include adaptations of the original MIP, which were made with two objectives in mind. The first objective was to keep the procedure as simple as possible, and secondly, the procedure should be applicable in the exact same

---

<sup>41</sup> The lack of a polyword list was reported for French (Reijnierse, 2019:71), for Dutch (Pasma, 2019:99), for German (Herrmann, Woll & Dorst, 2019:118), Polish (Marula & Rosiński, 2019:201) and others. Adaptations for the demarcation of lexical units due to compound words or agglutination were reported for the languages French (Reijnierse, 2019:72), German (Herrmann, Woll & Dorst, 2019:112), for Scandinavian languages (Nacey, Greve & Johansson Falck, 2019:146), Lithuanian (Urbonaitė, Šeškauskienė & Cibulskienė, 2019:178), Serbian (Bogetić, Bročić & Rasulić, 2019:223), and Uzbek (Kaya, 2019:227).

way to all three research languages, whenever possible. The procedure shall be reported following the guidelines proposed by the Pragglejazz group (2007).

*(a) Text details:*

Details of the source texts of the research and sample corpora can be found in Appendix A. A description of text details has been included in section 5.2.

*(b) Readership assumed for the analysis*

Given the promotional character of the analysed texts and their time of publication, a present-day audience can be assumed. Contemporary meanings are thus identical with present-day meanings.

*(c) Lexical unit decisions*

The present study is only interested in semantic words, i.e. nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Other word classes such as articles, conjunctions, or prepositions, are subject to clear language-specific rules. As a consequence, their correct translation depends on the grammatical characteristics of their textual context rather than literal or metaphorical meaning aspects and rarely poses difficulties. Furthermore, these discarded word classes are seldom, if ever, the only linguistic evidence of underlying conceptual metaphor. On the contrary, they are usually duplicates of evidence already contained in semantic words.

In view of cross-linguistic comparability issues due to polywords, and compound words, for this analysis, a lexical unit was regarded to be any semantic word or component of a semantic word that exists as a word of its own in one of the four word classes adjective, adverb, noun or verb. For instance, the closed-form compound word 'skyscraper' consists of the components 'sky' and 'scraper' which do exist as independent words in a semantic word category, namely the category nouns. Thus, the word 'skyscraper' is considered to contain two lexical units. Meanwhile, 'upmarket' and 'twilight' can be decomposed, but neither 'up' nor 'twi' are independent words belonging to one of the semantic word categories. This definition of lexical unit was necessary to do justice to the compositional nature of the German language and, to a lesser degree, the English language as well. Phrasal verbs and separable verbs are treated as one lexical unit. All semantic words are reduced to their lemma for meaning studies. Collocations are analysed into their component words, and so are polywords as they are generally decomposable and no official polyword list is available in German and Spanish. Idioms are analysed by their components since most of them are decomposable to a certain degree (Pragglejazz, 2007:27) and many of them contain dead metaphors or can be accounted for by conceptual metaphors (Gibbs, 1993:272-274). Technical terms, such as viticulture terms, are not included in the analyses, unless they are contained in the general language dictionaries used for this project. Proper names are not analysed for this study with the exception of place, event, institution and

company names with components that precisely define the type of place, event, institution or company and are comprised in the dictionary as a semantic word, since these may be translated. Accordingly, ‘gallery’ is analysed as part of ‘Tate Gallery’ but neither ‘white’ nor ‘chapel’ in the name of the East London district ‘Whitechapel’ are subject to analysis. Proper names of traditional events, traditions, holidays, specialised terms and expressions borrowed from other languages were checked for metaphorical use as long as they were contained in the respective dictionary used for the analysis. Examples are the Jewish holiday *Yom Kipur* in Spanish, or *Art Nouveau* in English and German. Compound loan words are analysed as one unit. Numbers were disregarded with the exceptions of spelled-out numbers in plural since these may be used metaphorically or hyperbolically.

Metaphorically motivated lexis is compared across part-of-speech boundaries when no literal basic sense in the same category is available although the underlying conceptual relationship is obvious. This is of interest from a translational perspective since different meaning foci may lead to different senses in words that are derived from the same lexical basis<sup>42</sup>.

Transcription decisions for oral data are not necessary since all analysed text was published and retrieved in written mode. Dialectal data and historical language as well as text in foreign or co-official languages were excluded from the analysis.

*(d) Resources used*

The dictionaries used for the analyses were all online versions, which allow for a faster working pace than traditional, printed dictionaries. For Spanish, the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* by *Real Academia Española (RAE)*<sup>43</sup> was used. Although it was first started in 1870, it is continuously updated with the help of the corpora CREA and CORPES XXI and reflects Spanish vocabulary of Spain, Latin America, the Philippines and Equatorial Guinea. Regionally limited or historical use of lemmas or senses is marked. The RAE dictionary is the standard reference work in Spain. As a second choice, the Larousse-Vox dictionary can be consulted<sup>44</sup>.

For German, the standard reference work is *Duden Onlinewörterbuch*<sup>45</sup>, which is continuously updated with the help of a (currently) 5,600,000,000-word corpus. Whenever the information in this dictionary was not sufficiently clear or doubts about

---

<sup>42</sup> ‘To dog’ in English may mean ‘to cause problems for someone’ or ‘to follow (someone) closely and persistently’. In Spanish and German, there are verbs derived from the word ‘dog’/perro/Hund, but they have got entirely different meanings. The RAE dictionary gives the following three definitions for the verb *perrear*: 1) *timar, quitar con engaño* (deceive, take by trickery), 2) *menospreciar a alguien* (to scorn sb.) and 3) dicho de un hombre: ser mujeriego, andar con muchas mujeres (said about a man: be a womanizer, go around with lots of women). In German, the verb *hundeln* is used to describe children who are learning to swim, being able to keep themselves afloat but lacking defined swimming movements.

<sup>43</sup> [www.rae.es](http://www.rae.es)

<sup>44</sup> [www.diccionarios.com](http://www.diccionarios.com)

<sup>45</sup> [www.duden.de](http://www.duden.de)

the most basic meaning remained, the *Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*<sup>46</sup>, which sources data from several other dictionaries and corpora, including *Duden*, was consulted.

For English, the *Online Macmillan Dictionary*<sup>47</sup> was employed. It is especially popular with metaphor studies since it points out the metaphorical use of familiar words, i.e. of conventionalised linguistic metaphor. In cases of sense conflation, phrasal verb/prepositional verb problems, or where it was not possible to clearly determine the more basic sense with *Macmillan Dictionary*, the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*<sup>48</sup> was consulted. If the doubt about the historically older meaning persisted, the word in question was looked up in the *Online Etymology Dictionary*<sup>49</sup>.

In isolated cases, the internet was used to establish contemporary meanings, checking carefully that the texts displayed good lexical and grammatical quality.

#### (e) Coding Decisions

The following solutions concerning grammatical words such as modals, auxiliaries, prepositions–particles and infinitive markers were adopted. Modal verbs were treated just like any other verb in order to minimise the set of rules and necessary adaptations for Spanish and German. Since this study is limited to content words, no special treatment of auxiliaries was required. Having limited the analysis to semantic words or content words, no coding decision for prepositions, infinitive markers or independent particles was necessary. Particles that are part of a phrasal verb or separable verb were analysed as part of those.

Contextual meanings were established by the analyst intuitively, then the dictionary was consulted for each of the candidate words to determine the basic meaning and check the existence of a sense that applied to the contextual meaning. If the contextual meaning was contained in the dictionary entry and distinct from the basic meaning but related to it by similarity, comparison or analogy, the lexical unit was marked as a conventionalised metaphor. The lexical unit was marked as novel metaphor, where contextual and basic meaning were different yet related by similarity, comparison or analogy, but no sense description that would apply to the use in context was found in the dictionary. Violation of selection restrictions was considered to give rise to metaphorical understanding, even if the selection restriction is not explicit in the dictionary sense definition, as suggested by Steen et al. (2010:15).

---

<sup>46</sup> [www.dwds.de](http://www.dwds.de)

<sup>47</sup> [www.macmillandictionary.com](http://www.macmillandictionary.com)

<sup>48</sup> [www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com](http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com)

<sup>49</sup> [www.etymonline.com](http://www.etymonline.com)

Transitive and intransitive senses of a lemma were compared since there may be cross-linguistic differences, as in ‘to run a business’ or *vivir una Aventura* [live/ experience an adventure]. In neither of the two expressions can the basic meaning of the verb be translated literally to German.

In cases of sense conflation, the analyst’s common sense and knowledge of the world was given priority over the dictionary, as suggested by Semino (2019:319). For instance, at the time of the sample corpora analysis, Macmillan had one common sense description for riding “an animal or artifact”. Since riding an artifact is clearly related to riding an animal by similarity, the verb ‘to ride’ was considered to be used metaphorically when referring to a bicycle<sup>50</sup>.

Personification is considered a special form of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:33; Newmark, 1981:85; Goatly, 1997:56; Knowles and Moon, 2006:6; Kohl, 2007:38; Cameron & Maslen, 2010:108; Kövecses, 2010:39) and a rather frequent, efficient and ancient one (Kohl, 2007:33-38; Trim 2007:47). Therefore, personification was included in the analysis. Where personification entails a change of meaning with reference to the basic sense, it is automatically marked following the MIP rules. Where there is no obvious difference in meaning, but a clear violation of selection restrictions, the potential metaphor vehicle is marked as metaphorical based on the real-world and language-system knowledge of the analyst<sup>51</sup>.

Metaphor-metonymy borderline cases were marked as metaphorical language, for instance when both a metonymy and personification as a special case of metaphor were possible interpretations or a metaphorical expression had an evident metonymic basis. This decision was taken since cases of interaction between metaphor and metonymy have been reported to be extraordinarily frequent in naturally produced language data, possibly more frequent than pure metaphor or pure metonymy (Deignan, 2008:292). Metonymically motivated expressions with a potential double meaning such as ‘keep an eye on’ or ‘hold one’s head up’ were considered metonymical language when they clearly referred to the physical activity. When the emphasis was on mental/emotional aspects, they were regarded metaphorical, as suggested by Steen et al (2010:82). Where context data did not allow to make this distinction, the lexical unit was considered a borderline case and marked as metaphorically used language. In large-scale metaphor studies the proportion of borderline cases (which included all kinds of difficult cases, among them metaphor-metonymy borderline cases) was reported to lie around 1% (Dorst, 2011; Krennmayr, 2011; Kaal, 2012; Hermann, 2013). This was considered to be low enough to not keep register of metaphor-metonymy borderline cases.

<sup>50</sup> In February 2021 the entrance in the dictionary had been subdivided into 1a for animals and 1b for bicycle, motorcycle etc.

<sup>51</sup> Dorst (2011:360) made the following observation in her PhD dissertation on metaphor in fiction: "It was shown that at the linguistic level, selection restrictions play an important role in the realization of personifications by verbs and adjectives."

There was no reason to treat the whole text as metaphorical, as in allegory, for any of the analysed texts.

*(f) Analysis Details*

Number of analysts: 1

Description of analysts: PhD candidate with linguistic background, native speaker of German, near-native command of Spanish and English language.

Precoding training: Theoretical preparation included reading Pragglejaz (2007) and Steen (2007). The practical training consisted in coding a 700-word extract from the research corpus.

Coding passes: Each sample corpus was analysed once and then revised several weeks later by the same analyst and finally by the supervisor.

#### **5.4. Analysis of the sample corpora**

After the identification of the linguistic metaphors in the sample corpora, data about grammatical category, degree of conventionalisation, discursive function, source domain area, target domain area, mapping scheme, locus of semantic tension as well as the general topic of the context were analysed and compared across the languages. Each of the metaphors were checked for literal translatability in order to study potential correlations with the mentioned analysed aspects. Finally, the number of semantic words in each of the sample corpora were counted and correction factors were calculated, which made realistic cross-linguistic comparisons possible. The following sections will describe and reason these methodological steps in some more detail.

##### **5.4.1. Data register**

During the analysis of the sample corpora, data were both tagged with the text analysis tool Atlas and summarised in an Excel table. The table contained the following registers:

1. Vehicle term
2. Grammatical category: noun, verb, adjective, adverbs
3. Metaphorically used word in context
4. Basic meaning
5. Meaning in context
6. Source of definition
7. Degree of conventionalisation: conventionalised, novel
8. Personification
9. Reification
10. Discursive function: highlighting, illustrating/exemplifying, filling a lexical gap, speech economy, modelling, aesthetics, humoristic element

11. Locus of semantic tension: adjective + broader context, adjective + noun, adjective + preposition + noun, compound adjective, adverb + adjective, adverb + broader context, noun + broader context, noun + noun, noun + preposition + noun, verb + broader context, verb + noun, verb + preposition + noun.
12. Source domain: abstract activity, abstract concept, abstract experience, abstract feature, agriculture, animal, architecture, arts, chemistry, economy, food & gastronomy, general, geography, geometry/ maths, height, human activity, human feature, humanities, hypothetical experience, language, living being, material wealth/ value, medicine, military, moving thing/ creature, nature, object, person, physical activity, physical event, physical experience, physical feature, place, plant, quality, quantity, religion, shape, size, space, sports, technology, time, transport.
13. Target domain areas: abstract activity, abstract concept, abstract event, abstract experience, abstract feature, agriculture, animal, architecture, arts, biology, culture/ cultural event, chemistry, economy, food & gastronomy, general, geography, human activity, human feature, humanities, institution, language, law , life/ death, living being, material wealth/ value, military, nature, non-moving thing/ creature, object, object feature: abstract, object feature: physical, person, physical activity, physical concept, physical event, physical experience, physical feature, place, plant, psychology/ feelings, quality, quantity, religion, size, space, sports, technology, time, transport
14. Mapping schemes: abstract resemblance, experiential correlation, generalisation, modelling in space, personification + basic meaning, personification + change of meaning, physical resemblance, pun, reduction to important aspect, reification, specification
15. Topic: accommodation, activities, events, food & drink, general information, geography, history, nature, shopping, sights, transport
16. Lack of literal translatability with other two research languages: yes, no.
17. Comments

The relatively straightforward concepts in this data register will be commented on in the following paragraphs. More complex concepts, such as discursive function, domain areas, mapping schemes and translatability merit a more detailed explanation in sections of their own below.

In the fields ‘vehicle term’, the metaphorically used word is written down in its lemma form, i.e. as infinitive for verbs, (nominative) singular for nouns, masculine singular for Spanish adjectives and predicative form for German adjectives.

Regarding grammatical category, there were four types since the study is only interested in semantic words, which are ‘noun’, ‘verb’, ‘adjective’, ‘adverbs’.

In order to document the context of the metaphorically used words, a phrase long enough to deduce the meaning in context was extracted and saved. The larger context can be retrieved in the corpus with the Atlas tool, Word or any corpus management tool with concordancer function.

The basic meaning of the metaphorically used words was looked up in the dictionaries described above. The basic meaning is considered to be the oldest, most concrete or

most experiential sense which can be related to the meaning in context. The meaning in context, in turn, is either transferred from the dictionary or specified by the analyst.

In the field 'source of definition', the dictionary or dictionaries that were consulted are given. In the case of novel metaphors, where the analyst had to formulate the sense description, this is indicated by adding 'o' for 'our own definition' to the dictionary label.

The degree of conventionalisation is determined to either be conventionalised or novel. A metaphor is considered conventionalised if its meaning in context is comprised as one of the word senses in the dictionary, and novel when this is not the case.

The field 'personification' is marked if the metaphorical use of language can be explained by personification, while the field 'reification' is marked when a person or abstract concept is treated as though it were a physical object.

In the field 'topic', the tourism subtopic of the text from which the metaphor was extracted is given. The topical areas are accommodation, activities, events, food & drink, general information, geography, history, nature, shopping, sights, transport.

The field 'comments' is used to write down information that may be of interest but is not covered by the previous fields.

#### **5.4.2. Discursive function**

The discursive function of metaphors is of interest to this study for two reasons. Firstly, there may be cross-linguistic differences in the preference for certain discursive functions which are expressed with the help of metaphor. Secondly, a translator needs to be aware of the discourse function and ideological orientation of a metaphor and the text in general in order to choose an adequate translation, paying special attention to "how it [the metaphor] evaluates, and whether it is being used to explain something more clearly, or perhaps to conceal or 'code' the real meaning" (Knowles & Moon, 2006:94). However, conventionalised metaphors are often used without the awareness of the speaker, who has learned them and uses them like polysemous words. Conventional metaphors may, of course, be used deliberately, but it is difficult to establish this from the context – both theoretically and in practice (Deignan, Littlemore & Semino 2013:21)<sup>52</sup>. In her PhD dissertation on metaphor in newspapers, Krennmeyer (2011) offers a list of possible indicators of deliberate metaphor use. This list of indicators includes the quality of a metaphor being novel<sup>53</sup>. One can argue that novel metaphor is

---

<sup>52</sup> For a more detailed summary on deliberateness of metaphor, please refer to chapter 2.4.3.

<sup>53</sup> Affirmative answers to the following questions indicate possible deliberate metaphor use: 1) Is the metaphorical unit signalled (e.g. by a simile or other signalling device)? 2) Is the metaphorical unit in the form of A=B? 2) Is the metaphorical unit expressed directly? 3) Is the metaphorical unit novel? 4) Is the metaphorical unit surrounded by metaphorical expressions from compatible semantic fields, which are somehow connected? 5) Is the metaphorical sense of the unit particularly salient through, for example, alluding to the topic or the text? 6) Does the metaphorical unit participate in word play? 7) Does the metaphorical unit elicit rhetorical effects such as, for example, persuasion or humour?

chosen consciously despite breaching general semantic rules, because the possible rhetoric gain is larger than the risk of being misunderstood. This rhetoric gain, in turn, implies that there is a specific function which the metaphor fulfils. Taking into account these considerations, especially the difficulty of establishing the deliberateness of a metaphor, it was assumed that conventional metaphors are generally used unconsciously, while novel metaphors are used deliberately. Therefore, the discursive function was analysed for novel metaphor only.

Chapter 2.4.2. reported the approach of several research studies to discursive function. There is no standard typology that is widely used. Instead, each study compiles a list of those functions that are relevant to their genre and fit to answer their research questions. Based on a literature review and observations during the analytical process, the functions highlighting, illustrating/exemplifying, filling a lexical gap and modelling were pre-established. Other functions were added during the analysis. In some cases, several functions may have motivated the use of the metaphor vehicle term simultaneously, so more than one function can be marked for one metaphorically used word.

### 5.4.3. *Locus of semantic tension*

Only few metaphors in real language data occur in the form ‘A is B’ or are signalled linguistically with words like ‘metaphorically’, ‘literally’, ‘quite’, or phrases like ‘as though he/she/it were’. Usually, it is rather a semantic tension between the basic meaning of a word and its context that points the reader to a metaphorical interpretation (Levin, 1993:118). The exact combination of words that contain this semantic tension was called ‘locus of tension’ for the purpose of this study. In the case of a noun, the tension might arise between the noun and an adjective or a similar pre- or postmodifier. This is the case in examples (a), (b), and (c) below. All examples were taken from the research corpus. The metaphorically used word is marked in bold, and other words involved in creating the semantic tension are underlined. In example (d), the locus of tension lies in the combination of an adjective and a noun as in example (a). However, unlike in phrase (a), the metaphorically used word is the adjective, not the noun. In other cases, an object has been combined with a verb in an unusual way (e). Occasionally, it is hard to narrow down the locus of tension to two or three words because the sentence is laden with vocabulary from a different conceptual domain than the vehicle term (see example f), or it is the broader context that, despite lacking domain-specific vocabulary, suggests a metaphorical interpretation.

- a) Industrial **Revolution**
- b) Bankside was once London’s **larder**.
- c) nature **reserve**
- d) a **hearty** breakfast

- e) ... **savouring** some of the grandest mountain scenery ...
- f) If a peregrine flies over, just watch the **fireworks** as it homes in a hapless teal.

For the data register, word order was not taken into account. That means both the Spanish expression *patrimonio arquitectónico* [architectural heritage] and the English expression ‘rich heritage’ were assigned the label ‘adjective + noun’. This commutative rule was applied to all combinations of grammatical categories in order not to increase the number of labels unnecessarily. In German, for instance, it is common to find the object followed by the verb in subordinate clauses, as well as in sentences with modal verbs and verbal brackets. The values that can be assigned are adjective + broader context, adjective + noun, adjective + preposition + noun, compound adjective, adverb + adjective, adverb + broader context, noun + broader context, noun + noun, noun + preposition + noun, verb + broader context, verb + noun, verb + preposition + noun.

In rare cases, the semantic frame that hints to metaphorical use can be set in preceding sentences. This was considered to be comprised in ‘broader context’.

#### 5.4.4. *Source and target domain areas*

Source and target domain are a common way of describing conceptual metaphors and are helpful to determine the grounds of a metaphor. However, a given linguistic metaphor can be described in conceptual terms at various levels of specificity. The phrase ‘a well-structured essay’ may be categorised as IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, or LOGICAL ORGANISATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE. In addition to this, the source domain cannot always be defined in an unequivocal way. For instance, the comment ‘he suffered a resounding defeat’ in the context of a political debate might be interpreted as an instantiation of DEBATE IS WAR, POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS SPORTS, or even as ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS ARE HORSE RACES if co-occurring linguistic metaphors repeatedly draw on horse-racing vocabulary. This suggests two conclusions: on the one hand, the level of specificity should be defined for the research project, and, on the other hand, it seems helpful to establish certain guidelines for determining the source and target domain labels of a metaphor that has been identified in the corpus. Considering that the purpose of this study is to describe culture- and language-specific preferences for a future practical application in translation processes and translator training, a metaphor description at the specific level opens up too many possibilities. After all, there are almost as many possible source domains and target domains as there are concepts. This entails the risk of differing domain interpretations and would require a much more extensive study to be comprehensive. Although a detailed digitalized catalogue of such conceptual metaphors at the specific conceptual level, may be an accurate and helpful tool for a translator, its creation, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Therefore, the objective is to determine the source and target domains at a higher level that will give the translator an orientation of what kind of metaphor is likely to be acceptable in each of the three languages under study. The broader the

conceptual domains used for labelling, the higher the probability that researchers, translators and language users will agree on the same label. For this reason, it was decided to work with domain areas, rather than conceptual domains. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:96) had observed that two metaphors are seldom completely consistent, but it is rather common to find metaphors that are coherent in that they have the same entailments. The classification by conceptual domain areas might be a way of grouping together metaphors with similar entailments. The domain areas needed to be able to represent different kinds of metaphor, which, in turn, are closely linked to the different functions of metaphor. Based on the literature review and personal observations in translation courses, certain domain area labels were established beforehand, while other labels were added during the analytical process. The same procedure was followed for both source domain and target domain areas. Once the analysis of the three sample corpora was completed, the target domain areas were revised in order to unify labels and categorisation criteria.

#### ***5.4.5. Mapping schemes***

In my translation courses, I had encountered the problem that some metaphors can be translated literally into the target language, while others sounded unnatural. However, it was not easy to answer the question why in one case the literal translation was viable and, in another case, it sounded unacceptable to me as a native speaker. Grady (1997:8) had made the observation that "naming the two domains which are linked by metaphor is often not enough to predict the nature of the mapping between them." This made me wonder whether the translatability of a metaphor might be conditioned by this 'nature of the mapping', as Grady calls it. Conceptual mapping can be defined as "establishing some similarity or analogy linking A and B", that is, linking the vehicle and the concept the metaphor actually refers to (Goatly, 2007:11). The term 'grounds' is used for the similarities or analogy relationships themselves that prompt the speaker to create or use a metaphor and helps the listener interpret the metaphor (Paivio and Walsh, 1993:308; Goatly, 2007:11). In this study, the expression 'mapping scheme' has been employed to describe the kind of information that is mapped from the source domain to the target domain concept. Due to the lack of a pre-existing typology which covered the needs of this study, the mapping scheme typology was developed from scratch. A deductive approach is recommended when studying the validity of a theory in linguistic reality, while an inductive approach is more productive when analysing examples in context (Steen, 2007:35). Although the present study is interested in language use in context, it seemed wise to establish a basic structure considering the wide consensus in literature that there are metaphors based on a similarity, which can be physical or perceived by the language user in some other way, and metaphors based on an experiential correlation. For this reason, the analysis set off with the three categories 'physical resemblance', 'abstract resemblance' and 'experiential correlation'. Turning to an inductive approach from here on, other categories were added as the need for them

became evident from the research data. Once the three sample corpora had been analysed, the mapping scheme typology was revised.

#### 5.4.6. *Literal translatability*

This dissertation is not only interested in describing cross-linguistic differences in metaphor use in English, Spanish and German, but also in the literal translatability of the identified linguistic metaphors. When analysing translations or equivalents of metaphors, Kövecses (2005:133) systematically asks four questions, which can be summed up as follows: Are the word form, the literal meaning, the figurative meaning, and the underlying conceptual metaphor the same or different in the two languages? For the languages of the present research corpus, it is unlikely that the word form will be identical. Moreover, our main interest is not in false friends. Consequently, the first question is not relevant to this study. However, question two and three are crucial: are the literal meaning and the figurative meaning the same in both languages? Before the operationalisation of these two questions is explained, I would like to comment on question four about coinciding underlying conceptual metaphors. In the present study, we approached this topic from a slightly different perspective. Instead of determining the exact underlying conceptual metaphor, larger source and target domain areas were determined as explained in section 5.4.4.

For the process to be objective and replicable, the following steps were established to determine the literal translatability of an identified metaphor:

1. Determine the contextual meaning in language A
2. Determine the basic meaning of the metaphorically used word in language A with the help of the dictionary, the basic meaning being the most concrete, most precise, body-related or historically oldest meaning.
3. Translate the basic meaning literally into language B, using the bilingual dictionary.
4. Check whether the lemma of the literal translation in the monolingual dictionary of language B has a meaning that is identical with the contextual meaning of the metaphor vehicle in language A. If this is the case, literal translatability can be assumed.

The monolingual dictionaries consulted for this purpose were the same that were used for the metaphor identification procedure, i.e. the online versions of *Macmillan Dictionary*, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, *Duden Wörterbuch*, and *Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*. In order to establish the equivalent in another language, the following bilingual dictionaries were used: [www.pons.de](http://www.pons.de) for the language pairs English-German and German-Spanish, and [www.dictionary.cambridge.org](http://www.dictionary.cambridge.org) for English-Spanish.

The described procedure is only applicable for conventionalised metaphors, whose metaphorical meaning has already been included in the dictionary. For non-

conventionalised metaphors, the metaphor from language A was translated literally into language B with minimal context, that means just enough context for the metaphorical meaning to become evident. For this purpose, the locus of tension was useful. If the locus of tension had been determined to lie in the combination of adjective and noun, this adjective and noun were translated literally. If the locus of tension was verb and object, those were translated literally. Where the semantic tension arose from the broader context, the translated extract was kept as short as possible, but long enough to make the meaning in context evident. The literal translation was then searched on the internet. If the exact translation was not found, and there was reason to think that this was due to the low frequency of the collocate of the metaphor vehicle in general language, the collocate was substituted by a superordinate term or a high frequency word from the same semantic group, using for example 'building' instead of 'barn', or 'museum' instead of 'gallery'.

The internet was used as a continuously updated mega-corpus. The existence of a specific linguistic metaphor in an official reference corpus may prove its existence. Nevertheless, natural language is such a vast system with a sheer unlimited number of possible word combinations that it cannot be claimed that the absence of a linguistic metaphor from a reference corpus is proof of its unacceptability. Although most public reference corpora are updated regularly, there will always be a delay with respect to real language use. For the internet, this delay is minimal. Furthermore, the larger the searched corpus, the more likely it is that rare linguistic expressions such as non-conventionalised metaphors are actually comprised in it. For this reason, the internet was preferred over reference corpora such as BNC or CREA. If the literal translation was found on a webpage in one of the research countries, written originally in language B by a native speaker or a speaker with a native-like level, it was assumed that the linguistic metaphor found in language A can be translated literally into language B. This is an idealised condition. In practice, the requirement of the native or proficient author is very difficult to verify on the internet due to frequent multiple or anonymous authorship. For this study, this means that texts displaying evidently poor quality regarding grammar and vocabulary were not taken into consideration.

Only websites with domains of the target regions were taken into account, that is, websites registered in Germany, Spain and the UK. This was necessary since metaphor use is expected to show intralinguistic differences on a global scale. American English is not the same as British English, while Spanish displays lots of national varieties within Latin America and across the oceans. These varieties can be expected to not only affect grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, but also metaphor use. Especially in the case of metaphor use, new mental images may have been introduced in a culture and its language due to the influences of neighbouring countries, historical and still actively spoken native languages as well as immigrant languages and immigrant cultures. Consequently, a metaphor that is commonly understood in Mexico, for instance, might

cause problems in Spain and vice versa. This motivated the limitation to websites registered in the countries covered by this study, i.e. Spain, England and Germany.

Furthermore, in the verification of the existence of a linguistic metaphor in another language, translated websites were avoided, since they might contain calques. When native speakers use a novel metaphor, it can be assumed that they expect the meaning of the metaphor to be evident to their audience. However, the existence of a large number of calques in smaller tourism websites and webpages of companies with international staff and customers (such as real estate agencies in certain areas of Spain) suggests that the authors, who are usually bilinguals or professional translators, are not representative of the general public due to their double cultural background. Therefore, not everything that sounds natural and understandable to them is perceived in the same way by an average monolingual language user. Hence, the exclusion of evidently and possibly translated websites.

Preference was given to websites that are generally considered to produce high quality texts, such as sites of newspapers, universities and official institutions. If a literal translation exists on such websites in the target language, the linguistic metaphor is also considered to be literally translatable: as a novel metaphor.

The locus of semantic tension is of great help when searching for novel metaphors on the Internet. In a first step, the elements between which the tension arises are translated and submitted to the search engine. If this does not yield any results, but a metaphorical use with this sense seems likely, specific vocabulary is substituted by a more generic word at a superordinate level or a high frequency word from the same semantic field. For instance, if the collocational element that is involved in the semantic tension is 'barn' but the translation cannot be found, 'barn' is substituted by the more generic 'building', or 'cultural centre' by the more frequent word 'museum'. These substitutions are conceptually very close and allow for extrapolation as to whether the use of a metaphor vehicle would be acceptable, or not, in a given context.

At times, a linguistic metaphor has a literal translation equivalent with a very wide sense description, and doubt may arise as to whether this literal translation is actually used and, thus, acceptable for the target audience. When this is the case, in addition to the conventionalised sense description, the internet is searched for the literal translation in combination with the same collocational partners as in the source language. An example, where this seemed necessary was 'wide selection'. 'Wide' in this context is defined as 'including or involving many different things or people' in the online version of the Macmillan Dictionary. The German secondary sense description of *breit* [wide] is *groß, ausgedehnt; in großem Umfang, weithin* [big, extensive; to a large degree, in many areas]. The word *Auswahl* [selection] is often combined with *groß* [big, large] but does not commonly appear with *breit* [wide]. A search on the Internet as a mega corpus, confirmed that the combination *breite Auswahl* is actually used by German speakers and copywriters.

In addition to this, it also needs to be pointed out that literal translatability cannot be established for a metaphor vehicle per se. It needs to be examined in its specific context, since many metaphor vehicles can take on more than one metaphorical meaning depending on their use in context. Each metaphorical sense has to be checked on its own. As described above, there might even be differences at the level of collocations.

Within the group of literally translatable metaphor vehicles, a subgroup of special cases was observed, which might not produce the same effect on the target readership as the source text metaphor despite its apparent literal translatability. Firstly, the degree of conventionalisation is a factor that might change from one language to another although literal translatability as such is given. These cases were marked in the register. Secondly, it was also observed that some linguistic metaphors are literally translatable, but the translation may display a notably different frequency of use. Since frequency is the main factor for an expression to be perceived as adequate for a genre or text type, this seemed noteworthy enough to mark and analyse these cases of cross-linguistic difference as well. Finally, some of the linguistic metaphors were marked as ‘not metaphorical in the target language’ since their literal translations do not completely comply with the operationalisation requirements for metaphor identification because the basic meaning in the target language is no longer in use or the basic sense description is so wide that it covers both the basic sense and the metaphorical sense in the source language.

### **5.5. Analysis of the research corpora**

In the analysis of the sample corpora, the most frequent source-target-domain (STD) combinations had been identified. These data were crossed with the data for literal translatability. This was done for all six translation directions. In order to determine which STD combinations are particularly problematic in terms of translation, the percentage of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles was calculated. Any STD combination with at least 75% of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles was considered problematic and subject to an analysis of the lexical variety among its metaphor vehicles. Those STD combinations with a low lexical variety do not allow to draw conclusions about underlying cognitive systems that permit or restrict certain metaphorical uses but reveal typical metaphorical language in the genre that might cause problems for language learners and translators. The STD combinations with more than three lemmatised metaphor vehicles were considered for further study.

For the STD combinations that were selected for further study, a list of representative metaphor vehicles from all three corpora was elaborated, translating the metaphor vehicles’ basic meaning into the other languages. Based on this trilingual list of source-domain vocabulary, a concordance search was carried out on the large research corpora in order to gather more data about their metaphorical use across languages. For this

purpose, the online corpus management tool Sketch Engine<sup>54</sup> was used. The hits for each lemma were analysed manually, selecting only those uses that reflect the STD combination under study. These occurrences were displayed for all three research languages and analysed for possible underlying cognitive patterns.

The objective of this stage was to draw up guidelines for the translation of metaphor groups that are especially problematic in tourism promotional discourse, and possibly in general language, based on the results obtained from the large corpora.

### **5.6. Adjustments for cross-linguistic comparability**

When analysing the sample corpora in the different languages, it became clear that a word count would not represent metaphor frequency accurately across the different languages, since these show different preferences for ways of forming compound words, pronoun use, separation of particles and prefixes, etc. As a consequence, their proportion of semantic words differ. Since in this study only semantic words and components were checked for their metaphorical use, results expressed in metaphor vehicles per x words cannot be compared across languages with different semantic word proportions. The entailments of these differences for the reliability of MIP and MIPVU in cross-linguistic comparisons were discussed in section 5.3.2. Nevertheless, comparability across languages can be restored if results are given per 100 potential metaphor vehicles rather than 100 words. A potential metaphor vehicle, or in other words, a word that may be used metaphorically according to the criteria of this study, is identical with a lexical unit as defined in the metaphor identification process. A lexical unit was considered to be a noun, verb, adjective or adverb or any semantic component of these that may be used as an independent word belonging to one of these four grammatical categories. For instance, ‘coastline’ or ‘waterfront’ can be considered to contain two semantic units. Further decisions regarding lexical units have been discussed in section 5.3.3. on metaphor identification.

For reasons of cross-linguistic comparability, the decision had been taken to decompose all compound words into their semantic components. Therefore, the only reliable way of establishing the number of lexical units, or potential metaphor vehicles, in the sample corpora was a manual count. Apart from the criteria for lexical units, further methodological criteria had to be introduced for the lexical unit count.

A compound word may have metaphorically used components or may be used metaphorically as a whole. It was decided to count merely the semantic components as potential metaphor vehicles and not the potential metaphorical use of the compound as a whole in addition to the number of components since the number of cases where all

---

<sup>54</sup> <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>

components of a compound and the compound itself are used metaphorically seems to be extremely low.

Cardinal points, i.e., ‘north’, ‘east’, ‘south’ and ‘west’, were not counted whenever they were part of the official name of a town, city, district, region, etc. as in North Tyneside or South East England. They are, however, included in the lexical unit count in expressions like ‘the south east of England’ or *Galicia del Norte*. Uppercase spelling can be an indicator of official names, but is not infallible, as can be seen from the Spanish example. For this reason, each case needed to be verified. Adjectives derived from place names were included in the lexical unit count and so were place names used as premodifiers in English like in ‘most London restaurants’.

In the case of past participles, a distinction needed to be made between adjectival use and pure participle use depending on the context. In the phrase ‘the network is being designed following these guidelines’, the process is stressed, indicating typical participle use. Thus, ‘is being designed’ is treated as one potential metaphor vehicle. In ‘the network is designed to promote cycle tourism’, the result is stressed, i.e. here the participle describes a characteristic of the noun, like adjectives typically do. Therefore, in the second example, both ‘is’ and ‘designed’ are counted as independent lexical units.

In order to establish the ratio of lexical units per word, the number of words and lexical units were determined sentence by sentence. For each sentence, the accumulated ratio lexical units/ word was calculated dividing the sum of all lexical units from the beginning of the document by the sum of all words from the beginning of the document up to this sentence. The accumulated ratio lexical units/ word was then displayed in a graph. Stabilization of the curve indicates that the sample size is sufficient for the calculated ratio to be representative. Figure 5.1. shows the development of the accumulated ratios in the three research languages. The difference in curve length is owed to the total number of sentences in each of the 20,000-word corpora. While the German and the Spanish curve have stabilized to a satisfying degree from 750 sentences on, the English curve shows a slight upward tendency towards the end of the corpus. This may be due to differences in the style of promotional websites belonging to different regions. It is clearly visible that Spanish promotional tourism discourse produces least potential metaphor vehicles per word, while German produces most potential metaphor vehicles and English lies in between the other languages, though slightly closer to German. The remaining upward tendency for English suggests that the final ratio for English might actually be a little higher or lower but can clearly be expected to lie within 0.52 (lowest accumulated value) and 0.6 (value at the beginning of the stabilization zone after initial strong deflections). This is equivalent to a  $\pm 7\%$  margin and has been considered tolerable given the general heterogeneity of natural language productions.

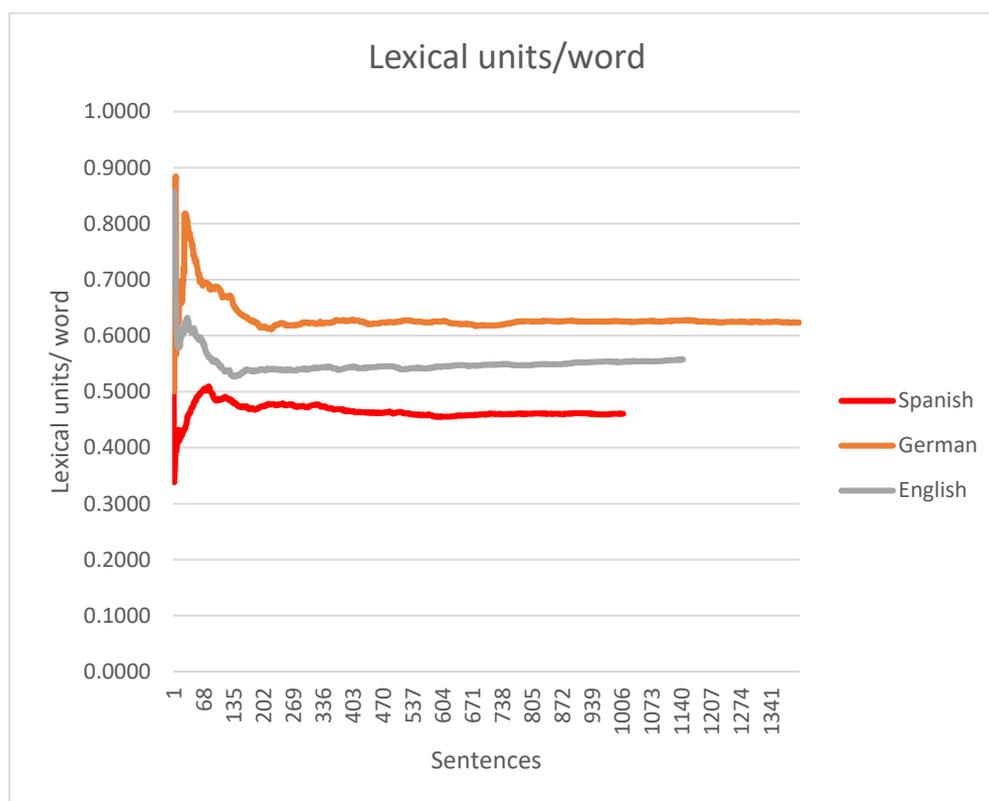


Figure 5.1. Lexical units/ word in sample corpora by languages

Based on the number of lexical units in each language, correction factors were calculated in order to be able to compare results of the whole research corpora or segments without having to identify potential metaphor vehicles first. These correction factors will help in clear cases. When cross-linguistic differences are small, however, results obtained applying these correction factors have to be treated with caution since natural language is highly heterogeneous.

For this reason, homogeneity of the sample corpora was studied with respect to semantic words. As will be explained in more detail in the following subsection, the metaphor analysis was limited to semantic words. In natural language production, few parameters show a normal distribution. Consequently, it is often not possible to assume homogeneity or apply standard statistical methods. For some grammatical features such as occurrences of articles, homogeneity can be assumed if the sample size is large enough. The homogeneity of the sample corpora in the present study was determined by dividing each of them into two equally sized subcorpora in order to compare the first half, the second half and the whole text in terms of semantic word concentration. For the Spanish 50%-subcorpora, the deviation in comparison with the whole sample corpus was  $\pm 0.26\%$ , for the English subcorpora  $\pm 2.3$ , and  $\pm 0.86\%$  in the German sample corpus. When calculating the deviation for 10%-segments of the sample corpora, it was found that the Spanish sample corpus displayed an average deviation of 4.22%, the maximum deviations of 10%-segments being 6.40% and -7.50%. The English corpus

displayed an average deviation of 3.05%, maximum deviations -5.70% and 3.53%. The values for the German sample corpus were 3.69% average deviation and -7.25% and 5.83% maximum deviations. A corpus with lower deviation values in comparison with another is more homogenous, while higher deviation values indicate higher heterogeneity. It would have been ideal, had all values been below  $\pm 5\%$ , because  $\alpha=0,05$  is a commonly used value for uncertainty levels or significance in philology and corpus studies (Köhler, 2013:82). In the case of our data, the iterative calculations of deviation values showed that homogeneity can be assumed for the occurrence of semantic words in the three corpora if the sample size is equal to or larger than 4000 words since for this size inter-segmental deviations remain below 5%. In practical terms, this means that any two segments of the sample corpus or the large corpus in the same language can be compared if their size is 4000 words or more without having to carry out a semantic word count anew. This information is useful for comparisons between regions or subcorpora dedicated to a topic such as accommodation, sightseeing, food & drink, events, etc.

### **5.7. Dictionary-related difficulties**

Due to the organisation of the dictionaries and the way sense descriptions are formulated, difficulties were encountered during the analytical process. The fact of working with three languages, and hence three different dictionaries, brought to the light a series of shortcomings of the dictionary-based methodology. In fact the whole analysis was carried out twice: the first time, strictly applying MIP rules with respect to the comparison of meanings and MIPVU rules with respect to sufficient distinctness; and the second time using our modified rules. How much this has changed the findings will become clear with the following example. After the first analysis, the German corpus contained most metaphor vehicles per 100 words, the English corpus contained most metaphor vehicles per 1000 characters, and the Spanish corpus displayed most per 100 lexical units. After the second analysis with modified rules, Spanish was the language with most metaphor vehicles in all three categories, per 100 words, per 1000 characters and per 100 lexical units. These differences can be related to the following facts:

- Sometimes only the metaphorical meaning is reflected in the dictionary because it is much more common than the literal meaning.
- Sometimes sense descriptions conflate literal and metaphorical meanings.
- Sometimes dictionaries are incomplete failing to represent a common meaning.
- At times, concepts that are very similar in their semantic structure are represented in different ways with respect to conflation or inclusion of a meaning within the same dictionary.
- The way entries are numbered and organised differs from dictionary to dictionary, interfering with MIPVU rules concerning sufficient distinctness.

In the following paragraphs, these problems will be explained in more detail and the way they were dealt with will be described.

It is not unusual to only find a standardized metaphorical meaning reflected in the dictionary while its uncommon literal meaning is not covered. This is the case for the phrasal verb ‘to dive into’. The Macmillan online dictionary contains the sense descriptions ‘1. to start doing something in a very enthusiastic way’ and ‘2. to examine something in great detail in a short space of time’. No mention is made of diving into a pool or lake. Similarly, the Duden online dictionary only contains an abstract definition of *umwoben* [woven around something or somebody], the only example being *von Sagen umwoben* [surrounded by legends, steeped in legend]. In Spanish, these cases seem to be less common since the RAE online dictionary often gives a definition first that is based on another entry. For instance *impresionante* [impressive] is first defined by the relative clause *que impresiona* [that impresses], thus redirecting the reader to the verb which covers both literal and metaphorical meanings. For a better cross-linguistic comparability, cases that are clearly metaphorical and have a still active literal meaning have been marked as metaphorical, flouting the MIP procedure.

Another problem that was encountered is the conflation of literal and metaphorical senses in the basic sense description. This was especially frequent in the Spanish dictionary and also present in the German dictionary, though to a lesser degree. In English there were only few problems related to sense conflation. It occurs for example in the definition of *grande* [big] in the RAE dictionary, which reads *Que supera en tamaño, importancia, dotes, intensidad, etc., a lo común y regular* [Which exceeds in size, importance, qualities, intensity, etc. what is common or frequent], hence covering the concrete and several abstract meanings. Another example is the noun *legado* [legacy], which is defined as *Aquello que se deja o transmite a los sucesores, sea cosa material o inmaterial* [What is left or transmitted to successors, be it something material or immaterial]. Similarly, the noun *Kraft* [force/ strength] has the basic sense description *Vermögen, Fähigkeit zu wirken; [körperliche oder geistige] Stärke* [ability, capability to exert an effect; [bodily or mental] strength]. Both examples combine the physical and the abstract meaning. In English, Macmillan defines ‘to snake’ as ‘to move in or have a series of long curves’, conflating the sense for a moving creature or thing and the sense that describes an object feature. This problem was solved by deflating the sense descriptions whenever the boundaries of large conceptual domains were crossed, that is the boundary between the concrete and the abstract, people and places, animals and objects, etc. or between topical areas such as music and architecture or biology and technology.

Dictionaries are not perfect and sometimes fail to cover a rather standardized meaning. Macmillan, for instance, does not include the meaning of text source for the noun ‘source’. Duden does not reflect the meaning of *grün* [green] that refers to a place with lots of plants. And even more surprisingly, RAE does not contain a sense description for *abierto* [open] that reflects the condition of a shop or similar place being open to the public. Of the six sense descriptions for *joven* [young] in the same dictionary, five refer

explicitly to people and one to animals. No mention of plants, objects or places is made. An especially interesting case is that of ‘to offer’ and *ofrecer*. The RAE dictionary does not have any sense description for *ofrecer* that clearly refers to offering services, while Macmillan does not include the sense of having a positive feature. However, both meanings are common in both languages. In such cases of obvious gaps in the dictionary, the metaphor was not marked as novel, but as conventional in order to reduce cross-linguistic differences that do not reflect real language use. If necessary, the frequency of use was verified with the help of the internet as a continuously updated mega-corpus.

Another inconsistency that was observed was that, sometimes, conceptually similar words are represented in different ways in the same dictionary. In different ways here means with respect to conflation or inclusion of a meaning or of an entry. For instance, the German adjective *hervorragend* [outstanding] derives from the Verb *hervorragend* [to stand out]. Both the verb and the adjective are still used in their concrete meaning in contemporary German. This is also true for their synonyms *herausragend* and *herausragen*. The difference in meaning is very fine and *hervorragend* is more common, but conceptually they are very close. In the Duden dictionary, *hervorragend* has its own entry, which only contains the metaphorical meaning, while *herausragend* does not have an own entry, so its meaning has to be deduced from the verb, of which it is the gerund. The verb entry covers both concrete and abstract meanings. According to MIP, *hervorragend* in the sense of outstanding would not be marked as a metaphor due to the lacking concrete description, while *herausragend* with the same sense qualifies as a metaphor. In Spanish there is a difference in the formulation of the sense descriptions of *ir* [to go] and *venir* [to come]. *Ir* has a basic definition that can be understood as a sense conflation: *moverse de un lugar hacia otro apartado de la persona que habla* [to move from one place to another that is distant from the speaker]. Since there is no specification of the kind of subject, it must be assumed that the definition applies to everything, including objects. The first two senses of *venir* are the following: 1. *Dicho de una persona: caminar*, 2. *Dicho de una cosa: Moverse de allá hacia acá* [1. Said of a person: to walk, 2. Said about an object: to mover from there to here]. It is interesting to see that the first sense does not include any information about the direction. If MIP-rules were applied strictly, the sentence *El tren viene de Toledo* [The train comes from Toledo] would be metaphorical, but not so the sentence *El tren va a Toledo* [The train goes to Toledo]. The solution to this kind of problem consists in counting an expression as metaphorical when the physical meaning is still in use, although this might run counter to the dictionary entry, and when the boundaries of large conceptual domain areas are crossed.

One of the criteria for the identification of a metaphor is sufficient distinctness between the senses. The research team at VU Amsterdam solved this problem with the help of the numberings in the dictionary. Sense descriptions with a different number were

considered sufficiently distinct, while sense descriptions that have the same number and only differing letters were considered to be too similar to be marked as metaphors. This works for the German and the English dictionary, but not for the Spanish RAE dictionary, which only employs numbers, not letters, to list the word senses. Due to this difference, it was decided not to rely on the MIPVU rule and check whether the boundaries of conceptual domains or of large conceptual domain areas (concrete-abstract, person-place, etc.) were crossed. Furthermore, a meaning in context that can be understood as a kind of the basic concept was not marked as a metaphor, while a meaning in context that was associated with the basic sense description by means of comparison or similarity was marked as such.

Traditionally, dictionaries were written to make texts understandable to people, not to accurately represent the mental conceptualisation of language and the world. Only recently has this become a field of interest in linguistics. The effects of this change of perspective on dictionaries are only beginning to show. Therefore, using a dictionary for the distinction between novel and conventional metaphors seems to be similarly arbitrary as a researcher's decisions based on his or her intuition, especially since the inaccuracies multiply when working with several languages. The main advantage of using dictionaries clearly lies in the interrater reliability. However, in order to minimise dictionary-related cross-linguistic differences and to ensure a logical and coherent analytical procedure, researchers might want to establish a series of complementary guidelines and override the dictionary descriptions when the guidelines and common sense point them to do so.

An additional observation that I would like to make here, is that the Macmillan online dictionary does not seem to be the ideal dictionary for metaphor studies since it does not present the sense entries in a chronological order, which would help to determine the more basic or historically older meaning. Furthermore, the Macmillan online dictionary is an advanced learner's dictionary and seems to be less complete than other dictionaries for this reason. Kaal (2012: 78), who participated in the Metaphor in Discourse project at the VU Amsterdam, reports in her dissertation that the Longman Contemporary Dictionary was consulted when doubts arose concerning the information in the Macmillan dictionary. If doubts remained, a third dictionary, the Oxford English Dictionary, was used. This fact illustrates the difficulties researchers face when dictionary entries contradict their personal knowledge of the language and their understanding of what would be logical. In the case of the present study, the Oxford English Dictionary was consulted as a second choice. At times, also the help of an etymological dictionary, Etymonline, was necessary to establish the basic meaning. After the experience with the analytical process for this dissertation, my personal recommendation is to opt for the most complete contemporary dictionary that is at hand, that is, avoiding learner's dictionaries, and to give preference to those dictionaries that present sense descriptions in chronological order rather than by the frequency the word

displays in a corpus, whatever may be the size of this corpus. This will save time when determining the basic meaning and establishing the metaphoricity of other meanings.

# Chapter 6

## Results and discussion

This chapter offers a quantitative analysis of the occurrence of linguistic metaphors in regional tourism promotional websites with qualitative incursions. It addresses the question how metaphor use in this genre differs cross-linguistically with respect to absolute and normalised frequencies, word class, semantic tension, conventional and novel use, as well as the discursive functions of novel metaphors. A typology of mapping schemes and of source and target domain areas is proposed in order to better describe the identified metaphors. Finally, the literal translatability of the identified linguistic metaphors is analysed per language pairs and put into relation with source-target-domain combinations.

### 6.1. Metaphor vehicle occurrences in the sample corpora

#### 6.1.1. *Absolute and normalised frequencies*

The metaphor identification process yielded 1415 metaphor vehicles in the Spanish sample corpus, 1350 in the English and 1265 in the German. During the metaphor identification process, it had become clear that the morphosyntactic features of these three languages have a considerable impact on the number of metaphors that can be found in a text of the same length in the different languages. In an attempt to compensate for the spelling of compound words in German, results were first normalised over 1000 characters. This still seemed unsatisfactory due to the extensive use of prepositions in Spanish as compared to English and German, as well as the differing uses of articles and pronouns in these three languages. Since this study is only interested in content words, it was decided to count these in each of the sample corpora for normalisation purposes. The same criteria were applied for this count as for the identification of lexical units, which are defined as an adjective, adverb, noun or verb or a component of one of these that exists as an independent word in one of these four

grammatical categories<sup>55</sup>. The total amount of metaphor vehicles identified in the three 20,000-word corpora, and the number of these linguistic metaphors normalised over 100 words, 1.000 characters and 100 lexical units are shown in Table 6.1.

**Table 6.1. Metaphor vehicle frequencies in 20,000-word sample corpora**

<b>Metaphor vehicle frequencies</b>	English	German	Spanish
Absolute numbers	1350	1269	1417
Normalised per 100 words	6.75	6.34	7.07
Normalised per 1000 characters	13.35	10.10	14.08
<b>Normalised per 100 lexical units</b>	<b>12.10</b>	<b>10.14</b>	<b>15.29</b>

Seen in total numbers of identified metaphors per 20,000 words, our Spanish corpus yielded most metaphor vehicles (1417), followed by the English corpus (1345), and the German corpus displayed the lowest number of metaphor vehicles (1269). For better comparability with other studies, these numbers have been normalised over 100 words. The amount of identified metaphor vehicles per 100 words was thus calculated to be 7.07 for Spanish, 6.75 for English and 6.34 for German. The analysis of the German corpus seemed to require more time than the others since there were more lexical units per word than in English or Spanish, as defined for the operationalisation, due to a higher density of closed compound words. In a first attempt, I had tried to adjust the results by measuring them per character. The reasoning was that compounds in the different languages might display a different number of words due to the different spelling rules but, if one eliminated the impact of spaces by measuring characters instead of words, this effect might be eradicated. When results were normalised over one thousand characters, Spanish was still the most metaphorical language with 14.08 metaphor vehicles found per 1000 characters. English came in second place with 13.35 metaphor vehicles per 1000 characters, while German was the least metaphorical language with 10.10 metaphor vehicles per 1000 characters. There were no changes in the order, but there were changes in the proportions of the differences, which are shown in Table 6.2. In absolute numbers or normalised over 100 words, the German sample corpus seemed to have 5.7% fewer metaphor vehicles than the English sample corpus, and the Spanish corpus 5.3% more. When calculated per 1000 characters, however, the German corpus is down 24.1% as compared to the English corpus, while the Spanish numbers exceed the English numbers by 5.9%. Consequently, the normalisation per characters instead of words affects mainly the German language and its comparability

<sup>55</sup> A detailed description of the research decisions leading up to this definition of lexical units is contained in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.

with English and Spanish, while having little impact on the comparison between English and Spanish.

This normalisation still seemed unsatisfactory: English is known for its large number of one-syllable words, which are bound to be shorter than Spanish words consisting to a higher degree of two or more syllables. Moreover, Spanish has many syllables that end with a vowel, while German is rich in diphthongs and its syllables often end with a consonant, thus making them longer than Spanish syllables on average, to name just a few differences. This makes cross-linguistic comparisons per character less reliable. The results change once again when normalising the total numbers with regard to only those units that actually have the potential of being metaphor vehicles according to the criteria of the present study. Now, Spanish clearly displays most metaphors (15.29 per 100 content words). The English frequencies took a middle position (12.10 metaphor vehicles per 100 content words) between the Spanish and the German numbers (10.14 metaphor vehicles per 100 content words). Taking the English frequency as the base of comparison, linguistic metaphor is 15.9% less frequent in the German corpus and 26.8% more frequent in the Spanish corpus than in the English. A direct comparison of the German and the Spanish frequencies normalised per 100 lexical units reveals, that the Spanish sample corpus contains 50.8% more metaphor vehicles than the German sample corpus.

**Table 6.2. Comparison of metaphor vehicle frequencies in 20,000-word sample corpora**

Metaphor vehicle frequencies	English	German	Spanish
Absolute numbers	100%	-5.7%	+5.3%
Normalised per 100 words	100%	-5.7%	+5.2%
Normalised per 1000 characters	100%	-24.1%	+5.9%
Normalised per 100 lexical units	100%	-15.9%	+26.8%

The implications for translation are that a text that accurately reproduces each of the metaphors of the original text, may not have the same effect on its readership as the original text. German and English readers of such an accurate translation may find the text more metaphor-laden than normal for this genre, while Spanish readers of an absolutely accurate translation from German or English may find the language too factual and direct, wishing for a more aesthetic style. As a consequence, it can be considered legitimate to suppress some of the metaphorical language when translating from Spanish to German or English. Likewise, adding metaphorically used words instead of literally used words in translations to Spanish may have a positive effect on their stylistic adequacy.

### 6.1.2. Metaphor frequencies by regions

In this subsection, only metaphor frequency normalised per 100 lexical units will be contemplated since I consider that this is the most reliable measure with regard to cross-linguistic comparisons for the present study as it concentrates on what is actually analysed only. The values calculated for each region as well as their mean, weighted mean and standard deviation are displayed in Table 6.3., 6.4. and 6.5. in order to give an idea of the homogeneity of data within each language. Metaphor frequency in the regional subcorpora range from 10.7 to 18.5 for English, from 7.4 to 13.6 for German and from 11.5 to 19.8 in Spanish. Both the lowest and the highest values for each country follow the same pattern as the mean values. That is the Spanish numbers are the highest in all these categories, followed by the English, and German numbers being the lowest.

**Table 6.3. Metaphor vehicle frequencies, English by regions**

<b>English Region</b>	<b>Metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units</b>
London	11.8
South East	12.6
South West	11.0
West Midlands	11.3
North West	11.8
North East	12.5
Yorkshire	12.2
East Midlands	18.5
Eastern England	13.5
<b>Mean</b>	<b>12.79</b>
<b>Weighted mean</b>	<b>12.10</b>
<b>Standard deviation <math>\sigma</math></b>	<b>2.13</b>
<b>Coefficient of variation</b>	<b>0.176</b>

The standard deviations for the three languages are rather similar. Expressed in absolute numbers the standard deviation amounts to 2.13 for the English corpus, 1.77 for German and 2.29 for Spanish<sup>56</sup>). The similarity becomes clearer when the coefficient of variation is calculated, which amounts to 0.176 for the English sample corpus, 0.174 for the German and 0.150 for the Spanish corpus. Thus approximately two thirds of the regional values lie within the interval given by the mean value plus/minus  $\sigma$ , the standard deviation, which is  $\pm 17.6\%$  for English,  $\pm 17.4\%$  for German and  $\pm 15\%$  for the Spanish corpus.

<sup>56</sup> Coefficient of variation = standard deviation/ mean

Table 6.4. Metaphor vehicle frequencies, German by regions

German regions (Bundesländer)	Metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units
Baden-Württemberg	10.8
Bayern	9.8
Berlin	9.4
Brandenburg	7.4
Bremen	8.0
Hamburg	11.3
Hessen	9.2
Mecklenburg- Vorpommern	8.4
Niedersachsen	7.9
Nordrhein- Westfalen	10.8
Rheinland Pfalz	10.9
Saarland	13.6
Sachsen	13.0
Sachsen- Anhalt	11.2
Schleswig- Holstein	9.0
Thüringen	11.9
<b>Mean</b>	<b>10.16</b>
<b>Weighted mean</b>	<b>10.13</b>
<b>Standard deviation <math>\sigma</math></b>	<b>1.77</b>
<b>Coefficient of variation</b>	<b>0.174</b>

From a mathematical point of view, this is a relatively good, narrow distribution of values, as opposed to a widespread distribution. The narrower the distribution of measured values, the easier and more reliable it is to draw conclusions and make predictions. Nevertheless, the spread of our data is not ideal for predictions since there is considerable overlap among the three languages. For instance, the Spanish and English regional values show a good degree of overlap in the interval 11.5 to 18.5 with only two of the English regional frequencies being lower than the lowest Spanish regional frequency. Likewise, only two of the Spanish regions show higher metaphor vehicle frequencies than the most metaphorical English regional subcorpus. The interval of overlap between English and German frequencies goes from 10.7 to 13.6 and comprises eight out of nine English regions and nine out of sixteen German regions. For the language pair German - Spanish, differences are more pronounced. Three of the sixteen German regions show a higher metaphor vehicle frequency than the least metaphorical of the Spanish regional subcorpora, being thus located in the interval of overlap. On the other hand, seven out of nineteen Spanish regions display a lower value for metaphor vehicle frequency than the highest German value.

Table 6.5. Metaphor vehicle frequencies, Spanish by regions

Spanish regions (comunidades autónomas)	Metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units
Andalucía	16.5
Aragón	17.7
Cantabria	13.0
Castilla y León	13.1
Castilla-La Mancha	17.1
Cataluña	16.1
Ceuta (Ciudad Autónoma)	14.3
Comunidad de Madrid	16.6
Comunidad Valenciana	16.5
Extremadura	13.4
Galicia	17.7
Illes Balears	13.3
Islas Canarias	11.5
La Rioja	12.0
Melilla (Ciudad Autónoma)	13.4
Navarra	15.5
País Vasco	14.2
Principado de Asturias	18.6
Región de Murcia	19.8
<b>Mean</b>	<b>15.27</b>
<b>Weighted mean</b>	<b>15.53</b>
<b>Standard deviation <math>\sigma</math></b>	<b>2.29</b>
<b>Coefficient of variation</b>	<b>0.150</b>

From these data we can conclude that very accurate translations with respect to metaphorical language from Spanish to English or vice versa run little risk of being perceived as stylistically inadequate. Only promotional tourism texts written in a very dry, matter-of-fact style in English, might need some metaphorical adjustment in order to sound more attractive in Spanish. Similarly, only very poetic Spanish promotional tourism texts may require a reduction of metaphorical language in order to avoid a sensation of amusement or inadequacy due to overly flowery language. The degree of adjustment to the target language of the translation will depend on whether the aim consists in creating a natural-sounding translation or a target text that creates in the new readership a cognitive response that is as close as possible to that evoked by the original text.

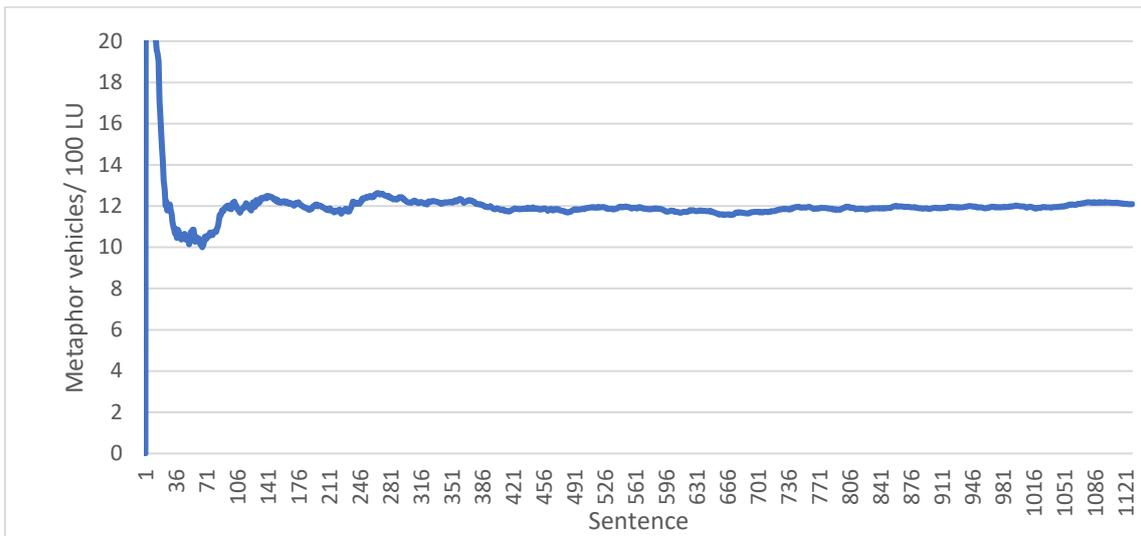
Adjustments regarding metaphorical language are much more likely to be necessary for translations of the language pair German – Spanish, especially when translating metaphor-laden Spanish texts to German. Of course, language is also a representation of the national culture, and one might choose to recreate this cultural feature, at least to

some extent, in the translation. Here, the difficulty lies in finding the right balance between the recreation of the foreign, exotic style on the one hand and comprehensibility and acceptability on the other hand.

### **6.1.3. *Accumulated metaphor vehicles to lexical unit ratio***

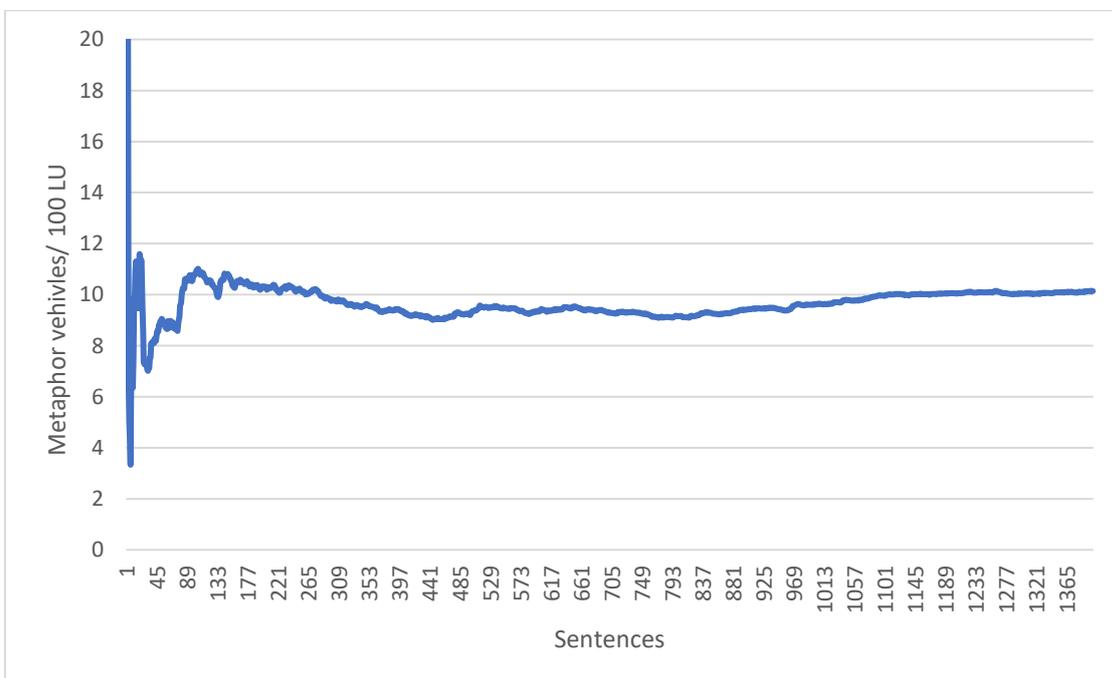
A graph of the accumulated metaphor vehicles to lexical unit ratio gives visual information about the homogeneity that complements the information obtained from the standard deviation and the coefficient of variation in the previous section. Moreover, it contains information about the adequacy of the corpus size. Such a graph is created by calculating, in certain intervals, the sum of all identified metaphor vehicles from the beginning of the corpus up to that point, and by dividing this number by the sum of all lexical units from the beginning up to this point. This coefficient is then plotted over the number of intervals. If the resulting graph displays a large quantity of relatively high peaks, the sample is highly heterogeneous. If the plotted line is rather flat lacking pronounced peaks or upward and downward movements, then the sample is fairly homogeneous. The more data included, the smaller the peaks should get. If a tendency line that has been plotted disregarding the first couple of peaks is horizontal, the obtained mean value can be regarded as being reliable. When the line runs absolutely flat, analysing more data will not likely change the results. These statements are true for samples with a standard or near standard distribution of the studied variable. Semantic words in a text do not show such a distribution, while word classes and certain grammatical words, such as articles and determiners, do. This visual method is thus not recommended for the study of metaphors belonging to a certain word family. We, however, expect linguistic metaphor as an overall phenomenon to show a statistical behaviour rather like word classes or grammatical words.

In Figure 6.1., the accumulated ratio metaphor vehicle/ 100 lexical units is displayed for the English sample corpus. A certain heterogeneity between subcorpora can be inferred from the smaller stretches where the curve falls or rises for some time. The size of the peaks is rather small and a tendency line that disregards the first large peaks would be almost horizontal. That means that the sample size is large enough to produce a fairly exact mean value.



**Figure 6.1. Development of metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units in English sample corpus**

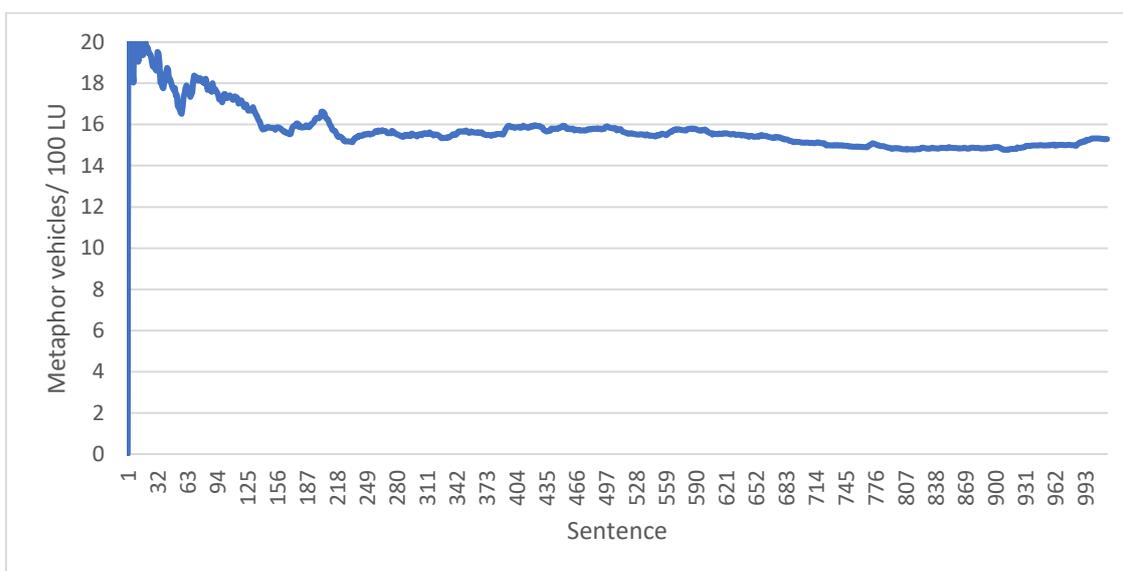
The same ratio for German is displayed in Figure 6.2. It seems to take the German curve some time more to level out, but in the end, there seem to be fewer peaks than in the English graph. A tendency line is also very close to horizontal. Therefore, the mean value can be considered fairly accurate and the sample size sufficient.



**Figure 6.2. Development of metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units in German sample corpus**

The Spanish graph is the one that shows the largest changes towards the end of the x-axis, where frequency changes from one interval or section to the next should have the

least effect. Indeed, the last analysed region, Murcia, is the subcorpus with the highest metaphor frequency. Using the visual method, one might want to analyse some more data for the curve to become flatter. Indeed, the 20,000-word sample corpora contained different amounts of lexical units. The English corpus yielded 11,155 lexical units, the German corpus 12,513 and the Spanish the least with 9,267. The more data already evaluated, the less additional metaphor vehicles affect the mean value. For the mean value of metaphor vehicles per one hundred lexical units to be more accurate, one can increase the sample size.



**Figure 6.3. Development of metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units in Spanish sample corpus**

Although the Spanish curve does not level out to the same degree as the English and the German curves, it is clearly visible that the curves settle around the value 10 in the case of German, the value 12 in the case of English and around 15.5 in the case of Spanish. Judging from the behaviour of the curves up to the end of the 20,000-word corpora, there is no risk of any of them rising above or dropping below one of the other curves as the sample size is increased further. Language is such a vast and complex system that there will always be a certain degree of heterogeneity. A large sample size can provide high accuracy, but the precision of the value has a limit for its applicability. We could calculate a ratio that is stable to several digits after the decimal point, but it would be of no use since language data are not homogenous and can, therefore, not be predicted with a high degree of precision. In summary, the visualisation of the normalised frequencies was satisfactory in that the sample size resulted sufficient in order to determine the frequency of linguistic metaphor with reasonable accuracy.

#### 6.1.4. Comparison with other frequency data

There are few studies these results can be compared with. Martínez Motos (2005) analysed twenty institutional tourism brochures from England and twenty from Spain. The texts were originally written in English and Spanish, i.e. they had not been translated. She found the share of metaphorical language to be equal in the English and Spanish brochures, amounting to 15%. However, the chapter does not specify which definition of metaphor or metaphor identification procedure were applied, which makes it difficult to compare and reason differences in the results. Nevertheless, Martínez Motos' (2005) numbers are in line with our results for the Spanish corpus, in which 15.29% of all content words were used in their metaphorical meaning. The frequency of metaphor in our English sample corpus, however, was almost 20% lower, amounting to only 12.10%. One might argue that brochures are more limited in terms of space than websites, which made up 90% of our Spanish corpus, and 100% of our English texts. As a consequence the message has to be more condensed and copywriters might opt for more expressive language, which, in turn, might lead to more frequent use of metaphorical language. While this might explain the lower frequency of metaphors on the English promotional website texts, it does not contribute to clarify the lack of difference in Spanish between Martínez Motos' brochure corpus and our mainly website-based corpus. Further research into genre conventions in both languages would be necessary to supply answers to the questions that remain here.

In his article on the role of culture in translation from a cognitive viewpoint, Bernárdez (2013:323) concludes from a literature review that “English, in a higher degree than many or most other languages seems to be extremely fond of metaphor and metonymy, using them when other languages would prefer a literal form of expression [...]” This statement is congruent with our data for German, but not for Spanish, which displayed 26.8% more metaphor vehicles per lexical unit than English and 50.8% more than German. This supports Bernárdez' (2013:323) statement that a metaphorical expression does not necessarily require a metaphorical translation.

Possible explanations for the cross-linguistic differences in the number of linguistic metaphors are limited to speculation. The German language system tends to be more precise than the Spanish language system due to the frequent use of prefixes that specify the meaning: German often uses one verb for intransitive actions and another, prefixed one for transitive actions, such as *malen* and *anmalen* [to paint, *pintar*], with *ausmalen* meaning ‘to colour something in’ or in its figurative sense ‘to depict something’. Moreover, compound nouns and adjectives are rarely shortened, while dropping one component and leaving the disambiguation to the context and the interpretation of the reader is common in Spanish. As a consequence, speakers of German are less used to disambiguating meanings. They might perceive the cognitive effort linked to the disambiguation of alternative meanings in the case of conventional metaphor, and the range of possible interpretations that have to be narrowed down to those that best fit the

context, in the case of novel metaphor, as more strenuous than might a Spanish audience, which is more accustomed to semantic imprecision.

It is also interesting to relate the numbers of this study to those of other registers. The programme “Metaphor in discourse: linguistic forms, conceptual structures and cognitive representations” conducted at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam by Gerard Steen, Aletta Dorst, Berenike Herrmann, Anna Kaal and Tina Krennmayr. The researchers working on this project studied metaphor use in conversation, fiction, news and academic texts in English. Their results are given by grammatical categories, so the percentage of metaphorically used content words can be calculated easily, taking into account adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs, while disregarding all other grammatical categories. The numbers for these calculations were taken from Dorst (2011:176). There remains a difference between our numbers and the numbers of the “Metaphor in discourse” project, since MIPVU analyses compound words as one lexical unit, not by their components. As a consequence, the present study would count more lexical units than the “Metaphor in discourse” project if they were to analyse the same text. However, analysis by components of compound words opens up the possibility of identifying more metaphors. All in all, the difference is estimated to have a small enough effect on the final result to allow for a rough comparison.

**Table 6.6. Metaphor vehicles/ 100 lexical units in various registers in English**

	Tourism promotion	Conversation	Fiction	News	Academic texts
Metaphor frequency	12.10	8.94	13.51	18.34	19.79

As can be seen in Table 6.6., linguistic metaphor is higher in tourism promotion than in conversation, but slightly less common than in fiction, and decidedly lower than in the remaining two registers. The reason that metaphor use in news and academic texts is approximately fifty percent higher than in tourism promotion might be related to the fact that the news and academic texts deal with a great number of abstract concepts, which require conceptual metaphor in order to fill lexical gaps and to model abstract relationships. While news texts may use fewer metaphor vehicles for this purpose than academic texts, they are likely to use more metaphorical language in order to catch their readership’s attention and entertain them (cf. Skorczynska & Deignan, 2006). Tourism promotion seems to be closer to conversation than these two registers in general as well as in metaphor frequency due to an effort on behalf of the authors to reduce social and cultural distance in order to create a friendly atmosphere, and to keep cognitive processing efforts at an agreeable level. The closeness to fiction in terms of metaphor frequency may also be related to the descriptive function of tourism promotional texts, which is also frequent in fiction.

Thiele (2013) studied metaphor in spoken academic discourse in English and German in his PhD dissertation. For each language, four talks were transcribed and analysed using MIP. Unfortunately, little importance was given to metaphor density, which was reported rounded up or down to integers. Standard deviation, if calculated, would have been high since metaphor density as reported ranges from “just under one” to seven (Thiele, 2013:162) in the case of the four English talks, and from three to seven for the German talks, although, according to the graph, this highest value seems to lie around 9.7. Extracting more precise numbers (one digit after comma instead of integers) from the metaphor density graphs (Thiele, 2013:162) and using information given by Thiele (2013:120-121) on the corpus composition, the approximate weighted mean values were calculated. English spoken academic discourse thus displays a mean metaphor density of 2.9 metaphors/ 100 words. Thiele’s German corpus displays a weighted mean metaphor density of 4.6 metaphors/ 100 words (if the highest density per talk is 7) or 5.2 metaphors/ 100 words (if the graph can be trusted). These densities are extremely low compared to the “Metaphor in Discourse” and our promotional tourism discourse data. Furthermore they suggest that German spoken academic discourse is more metaphorical than English spoken academic discourse, both languages showing considerable differences between single speakers.

#### **6.1.5. Type/token ratio for metaphorically used words**

When the list of metaphorically used words was processed with the wordlist function of Sketch Engine, the total number of metaphorically used types and the occurrences per tokens were calculated. In the metaphor identification process, metaphor vehicles had been lemmatised for the register. It was this list of lemmas of metaphorically used content words that was submitted to Sketch Engine. Lemmatisation was necessary to improve cross-linguistic comparability since the studied languages use inflection to different degrees. Spanish, for example, displays a large variety of verbal forms. German conjugation produces more verbal forms than English conjugation and fewer than Spanish. Besides, German is the only language in this study which uses noun cases. All these morphological characteristics produce differences in the type/ token ratio which can be neutralised through the use of lemmas. The lemmatising strategy had also been used by Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr and Pasma (2010:179), who worked with the English and Dutch languages. These changes to the classical understanding of type/token ratio for the sake of comparability were justifiable since the main purpose here consisted of drawing conclusions about lexical variety of the used metaphor vehicles. As a consequence, rather than a type/token ratio, we are using a lemma/token ratio for metaphorically used content words. It should also be pointed out that English phrasal verbs were treated as one type, which required some editing prior to the wordlist analysis with Sketch Engine. In the English sample corpus, 1350 metaphor vehicles had been found, which belong to 447 different lemmas (see Table 6.7.). This resulted in a lemma/token ratio of 0.33. The German corpus had yielded 1269 metaphor

vehicles belonging to 501 types, which provides a lemma/token ratio of 0.39. Meanwhile, the Spanish sample corpus has 1417 metaphor vehicles, 567 types and a type/token ratio of 0.40. This means that the Spanish and German sample corpora contain a wider range of metaphorically used words than the English sample corpus, which, in turn, tends to use the same metaphor vehicles more often. This may be related to the higher percentage of conventional metaphor as compared to novel metaphor in the English corpus. The degree of conventionalisation of the found metaphors will be discussed in detail below in a section of its own.

**Table 6.7. Number of metaphor vehicles in sample corpora and type/token ratio**

	English	German	Spanish
Metaphor vehicles	1350	1269	1417
Lemmatized types	447	501	567
Lemma/ token ratio	0.33	0.39	0.40

These findings support Merkaĵ's (2013:323) observation that English is more colloquial, whereas Spanish texts tend to be more formal and employ more poetic devices in their descriptions. A higher type/token ratio reflects greater lexical variation, which, in turn, is associated with a higher register, good style and possibly even poetic language. This more creative use of language appeals to the reader's imagination, but also requires a higher cognitive effort for its interpretation. Texts with a lower type/token ratio can be expected to be more accessible to all kinds of readership. A low type/token ratio is furthermore associated with a more repetitive style. In a promotional context, repetitiveness shows that the text is concerned with strengthening mental schemata rather than appealing to imagination, senses and feelings. Therefore, the data suggest that the Spanish and the German promotional websites pay a lot of attention to the quality, style and aesthetics of their texts, while the English promotional websites value comprehensibility. The Spanish websites might be directed primarily at native speakers of Spanish, offering an English version for speakers of other languages. Since English is the lingua franca of international tourism, the British tourism websites have to be suitable for both native and non-native speakers. This may be the reason for the reduced variety of metaphor vehicles and the low percentage of novel metaphor on the English regional tourism websites. Just like the Spanish websites, the German websites are directed primarily at native speakers of German, making use of English as a lingua franca.

### 6.1.6. Most frequent metaphor vehicles

Table 6.8. displays the twenty most frequent metaphor vehicles identified in the three sample corpora. At first sight, there does not seem to be a lot of congruence across the three languages. The top three items in English are ‘centre’, ‘attraction’ and ‘to offer’. The most frequent items on the German metaphor list are *reich* [rich], *Besucher* [visitor] and *führen* [to guide], while the three most frequent metaphor vehicles on the Spanish list are *parque* [park], *grande* [big] and *descubrir* [to discover]. All these lexical units can easily be related directly or indirectly to the topic of tourism, nevertheless there is no overlap among the top three items due to differences in the language systems and pragmatic conventions. In the following analysis, the word ‘occurrences’ should be understood as occurrences of metaphorical use, not including literal occurrences.

**Table 6.8. Twenty most frequent metaphor vehicles and their absolute frequency in sample corpora**

English		German		Spanish	
centre	43	Reich	45	parque	32
attraction	42	Besucher	36	grande	29
offer	34	führen	31	descubrir	28
visit	34	rund	29	contar	23
take	29	bieten	23	visita	22
free	24	Erbe	23	historia	21
visitor	24	voll	23	centro	20
discover	22	stehen	21	ofrecer	20
top	22	liegen	20	patrimonio	20
open	19	einladen	18	cultura	15
heart	18	genießen	17	época	15
friendly	17	alt	15	visitar	14
fine	15	prägen	14	hacer	13
run	15	entdecken	13	formar	12
back	14	hoch	13	dar	12
explore	14	Welt	11	único	12
film	13	sorgen	11	oferta	12
fantastic	13	gehören	11	poseer	11
follow	12	zählen	11	destacar	10
site	12	präsentieren	10	espectacular	10

The most frequently used metaphor vehicle in English was ‘centre’ with 43 occurrences. The word originally referred to the centre of a circle. Its metaphorical uses in our corpus can be disambiguated into three meanings. In 31 cases, the contextual meaning is determined to be ‘a building or group of buildings where people go to do a particular activity’, as in examples (1) and (2) below. In eight cases, the definition ‘part of a town or city that contains most of the shops, restaurants and places of entertainment’ can be

applied, as in example (3). In two cases, ‘centre’ comes to mean ‘an important place for a particular activity’, as in example (4). Finally, one use reflects the meaning ‘the most important place in the respect specified’ and yet another use can be defined as ‘a place where there is a lot of something’.

- (1) Bletchley Park was famous as a code-breaking **centre**.
- (2) ... at King’s Lynn Tourist Information **Centre**
- (3) 6 miles from the **centre** of Sheffield
- (4) because of its importance as a shipping port and an industrial **centre**

Forty-three occurrences as metaphor vehicle is a lot compared to the twenty cases of *centro* in Spanish and the nine cases of *Zentrum* in German. This may be due to the common practice of calling institutions conceived for public entertainment ‘centres’, like ‘adventure centre’, ‘living history centre’, ‘climbing centre’, ‘exhibition centre’, ‘Jorvik Viking Centre’, including shopping facilities, such as ‘shopping centre’ or ‘garden centre’. In addition, there is a tendency to call ‘visitor centre’ or ‘tourist information centre’ what is internationally referred to as *Tourist Information*. The local names *oficina de turismo* [tourism office] in Spanish and *Fremdenverkehrsbüro* [tourism office, literally: strangers’ traffic office], do not contain the lexical unit *centro/Zentrum*. Here we can see different practices in the naming of places and institutions.

The adjective *reich* [rich] in German is so frequent in the corpus (45 occurrences) because it is a popular component in compound adjectives, as can be seen from the following examples:

- (5) *In Deutschlands sonnen- und rebenreichster Stadt ...* [In Germany’s richest city in terms of sun and vines ...]
- (6) *Abwechslungsreiche Parkgestaltung* [Park design rich in variation]
- (7) *eines der erfolgreichsten Kulturzentren* [one of the most successful (“rich in success”) cultural centres]
- (8) *Die Sammlung bietet einen facettenreichen Blick auf die Kunstgeschichte ...* [The collection offers a multifaceted (“rich in facets”) view of art history ...]

The most frequent metaphor vehicle in Spanish was *parque* [park] with thirty-two occurrences. Originally, this word was used, and remains to be used, to refer to a fenced area used for leisure or hunting right next to a palace or a town. Twenty-eight of the metaphorical uses referred to a legally protected green area of extraordinary beauty or extraordinary ecological importance as in examples (9) and (10). In two cases, the word *parque* is combined with the adjective *infantil*, referring to a playground, once it is part of the compound noun *parque temático* [theme park] and once of *parque de atracciones* [leisure park].

- (9) *Qué hacer en el Parque Natural de Corralejo* [What to do in the Corralejo Natural Park]

- (10) *El parque abarca 26.000 hectáreas* [the park covers (an area of) 26,000 hectares).

In the specific case of *parque*, the high frequency does not seem to be due to merely linguistic reasons. It is rather an indicator of the large number of national parks and nature reserves in Spain and their perceived attractiveness for tourists in a country with vast very dry areas.

In second position are ‘attraction’ (42 occurrences), *Besucher* (36 occurrences) [visitor] and *grande* (33 occurrences). The English word ‘attraction’ has been projected from the physical domain to the psychological domain. Something is interesting for the public, so visitors come to see it as though they were physically attracted by it. ‘Attraction’ has thus come to mean ‘somewhere or something you can visit that is interesting or enjoyable’. Besides, the word ‘attraction’ in this sense is metonymic since the word for the effect is used to refer to the object that causes the effect. In the Spanish sample corpus, only two metaphorical occurrences of *atracción* were found. The Spanish equivalent of ‘attraction’ can be used for a person, a show or a fairground ride, but it is not commonly used to refer to tourist attractions, nor is this meaning contained in the RAE dictionary. The word *Attraktion* in the sense of tourist attraction exists in German as a loan word. For the physical phenomenon, the German word *Anziehung* is used.

The second most frequent metaphor vehicle in German is *Besucher* [visitor]. This word was not identified in the first analysis, since initially a guideline suggested by MIPVU was applied. Sufficient distinctness between two senses was a requirement for the secondary sense to be identified as metaphorical. The MIPVU guideline recommends considering a word sense to be sufficiently distinct from the basic meaning if it was assigned an independent number in the dictionary entry. When two senses belong to the same number, as example ‘1.a)’ and ‘1.b)’, the difference in meaning is minimal and should not lead to a classification as metaphor-related language. In the case of *Besucher*, the sense descriptions ‘1.a)’ and ‘1.b)’ read as follows:

1. a) männliche Person, die jemanden aufsucht; bei jemandem einen Besuch macht  
[male person who calls on somebody; who pays a visit to somebody]
  1. b) männliche Person, die etwas zu einem bestimmten Zweck aufsucht; Teilnehmer  
[male person who goes somewhere for a certain purpose, participant]
- (Duden, online edition)

Consequently, a *Besucher* [visitor] of a city, an exhibition, a congress or the like, should not be considered metaphorical language. However, in the same dictionary, the sense descriptions of the verb *besuchen* [to visit] that are related to meanings 1.a) and 1.b) of *Besucher*, are listed independently with an number of their own:

1. jemanden, den man gerne sehen möchte, mit dem man freundschaftlich zusammen sein möchte, aufsuchen und sich für eine bestimmte Zeit dort aufhalten [to call on

somebody one would like to see, one would like to spend time with in a friendly manner, in order to stay there for some time];

3. *zu einem bestimmten Zweck aufsuchen* [to go somewhere for a certain purpose]

(Duden, online edition)

It does not make sense that one and the same conceptual change in meaning should lead to a metaphorical understanding for the verb, but not for the noun, simply because sense descriptions are conflated for one word class, but not for the other, or because the numbering differs from one word class to the other. Such inconsistencies within a dictionary are common. Additionally, differences in the presentation of senses can be observed across dictionaries in the same language and in different languages. The Spanish RAE dictionary, for instance, does not subdivide numbered entries with the help of letters at all. For this reason, it was decided to consider two sense descriptions as sufficiently distinct when the meaning is transferred from one conceptual domain area to another. In the case of *Besucher* and *besuchen*, the meaning was transferred from the domain area Person as the object of the action to the domain area Place. The same rule was applied to confluences in one sense description. What is also interesting about this word family is that *Besucher* [visitor] was identified as metaphorical thirty-six times, while the verb *besuchen* was only used metaphorically five times. In English, the verb ‘to visit’ was detected thirty-four times as a metaphor vehicle, and the noun ‘visitor’ twenty four times. This might be related to the limited use of imperatives on German tourism websites (Salas Acosta, 2017:24). From the pragmatic perspective, both the English and the German cultures value non-imposition as an essential part of politeness. In promotional and commercial texts, however, this rule is regularly flouted since being direct is allowed in situations in which it is positive for the reader/ hearer. Nevertheless, the German website texts seem to address their readers slightly less often by using imperatives than the English texts. Ultimately, the difference in word choice might simply be related to the phonetic features. ‘Visit’ is short and has a compelling sound, whereas *Besuchen Sie* and *visita* or *visite* are a lot softer and therefore less powerful. Instead of inviting potential tourists by addressing them directly, the German websites rather present the activities and services that visitors in general can enjoy, hence the high frequency of the noun *Besucher*. This allows them to avoid being imposing and pushy, which would be against the German understanding of politeness and could be counterproductive in the promotion of the destination.

Just like *Besucher* [visitor], the second most frequent metaphor vehicle in Spanish, *grande* [big], was not identified as such in the first analytical round. This is due to the following basic sense description of *grande* in the RAE dictionary:

1. *adj. Que supera en tamaño, importancia, dotes, intensidad, etc., a lo común y regular.* [what exceeds in size, importance, capacity, intensity, etc. that which is common or habitual] (Diccionario de la RAE, online edition)

This is a very comprehensive description. In the English dictionary by Macmillan, this definition is reflected by three sense descriptions:

- (1) large in size
- (2) large in degree, or having a strong effect
- (3) important or major

(Macmillan Dictionary, online edition)

Using dictionary entries for the metaphor identification process is necessary and a great way of guaranteeing inter-rater reliability. However, they should be used as an orientation, not as the ultimate criterion. Dictionaries were traditionally written to make words understandable to language users, not to reflect the conceptual organisation of language in our minds. Conceptual Metaphor Theory, however, endeavours to shed light on this cognitive-conceptual dimension of language. As a consequence of this reflection, sense description confluences were broken down into more precise and conceptually limited descriptions whenever the line between concrete and abstract meaning was crossed, or where meaning was transferred from one large domain area to another, especially when commonly known selection restrictions of the basic meaning were flouted. A consistent application of this rule has the advantage of eliminating cross-linguistic differences due to differing editing criteria of dictionaries.

The third most frequent metaphor vehicles are ‘to offer’ in English with 34 occurrences, *führen* [to guide] in German with 31 occurrences and *descubrir* [discover] in Spanish with 28 occurrences. The verb ‘to offer’ originally describes actions that require will and ability to communicate in some way. In our corpus, it is often applied in personifications to describe the qualities and services of a place or product. Interestingly, the German equivalent *bieten* [to offer in a general sense] was only used 22 times as a metaphor vehicle, while *anbieten* [to offer to a specific person or group of people] was not found with metaphorical meaning. The Spanish equivalent *ofrecer* was detected twenty times with a metaphorical sense. Some of the sentences could also be interpreted as a case of metonymy, where the company name or institution stands for the people who work there, but mostly the verb is used with personifications of places, products and services.

The German verb *führen* [to guide, to lead] is originally used for people that accompany others showing them the way. As a metaphorical vehicle it has been used with three different meanings: to describe the course of a street, path or similar (27 occurrences); to be the cause for someone to end up in a certain place or situation (two occurrences); to lead to a result (one occurrence); and to be in charge of an organisation or activity (one occurrence). The English verb ‘to guide’ has not been identified as a metaphor vehicle, while ‘to lead’ is used metaphorically four times in the sample corpus to describe paths, streets and other ways. In Spanish, the corresponding verb *guiar* is not among the metaphor vehicles, but the same function is carried out by the semantically

close metaphors *llevar* [to take] (five occurrences) and *llegar* [to reach] (six occurrences). These are all cases of personification where the concrete meaning is either transferred to abstract concepts or comes to describe a concrete physical aspect of an object or place, which is also a common phenomenon in all three languages.

The Spanish verb *descubrir*, the third most frequent metaphor vehicle is an example of how differences in the language systems can exert an influence on the metaphorical status of a word sense and hence the frequency of metaphorical uses. The English sample corpus contained 22 metaphorical uses of ‘discover’ and the German 13 metaphorical uses of *entdecken*. On promotional websites, tourists are often invited to discover a city, a landscape, its traditions, its history and the like. In Spanish, the basic meaning of *descubrir* is to uncover an object, for instance a monument that has been covered with a cloth for its inauguration ceremony. As a consequence, any contextual meaning of *discover* other than uncovering an object has to be understood as metaphorical use. In English, the restricted physical sense ‘expose, lay open to view’ is absent from the Macmillan Dictionary and marked as obsolete in the etymological dictionary Etymonline. Hence, the sense ‘find unexpectedly or during a search’ has to be considered the basic meaning. Only if the meaning in context is ‘become aware of (a fact or situation)’<sup>57</sup> or ‘find out about a place or activity that is new to you’, can the use of the word ‘discover’ be considered metaphorical. The basic contemporary meaning of *entdecken* in German is close to the English definition: (*etwas Verborgenes, Gesuchtes*) *finden, ausfindig machen* [to find, locate something (hidden, sought)] (Duden, online edition). Apart from the secondary senses that have been mentioned for ‘discover’, *entdecken* is additionally used when you come across something that is neither difficult to find nor sought after, but unexpected. When comparing vocabulary use across languages, it is also interesting to take a look at synonyms and semantically close words. In this case, the English metaphor list revealed that ‘explore’ was used in similar contexts as ‘discover’ in the English corpus. Its metaphorical uses amounted to fourteen. However, neither the German equivalent *erkunden*, nor the Spanish *explorar* were identified as metaphorically used words in the other two sample corpora. Adding up the occurrences of ‘discover’ and ‘explore’, there are 36 metaphorical uses, compared to 28 metaphorical occurrences in Spanish. English culture and tourism discourse have been reported to be more action-oriented than Mediterranean cultures, which are more being-oriented (Manca, 2018:97). This may explain why ‘explore’, which implies more intentional activity, is found in the English corpus only and why there are more occurrences of ‘discover’ and ‘explore’ taken together than in Spanish. The number of metaphorical uses of the German equivalent *entdecken* may be lower due to the fact that this verb is often used as an imperative and German promotional tourism websites have been reported to employ few imperatives (Salas Acosta, 2017:24), possibly in order to comply with German politeness standards of non-imposition.

<sup>57</sup> Definition retrieved from <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com> in 2018 since definitions in the Macmillan online dictionary were conflated

The fourth most frequent metaphor vehicle in Spanish, *contar* [to count/ to tell], shall be commented on since it raised comparability issues. All occurrences of *contar* except one are used in combination with the preposition *con*, meaning ‘to have’ or ‘to boast’ something. Although the meaning changes considerably, there is no separate dictionary entry, nor a subordinated entry for the verb with the preposition. It is simply presented as a sense description. The use of the preposition only becomes evident from the examples following the sense description: *10. intr. Tener, disponer de una cualidad o de cierto número de personas o cosas. El equipo cuenta con once jugadores. Cuento con su simpatía.* [Have, have at your disposal a certain quality or a certain number of people or things. The team has eleven players. I have his sympathy.] (Diccionario de la RAE; online edition). Comparable cases in English are usually considered phrasal verbs and are given their own entry as, for example, ‘to deal with’ or ‘to look after’ thus not qualifying as a metaphor when used in the basic sense of the phrasal verb. After some deliberation, it was decided, not to make any adjustments to the analytical process in order to not complicate it further. Since these prepositional verbs with non-compositional meaning were not frequent among the identified metaphor vehicles, uncomplicated reproducibility was considered more important than the strict cross-linguistic comparability of the results. The only metaphorical use of *contar* without preposition was a case of personification:

- (11) **Cuenta** la leyenda que una embarcación se deshizo de él ... [Legend “tells” that a boat disposed of him ...]

The fourth most frequent metaphor vehicle in German is interesting because it exemplifies the compositional character of the German language. In our sample corpus, the adjective *rund* [round, circular] was combined in compound nouns with *-gang* [walk], *-fahrt* [ride], *-weg* [way], and *-tour* [tour]. These compound nouns are also often pre-modified with the means of transport or the place, as in *Stadtrundgänge* [circular (topical) walks in the city], *Barkassenrundfahrt* [circular launch boat ride] or *Harzrundweg* [circular trail around the Harz Mountains]. The adjective is metaphorical in that these visits, rides and trails are not actually round, but end where they started. The word ‘circular’ has been found with metaphorical use in the English sample corpus (4 occurrences), but not in the Spanish.

At first sight, there seems to be little overlap in the vocabulary of the twenty most frequent metaphor vehicles. A closer look however reveals that the metaphor vehicles can be grouped into two categories according to their function. There is typical tourism-related vocabulary, such as ‘attraction’, ‘to visit’ or ‘visitor’ and vocabulary used for naming and describing tourism assets, products and services. A second group comprises vocabulary used for highlighting as can be expected from promotional texts. Examples are ‘top’, ‘fantastic’ and ‘rich’. Some items are general language metaphor vehicles, such as ‘take’, ‘back’ or *dar* [give]. Since they often help describe the tourism assets

and services on offer, they have been added to the first category. Table 6.9. displays all metaphor vehicles from the twenty most frequent items grouped by their function.

**Table 6.9. Most frequent metaphor vehicles by discourse function**

<b>Typical descriptive vocabulary in tourism discourse:</b>
<b>English:</b> centre, attraction, offer, visit, take, free, visitor, discover, open, heart, friendly, run, back, explore, film, follow, site
<b>German:</b> <i>Besucher</i> [visitor], <i>führen</i> [to guide], <i>rund</i> [round], <i>bieten</i> [offer], <i>Erbe</i> [inheritance, heritage], <i>stehen</i> [to stand], <i>liegen</i> [to lie], <i>alt</i> [old], <i>entdecken</i> [to discover], <i>Welt</i> [world], <i>sorgen</i> [to provide], <i>gehören</i> [to belong], <i>zählen (zu)</i> [count as], <i>präsentieren</i> [to present]
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>parque</i> [parque], <i>descubrir</i> [to discover], <i>contar</i> [to tell], <i>visita</i> [visit], <i>historia</i> [history], <i>centro</i> [centre], <i>ofrecer</i> [to offer], <i>patrimonio</i> [inheritance, heritage], <i>cultura</i> [culture], <i>época</i> [epoch], <i>visitar</i> [to visit], <i>hacer</i> [to make], <i>formar</i> [to form], <i>dar</i> [to give], <i>oferta</i> [offer], <i>poseer</i> [to possess]
<b>Vocabulary used for highlighting:</b>
<b>English:</b> top, fine, fantastic
<b>German:</b> <i>reich</i> [rich], <i>voll</i> [full], <i>einladen</i> [to invite], <i>genießen</i> [to ingest], <i>prägen</i> [to emboss], <i>hoch</i> [highly]
<b>Spanish:</b> <i>grande</i> [big], <i>único</i> [unique], <i>destacar</i> [to stand out], <i>spectacular</i> [spectacular]

The translations given in brackets are the translations of the basic meaning. Only where there is a sense conflation inherent to the German or Spanish language system, are two translations given. This applies to the words *patrimonio* and *Erbe*, whose basic meaning is the inheritance a person receives from their ancestors. In our tourism texts, however, these words are often used with reference to the heritage, or ‘the art, buildings, traditions, and beliefs that a society considers important to its history and culture’ as the Macmillan Dictionary defines it. Some of the words in Table 6.9. have metaphorical senses that are evident for speakers of any of the three languages since they share their metaphorical secondary meaning(s). Others are more difficult to understand. In view of this, some of the metaphor vehicles will be commented on briefly.

Firstly, the adjectives *reich* [rich], *rund* [rund] and *voll* [full] exist as independent words. In their metaphorical senses, however, they were detected almost exclusively as components of compound adjectives and compound nouns. The German word *geniessen* [to ingest] is widely used in its original sense of savouring and in the sense of enjoying, in which case it can be applied to any object or experience, not only food and drinks.

Many verbs in the list are used in personifications of places and institutions: *ofrecer* [to offer], *contar* [to tell], *poseer* [to possess], *führen* [to guide], *liegen* [to lie], *stehen* [to

stand], *sorgen* [to provide], *präsentieren* [to present], *bieten* [to offer], *einladen* [to invite], ‘to offer’, ‘to run’ and ‘to follow’.

Another noteworthy fact is that there are several German verbs among the most frequent metaphor vehicles that are used for classifying something in terms of quality or as part of a group. These verbs are *bilden* [to form], *gehören* [to belong], *zählen zu* [count as], and *gelten* [to be valid]. The verb *gehören* is etymologically related to listening, responding to someone and, in its basic sense, it is associated with belonging to people. Any use in the sense of being part of an object, group of objects or abstract group is understood as metaphorical. The verb *gelten* [to be valid] in combination with the preposition *als* can be translated as ‘be considered as’.

Instead of describing a tourist attraction as belonging to the oldest, most popular, etc. of its kind, Spanish and English seem to prefer the use of adjectives, such as *único* [unique], *spectacular* [spectacular], *privilegiado* [privileged], ‘fantastic’, ‘iconic’ and ‘rich’.

Regarding the use of ‘free’ and its equivalent *libre*, it has to be pointed out that ‘free’ is mainly used to refer to the lack of an entrance fee and for unrestricted access, while *libre* [free] as a metaphor vehicle occurred usually in the combination *aire libre* [open air, outdoors].

As can be seen from the discussion of the most frequent metaphorically used items in each language above, many, but not all, of the words also have been found as metaphor vehicles in the other research languages. In order to illustrate the differences in the actual use of metaphor vehicles, tables giving the translation of the metaphor vehicles into the other research languages together with their rank and their occurrence have been created (Tables 6.10, 6.11 and 6.12). Translations without metaphorical use have been represented by a hyphen for the equivalent and blanks for the rank and the number of tokens. As mentioned above, in this context, occurrence has to be read as token with metaphorical use, excluding all cases of literal use. The total amount of metaphor vehicles found in the three corpora reveal relatively noticeable differences: 1350 in English, 1269 in German and 1417 in Spanish. Furthermore, the type/token ratio of the lemmatised metaphor vehicles was lower for English than the other two languages. Due to these circumstances, the same number of occurrences has a slightly different value in each of the languages. In order to provide a more precise impression of popularity of a metaphor vehicle, the following tables display the rank of a metaphor vehicle in addition to its frequency. The rank gives the position of the metaphor vehicle on the list of most frequent vehicles. Subtracting one from the number of the rank, one obtains the number of metaphor vehicles that occur more often or, in other words, are more popular in the sample corpus. When two metaphor vehicles appeared equally often in a sample corpus, they were assigned the same rank. After a group with the same number of tokens, the next metaphor vehicle with fewer occurrences is assigned the rank as though all of the previous metaphor vehicles had been counted continuously. For instance, on

the English list, there are two metaphor vehicles with twenty-four occurrences, which were both assigned the rank 6. The following metaphor vehicle, which was found twenty-two times in the corpus, is given rank 8, not 7, as though the count up to this item on the list had never been interrupted.

**Table 6.10. Absolute frequency of the most frequent metaphor vehicles in the English sample corpus: comparison with their equivalents in the German and Spanish corpora.**

English	occurrences (rank)	German equivalent	occurrences (rank)	Spanish equivalent	occurrences (rank)
centre	43 (1)	Zentrum	9 (21)	centro	20 (7)
attraction	42 (2)	-	-	atracción	2 (135)
offer	34 (3)	bieten	23 (5)	ofrecer	20 (7)
visit	34 (3)	besuchen	5 (47)	visitar	14 (12)
take	29 (5)	-	-	coger	1 (228)
free	24 (6)	frei	4 (56)	libre	9 (21)
visitor	24 (6)	Besucher	36 (2)	visitante	9 (21)
discover	22 (8)	entdecken	13 (14)	descubrir	28 (3)
top	22 (8)	-	-	superior	5 (53)
open	19 (10)	offen	3 (77)	abierto	5 (53)
heart	18 (11)	Herz	7 (28)	corazón	1 (228)
friendly	17 (12)	freundlich	3 (77)	-	-
fine	15 (13)	fein	2 (108)	-	-
run	15 (13)	-	-	-	-
back	14 (15)	-	-	-	-
explore	14 (15)	-	-	-	-
film	13 (17)	-	-	-	-
fantastic	13 (17)	-	-	fantástico	2 (135)
follow	12 (19)	folgen	2 (108)	seguir	6 (45)
site	12 (19)	-	-	-	-
gallery	12 (19)	Galerie	6 (33)	galería	1 (228)
head	12 (19)	Kopf	1 (188)	-	-
house	12 (19)	-	-	acoger	7 (33)
home	11 (24)	Heimat	1 (188)	-	-
ride	10 (25)	-	-	-	-
iconic	10 (25)	-	-	-	-
wide	10 (25)	weit	1 (188)	amplio	7 (33)
host	10 (25)	-	-	albergar	7 (33)
scenery	9 (29)	Kulisse	3 (77)	escenario	1 (228)
spend	9 (29)	-	-	-	-

**Table 6.11. Absolute frequency of the most frequent metaphor vehicles in the German sample corpus: comparison with their equivalents in the English and Spanish corpora.**

German	occurrences (rank)	English equivalent	occurrences (rank)	Spanish equivalent	occurrences (rank)
reich	45 (1)	rich	9 (29)	rico	7 (33)
Besucher	36 (2)	visitor	24 (6)	visitante	9 (21)
führen	31 (3)	-	-	-	-
rund	29 (4)	circular	4 (71)	circular	1 (228)
bieten	23 (5)	offer	34 (3)	ofrecer	20 (7)
Erbe	23 (5)	-	-	patrimonio	20 (7)
voll	23 (5)	-	-	lleno	1 (228)
stehen	21 (8)	stand	3 (85)	-	-
liegen	20 (9)	-	-	-	-
einladen	18 (10)	-	-	inviter	2 (135)
genießen	17 (11)	-	-	-	-
alt	15 (12)	old	9 (29)	-	-
prägen	14 (13)	-	-	-	-
entdecken	13 (14)	discover	22 (8)	descubrir	28 (83)
hoch	13 (14)	high	8 (34)	alto	5 (53)
Welt	11 (16)	world	5 (59)	mundo	7 (33)
sorgen	11 (16)	provide	4 (71)	-	-
gehören	11 (16)	-	-	-	-
zählen	11 (16)	-	-	contar	23 (4)
präsentieren	10 (20)	-	-	presentar	3 (90)
Hütte	9 (21)	-	-	-	-
gelten	9 (21)	-	-	-	-
Zentrum	9 (21)	centre	43 (1)	centro	20 (7)
Kern	8 (24)	core	1 (185)	núcleo	2 (135)
wert	8 (24)	worthy	1 (185)	-	-
kurz	8 (24)	short	6 (45)	-	-
bilden	8 (24)	form	1 (185)	formar	12 (14)
Einblick	7 (28)	-	-	-	-
beherbergen	7 (28)	host	10 (25)	albergar	7 (33)
Viertel	7 (30)	quarter	2 (116)	-	-

**Table 6.12. Absolute frequency of the most frequent metaphor vehicles in the Spanish sample corpus: comparison with their equivalents in the English and German corpora.**

Spanish	occurrences (rank)	English equivalent	occurrences (rank)	German equivalent	occurrences (rank)
parque	32 (1)	park	5 (59)	-	-
grande	29 (2)	big	6 (45)	-	-
descubrir	28 (3)	discover	22 (8)	entdecken	13 (14)
contar	23 (4)	-	-	zählen	11 (16)
visita	22 (5)	-	-	Besuch	2 (108)
historia	21 (6)	-	-	-	-
centro	20 (7)	centre	43 (1)	Zentrum	9 (21)
ofrecer	20 (8)	offer	34 (3)	bieten	23 (5)
patrimonio	20 (8)	-	-	Erbe	23 (5)
cultura	15 (10)	-	-	-	-
época	15 (10)	-	-	-	-
visitar	14 (12)	visit	43 (3)	besuchen	5 (47)
hacer	13 (13)	make	7 (30)	-	-
formar	12 (14)	form	1 (185)	bilden	8 (24)
dar	12 (14)	give	6 (45)	geben	2 (108)
único	12 (14)	-	-	-	-
oferta	12 (14)	offer	34 (3)	-	-
poseer	11 (18)	-	-	-	-
destacar	10 (19)	-	-	-	-
espectacular	10 (19)	-	-	-	-
ideal	9 (21)	-	-	-	-
pasar	9 (21)	pass	1 (185)	-	-
ser	9 (21)	-	-	-	-
largo	9 (21)	long	2 (116)	lang	1 (188)
perder	9 (21)	lose	1 (185)	-	-
riqueza	9 (21)	wealth	5 (59)	Reichtum	1 (188)
visitante	9 (21)	visitor	24 (6)	Besucher	36 (2)
libre	9 (21)	free	24 (6)	frei	4 (56)
reserva	9 (21)	reserve	4 (71)	-	-
forma	8 (30)	shape	3 (85)	Form	1 (188)

The hyphens in Tables 6.10, 6.11 and 6.12 represent the lack of metaphorically used translations of the basic meaning. A first glance reveals that roughly half of the metaphor vehicles found in one language were in fact also used as such in the other languages. Generally, this was true for slightly more than fifty percent, with the exception of Spanish, which had only fourteen metaphorically used equivalents of the basic sense in German. Exact numbers for the existence of a metaphorically used equivalent in the sample corpora can be seen in Table 6.13.

**Table 6.13. Number of basic meaning translations with metaphorical use(s): 30 most frequent items**

Base of comparison	Compared language	With metaphorically used translation	Without metaphorically used translation
English	German	16	14
	Spanish	18	12
German	English	17	13
	Spanish	16	14
Spanish	English	17	13
	German	14	16

This, of course, does not mean that they cannot be used metaphorically in the other languages. Nevertheless it suggests that they are not typically used as metaphor vehicles in promotional tourism texts in the other language. For translation practice, this means that a frequent linguistic metaphor in one language is not necessarily the typical choice in the target language. The majority of the most frequent highlighting adjectives, such as ‘top’, ‘fantastic’, ‘fine’, ‘iconic’, *único* [unique], *espectacular* [spectacular], *ideal* [ideal], *privilegiado* [privileged] can be translated literally. The question is whether they will sound natural, since they would obviously not be the first choice of a native copywriter in English or German. Replacing a literal equivalent by a near-synonym that is coherent with the style of the text, which sounds correct in the context and thus does not produce any kind of clash in the reader perception, might be legitimate in order to guarantee text adequacy and to reproduce the effect of the original text on its original readership. In this sense, ‘fantastic’ might be a better, or at least more typical, word choice in English than ‘spectacular’. While *espectacular* seems to be a lot more common in Spanish tourism promotional texts than *fantástico*.

As to whether literal translations with metaphorical uses are more common at the top of the list, no clear patterns are recognisable. In the translation direction English to German and Spanish, there are slightly more metaphorically used equivalents in the top half of Table (6.10.). In the translation direction Spanish to English and German, the distribution is fairly even (Table 6.11.). The same can be said for the comparison of Spanish metaphor vehicles with their English translations. For the translation direction Spanish to German, which was the one with least matches, only fourteen of thirty, the metaphorical uses are more frequent in the top half of the table. It needs to be pointed out that for this language pair, there are two items which were not included in the metaphor analysis in German since neither the Duden dictionary entry nor the etymological information in the DWDS dictionary allowed for a metaphor identification

according to our operationalisation criteria. The items in question are *Park* [park]<sup>58</sup> and *Geschichte*. Were those problematic cases to be included, the proportion of metaphor vehicles with metaphorical equivalent would be just as large as in the other language pairs. For somebody who doesn't speak German it might also seem strange that no metaphorically used form of *groß* [big] was found in the sample corpus. This can be explained by the fact that there are two words in German for what is *grande* [big] in Spanish: *groß* is mainly used for what is big in size, while *großartig* is used for what is 'big in its kind', that is for most metaphorical senses. The same word building strategy can be observed for *einzig* [only] and *einzigartig* ['only in its kind/in its way of being', unique]. The first is employed for things that only exist once in general or are the only specimen or item in a specific situation, whereas *einzigartig* describes things that are extraordinary in their category. As a consequence, *einzig* is not used metaphorically in the way *único* is. In summary, no clear patterns or language-pair specific behaviours can be inferred from the thirty most frequent metaphor vehicles and the existence of equivalent metaphorical uses in the other sample corpora.

Noteworthy is the absence of any highlighting adjectives in the German top 30 metaphor vehicle list in the classical sense. The most frequent highlighting adjectives in German are *reich* [rich], *voll* [full], *hoch* [high] and *wert* [worth(y)] and are typically used as a component of a compound adjective or noun. As such they primarily highlight other components of the compound, but most of them actually also make a positive judgement or stress the extraordinary, outstanding character of what it describes, as can be seen from examples (12) to (17):

- (12) *die traditionsreichen Hansestädte Wismar und Rostock* [the Hanseatic cities Wismar and Rostock, rich in traditions,]
- (13) *eine umfangreiche Skulpturensammlung* [a vast collection of sculptures]
- (14) *reizvolle Landschaft* [lovely ('rich in appeal') landscape]
- (15) *eindrucksvolle Zeugnisse* [impressive ('rich in impressions') testimonies]
- (16) *die Ideen bemerkenswerter Persönlichkeiten* [the ideas of noteworthy personalities]
- (17) *Sehr empfehlenswert!* [highly recommendable ('very worthy of recommendation')]

The lexical unit *hoch* [high], was mainly used in historical terms, such as *Hochindustrialisierung* ["high industrialisation"; equivalent to the English Second Industrial Revolution] or *hohes Mittelalter* [high Middle Ages]. Only two of its metaphorical uses are typical adjectival uses, both combined with nouns from the semantic field of quality, acting as a booster rather than a highlighting adjective. The lack of typical highlighting adjectives like 'fantastic', 'outstanding', 'fabulous',

<sup>58</sup> In both Duden and DWDS, the only nature-related definition of *Park* is that of an artificially created green area mostly in the style of natural landscape. The word *Nationalpark* exists but seems to be a loanword or calque from English. The word of German origin for protected areas of land is *Naturschutzgebiet* ('nature protection area')

‘iconic’, ‘legendary’ or ‘brilliant’, among the most frequent metaphor vehicles may be linked to the fact that Germans do not like being told what to think of something. They prefer receiving more objective information based on which they can form their own opinion. This might be a long-lasting effect of the post-war effort among many writers, the press and the educational system to foster clear descriptive language and to avoid manipulative language use, which was partially blamed for the rise of National Socialism.

As mentioned above, there are several classifying verbs in the German top 30 list, that are not reflected in the Spanish and English sample corpus, namely *gehören (zu)* [to belong (to)], *zählen (zu)* [count (to)], *gelten als* [to be valid (as)]. All these verbs are often used to describe a monument or other tourism asset as belonging to the best of this kind. Unlike Spaniards, Germans are cautious about superlatives, and those classifying verbs that characterize the subject as belonging to the group of the best is a strategy of modesty that helps to maintain credibility.

In summary, a comparison of the favourite highlighting metaphor vehicles suggests that although similar effects are sought, each language has its own profile with respect to adjectives. These findings support Bernárdez’ (2013:323) statement that a metaphorical expression does not necessarily require a metaphorical translation; rather the question is whether the first choice in the target language for the phrase to be translated would be a metaphorical expression or a literal one.

**Table 6.14. Ten most frequent metaphor vehicles in sample corpora across languages**

English	German	Spanish	Total
offer (34)	bieten (23)	ofrecer (20)	77
centre (43)	Zentrum (9)	centro (20)	72
visitor (24)	Besucher (36)	visitante (9)	69
discover (22)	entdecken (13)	discover (28)	63
rich (9)	reich (45)	rico (7)	61
visit (34)	besuchen (5)	visitor (14)	27
free (24)	frei (4)	libre (9)	37
circular (4)	rund (29)	circular (1)	34
open (19)	offen (3)	abierto (5)	27
world (5)	Welt (11)	mundo (7)	23

In view of all the unmatched metaphor vehicles, Table 6.14. was drawn up in order to show at one glance which metaphor vehicles were most common in all three languages. It contains vehicles that were used ten times or more often when adding up the occurrences in all three sample corpora. Occurrences in each of the languages are given in parenthesis after the word. The last column contains the sum of the occurrences in all three languages. The most commonly used metaphor vehicle is ‘to offer’/ *bieten/ ofrecer*, followed by centre/ *Zentrum/ centro*, ‘visitor’/ *Besucher/ visitante*, and discover/ *entdecken/ descubrir*. Interestingly, apart from these four, the remaining

metaphor vehicles are only highly common in one language and fairly average in the other two. This, once again, points to great cross-linguistic variety in metaphor use.

### 6.1.7. Research decisions prompted by specific metaphor vehicles

In the course of the analysis it was necessary to decide on the treatment of classical metaphor in ‘A is B’ form and on the priority of either predominant or historically older understanding as the basic meaning.

In the Spanish list of frequent metaphor vehicles, the verb *ser* [to be] can be found in position 21 with 9 occurrences. The use of *ser* as a metaphor vehicle might be striking. Yet, it occurred in our corpus when a tourist destination was described in the form ‘A is B’ as in sentences 18) and 19). This classical form of metaphor is also referred to as direct metaphor and is not easily detected with the MIP method by Pragglejaz (2007). In the first example below, all nouns including the proper name of the region are used in their basic sense and can, therefore, not be considered metaphor vehicles. The only word that cannot be understood literally is the verb form *es* [is]. The readers have to replace this ‘is’ with ‘has a lot of’, ‘stands for’, ‘is associated with’, ‘is known for’ or similar in their minds for a meaningful interpretation. The same substitution is necessary in example (19) to fulfil truth conditions.

- (18) *Galicia es agua, es tierra, es viento* [Galicia is water, is land, is wind]  
 (19) *Y Aragón es también gente acogedora, noble y cercana* [And Aragon is also welcoming, generous and involved people]

Although it is the whole structure, including the source-domain and the target-domain concept, in an analysis at word level, it is the linking component *ser* [‘to be’] that needs to be marked as metaphorical in its meaning<sup>59</sup>.

The question whether it makes sense to use the historically oldest definition as the basic meaning, although it is far from being the predominant meaning, was raised by the Spanish verb *celebrar* [to celebrate]. In its basic meaning, it is used for praising a sacred being or a glorious deed, dedicating one or several days to their commemoration. When used with sports competitions, entertainment events like balls, private ceremonies or official acts, it has to be understood as metaphorical owing to independent sense descriptions while displaying similarity in praise, solemnity, or public participation. Sometimes it is not easy to establish the most basic meaning since there is no evidently more bodily or more concrete meaning, and an etymological dictionary has to be consulted. It is possible that the historical meaning, although still in use, is not the

<sup>59</sup> These direct metaphors were employed in key positions on Spanish regional websites where the region and its attractive features were presented in a rather poetic way. Corresponding uses of ‘to be’ or *sein* were not found in the other two sample corpora. One might venture that a classical metaphor is too literary for German and English conventions on promotional websites. This is in line with the intercultural studies on value systems by Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, (2010:165) who reported higher masculinity ratings of Germany and Great Britain, which correlates with a preference for non-fiction, while Spain rates higher in femininity, which correlates with a preference for fiction.

predominant contemporary use, as in the case of *celebrar*. Moreover, average language users may not perceive the nuances in meaning of the different sense descriptions in the dictionary as significant. Therefore, the question arises whether it makes sense to settle with the historically older meaning as the basic meaning instead of the most common contemporary meaning. Or whether it makes sense to mark the described uses as metaphorical. For the present research it was decided that both analytical decisions were justified. Given that the research languages are related, many of today's words go back to the same historical word stems or even to the same Latin or Germanic words. Therefore, it makes sense to select the historically oldest meaning as the basic meaning, since it seems likely that the equivalent in one of the other research languages that is derived from the same Germanic, Latin or other European word has the same or a very similar original meaning. Historical meanings and developments of meaning are reflected in present-day metaphorical use, its source- target-domain relations and, ultimately, its mappings. Inconsistencies in the selection of the most basic meaning may thus lead to differing interpretations of source-target-domain relationships and mapping schemes. Notwithstanding, for linguistically unrelated or very distant languages, and depending on the research objective, choosing the predominant meaning in unclear cases might be the more adequate choice.

Regarding the questions of whether sense descriptions that are perceived as relatively close, should lead to metaphorical status, one must take into account that additional sense descriptions are introduced in dictionaries when at least one conceptual aspect differs from the basic meaning to such a degree that the original sense description is no longer applicable satisfactorily. Nevertheless, for a language speaker, who is already used to a given conventionalised metaphor, the similarities between the basic and the metaphorical meanings may be so obvious and strong that he or she does not perceive a difference. However, this is not necessarily the case for speakers of other languages, where the same change in conceptual aspects may have given rise to a morphological change or the use of an independent, entirely different word. In this context, it should be pointed out that perception of similarity and conceptual closeness is heavily influenced by the language system. Englishmen will perceive more of a resemblance between riding a horse and riding a bike than Germans, who use *reiten* for animals and *fahren* for artifacts. It is precisely this familiarity with a conceptual mapping that leads to incorrect literal translations as the foreign or second language speaker does not even question the existence of the same mapping in the target language. Therefore, in this cross-linguistic study, even small conceptual changes from one sense description with independent numbering to the other were considered distinct enough to give rise to metaphor. As a consequence, *celebrar* was considered to be metaphorical in certain contexts.

### 6.1.8. Summary

By way of a summary, I would like to point out what can be learned from the data and the different perspectives that have been adopted in the analysis. Firstly, when working with different languages, the results may vary depending on whether the total numbers are normalised over words, characters or lexical units with the potential of being used as metaphors, while working in only one language, these differences may be insignificant. Cross-linguistic studies, however, need to normalise their findings and base their normalisation on what they are actually studying. In the present dissertation, this meant that lexical units, as defined in the operationalisation of the metaphor identification, had to be counted and taken as the basis of the cross-linguistic comparison. Only in this way can cross-linguistic comparability be guaranteed. The figures obtained from our research corpora suggest that Spanish promotional tourism websites contain most metaphor vehicles and German promotional tourism websites have the least metaphorical language, with English in a middle position halfway between Spanish and German.

From the type/token ratio<sup>60</sup> of the metaphor vehicle list, we learn that the Spanish and the German sample corpus display a greater variety of metaphor vehicles than the English. This may be connected to the proportion of conventionalised metaphors and the type of readership that is targeted, that is a domestic or international audience.

A closer study of the most frequent metaphor vehicles in the three sample corpora revealed that not only literal language is representative of a register. In our corpora, linguistic metaphors have been found to reflect key functions of tourism promotion in the sense that many of the most frequent metaphor vehicles have a descriptive or highlighting function thus helping to accomplish the two main purposes of promotional tourism websites: information and persuasion. The most frequently used metaphor vehicles are more recurring in English than in the other languages, which is consistent with the low type/token ratio among the identified metaphor vehicles<sup>61</sup>. It can be concluded that language-specific features are also reflected, as can be seen in the use of *rund* [round, circular] or *reich* [rich], which are both highly productive components of compound words in German. Cultural preferences regarding style and lexis, as well as the targeted readership also exert an influence on metaphor vehicle frequencies. Furthermore, metaphor vehicle frequency can be influenced by country-specific practices when naming institutions and places, as can be seen in the use of ‘centre’.

In the analytical process and the comparison of the frequency lists it became evident that there are differences in the way that dictionaries present the language data. As a researcher, one faces the decision to either prioritise cross-linguistic comparability and

---

<sup>60</sup> For the metaphor list, lemmatised forms have been used, so type/token ratio in this context is actually a lemma/token ratio. This has the advantage of levelling out type/token ratio differences that are due to the differing use of inflection in the three languages.

<sup>61</sup> See previous footnote

(what the individual researcher understands to be) common sense, departing from the dictionary definition, or to prioritise inter-rater reliability, reproducibility and comparability across studies. In this study, cross-linguistic comparability was given priority in the identification process of lexical units, while reproducibility was considered equally important in decisions on the metaphorical use. This means that dictionary definitions were only disregarded when sense connotations crossed the borders of conceptual domain areas. Otherwise, definitions taken from dictionary entries were not rewritten, even though a slight reformulation could have resolved a cross-cultural difference.

Finally, the comparison of the thirty most frequent metaphor vehicles in each language with the metaphorical use of their literal translations revealed that approximately half of the literal translations did not yield any metaphorical use in the other sample corpora. Although this does not imply that these words cannot be used as metaphor vehicles in the other language, it suggests that they are not commonly used as such in tourism promotional discourse in the other language(s). These are the cases that might lead to incorrect or unnatural translations.

## **6.2. Grammatical aspects**

In this section, the findings regarding the word class of metaphorically used words and the locus of semantic tension, which points the hearer (or reader) to a metaphorical interpretation, are presented and discussed. For a long time, metaphor was considered to be realised through nouns only. According to the cognitive metaphor theory, any word class can be used metaphorically. It will be interesting to see whether there are any cross-linguistic differences in the word class of metaphor vehicles and the locus of semantic tension.

### **6.2.1. Word class**

#### *6.2.1.1. Metaphor and word class in the English sample corpus*

In the English sample corpus, 39.9% of all metaphor vehicles used as content words were verbs, 38.3% were nouns, 20.2% were adjectives and only 1.6% belonged to the word class adverb. The absolute numbers are given in Table 6.15. together with the percentages. Our data corroborate observations in literature that metaphors are not always nouns (Deignan, 2005:14), and that English tends to place the metaphoricity in the verb (Cameron 2008:200; Kaal, 2012:137).

**Table 6.15. Metaphor vehicles by word class (English)**

	Adjectives	Adverbs	Nouns	Verbs	Total metaphor vehicles
<b>Occurrences</b>	273	22	517	538	1350
<b>Share</b>	20.2%	1.6%	38.3%	39.9%	100%

The obtained data were compared with those of the “Metaphor in Discourse” project at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (see Table 6.16.). The percentages given here differ from the numbers that can be found in publications of the “Metaphor in Discourse” project, since their original data include conjunctions, determiners, prepositions and other grammatical categories. To allow for comparison, the percentages have been calculated anew based on Dorst (2011:181) considering only content words<sup>62</sup>.

**Table 6.16. Metaphor vehicles distribution by word class for five registers [%]**

	Adjectives	Adverbs	Nouns	Verbs
<b>Tourism prom.</b>	20.2	1.6	38.3	39.9
<b>Fiction</b>	16.9	7.7	29.8	45.6
<b>Academic disc.</b>	14.4	4.4	41.4	39.8
<b>News</b>	16.1	4.9	34.7	44.3
<b>Conversation</b>	11.0	15.1	21.7	52.2

Tourism promotional discourse shows the highest percentage of adjectives among metaphorically used content words (20.2%). The share of adjectives in the other registers ranges from 11% for conversation to 16.9% for fiction. This relative overuse of metaphorical adjectives in tourism promotion may be linked to the need for persuasion and information, which in turn can be realised through evaluative and descriptive adjectives. Since metaphor is often more vivid or conveys more information in fewer words, metaphorical adjectives can be cognitively more efficient than literal language in terms of memorability and processing effort.

<sup>62</sup> For this calculation, the numbers given for adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs were added, disregarding all other identified metaphor-related words. The sum was treated as though it were the total number of metaphor vehicles identified in the corpora. Subsequently the share of each word class was calculated. Since this is the share for all content-word metaphor vehicles, it was not necessary to calculate or estimate the number of lexical units according to our metaphor identification procedure.

It is noteworthy that the share of adverbs among the metaphor vehicles in our sample corpus is exceptionally small (1.6%) when compared with the other registers, where it ranges from 4.4% for academic discourse to 15.1% for conversation.

The word class distribution of metaphor vehicles in tourism promotion is closest to the distribution in news texts. These two registers share the wider public as their readership and the communication of content that is mostly new to the reader. Apart from conveying information, both registers need to entertain their readership to a certain degree in order to attract their attention and maintain it. Furthermore, news texts and tourism promotional texts often have to handle semi-technical vocabulary. The communication occurs from expert or near-expert to laymen and is, apart from a few exceptions, unidirectional. These common features of news and promotional tourism websites may lead to similar characteristics of their metaphorical language. Fiction is unidirectional and also seeks to entertain, but entertainment being the main purpose, there is more time and space available to go into more detail with adverbs. The slightly lower use of metaphorical adjectives in fiction might be related to lower pressure to convince and induce action, while the higher proportion of metaphorically used verbs points to the fact that a large share of the text in fiction is dedicated to describing developments, actions and changes, which is best done with verbs. Meanwhile tourism promotion dedicates a lot of space to descriptions of objects, states, products and services, which involves the use of adjectives and nouns apart from verbs.

Promotion generally aims to create a friendly atmosphere and to reduce strangeness, which could be associated with the personal contact and informal style of conversation. However, the distribution of metaphor vehicles across grammatical categories does not suggest that promotional tourism websites intend to pursue these goals by emulating conversational metaphor use. As commented on above, the difference in metaphorical adverbs is abysmal (1.6% compared to 15.1% in conversation), but differences in the other word classes are considerable as well. For instance, conversation has the highest percentage of verbs among its metaphor vehicles (52.2%), while tourism promotion and academic discourse display the lowest percentages of verbs (39.9% and 39.8%). A possible explanation of the relatively low proportion of metaphorically used nouns is that in conversation people often refer to present objects rather than abstract concepts. Since they are present, deictic devices are often sufficient, replacing nouns that would be necessary in written communication. Moreover, due to the frequent references to the concrete surroundings, the need for abstract nouns, which are mostly metaphorical, decreases.

In a next step, the distribution of grammatical categories among the metaphor vehicles was studied against the distribution of word classes in the sample corpus, in order to detect metaphorical overuse or underuse linked to certain word classes (see Table 6.17).

**Table 6.17. Word class distribution and metaphorical use (English)**

	Adjectives	Adverbs	Nouns	Verbs	Total
Occurrences of content words	2051	695	8555	2476	13777
Percentage of word class in sample corpus	14.9%	5.0%	62.1%	18.0%	100%
Occurrences of metaphor vehicles	273	22	517	538	1350
Percentage of metaphor vehicles	20.2%	1.6%	38.3%	39.9%	100%
Percentage of metaphor vehicle within word class	13.3%	3.2%	6.0%	21.7%	- (12.1%)

If all content word classes showed identical metaphorical behaviour, their share within the identified metaphor vehicles should be identical to their share in the sample corpus. In other words, if all word classes were used as metaphorical vehicles equally often, the percentage of, say, adjectives in the sample corpus and the percentage of adjectives among the metaphor vehicles would be identical. Therefore, the share of a word class in the sample corpus will be considered as its statistically expected value for its share in the metaphor vehicles.

The English sample corpus thus displays metaphorical overuse of adjectives, which are about fifty percent more frequent than expected, and verbs, which are approximately twice as frequent as statistically expected. Adverbs and nouns, on the other hand, are less frequently used as metaphor vehicles than statistically expected. Only 3.2% of all the adverbs in the English sample corpus and only 6.0% of all nouns were used metaphorically, while 13.3% of all adjectives and 21.7% of all verbs were instantiations of an underlying metaphor. The metaphorical overuse of adjectives may be related to the above-mentioned vividness and memorability of metaphorical adjectives, while the overuse of verbs may be related to personifications for descriptive purposes as in examples (20) to (22) from the sample corpus.

(20) ... the Victoria Tunnel **runs** beneath the city.

(21) , ... this imposing fortress **hosted** some of the most gruesome events in London's history ...

(22) ... the steepest cliff railway in the UK **leads** up to Hastings Country Park...

#### 6.2.1.2. *Metaphor and word class in the German sample corpus*

In the German sample corpus, 323 adjectives, 22 adverbs, 517 nouns and 538 verbs with metaphorical use were identified. In other words, 18.3% of the German metaphor vehicles were adjectives. Adverbs constituted only 2.2% of all metaphor vehicles, while

nouns accounted for 37.3% and verbs for 43.3% as shown in Table 6.18. Consequently, metaphorical usage focusses mainly on verbs and nouns.

**Table 6.18. Metaphor vehicles by word class (German)**

	Adjectives	Adverbs	Nouns	Verbs
<b>Occurrences</b>	232	28	473	536
<b>Percentage</b>	18.3%	2.2%	37.3%	42.2%

The comparison of these numbers with the word class distribution of the German sample corpus revealed that the metaphorical use of adjectives is almost identical to the expected value (18.3% compared to 18.5%). Nouns and adverbs are markedly underused as metaphor vehicles (see Table 6.19. for exact numbers). Meanwhile, verbs display remarkable overuse accounting for only 17.3% of the content words in the sample corpus, but for a notable 42.2% of all metaphor vehicles.

**Table 6.19. Word class distribution and metaphorical use (German)**

	Adjectives	Adverbs	Nouns	Verbs	Total
<b>Occurrences of content words</b>	2255	840	6965	2104	12164
<b>Percentage of word class in sample corpus</b>	18.5%	6.9%	57.3%	17.3%	100%
<b>Percentage of metaphor vehicles</b>	18.3%	2.2%	37.3%	42.2%	100%
<b>Percentage of metaphor vehicles within word class</b>	10.3%	3.3%	6.8%	26.7%	- (8.09%)

When the number of identified metaphor vehicles is compared to the tokens which Sketch Engine had classified as belonging to the same word class, the following results are obtained: 10.3% of all adjectives, 3.3% of all adverbs, 6.8% of all nouns and 26.7% of all verbs in the German sample corpus are used in a metaphorical sense. These numbers have to be understood as an approximation since Sketch Engine works with spaces and punctuation marks as word boundaries, while the metaphor identification process was based on lexical units, i.e. semantic compounds of words. Nevertheless, it can be concluded, that in the German sample corpus verbs are the most metaphorical word class, while adverbs are the least likely to be used metaphorically. Other studies that would allow for quantitative comparisons are not known to us.

### *6.2.1.3. Metaphor and word class in the Spanish sample corpus*

In the Spanish sample corpus, 208 of the identified metaphor vehicles were adjectives, only three were adverbs, 592 were nouns and 614 of the metaphorically used lexical units were verbs, as can be seen in Table 6.20. That means that most metaphor vehicles

were verbs (43.3%) followed closely by nouns (41.8%), while adjectives accounted for 14.7%.

**Table 6.20. Metaphor vehicles by word class in Spanish sample corpus**

	Adjectives	Adverbs	Nouns	Verbs
<b>Occurrences</b>	208	3	592	614
<b>Percentage</b>	14.7%	0.2%	41.8%	43.3%

Unfortunately, we are not aware of any research study or project like “Metaphor in Discourse” for the Spanish language, which could provide word class distribution data for comparison with the present results. The data can, however, be compared to the statistically expected distribution of metaphor vehicles across word classes. Were metaphors evenly distributed across the same, there should be 16.7% of adjectives, 4.8% of adverbs, 57% of nouns and 21.5% of verbs in the Spanish list of metaphor vehicles, just like in the sample corpus (see Table 6.21). Actually, our data reveal a slight metaphorical underuse for adjectives, a substantial underuse of adverbs and nouns as well as a similarly notable overuse of verbs. In other words, verbs showed twice as many metaphorical uses as statistically expected (43.3% as compared to 21.5%) and metaphorically used adverbs were twenty-four times less frequent than statistics would suggest (0.2% as compared to 4.8%). The percentage of nouns in the metaphor vehicle list amounts to 43.3%, while the proportion of nouns in the sample corpus is 57%. All in all, these huge differences point to an extensive use of verbs for personifications and the realisation of ontological metaphor as in *atractivos en los que confluyen modernidad y tradición* [attractions in which modernity and tradition “flow together”] or *la gente comparte bailes* [people share dances].

**Table 6.21. Word class distribution and metaphorical use (Spanish)**

	Adjectives	Adverbs	Nouns	Verbs	Total
<b>Occurrences of content words</b>	1827	526	6214	2348	10915
<b>Percentage of word class in sample corpus</b>	16.7%	4.8%	57.0%	21.5%	100%
<b>Percentage of metaphor vehicles</b>	14.7%	0.2%	41.8%	43.3%	14.7%
<b>Percentage of metaphor vehicles within word class</b>	11.4%	0.6%	9.5%	26.1%	- (15.29%)

Another way of illustrating the relative differences in metaphorical use is the comparison of the percentage that metaphor vehicles constitute within their word class. The least metaphorical word class in the Spanish sample corpus are adverbs. Only 0.6% of all adverbs were used metaphorically. Adverbs were followed by nouns with 9.5% of

metaphorical uses and adjectives with 11.4%. The most metaphorical word class was clearly verbs, 26.1% of which were actually used metaphorically.

#### 6.2.1.4. Cross-linguistic comparison

In a first step, the absolute frequencies of metaphor vehicles by word class were compared across the three languages (see Table 6.22.)

**Table 6.22. Metaphor vehicles by word class: absolute frequencies**

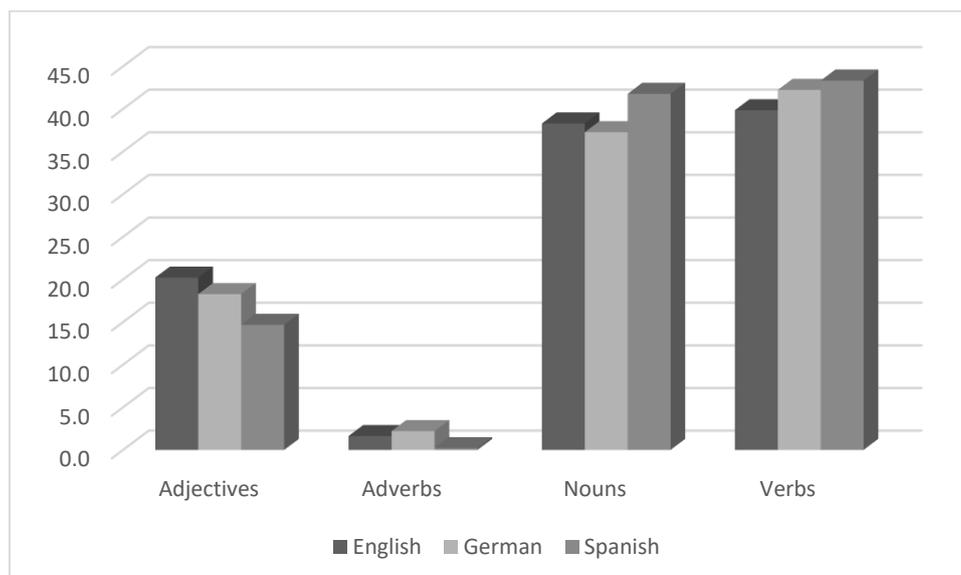
	Adjectives	Adverbs	Nouns	Verbs
<b>English</b>	273	22	517	538
<b>German</b>	232	28	473	536
<b>Spanish</b>	208	3	592	614

Results in absolute frequencies must be treated with caution, especially when they have been obtained from corpora in morphologically different languages, as is the case in this study. Therefore, the only risk-free observation that can be made based on the raw numbers of the present corpora is that the Spanish sample corpus yielded exceptionally few metaphorically used adverbs. The relations become clearer when the proportions of the word classes are expressed in percentages.

**Table 6.23. Metaphor vehicles by word class in percentages**

	Adjectives		Adverbs	Nouns	Verbs	Total
<b>English</b>	20.2		1.6	38.3	39.9	100
<b>German</b>	18.3		2.2	37.3	42.2	100
<b>Spanish</b>	14.7		0.2	41.8	43.3	100
<b>All languages</b>	<b>17.7</b>		<b>1.3</b>	<b>39.2</b>	<b>41.8</b>	<b>100</b>

As can already be speculated from the absolute frequencies, the proportion of metaphor vehicles that are ‘adjectives’ is highest in the English sample corpus (20.2%), followed closely by German (18.3%) and lowest for the Spanish sample corpus (14.7%). The proportion of metaphorically used adjectives for all three sample corpora taken together is 17.7%. The Spanish sample corpus displays the lowest percentage of adverbial metaphor vehicles (0.2%), with the English and German corpus showing similar percentages for this type of adverbs (1.6% and 2.2%). The percentage of nouns among the metaphor vehicles is fairly similar for all three languages, with Spanish leading the field (41.8%), followed by English (38.3%) and German (37.3%). The frequencies of metaphorically used verbs also lie at around forty percent. The Spanish and the German values are rather close together with 43.3% for Spain’s websites and 42.2% for the German websites. The English proportion of metaphorical verbs is the lowest (39.9%). Figure 6.4. presents the same information visually.



**Figure 6.4. Metaphor vehicles by word class [%]**

In summary, it can be said that the distribution of metaphorical language use across word classes is similar, but not identical. In all three languages, underlying conceptual metaphors are primarily expressed through verbs, followed closely by nouns. Adjectives are less frequent linguistic instantiation of metaphor. Finally, adverbs account for a much reduced percentage of metaphor vehicles in all three languages. It is also the word class with the most pronounced differences with Spanish being the language that uses decidedly fewer adverbs than the other two languages. Spanish also shows the highest percentage of verbs and nouns as metaphor vehicles in promotional tourism websites, whereas English has the highest proportion of adjectives in comparison with the other languages. German leads the field in the proportion of adverbs. However, differences are relatively small as can be seen in Figure 6.4.

The implications for translation deriving from these findings are that, a priori, no basic changes need to be introduced in the translation process to adapt metaphor use to the other research languages. When a translator encounters many metaphorically used adjectives on a promotional website written in English, replacing part of these with non-metaphorical language may be legitimate, especially when it serves the goal of increasing the naturalness of the Spanish or German target text. The same can be said about metaphorically used verbs in Spanish or nouns in German. The proportion of metaphorically used adverbs in Spanish is so low, that it does not seem necessary to replace a metaphorical adverb of an English or German original with a metaphorically used adverb in the Spanish target text, unless this adverb has a special textual function, in which case this function should be maintained or be compensated for. Sometimes it is not possible to find a satisfactory metaphorical translation. In this case and whenever the translator feels that the target text would use more metaphorical, more poetic or creative language, our data suggest that metaphoricity is best compensated for by

adding a metaphorical verb where there was a literal one in the original for all three target languages. If English is the target language, replacing non-metaphorical adjectives by metaphorical adjectives seems to also lead to a natural-sounding effect. In German, compensations for suppressed metaphors may also be sought for in nouns, in addition to the above-mentioned verbs.

### 6.2.2. Semantic tension

Direct metaphor in the form ‘A is B’ is far from frequent (Dorst, 2011:215)<sup>63</sup>. In our sample corpora it was only found in the Spanish, where it occurred in clusters in texts with rather poetic features. Metaphor flags, or verbal signallers of metaphors, have been reported to be extremely rare as well (Dorst, 2011:204)<sup>64</sup>. In most cases of linguistic metaphor, the reader or hearer knows that a non-literal interpretation is necessary due to a semantic tension between the literal meaning of a word and its surrounding text. The data of the sample corpora were examined to see whether there were any striking cross-linguistic differences. Table 6.24. shows the raw numbers and percentages of the distinct loci of tension identified in the three sample corpora.

**Table 6.24. Loci of semantic tension in sample corpora**

Locus of semantic tension	English		German		Spanish	
Adjective + broader context	160	11.8%	90	7.0%	150	10.6%
Adjective + noun	161	11.9%	43	3.4%	137	9.6%
Adjective + preposition + ...	2	0.1%	1	0.1%	9	0.6%
Compound adjective	22	1.6%	95	7.4%	0	0%
Adverb + adjective	4	0.3%	5	0.4%	2	0.1%
Adverb + broader context	16	1.2%	20	1.6%	2	0.1%
Noun + broader context	310	22.8%	256	20.0%	362	25.5%
Compound noun	196	14.4%	218	17.0%	127	8.9%
Noun + preposition + ...	1	0.1%	0	0%	2	0.1%
Verb + broader context	128	9.4%	205	16.0%	168	11.8%
Verb + object	232	17.2%	91	7.1%	187	13.2%
Verb + preposition + ...	7	0.5%	44	3.4%	30	2.1%
Verb + subject	97	7.1%	207	16.2%	242	17.0%
Verbal phrase	22	1.6%	5	0.4%	2	0.1%
<b>Total<sup>65</sup></b>	<b>1350</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>1280</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>1420</b>	<b>100%</b>

<sup>63</sup> Direct metaphor accounted for 0.4% of all words in fiction, 0.3% in news, 0.1% in academic discourse and less than 0.05% in conversation (Dorst, 2011)

<sup>64</sup> In the “Metaphor in Discourse” project, metaphor flags accounted for 0.2% of all words in fiction, 0.1% in news, and less than 0.05% in academic discourse and conversation.

<sup>65</sup> Total numbers are slightly higher than absolute frequencies since some metaphor vehicles may produce double mappings as in:

‘Colin and Chaz worked with residents of Sunderland to create the trail which brings together Sunderland’s past and present.’ Here, the verb ‘to bring together’ is the metaphor vehicle of the personification of the subject, as well as the reification of ‘past’ and ‘present’.

In the English sample corpus, the semantic tension lies most often in the relationship between the metaphorically used noun and the broader context (22.2%). The expression ‘broader context’ is best explained in contrast with another more concrete category, such as ‘adjective + noun’, where the metaphorical use becomes evident from the combination of the adjective and the noun it refers to, as in phrase (23) to (25) below. The metaphor vehicle is highlighted in bold, while the words that are in semantic conflict with the literal meaning of the metaphor vehicle are underlined.

- (23) This is the online **destination** to discover all that’s great about this fantastic county.
- (24) Just down the road is one of Britain’s culinary **capitals**, the village of Bray.
- (25) The tightly **interwoven** streets ...

Whenever the descriptor of the locus of semantic tension contains the specification ‘+ broader context’, it means that more context is necessary for the disambiguation than the metaphor vehicle and the adjective, noun or object that are combined directly with it. Sometimes this is due to the predicative use of the adjective as in example (26), on other occasions, a literal interpretation of the metaphor vehicle and the directly linked word would be possible and has to be ruled out with the help of other elements in the context, as in phrase (27) and (28) below.

- (26) It’s **hard** to narrow down the long list ...
- (27) ... mostly selling antiques, vintage clothes and **cool** products like old pub signs...
- (28) This artist freezes his spray-cans to lower the pressure and so creates a **soft**, misty effect.

The classification ‘adjective + preposition + ...’ was used when the preposition indicates metaphorical use. In other words, this preposition is only used with metaphorical meaning(s) but not with the literal meaning of the word. Examples from the corpora are:

- (29) You’ll never be **short of** entertainment.
- (30) *La provincia cordobesa [...] es rica en tradiciones.* [The province of Cordoba is rich in traditions].
- (31) *Mettwurst [...] natürlich frei von Emulgatoren, Stabilisatoren und Geschmacksverstärkern.* [Smoked beef sausage ... needless to say **free from** emulsifiers, stabilisers, and flavour enhancers.]

Similarly, the labels, ‘noun + preposition + ...’ and ‘verb + preposition + ...’ are only used where this specific preposition in combination with the metaphor vehicle indicates metaphorical use.

Turning to the most common categories again, in the English sample corpus, the most frequent loci of semantic tension are ‘noun + broader context’ (22.8%), ‘verb + object’

(17.2%) and ‘compound noun’ (14.4%), as shown in Table 6.24. In the German sample corpus, the semantic tension pointing to metaphorical use is mainly to be found in nouns and their broader context (20%), the combination of a verb and its subject (16.2), and the combination of a verb and its broader context. The most common loci of semantic tension in the Spanish sample corpus are ‘noun + broader context’ (25.4%), ‘verb + subject’ (17.9%) and ‘verb + object’ (13.2%). It stands to reason that the most frequent loci of semantic tension should be verb- and noun-related since these are the word classes most metaphor vehicles belong to. Across all three languages, verbs accounted for 45.5% of all metaphor vehicles and nouns for 36.7%.

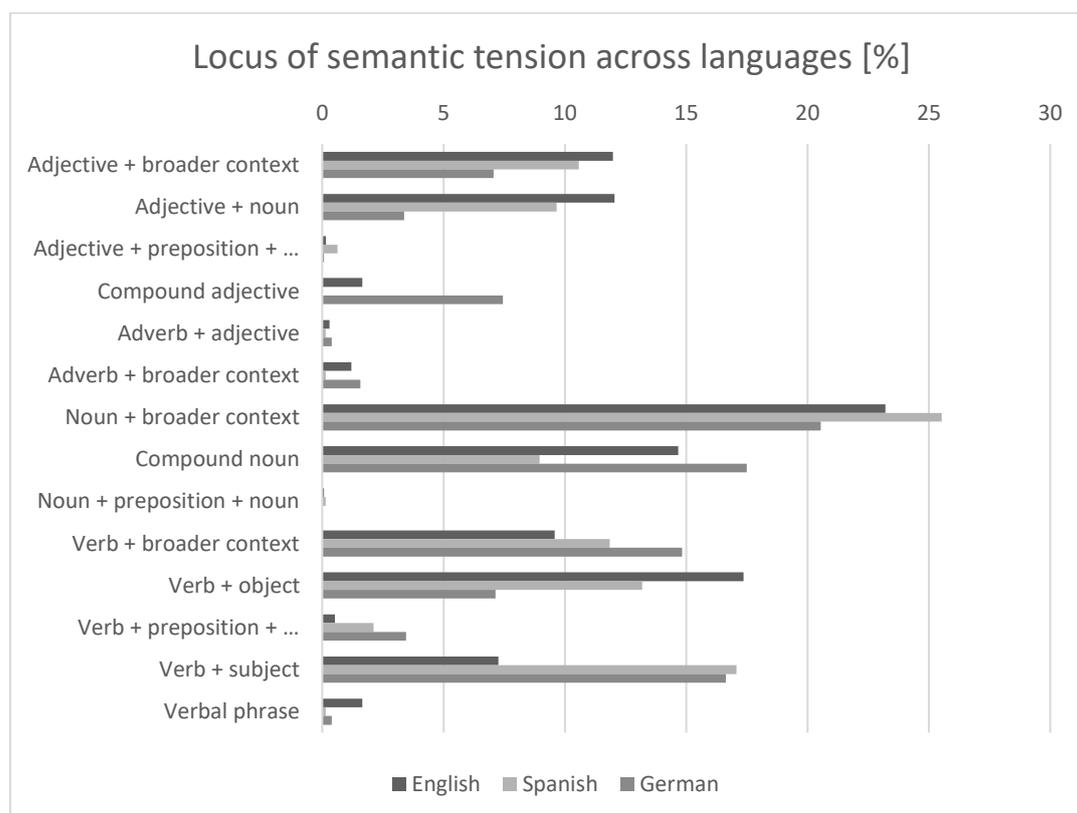
When the semantic tension arises between a subject and its verb, this is usually an indicator of personification as in example (32). Judging from the frequencies in Table 6.24., personification was equally common in the German (16.2%) and Spanish sample corpora (17%), but less common in the English (7.1%). Semantic tension between a verb and its object is a matter of selection restrictions and often points to reifications or personifications. In example (33), the verb ‘to retain’, whose basic meaning is physical, is used with an abstract concept, thus reifying the ‘orienteeing skill’. Example (34) illustrates that not only subjects, but also objects can be personified by a verb. In this case, the physical activity of taking hold of a person in order to push him/her over, is applied to a challenging cycle route. In the process, ‘to tackle’ comes to mean something like making an attempt at overcoming a problem or a challenge.

- (32) *Thüringens stolze Burgen schauen zum Teil auf eine 1000-jährige Geschichte zurück.* [Some of Thuringia’s proud castles **look back** onto a history of a thousand years.]
- (33) It does not require speed, strength or navigation but **retains** the crucial orienteeing skill of relating the map to the ground.
- (34) Get your kicks on Route 66 [...], or tackle **Route 68**, the Pennine Cycleway, another national cycle route ...

With 17.2% of the semantic tension being located between verb and object in the English corpus, our numbers suggest that metaphorical use in English is more likely to involve the flouting of selection restrictions of verbs than in the other two languages. In the Spanish sample corpus, the semantic tension was only found between the verb and the object for 13.2%, and in the German for 7.1% of the metaphor vehicles.

The least frequent loci of semantic tension in the English sample corpus were ‘noun + prep + ...’ with one occurrence, ‘adjective + preposition + ...’ with two occurrences, ‘adverb + adjective’ with four occurrences and ‘verb + preposition + ...’ with seven occurrences. The results for the Spanish and the German sample corpus were similar (see Table 6.24.). Since adverbs make up the smallest proportion of all metaphor vehicles with an average of 1.3% across all three research languages, it is only logical that adverb-related loci of semantic tension should be scarce. The locus of semantic

tension is intrinsically linked to the word class of the metaphor vehicle and must, therefore, reflect this distribution. As a consequence, what is most interesting here is the distribution of semantic tension within the groups of loci that are related to a certain verb class. In this sense, a look at the least frequent types of semantic tension reveals that a preposition is rarely the indicator of a metaphorical use, be it following a noun, a verb or an adjective. This is true for all three languages. The same information as in Table 6.24. is presented visually in graph 6.2, which helps to identify cross-linguistic differences and word-class related tendencies more clearly.



**Figure 6.5. Locus of semantic tension across languages**

Within each word-class related group, the metaphorical meaning most often becomes evident from the broader context in our data. The only exceptions are verbs in general and Spanish adverbs. In the English sample corpus, semantic tension located in the verb-object combination clearly outweighs the cases where the semantic tension only becomes clear from the broader context (19.8% vs 16.8%). In German, the locus ‘verb + subject’ is marginally more frequent than the locus ‘verb + broader context’ with 16.2% compared to 16%. In the Spanish sample corpus, semantic tension between the verb and the subject (17%) is far more frequent than tension between the verb and the broader context (11.8). Furthermore, in Spanish, there are only two occurrences for ‘adverb +

adjective’, and two for ‘adverb + broader context’. As a result, both loci of semantic tension are equally frequent.

Regarding compound words, the semantic tension arises more often between the components of compound nouns than between those of compound adjectives. The locus of semantic tension has also been shown to be influenced by the characteristics of the different languages: German is the most compositional and Spanish the least compositional of the three research languages. Accordingly, in the German sample corpus the semantic tension was found to be in a compound adjective in 95 cases (7.4%), by far exceeding the English numbers with 22 cases (1.6%) and the Spanish with zero cases.

Goatly (1997:59) stated that “the main colligational or syntactic relationships” in metaphorical language are “Subject-Verb, Verb-Object, Premodifier-Noun Head”. Our data confirm that metaphors which are expressed through a verb-object combination are frequent in the English sample corpus (17.2%) and relatively frequent in the Spanish sample corpus (13.2%). In the German corpus, however, they are not especially numerous with 7.1% of all linguistic metaphors. Metaphors with their main syntactic relationships between subject and verb are comparable to the locus of semantic tension ‘verb + subject’. These were not too common in the English corpus with 7.1% but fairly frequent in the German corpus with 16.2%, and the Spanish with 17%. The relationship ‘premodifier-noun head’ can be found in the semantic tension located between adjective and noun, in compound nouns, and possibly also in some of the cases classified as ‘noun + broader context’. That notwithstanding, the broader context of a metaphor vehicle seems to be just as important as its colligational partners for the determination of its metaphorical sense: if one adds up the percentages of all metaphor vehicles with their locus of semantic tension arising from the context, they amount to 45.2% for the English sample corpus, 44.6% for the German and 48% for the Spanish.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these findings for translation is that the best target language equivalent of a metaphor is often determined by the broader context, not by the colligational partners or next neighbours of a word. Therefore, vocabulary searches and verifications should not be limited to two-word combinations, or bi-grammes, but take the whole sentence (or even paragraph) and its semantic fields into consideration.

### **6.3. Conventional and novel use**

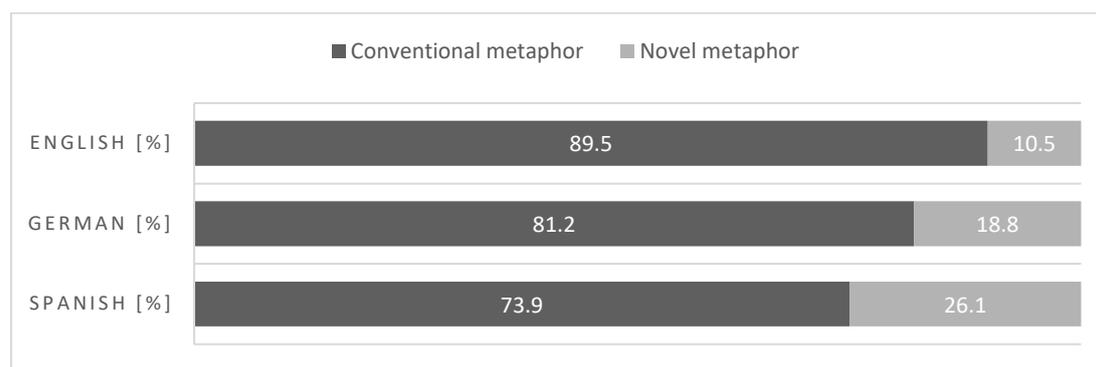
Linguistic metaphors can either be widely known, in which case they are called conventional or conventionalised metaphors, or they can be rather new to most audiences and, therefore, referred to as novel or creative metaphors. According to the operationalisation applied in this study, metaphors are considered conventional if their meaning in context is comprised in the dictionary, while metaphors whose contextual meaning has not yet been reflected by the dictionary are considered novel metaphors.

Our analysis revealed interesting cross-linguistic differences, which have been summarised in Table 6.25.

**Table 6.25. Distribution of conventional and novel metaphors in sample corpora**

	<b>English</b>		<b>German</b>		<b>Spanish</b>	
Total	1350	100%	1269	100%	1417	100%
Conventional	1208	89.5%	1030	81.4%	1047	73.9%
Novel	142	10.5%	239	18.6%	370	26.1%

Of all 1350 identified linguistic metaphors in the English sample corpus, 1211 are conventional metaphors and 139 are novel. In other words, 89.5% of all metaphors were conventional and only 10.5% were novel. This is the highest proportion of conventional metaphor in the three sample corpora. In the Spanish sample corpus, 1047 of 1417 metaphors were conventional, and 370 novel. This corresponds to 73.9% being conventional and 26.1% novel uses, meaning the Spanish corpus included the most creative metaphorical language. As noted before, the style of the Spanish promotional tourism websites is somewhat more literary than the German and English styles, which might be due to the expected language skills of a native-speaker readership. We are not aware of any linguistic studies that could explain these national stylistic preferences. There are, however, studies in the field of sociology, that relate certain values and preference for fictional or non-fictional style. According to this admittedly often criticised theory on cultural values in the workplace, Spain scores relatively low on masculinity and such countries have been reported to show a preference for literary style (see Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2006:165). The German sample corpus is located halfway between the English and Spanish corpora in terms of conventionalisation with 1030 or 81.2% conventional metaphors and 239 or 18.6% novel metaphors. The quantitative data are also displayed in Figure 6.6. German scores equally high on masculinity as English and should, according to Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov's (2010:165) theory, have a comparable preference for non-fiction and, consequently, for a rather subtle, literal style. The difference that remains between the German and the English sample corpus might be related to the fact that the analysed German websites offer an English version for their international readership, while the English websites have to address both native and non-native speakers and might, therefore, have avoided novel metaphors and the need for interpretation that they entail.



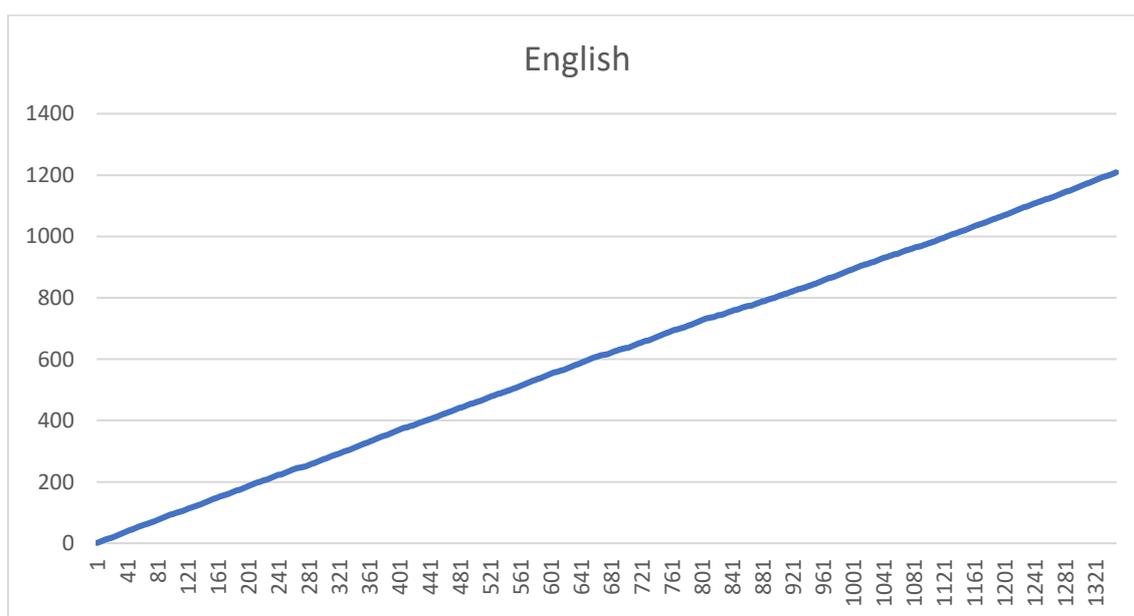
**Figure 6.6. Conventional versus novel use of linguistic metaphor in sample corpora**

Lakoff (1993:237) stated that novel metaphor is rare in comparison with conventional metaphor, which was confirmed by Deignan (2005:40) and Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr & Pasma (2010:6). This observation was mainly based on English language data. As for the present data, it seems to be true for promotional tourism discourse in English. It does, however, not hold for German promotional tourism discourse, and definitely not for the Spanish data, a quarter of which is constituted by novel metaphor. One might suspect that differences in the dictionaries employed for the analysis play a role in this. However, contrary to this intuition, especially verb lemmas have a surprisingly large number of entries in the Spanish RAE dictionary, and verbs make up 43.3% of all identified metaphor vehicles, being thus, the most numerous word class. On the one hand, this illustrates the polysemic character of many verbs in Spanish. On the other hand, a large number of sense entries stands for a well-documented dictionary and should reduce the number of novel metaphors as defined by MIP. Furthermore, the RAE dictionary does not use sense subdivisions using letters, but simply lists all senses with a number of their own. This predisposes researchers to detect sufficient distinctness, unlike the German and English dictionaries, which group conceptually close word senses together, using combinations of numbers and letters, e.g. 1a, 1b, 1c, for these sense entries. These differences might cause a slight rise in the number of identified conventional metaphors in Spanish. In other words, instead of explaining the cross-linguistic differences in our data, the organisational characteristics of the dictionaries work against the identified variation, that is reducing differences.

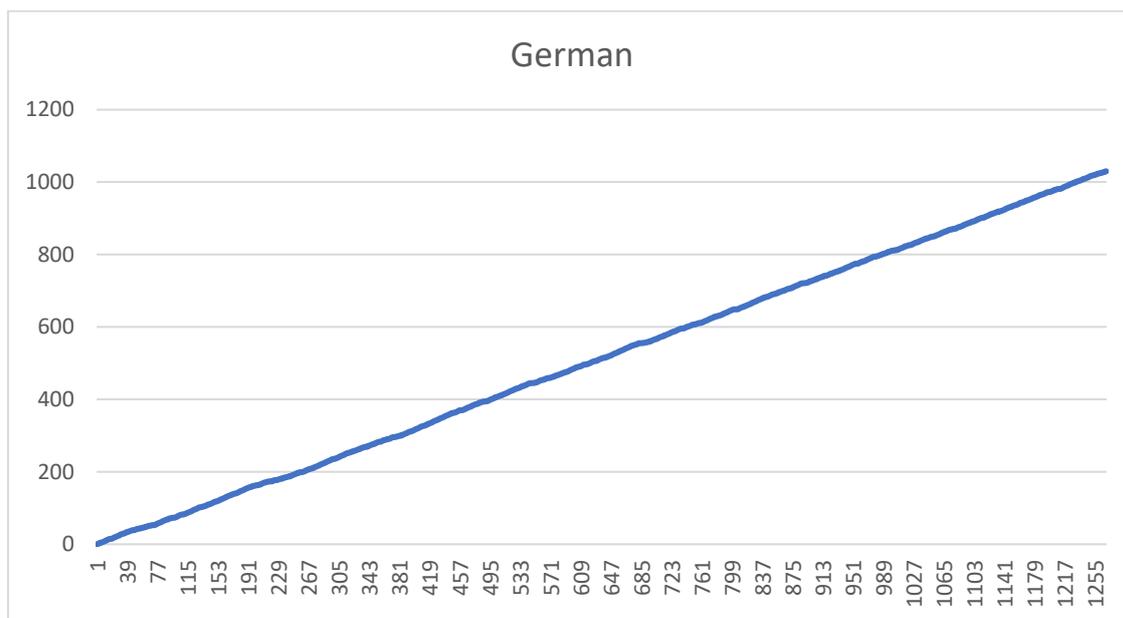
There do not seem to be many studies that could be compared to the data presented here. Muelas Gil's (2018) PhD dissertation on metaphor use in English and Spanish economics articles in online newspapers, however, offers important insights. In this register, the proportions of conventional and novel metaphors varied only to a non-significant degree. In Muelas Gil's Spanish corpus, conventional metaphor accounted for 71.2% and novel metaphor for 28.8% of all identified metaphors. The English corpus displayed a distribution of 70% conventional versus 30% novel metaphor (Muelas Gil, 2018:221). When these findings are put into relation with our data, there are three possible explanations:

- 1) Metaphor use largely depends on the individual author/ text; therefore, large corpora are needed, and all our data are in vain because sample sizes of 20,000, 51,000 and 10,000 words like our corpora and those used by Muelas Gil are not large enough.
- 2) Register is more important than language; for economics articles, metaphor use coincides in Spanish and English, but for promotional tourism websites, these register conventions present cross-linguistic differences.
- 3) English generally uses more novel metaphor, but in promotional tourism websites, which are written for an international audience, it seems that an effort is made to keep language understandable and novel metaphors might be avoided.

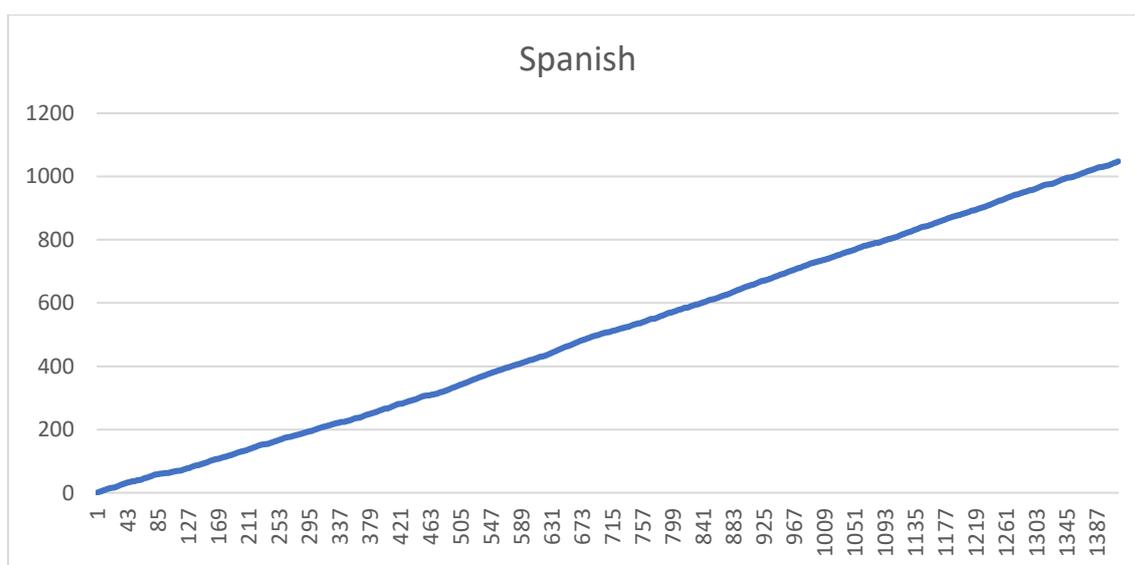
While metaphor use is certainly influenced by the individual language user's personal style, comparisons of the metaphor frequency by regions in section 6.1.2 have shown that the differences are within reasonable limits. The coefficient of variation amounted to 0.176 for the English sample corpus and to 0.150 for the Spanish. The accumulated ratio of metaphor vehicle per lexical unit is also fairly stable. As shown in Figure 6.1. and 6.3. for Spanish and English, the sample size is sufficient to detect cross-linguistic differences in metaphor vehicle frequencies of tourism promotional websites. In order to see whether conventional metaphor shows a near statistical distribution, the cases of conventional metaphor were plotted over the number of metaphor vehicles, including both conventional and novel cases. The straighter the line, the more homogeneous the distribution of metaphor vehicles. The resulting almost straight line in Figures 6.7. to 6.8. shows that the percentage of conventional metaphor is rather regular. The sample size is thus sufficient to determine the share of conventional metaphors. Therefore, the first scenario can be disregarded.



**Figure 6.7. Conventional metaphor over absolute number of metaphor vehicles (English)**



**Figure 6.8. Conventional metaphor over absolute number of metaphor vehicles (German)**



**Figure 6.9. Conventional metaphor over absolute number of metaphor vehicles (Spanish)**

The second possible explanation for the difference between Muelas Gil's (2018) results and the results of the present study would require more research into conventional and novel metaphor in the two registers in order to either confirm or refute this possibility. Observations made by Ungerer (2000) may partially explain why tourism promotional websites might employ fewer novel metaphors than economics articles, although this explanation cannot account for the cross-linguistic differences. Ungerer (2000:328) points out that poetic metaphors have few mapping constraints and allow for various, wide-ranging and rich interpretations. This relative freedom of interpretation is not welcome in advertising, where a very precise image is to be conveyed. Novel metaphors

are similar to poetic metaphors in this respect. Meanwhile, promotional texts are closely related to advertisements in their purpose, although promotional texts usually have more context at their disposal to narrow down possible interpretations. Regarding the third scenario, the hypothesis of English copywriters suppressing metaphorical language in an effort to adapt the websites for an international audience would have to be corroborated by research into the development of the websites, which is a difficult endeavour given the number of texts that would have to be investigated. Nevertheless, it is a plausible possibility.

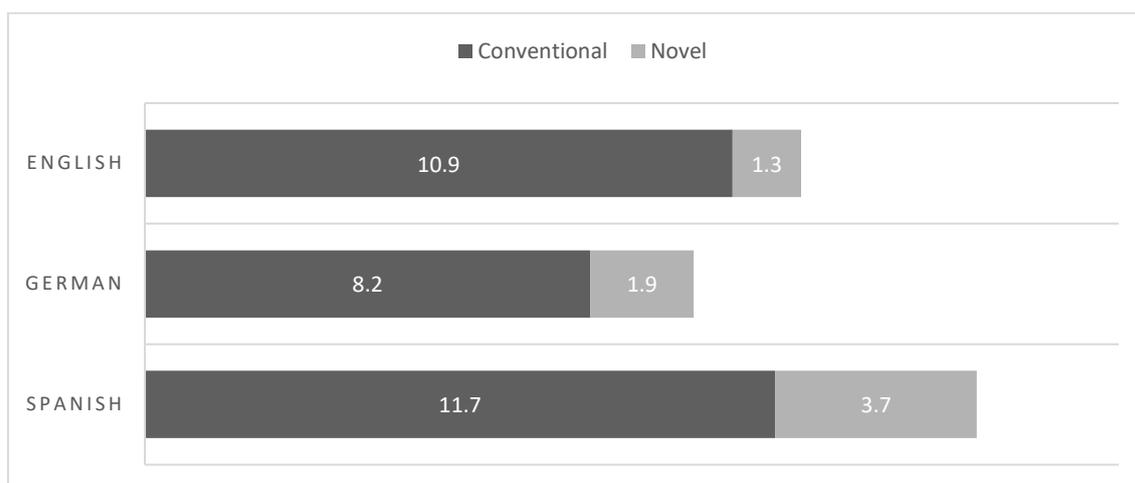
Since the sample corpora contained distinct numbers of potential metaphor vehicles, also referred to as lexical units in this study, the occurrences of conventional and novel metaphor have been normalised over 100 lexical units. The results can be seen in Table 6.26. and Figure 6.10.

**Table 6.26. Conventional and novel metaphor per 100 lexical units**

	<b>English</b>	<b>German</b>	<b>Spanish</b>
<b>Conventional</b>	10.9	8.2	11.4
<b>Novel</b>	1.3	1.9	4.0
<b>Total<sup>66</sup></b>	12.1	10.1	15.4

German, which was identified as the least metaphorical language in the field of promotional tourism websites, also produced the lowest number of conventional metaphors per 100 lexical units, 8.2 as opposed to 11.7 for Spanish and 10.9 for English. With regard to novel metaphor, however, German comes second with 1.9 novel metaphors per 100 lexical units, following Spanish (3.7) by a considerable distance. English promotional tourism websites only yielded 1.3 novel metaphors per 100 lexical units. The Spanish sample corpus, which produced most linguistic metaphors in general, comes second after the English sample corpus for conventional metaphor.

<sup>66</sup> Rounding effects cause some figures to not add up



**Figure 6.10. Conventional and novel metaphors per 100 lexical units**

These numbers imply that, when translating from Spanish to English or German, it may be legitimate and recommendable to reduce the number of novel metaphors and replace some of them with conventional metaphors or even literal language. The same is true for translations from German to English, albeit to a lesser degree. Vice versa, translators from English and German to Spanish, or English to German, may feel the urge to add novel metaphors to their translation that were conventional metaphors or literal language in the original text, and are justified in doing so. Recommendations for the transformation of conventional metaphors to literal text run parallel to the recommendations given for metaphor in general in section 6.1. A translation into Spanish may gain naturalness and stylistic adequacy by transforming some literal expressions into conventional metaphors in the target text. The same is true for translations from German to English. Translations into German that aim to reproduce German style instead of bringing in some exotic flavour, can do so by reducing the number of conventional metaphors turning them into non-metaphorical language.

#### **6.4. Discursive functions of novel metaphors**

A possible source of cross-linguistic variation in metaphor use is the discursive function that a metaphor is to fulfil. Since some metaphors are the only available lexical choice and most conventional metaphors are learned as just another polysemous sense, most metaphors are not used consciously or deliberately (Steen, 2007; Kaal, 2012:35). It is often difficult to determine whether a conventional metaphor was used with a specific discursive function in mind, apart from the function of conveying information. Useful research data on this topic can be retrieved by eliciting information on the word choice directly from the speaker or writer, preferably during or right after the text production. If this is not possible, research into discursive functions of conventional metaphor depends to a high degree on intuition and speculation. In the case of novel metaphors, semantic restrictions are deliberately flouted by the language user, who runs a certain

risk of being misunderstood since there is no standard interpretation for novel metaphors. However, the use of this metaphor in the specific context offers an advantage that outweighs this risk. The discursive function of a novel metaphor can be thought of as this advantage that is gained. A study of discursive functions of novel metaphors based on a text corpus only, still depends on the researcher's interpretation. Mostly, however, the motivations are more evident than for conventional metaphor. Of course, deliberateness and conventionalisation are two separate concepts. Nevertheless, most conventional metaphors are non-deliberate (Kaal, 2012:36) and novel metaphor can be expected to be deliberate in most cases. Due to the complexity of the matter, the discursive functions of conventional metaphors could not be approached in a satisfactory manner in the scope of this dissertation. Novel metaphors and their functions in promotional tourism websites, on the contrary, were included in the analysis of the present study as cross-linguistic variation was expected to arise from the different communicative profiles of the three languages.

During the analytical process, the following discursive functions were detected in the sample corpora: highlighting, illustrating, filling a lexical gap, economy of speech, modelling, aesthetics, humour and euphemism. It is not always easy to determine the main discursive function since at times a metaphor can be understood in two or more ways. Phrase (35) is an illustration of the intercultural role of one of the Spanish territories in Africa.

- (35) *La ciudad de Melilla es la **ventana** desde la que se miran dos continentes.*  
 [The city Melilla is the **window** through which two continents look at each other.]

Simultaneously, this metaphor is also an example of economy of speech since it helps to characterize a cultural-political relationship in relatively few words. After all, as Knowles & Moon (2006:11) put it: "By using metaphors, much more can be conveyed, through implication and connotation, than through straightforward literal language." Moreover, example (35) is more pleasing than a matter-of-fact description of Melilla as a European exclave on the African continent where two markedly different cultures make contact and people have a chance to observe and experience the other culture in a safe and mitigated situation. Given that all these functions can be activated at the same time, it can be difficult to establish which is the predominant function. Consequently, a metaphor vehicle can be assigned more than one discursive function whenever it is not clear which one is predominant.

In the following sections, these functions will be further clarified with the help of examples found in the corpora. First, each language will be treated independently in the subsequent sections. Then, an additional section will describe and discuss cross-linguistic differences and reflect on their implication for translation practice.

### 6.4.1. English sample corpus

In the English sample corpus, the overall number of novel metaphor was notably lower than in the other two corpora. Therefore, the number of identified discursive frequency is also lower. As can easily be seen from Figure 6.11., there is one discursive function which greatly exceeds all other functions. This function is economy of speech with 75 occurrences of a total of 143 cases, which is just over half of all novel metaphors.

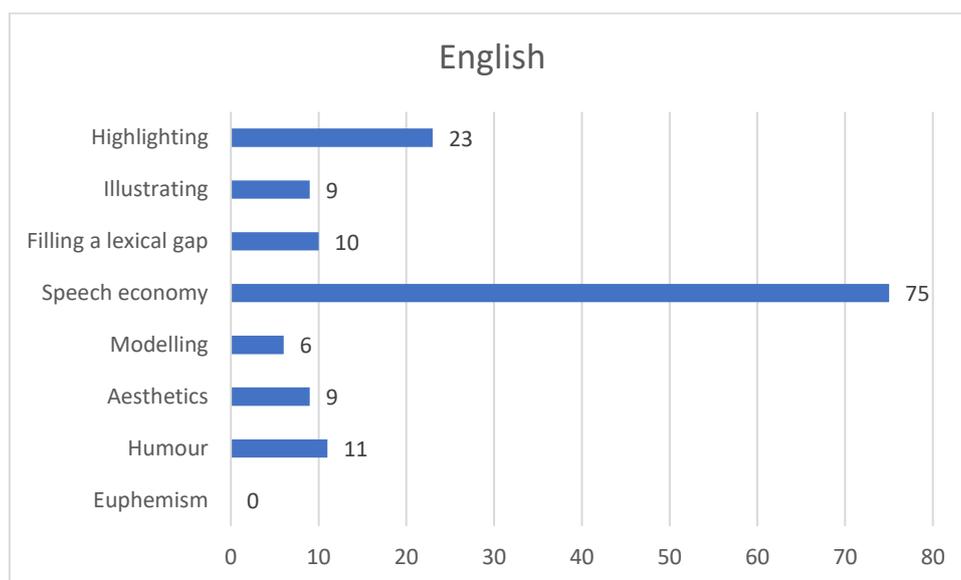


Figure 6.11. Discursive functions of novel metaphor in English sample corpus

Economy of speech refers to the ways of expressing the same or more content, using fewer words. A metaphor used with this purpose thus combines the function of informing with cognitive efficiency. In example (36), for instance, it is quicker to say ‘meets’ than to explain that both sumptuous interior design and industrial functionality are present in this restaurant at the same time. Likewise, in example (37), ‘journey’ implies that there is a movement from topic to topic, a certain development in the exhibition and that there is more than one epoch represented. The connotations of ‘journey’ also convey that the exhibition can be expected to be interesting and exciting. Expressing all this in literal language would require more space and time than the metaphorical formulation.

- (36) Sumptuous interior design **meets** stark industrial functionality at James Martin’s restaurant.
- (37) Take the kids on a **journey** through London’s past ...
- (38) with walking and cycling routes **revealing** unforgettable views.
- (39) [Trail] It **passes** through Cumbria’s part of the North Pennines
- (40) The Yorkshire Wolds Way **rambles** through peaceful fields

What is interesting about economy of speech in the English corpus, is that the metaphor vehicles displaying this discursive function are almost exclusively verbs. These verbs

are often used in personifications to describe places, routes or services. By personifying these subjects, a few words are saved, since the same meaning would otherwise have to be expressed through relative clauses or passive constructions. In phrase (38), for instance, ‘revealing unforgettable views’ might be rewritten as ‘where cyclist can enjoy unforgettable views’ or ‘where unforgettable views are revealed’. The formulation of this sentence probably also entails aesthetic motivations, since one might simply have written ‘with walking and cycling routes *with* unforgettable views’.

The second most frequent discursive function in English was highlighting, although it only accounted for twenty-three of 143 cases. Given that the main objectives of tourism promotional discourse are to inform and to persuade (Fuentes Luque, 2005a:62), highlighting was expected to be one of the discursive functions of novel metaphor since it is a common device for persuasion. The novel metaphors in this category were instantiated by nouns, verbs and adjectives alike. Below, one example for each of these word classes is given.

- (41) ... a great place to rest your head while enjoying the **hoards** of attractions here in the South East.
- (42) And a visit to Northumberland **rewards** with a diverse and intriguing selection
- (43) Visitors can find out more about the lasting legacy the area has made far afield, such as our **extensive** mining and ship building past ...

A hoard is usually a large amount of something hidden or saved, but in example (41) it was applied to attractions, which are usually neither hidden nor something one would save. What is mapped onto the target domain is the large quantity. When verbs are used with a highlighting function, the praise is often more indirect. In example (42), a visit to Northumberland is said to ‘reward’, and a reward is intrinsically something positive. The metaphor vehicle ‘extensive’ in example (43) is a way of stressing the long period of time, a classical transfer from the cognitive domain of space to time, but not considered in the dictionary as a sense of the adjective.

The third most frequent discursive function was humour with eleven occurrences. Humour can be viewed as a special way of entertaining and maintaining the audience’s or readership’s attention. There is little research about humour<sup>67</sup> as a discursive function of metaphor, but, as Deignan (2005:29) pointed out, “[i]t seems likely that people sometimes deliberately exploit metaphorical mappings to create humour or stylistic effects”. There are linguistic metaphors that cause amusement in the reader because of puns or some kind of absurdness or exaggeration. A pun combined with alliteration can be observed in example (44) where a section on walks in the surroundings of Hadrian’s Wall is titled ‘Roam with a Roman’, making reference to the Roman period in which

<sup>67</sup> See Dynel, Marta (2009). Creative metaphor is a birthdaycake: Metaphor as the source of humour. *Metaphorik.de* 17/2009, 27-48

this defensive structure was built. The heading ‘Christmas Wrapped Up’ is amusing due to associations with the literal wrapping of gifts, although here, it refers to a perfectly planned Christmas event calendar. The ‘cracking big sister act’ in example (46) is actually a cluster of conventional and novel metaphors. This wording doubtlessly attracts the reader’s attention, and both the ‘big sister’-metaphor and describing the opening of a similar restaurant as an act have an amusing effect. The word ‘act’ activates connotations of people putting on an act, while, in the background, it conjures up associations with performances and arts, giving the running of a good restaurant the status of an art form and comparing it to show business. In example (47), the amusing element comes from referring to people with a word that is usually used for cars. The verb ‘to roller-coast’ is a lively exaggeration of the winding Cleveland Way (example 48). Phrase (49) in turn makes the reader smile, because obviously cakes do not disappear on their own; they are eaten.

- (44) [About Hadrian’s Wall] **Roam** with a Roman
- (45) Christmas **Wrapped Up**
- (46) ... the award-winning neighbourhood restaurant in Heaton Moor now has a cracking big sister **act** in MediaCityUK
- (47) And when it’s time to **refuel** you’ll be spoilt for choice with award-winning eateries and delicious local produce.
- (48) The Cleveland Way **roller-coasts** around the North York Moors
- (49) the courgette cake and chocolate cake always **disappear** quickly

Interestingly, all novel metaphor vehicles with a humoristic function in the English sample corpus were nouns or verbs.

Following humour closely in terms of frequency is the discursive function of filling a lexical gap with ten occurrences. A lexical gap has to be filled when new inventions are made or there is new awareness of an existing phenomenon, and the need to refer to these arises. Half of the occurrences in the English corpus reflected the use of the word ‘guide’ for a website with this purpose as in example (51). This use of ‘guide’ was not yet reflected in the dictionary at the time of analysis, although this is probably only a matter of time. Two more metaphor vehicles with this function belonged to the semantic field of Information and Communication Technologies. One of them is given in example (50), where the word ‘finder’ refers to an app instead of a person. The remaining three uses were found in the semantic field of music and leisure activities as in example (52). Here, ‘linear’ does not mean straight as a line but has to be understood as the opposite of circular in the context of routes, i.e. a walk that ends somewhere different from where it starts.

- (50) [About app:] spot the ships passing by, using the High Spy Interactive Ship **Finder**
- (51) [Right under name of the website:] OFFICIAL VISITOR **GUIDE**

- (52) There are many good reasons for trying a **linear** walk, and it gives a whole new experience to trekking in the countryside.

When writing or speaking, one formulation is often preferred over another because it sounds better. When this seemed to be the main motivation or one of the main motivations for the use of a metaphor, the discursive function ‘aesthetics’ was marked during the analysis. Aesthetics can be viewed as a specific kind of entertaining, a means of maintaining the reader’s attention. Sounding better can range from purely phonetic effects to the rhythm and melody of speech to stylistic perception. In example (44), ‘**Roam** with a Roman’, the alliteration and the repetition of the sound of a whole syllable were doubtlessly a strong motivational factor for this word choice. The adverb ‘deeper’ in example (53) does not only form an alliteration, but the whole phrase ‘to dive deeper into’ also sounds more tranquil and relaxed than its literal synonym ‘to get to know better’. Finally, in example (54), the use of ‘provides’ instead of ‘is’ elevates the whole sentence to a higher stylistic level.

- (53) For those who are looking to dive **deeper** into Kent, there are plenty of options for somewhere to stay if you’d like to experience more than a day: ...
- (54) River Dee **provides** a beautiful setting for a relaxing stroll ...

Illustrating is another discursive function that consists in describing something by means of implicit or explicit comparison. Nine cases of this function were found in the English corpus. In example (55), the Pennine Mountain range is referred to as the backbone of England because it runs from north to south in the centre of the island as though it were the spine of the country. In example (56), the golf players at an adventure golf course with a decoration that imitates exotic destinations are referred to as explorers to reinforce the picture of a tropical adventure. The players move through the exotic scenes as though they were explorers.

- (55) Pennine Way National Trail chases the Pennine tops along the **backbone** of England [...]
- (56) [About adventure golf course:] Course one, **explorers** will tee-off at the port side on an abandoned shipwreck,

Metaphors are used for modelling in many sciences, including soft sciences like psychology and economics. For instance, modelling was found to be the most frequent function of genre-specific metaphors in a corpus of economics research articles (Skorczynska and Deignan, 2006). In physics, the behaviour of water is often used as a model to explain and speak about the movement of electricity in a circuit. Instantiations of such scientific modelling have not been found in our research corpora. All novel linguistic metaphors in the English corpus that belong to this category are a kind of modelling in space. Indeed, they are all time-related, either describing the passing of time or referring to a review of historical events in a museum or exhibition as in example (57).

(57) ... take a **walk** through time – in miniature – at the famous model village ...

Euphemisms were not found among the novel linguistic metaphors of the English sample corpus.

#### 6.4.2. German sample corpus

In the German sample corpus, there are 251 cases of novel metaphor in total. Their distribution by their discursive function is depicted in Figure 6.12.

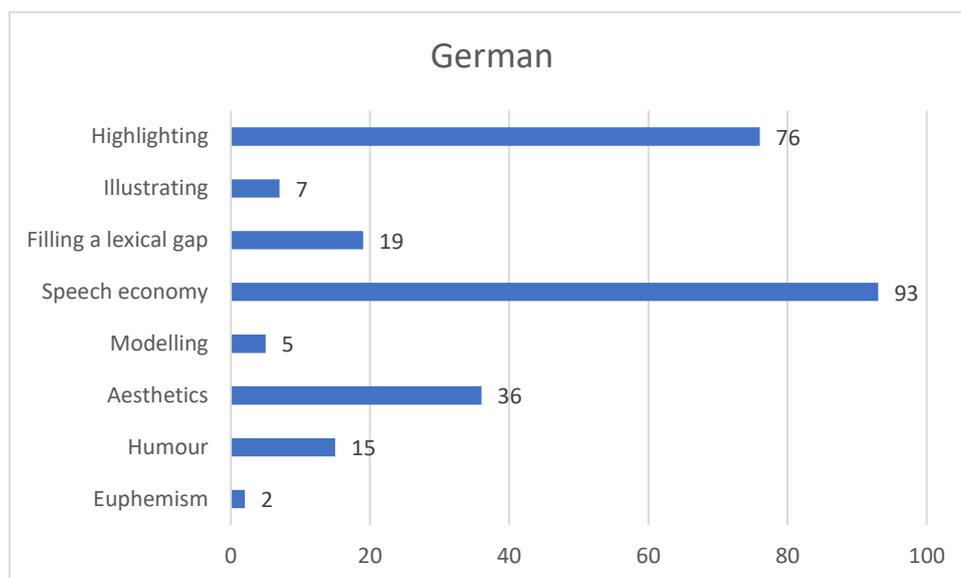


Figure 6.12. Discursive functions of novel metaphor in German sample corpus

The most frequent discursive function in the German sample corpus is economy of speech with 93 cases. Most of the metaphor vehicles with this function are nouns as in examples (58) and (59). It is shorter to use the expression ‘botanical immigrant’ than to explain that the plant originally came from another country, but has now spread out in this new habitat (58). In sentence (59) the word *Siegel* [seal] is now a synonym of a certification of quality standards. The original *Siegel* [seal] was made from wax or a similar substance that melts at high temperatures and was used on scales that had been checked for their accuracy or on documents to either prove their authenticity or that they had not been opened before. Another repetitive pattern with regard to word class is the use of verbs for personifications as in example (60). The formulation ‘the exhibition relates history backwards’ is shorter than saying that ‘the exhibition is organised in such a way that newer pieces are presented first, followed by other pieces increasing continuously in age’.

(58) [*Wanderweg*] unterrichtet mithilfe von Schautafeln über die Historie des Ortes und die Tier- und Pflanzenwelt, etwa über „botanische **Einwanderer**“ wie die russische Hundskamille. [[The hiking trail] informs, with the help of

displays, about the history of the place and its fauna and flora, for instance, about “botanical **immigrants**”, such as the Russian corn chamomile]

- (59) Das **Siegel** Wellness Stars steht seit 2003/2004 für unabhängig geprüfte Qualität [The Wellnes Stars **seal** has stood for independently tested quality since 2003/2004.
- (60) *Analog zur Geschichte der Sammlung Würth **erzählt** die Schau Kunstgeschichte rückwärts.* [Analogically to the history of the Würth Collection, the exhibition **relates** the history of art backwards.]

With a total of 76 cases, highlighting was the second most frequent discursive function in German. In this category all kinds of content words are present in the corpus. In example (61), a calendar is not simply described as busy but as ***prall** gefüllt* [**firmly** filled]. A former shopping centre in Chemnitz is referred to as *Kaufhaus**palast*** [department store **palace**], highlighting its size and luxurious design. The Bundesland Thuringia is called the ***Mutter** der Reformation* [**mother** of the reformation] since it is the region where Luther nailed his theses to the church door (example 63). A mother is vital to her offspring, so this title is a compliment to the Bundesland for nourishing the ideas of the reformation and protecting Martin Luther. In example (64), a verb is used for highlighting: the town Heiligendamm is said to ‘shine’ again in its former ‘brightness’ (***erstrahlt** wieder im alten **Glanz***). The brightness, or literally shine, has to be understood as economic and cultural welfare, and *erstrahlen* is an intense way of shining that is the result of a process of lighting up.

- (61) *Komplettiert werden diese Angebote durch einen **prall** gefüllten Veranstaltungskalender ...* [These offers are completed by a **firmly** filled event calendar...]
- (62) *Der ehemalige Kaufhaus**palast** beherbergt ein eindrucksvolles Naturkunde-Museum ...* [The former department store **palace** hosts an impressive natural science museum ...]
- (63) *Schon Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts wurde Sachsen der Ehrentitel „**Mutter** der Reformation“ verliehen, ...* [As early as at the End of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Sachsen was given the honorary title “**Mother** of the Reformation” ...]
- (64) Heiligendamm, die weiße Stadt am Meer, **erstrahlt** auch wieder im alten **Glanz**. [Also Heiligendamm, the white city by the sea, **shines** again with its former **brightness**.]

In third position regarding frequency is the discursive function of aesthetics with 36 cases. Some words simply sound better in a given context than others. For instance, *Wiege* [cradle] has a more agreeable sound to it in phrase (65) than *Entstehungsort* [place of origin]. In example (66), the more typical expression would be *milder Süden* [mild south], but *sanfter Süden* [soft south] is catchier and conveys a certain gentleness. Concerning word class, most novel metaphor vehicles with an aesthetic function are nouns or verbs.

- (65) ... oder die **Wiege** der Mark entdecken. [... or explore the **cradle** of the Mark.]
- (66) *Reisen Sie in Sachsen-Anhalts **sanften** Süden ...* [Travel to the **soft** south of Saxony-Anhalt ...]

Nineteen novel metaphor vehicles were used to fill a lexical gap. Not yet in the dictionary at the time of the analysis was *barrierefrei* [barrier-free], used to refer to products and services that are accessible to wheelchair users (example 67). The component barrier takes on the meaning of an obstacle for wheelchairs. There is also a tendency to refer to a network of cultural centres or museums in a certain area as their *Kulturlandschaft* [culture landscape] or *Museumslandschaft* [museum landscape] as in sentence (68).

- (67) *Der Naturpark bietet auch viele **barrierefreie** Angebote wie z.B. Kutschen, die auch für Rollstuhlfahrer geeignet sind.* [The nature park also has many **barrier-free** offers, such as carriages that are adequate for wheelchair users.]
- (68) *Sachsen ist für seine renommierte **Museumslandschaft** mit weltweit bedeutenden Sammlungen bekannt.* [Sachsen is known for its **landscape** (=network) of museums with collections of international importance.]

Filling a lexical gap was followed closely by humour as discursive function with fifteen cases, most of which are nouns. Germans love to make up amusing labels for collectives, such as *Baderatten* [bathe rats] for enthusiastic swimmers, or *Pedalritter* [pedal knights] for cyclists (examples 69 and 70). A pun is intended in example (71) where the visitor is asked to ‘dive into’ (*eintauchen*) the diversity of the aquatic world on display in an aquarium. A well-known sportsman, who is still an active skier in his eighties, is described as a ‘prehistoric rock of winter sports’ (*Urgestein des Wintersports*). This somewhat absurd comparison highlights that he has been part of the winter sports community for what seems an eternity.

- (69) Wenn die Flut kommt, jauchzen die Baderatten vor Glück. [When the high tide comes, the bathe-**rats** [= enthusiastic swimmers] cheer.
- (70) ... als **Pedalritter** schalten Sie automatisch ab vom Alltagsstress ab [ as a pedal knight pedal (= cyclist) you will automatically disconnect from your stress.
- (71) In dem Großaquarium Sea Life Speyer können Gäste in die faszinierende Vielfalt der Wasserwelt eintauchen [In the big-tank aquarium Sea Life Speyer, visitors can **dive into** the fascinating diversity of the aquatic world.
- (72) [heading] *Alfons Dorner, **Urgestein** des Wintersports* [Alfons Dorner, prehistoric rock of winter sport]

With respect to the less frequent discursive functions in German, illustrating was found in seven cases, while modelling was one of the predominant functions in five cases. The illustrating function was carried out mainly through verbs, as can be seen in the

examples below. Towns are so close together that they seem to nestle up against each other (example 73). A square has such a special atmosphere that it seems to ‘sprays charm’ (example 74) and parks with installations for sports and leisure activities have been designed in such a way that they seem to be grouping around a nature reserve (example 75).

- (73) *Die Städte hier [...] **schmiegen sich eng aneinander** [The towns here [...] **nestle up** against each other]*
- (74) *Die barocke Platzanlage des Alten Marktes mit der Nikolaikirche [...] **versprüht** einen ganz besonderen Charme. [The baroque design of the square of the Old Market with the Nikolai Church [...] has (literally: **sprays**) a very special kind of charm.]*
- (75) *Um das Naturschutzgebiet **gruppieren sich** die etwa 30 „Stadtkammern“ – sie bilden den Aktivpark. [About 30 “town chambers“ **group** around the nature reserve – they constitute the activity park.]*

Just like in the English sample corpus, the linguistic metaphors whose function consists of modelling do not correspond to scientific models, but model abstract concepts in space, such as developments in art history (example 76) or how realistic a film projection is, which is referred to as *Realitätsnähe* [closeness to reality] in German (example 77), for instance.

- (76) *Kommen Sie mit auf eine **Reise** durch die Kunstepochen! [Join us on a **journey** through the epochs of art history.]*
- (77) *[IMAX-Filmtheater] wobei die sensationelle Produktionstechnologie eine **Realitätsnähe** vermittelt, die den Zuschauer zum Teil der Handlung werden lässt. [with the sensational production technology conveying a **closeness** to reality that lets the spectator become part of the plot.]*

In addition to the described functions, two cases of euphemism were identified in the German corpus and added as discursive function. The subject of both euphemisms is death. In example (78), the formulation is *Leben fordern* [claim lives], while in (79) prisoners are said to ‘have let their lives’ (*ihr Leben gelassen haben*).

- (78) *... eine Pestepidemie, die 1600 Menschenleben **gefordert** haben soll [a plague that is said to have claimed 1600 human lives.]*
- (79) *...KZ-Häftlinge, die bei der Entwicklung, Fertigung und beim Einsatz dieser Waffensysteme ihr Leben ließen. [... concentration camp prisoners who *let* (= gave) their lives in the development, production and the use of these weapon systems.]*

#### 6.4.3. Spanish sample corpus

In the Spanish sample corpus, economy of speech and highlighting are almost equally common as discursive functions of novel linguistic metaphors as shown in Figure 6.13.

Economy of speech is a discursive function of 119 metaphor vehicles of a total of 346 novel metaphors. Highlighting is in second position with 100 metaphor vehicles fulfilling this function. In third place, is aesthetics (64 cases), followed by modelling with 40 cases. Less frequent discursive functions in Spanish are illustrating with 23 cases and filling a lexical gap in fifteen cases. Humour seems to be the discursive motivation of a single novel metaphor, while euphemism was not found among the novel metaphors of the Spanish sample corpus.

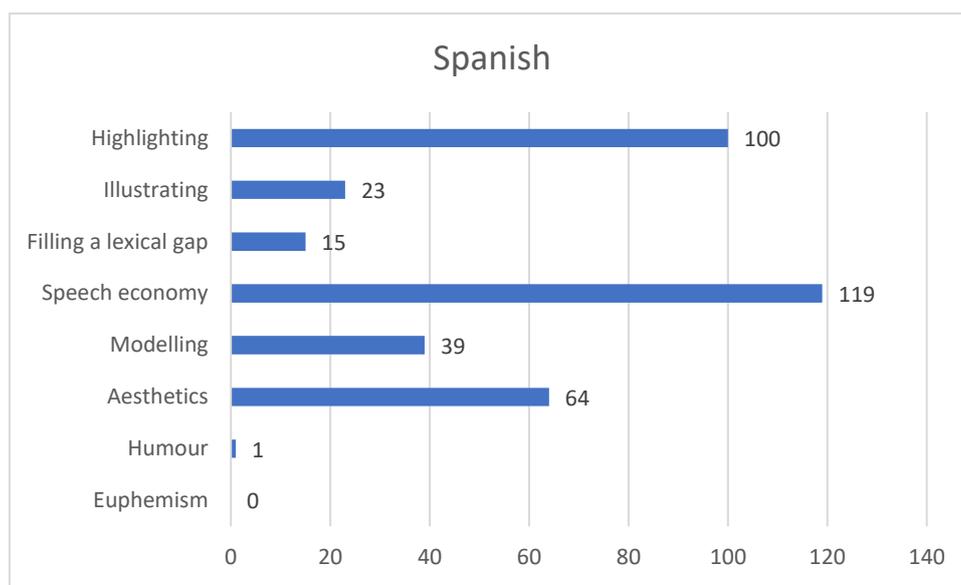


Figure 6.13. Discursive functions of novel metaphor in Spanish sample corpus

Economy of speech is often realised through personifications that are expressed by verbs. This allows for the use of active verbs and helps avoid wordier passive constructions or relative clauses. For instance, it is quicker to state that a river fertilises a plain than to explain in a passive construction that the plains are fertilized by the sediments of the river (example 80). The following example, (81), has a strong metonymic aspect and could be rewritten without personification by using a passive structure or adding the human agents, that is the people of the villages, museum staff or employees of an institution. This, however, would add to the sentence length and require more processing effort on behalf of the hearer or reader. Economy of speech was also frequently found in nouns. In example (82), the metaphor *refugio* conveys in one word that the valley is a safe place for endangered species. Finally, example (83) uses the word *motor* [engine] to refer to the most important factor contributing to something, in this case the industrialisation in the area.

- (80) *El Guadalquivir, ..., atraviesa su provincia de este a oeste y **fertiliza** una amplia vega.* [The Guadalquivir river, ..., crosses this province from east to west and **fertilises** a wide plain]

- (81) *Argüeso y Cabezón de la Sal, lugares que **recrean** los modos de vida y costumbres de los primitivos cántabros;* [Agüeso and Cabezón de la Sal, places that **recreate** the ways of life and customs of the primitive Cantabrians;]
- (82) *PARQUE NATURAL DEL ALTO TAJO - estrechos valles **refugio** de la flora ibérica* [ALTO TAJO NATURE PARK - narrow valleys [which are a] **refuge** (= haven) for the Iberian flora]
- (83) *... procesos de industrialización cuyo **motor** fundamental era la riqueza de los yacimientos mineros.* [... industrialization processes whose fundamental **engine** was the wealth of the ore deposits]

There is no clearly dominant word class among the novel metaphor vehicles used for highlighting in Spanish. Some of these metaphor vehicles have highly positive connotations and can be recognised as highlighters even without context. This is true for *privilegiado* [privileged] in example (84) and *mágico* [magical] in example (85). Other metaphor vehicles only develop a highlighting function in specific contexts, as is the case for *cargado* [laden] in (86) and *ritual* [ritual] to refer to a habit in (87). The following example, (88), could be understood as a modern version of ‘having something in one’s blood’. If something is described as a vital part of your body, it has to be understood as a vital characteristic. Therefore, the statement that Catalonia has winemaking DNA points out how good Catalonians are at it and how important wine is in the regional culture. This is an admittedly indirect, but efficient way of highlighting. Also rather indirect are the verbs that have been found to instantiate novel linguistic metaphors with a highlighting function, for instance, *seducir* [seduce] in phrase (89). In order to seduce someone, the agent needs to have a potential to attract and to seduce.

- (84) *... la geografía catalana es una de las más **privilegiadas** para la práctica de este deporte.* [the Catalanian geography is one of the most **privileged** for exercising this sport.]
- (85) *Aragón es una encrucijada **mágica** que te sorprenderá.* [Aragon is a magical intersection that will surprise you]
- (86) *... dos sierras, de Alcaraz y del Segura, que compiten en belleza y verdor en un recorrido **cargado** de experiencias.* [... two mountain ranges, Sierra de Alcaraz and Sierra del Segura, which compete in beauty and verdure on a route that is **laden** with experiences.]
- (87) *En los pueblos, villas y ciudades de la geografía sevillana existe el **ritual** de visitar bares, tabernas y “tascas”.* [In the villages, towns and cities of the Sevillian geography, it is a **ritual** to visit pubs, taverns and “tascas”]
- (88) *Cataluña tiene **ADN** vinícola.* [Catalonia has winemaking **DNA**]
- (89) *Déjese **seducir** por sabores del norte.* [Let yourself be **seduced** by the flavours of the North.]

Aesthetics plays an essential role on Spanish tourism promotional websites. Some of the texts published there make extensive use of figurative language and strive for a high

register with well-sounding vocabulary. So, *hundir sus raíces en* [sink your roots into] is a sophisticated way of referring to the origins of something (example 92). On another website, the reader is invited to ‘caress’ (*acariciar*) the silhouette of the Pyrenees. From the context, the reader deduces that this caress needs to be carried out with one’s eyes (example 93). Apart from these almost poetic formulations, there are also cases where a high-frequency verb like *ser* [to be] or *estar* [to be (temporarily)] is replaced by a more sophisticated verb like *tratar de* [be concerned with] or *componer* [compose] in order to improve the overall style (see examples 94 and 95).

- (90) *Los hechos narrados son ficticios si bien **hund**en sus raíces en una historia real.* [The events recounted here are fictitious, although they **sink** their roots in a real story.]
- (91) ***Acaricie** la escarpada silueta verde del Pirineo, y observe cómo se ondula* [**Caress** the steep green silhouette of the Pyrenees, and observe how it undulates]
- (92) ***Se trata** de una fiesta muy arraigada.* [It is (literal: it is concerned with) a deep-rooted festival]
- (93) *Las competiciones marítimas **componen** los hitos de su calendario deportivo.* [The sailing competitions **compose** the milestones of their sports calendar.]

In line with the observations made for English and German, the function modelling is restricted to modelling of abstract concepts as though they were objects in space that can move and change their size or extension, or that can contain other things. In example (97), exhibitions pretend to ‘broaden knowledge’ (*ampliar conocimiento*), and in example (98), the expression *adentrarse* is used with the concept tradition.

- (94) *Exposiciones ... con el fin de **ampliar** el conocimiento en aspectos como la arqueología,* [exhibitions ... with the purpose of broadening knowledge in aspects, such as archaeology]
- (95) *Adentrarse en esta tradición permite conocer su historia y su cultura*

Illustrating is a way of describing the target concept by activating a picture or another concept. Sentences with this discursive function can often be rewritten with ‘as though’. For instance, in example (96), a valley is surrounded by deep slopes as though it were ‘fenced in’. Similarly, in example (97), the avenue gets busy at night as though it were lit up. Of course, many metaphors describe by means of comparison in some way but only 23 novel metaphor vehicles in the Spanish corpus have this discursive function as a main function.

- (96) *Un espacioso y alto valle **cercado** de empinadas laderas ...* [A spacious and deep valley **fenced in** by steep slopes ...]

- (97) ... *es todo un placer ver la avenida **encenderse** por la vida nocturna de sus terrazas, pubs y restaurantes*. [...it's sheer pleasure to see the avenue **light up** with the nightlife of its terraces, pubs and restaurants]

With regard to filling a lexical gap, most of the fourteen cases could probably be found in a specialised dictionary. In the general dictionary, however, their meaning in context is not included. The examples are more semi-technical than technical language and are so common in European culture or so graphical that the average language user can understand them. Accordingly, the word *envejecimiento*, the 'aging' of wine, vinegar and other fermentation products, is part of common cultural knowledge in Spain. Moreover, the sample corpus contains terms that classify types of stalactites, such as *columnas* [pillars], which are straightforward metaphors since they are based on physical resemblance. These are admittedly borderline cases. Clear-cut examples are the sentences containing *jardín de nieve*, a separate area of skiing stations specially designed for beginner skiers, like in (98). The word formation was probably inspired by the compound *jardín de infancia* [kindergarden].

- (98) *Jardín de nieve para iniciarse* [Snow **garden** to get started]

Judging from the sample corpora, Spanish promotional tourism websites are more formal in style, using more sophisticated language than English or German websites. As a consequence, they also seem to be more serious: only one case where the novel metaphor was intended to be amusing was identified, which is reproduced in example (99). Here, a recipe is said to have crumbs (*migas*). In colloquial Spanish, *migas* can be used to refer to the internal substance or virtue of physical objects<sup>68</sup>. In the present context it has to be understood as difficulty or complexity.

- (99) ... *puede parecer una simple ensalada de pimientos asados, pero en realidad la receta tiene **miga*** [It may seem to be a simple roasted pepper salad, but the recipe has its complexity (literal: **crumb**).

Cases of euphemism were not found among the novel linguistic metaphors of the Spanish sample corpus.

#### 6.4.4. Cross-linguistic comparison

When comparing the discursive functions that have been identified for the sample corpora, the first significant difference is the total amount. With 361 discursive functions, Spanish more than doubles the number for English, 143, as can be seen in Table 6.27. German lies between these values with 251 discursive functions. These numbers exceed the absolute frequencies of novel metaphor since more than one

<sup>68</sup> This meaning of *migas* [cumbs) comes from the elongated Spanish bread loaves, that consist of *corteza* [crust] and *miga* [crumbs], being the latter the internal part.

function was assigned when there is no clearly dominant discursive function, but two or more seem equally important.

**Table 6.27. Discursive functions of novel linguistic metaphors in sample corpora**

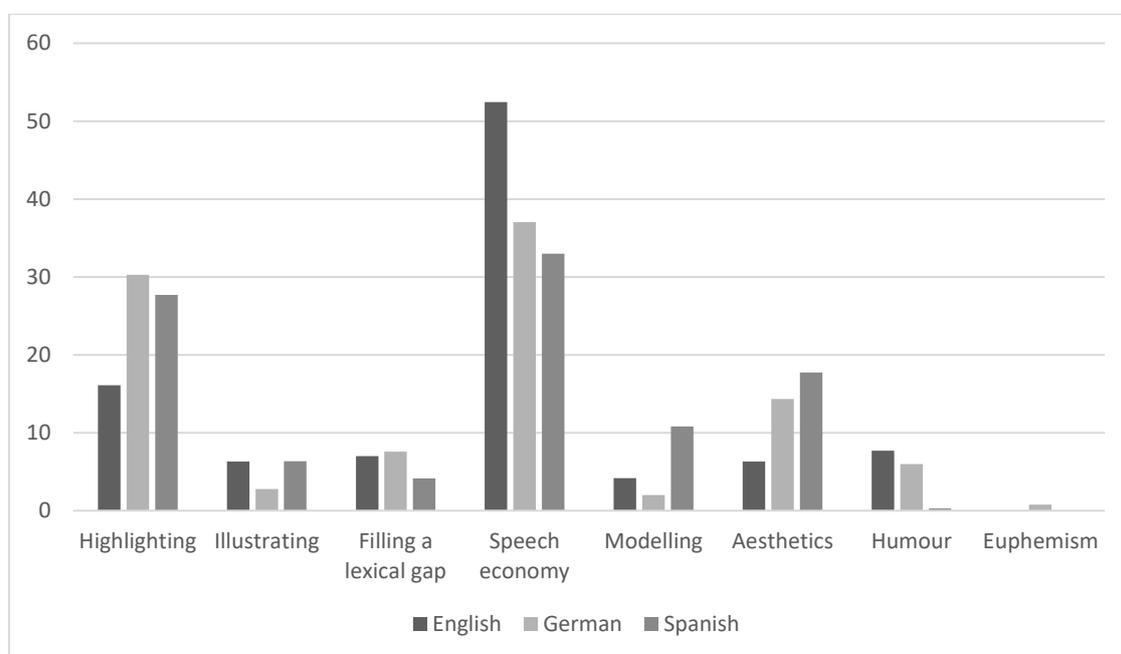
	English		German		Spanish	
Highlighting	23	16.1%	76	30.3%	100	27.7%
Illustrating	9	6.3%	7	2.8%	25	6.4%
Filling lexical gap	10	7.0%	19	7.6%	15	4.2%
Economy of speech	75	52.4%	93	37.1%	119	33.0%
Modelling	6	4.2%	5	2.0%	39	10.8%
Aesthetics	9	6.3%	36	14.3%	64	17.7%
Humour	11	7.7%	15	6.0%	1	0.3%
Euphemism	0	0.0%	2	0.8%	0	0.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>251</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>346</b>	<b>100%</b>

With regard to the share of the most frequent discursive function, it is interesting that English has a clearly dominant discursive function that accounts for 52.4%, namely economy of speech. This is also the most frequent function in German and Spanish, but represents only 37.1% and 32.2% of all discursive functions. This may be related to the fact that in Britain a concise style is recommended for a wide range of registers since this is considered to facilitate communication. Wordy formulations are not necessarily considered good style. In Spanish, conciseness is not the priority. On the contrary, students are encouraged to replace high frequency verbs by other, more sophisticated ones. Moreover, nominalisations of verbs, which then require another conjugated verb, are praised as stylistically preferable to the plain verb. German occupies a middle position, both in our language data and in real life. Redundancy is to be avoided, but rather than striving for concision, striving for precision in the expression is taught as a priority in German schools. These national differences might be reflected in the percentages of economy of speech.

The second most frequent group in English lags far behind: highlighting makes up only 16.1% of all discursive functions. In German and English, the second most frequent function, highlighting is almost as common as the most important function, economy of speech. The percentage of highlighting amounts to 30.3% of all identified discursive functions in the German sample corpus and 27.7% in the Spanish. This is in line with Suau's (2013) findings in a study of persuasion and interpersonality in English and Spanish through their corresponding metadiscourse markers. For this study, Suau used the COMETVAL comparable corpora compiled from promotional hotel and accommodation websites. Suau (2013:16) draws the conclusion that "in order of importance, reader's pronouns, self-mention and hedges are salient in English, boosters

are salient in Spanish”. Although metaphor and metadiscourse markers are two independent fields of research, boosters, which are used for intensifying and emphasising, show certain parallelisms with highlighting language. Thus, a language that makes more extensive use of boosters may also be expected to have a higher number of metaphors with a highlighting function. This hypothesis was indeed confirmed by our data.

Figure 6.14. offers a synopsis of the discursive functions for the three languages. Overall, the three languages behave similarly in terms of the most and less frequent functions. The two most frequent discursive functions, economy of speech and highlighting have already been discussed. As far as the third most common discursive function, aesthetics, is concerned, it is most important on the Spanish tourism websites, and least important on the English. This concern with aesthetics in Spanish reflects a general feature, which is also visible in other areas, such as the lemma/token ratio of metaphor vehicles or the overall use of metaphor.



**Figure 6.14. Discursive function of novel linguistic metaphor in all three sample corpora [% within language]**

Another discursive function with marked differences is modelling. In absolute numbers, it is approximately seven times more frequent in Spanish than in English, and eight times more frequent than in German. Expressed in frequencies, modelling accounts for 2% of all the German novel metaphor vehicles, for 4.2% of the English and 10.8% of the Spanish. In all three languages this discursive function is related to the TIME IS SPACE metaphor and reification, or ontological metaphor. The differences in frequency may be partially linked to the topics in the sample corpora. There is more text about exhibitions or museums that are designed as a journey through time and about the mixture of

cultures and tradition in the Spanish corpus. On the other hand, ontological metaphors can be conventionalised or more creative, and the Spanish tendency towards an aesthetic style may have fostered the creation of non-conventionalised ontological metaphors.

With reference to the least frequent discursive functions, illustrating is more common in the English sample corpus, while filling a lexical gap is least frequent in the Spanish corpus and most frequent in the German. Humour is an especially infrequent discursive function in Spanish, while euphemism is only found in the novel metaphor analysis of the German corpus. Among the conventionalised metaphors, though, cases of euphemism can be found in all three languages. Unfortunately for discursive functions with absolute frequencies under ten, it is difficult to draw and reason any conclusions.

After this analysis, there are a few conclusions that can be drawn as regards the translation of novel metaphors with reference to their discursive functions. Firstly, a novel metaphor that contributes to economy of speech on an English tourism website does not necessarily need to be translated as such into German or Spanish, especially if this metaphor instantiates a personification with informative or descriptive purposes. A conventional metaphor with the same meaning will provide an adequate translation equivalent if the novel metaphor resulting from the translation sounds too bold or otherwise inadequate. Secondly, humorous novel metaphors do not need to be transferred as such from English or German to Spanish since our data suggest, that humour is not expected by the Spanish readership of tourism promotional websites. If the pun or humorous effect is difficult to transfer into Spanish, a non-humorous metaphor that is part of an aesthetic formulation might be just as well or even better received by the target text audience. Thirdly, with respect to ontological metaphor, translators do not have to be afraid to venture into novel linguistic metaphor when translating into Spanish. Finally, on English promotional tourism websites, highlighting seems to be a task of conventional metaphor and direct language rather than novel metaphor. If a novel metaphor that was used for highlighting in German or Spanish sounds too bold in English, it might be advisable to tone it down to a conventional metaphor.

### **6.5. Mapping schemes**

There are good reasons to study mapping schemes of metaphors. Regarding metaphor comprehension, Kintsch (2008:129) observed that “the process of comprehending a metaphor depends on the type of metaphor and varies widely from simple associative mechanisms to elaborate problem solving”. Although Kintsch does not explicitly use the term mapping, there is little doubt that he refers to the relationship between source and target domain. Sternberg, Tourangeau and Nigro (1993:292) not only make a connection between comprehension and mapping, but describe the importance of the latter as follows “Mapping is without question the major source of variance in metaphor

comprehensibility and quality”. Since comprehension is an essential factor in the translation process and the reception of the translation product by its readership, it is relevant to this thesis.

Unfortunately, little research has been carried out in the field of mapping schemes, and none of the typologies that have been elaborated for these studies fit our purposes. As a consequence, a new typology had to be created from scratch. For this purpose, a basic structure was established based on the literature review and other categories were added as the need for them became evident from the research data. This is in line with Steen’s (2007:35) recommendation to use a deductive approach when studying the validity of a theory in linguistic reality, while an inductive approach is more productive when analysing examples in context. After revising the whole range of mapping schemes identified in the preliminary analysis of the sample corpora, these were the types of mapping schemes which stood up to scrutiny: experiential correlation, abstract resemblance, physical resemblance, reification, personification + basic meaning, personification + change of meaning, modelling in space, generalisation, specification, reduction to important aspect, pun and reversed metaphor. In the following paragraphs, the different mapping schemes and their motivation will be described in more detail, and examples will be given. Then, a typology will be presented, in which relationships and differences between these mapping schemes become evident. Finally, the data will be presented in meaningful blocks of metaphor schemes.

In his dissertation titled “Foundations of meaning: Primary metaphors and primary scenes”, Grady (1997) argued that a distinction had to be made between metaphors based on similarity and those based on experiential correlation. A correlation can be understood as the repeated simultaneous occurrence of a physical phenomenon and a certain way of experiencing this physical phenomenon. When people experience the same cognitive/ emotional response in another context, they may use the concept of the physical phenomenon which usually correlates with this cognitive/ emotional response to either refer to the response or the object, agent or situation which caused it. According to Grady, this correlational effect motivated metaphors like *DESIRE IS HUNGER*, *SWALLOWING IS ACCEPTING*, or *QUANTITY IS VERTICAL ELEVATION*<sup>69</sup>. Following this prompt by Grady, a first sizeable division of the categories into correlational metaphor and resemblance metaphor was made. However, as Stern (2008:273) pointed out, “[t]here is no one kind of associated property (e.g., a feature of resemblance) that serves as the ground for all metaphors; rather interpretations draw on all sorts of properties.” According to Newmark ([1981] 1986:84-85) the resemblance in metaphor is perceived either between objects or processes and can be based on a physical image or on connotations.

---

<sup>69</sup> It needs to be pointed out, that in a later publication, Grady (1999) makes a distinction between resemblance metaphors, which are based on similarity or analogy, and correlation metaphors, which are based on recurring experience and draw on salient relationships between one or few aspects of the vehicle and the topic. According to this later publication, *DESIRE IS HUNGER* would be classified as a generic-is-specific metaphor, a special kind of resemblance metaphor. Orientational metaphors and other metaphors based on spatialisation remain in the category correlation metaphor.

These considerations led to the creation of three mapping scheme categories: experiential correlation, physical resemblance, and abstract resemblance. In metaphors based on experiential correlation, the target domain causes the same cognitive response or feelings, or links two concepts that often occur together in human experience. For instance, in the expression ‘**cool** products’, the effect of something physically cool that catches your attention in a pleasant, refreshing way is mapped onto an object or behaviour that somehow stands out and causes a pleasant, refreshing emotional response in the observer. On the other hand, expressions like ‘**low** prices’ are based on the common experience that something that is small in height is also small in terms of amount or level. The mapping scheme category ‘physical resemblance’ applies when source and target concept have comparable physical features, or when the appearance of the target concept is reminiscent of the source concept. The ‘**tube**’ used as reference to the London underground train system shares physical features with literal tubes, and when someone is said to be ‘**riding** a bike’ it is because the appearance of a cyclist reminds us of a rider on a horse. The mapping scheme ‘abstract resemblance’ is used for a metaphor in which, despite crossing the concrete-abstract borderline, source and target concept have comparable abstract features or functions (**gateway** to the Heritage Coast [allows access]), comparable results/ effects (**miss** an event, **unwind**), comparable processes (**explore** the human cost of war), or a comparable inner structure (arts **hub**). On occasions, the source concept itself is abstract, so source and target concept share the same abstract feature. For instance, a free person has no restrictions as to where to go, while free activities are free of charge and, therefore, have no (economic) restrictions as to who can participate in them.

Ontological metaphors treat activities, events, ideas, emotions, and other abstract concepts as though they were objects or material substances (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:25). The underlying mapping scheme was called ‘reification’ and can be found in examples like ‘**spend** the morning’, ‘**take** advantage’, ‘**reinforce** family bonds’, ‘**mix** business with pleasure’, etc. Another example of reification is the well-known conduit metaphor COMMUNICATION IS PHYSICAL TRANSFER. A widespread subtype of ontological metaphor is personification, which maps human characteristics, actions and motivations onto physical objects and places (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:33). Personification as a mapping scheme was subdivided into two types, personification with basic meaning and personification with change of meaning. In the first case, the basic human-related concept is applied to the physical object or place without suffering any change in meaning. These personifications which only flout selection restrictions would normally not be detected by MIP but have been included in the study since they clearly represent a mapping from the domain area ‘Person’ to the domain area ‘Object’ or ‘Place’. Personification with basic meaning can be found in examples, such as ‘when the weather **stops** you doing activities outdoors’, ‘a visit to Northumberland **rewards** with a diverse and intriguing selection’, or ‘the cultural **credentials** of Liverpool’. The second type of personification, ‘personification with change of meaning’, is given when the

basic definition of the metaphorically used word does not fit the context unless changes are introduced. In the sentence ‘the cottage **boasts** wonderful gardens and beautiful beaches’, the basic meaning “to proudly tell other people about what you or someone connected with you has done or can do, or about something you own, especially in order to make them admire you” is not adequate for a building. Consequently, the secondary meaning “to have something good, often an attractive feature that other people admire” needs to be applied (definitions taken from [www.macmillandictionary.com](http://www.macmillandictionary.com)).

There are two more mapping schemes that belong to resemblance metaphors: generalisation and specialisation. To be exact, they are subcategories of ‘abstract resemblance’. Metaphors that are assigned the label ‘generalisation’ have a specific source domain and can be applied to a wide range of target domains. The great success of this kind of metaphor can be attributed to the expressiveness of a versatile salient feature that can be mapped successfully onto a large number of other domains. For instance, the word ‘rich’ can be combined with all kinds of objects, perceptions and abstract nouns: **rich** decorations, **rich** soil, **rich** heritage, **rich** colours, **rich** smells, **rich** sounds, **rich** history, etc. Another example of generalisation is ‘vintage’. Referring originally to wine, it can now be used to describe any kind of old object of high quality. Specification, on the contrary, can be found when the target domain is made explicit or implied by a prefix, a pre-modifier or a post-modifier, thus narrowing down the target domain and possible meaning interpretations. Specification can be found in many conventionalised metaphors, such as ‘commercial **centre**’, ‘sand**castle**’, ‘audio **guide**’, ‘search **box**’, or in less common combinations, such as ‘culinary **capital**’, ‘**battle** of nerves’, and ‘wheelchair-**navigable**’. These subcategories are deemed of interest to this study since they are relatively frequent and may be subject to cross-linguistic variation. For instance, in English and German, the adjective ‘friendly’/ ‘*freundlich*’ can be combined with quite a few nouns (family-**friendly**, dog-**friendly**, wheelchair-**friendly**, gay-**friendly**, *kinderfreundlich*, *familienfreundlich*, *fahrradfreundlich*, etc.) while ‘amistoso’ in Spanish can usually only link up with ‘con el medio ambiente’ [friendly with the environment] as a calque of the German ‘*umweltfreundlich*’ [environmentally friendly].

The mapping scheme ‘modelling in space’ was added during the analysis and comprises mainly conceptualisations of time, such as ‘date **back** to’, ‘the **course** of time’, ‘are **transported back** to their childhood’, and ‘our **extensive** mining and ship building past’. In smaller conceptual networks, modelling in space can also be found for abstract concepts. Examples from the research corpus are ‘**lost** in nostalgia’, ‘**rise** to fame’, or ‘**bring** to life’. Also the internet is conceived of as a spatial construction, which you can ‘**explore**’, ‘**browse**’ or ‘**surf**’, and where you can ‘**follow** links’.

Metaphor is at play when a word is used to refer to a concept that is different from the word’s basic meaning and belongs to another conceptual domain. Furthermore, there needs to be some kind of connection between the basic meaning and the meaning in the

metaphorical context. For a long time, it was generally assumed that this relationship between vehicle and topic needed to be one of similarity or analogy, but some metaphors do not fulfil this condition. This is why Grady studied correlational metaphors. During the present analysis, a group of metaphor was found whose relationship seems to consist of a reduction to a single, but important, aspect. This is why the mapping scheme was labelled ‘reduction to important aspect’. It can be observed in examples, such as ‘**live** performance’, ‘**blue** trail’, or ‘Wills Barn **sleeps** 1-6’. A performance itself is not a living being and can, therefore, not be ‘live’. It is the audience and the artists present who are live, not recorded. The colour adjective ‘blue’ used in combination with mountain bike trails indicates that it is a trail with a low level of difficulty, according to an official colour code system. In ‘Wills Barn sleeps 1-6’, the barn obviously cannot sleep, but the expression informs us that 1-6 people can sleep *in* this barn. This mapping scheme seems to be motivated mainly by economy of speech. Some cases have strong metonymic aspects, such as the phrase ‘there is something for every pocket’. Here, pocket stands for the place where you keep your wallet, and the contents of your wallet for your purchasing power.

Finally, two more categories were added due to the special relationship between source and target concept that some of the metaphors in the corpus displayed. These categories are ‘pun’ and ‘reversed metaphor’. Pun involves playing with double meanings or phonetical similarity, and for some metaphors this seems to be the main motivation. In the expression ‘culture **vulture**’, it is not the salient features of a vulture that are mapped, culture is not compared to a dead animal, nor are physical mappings involved. A culturally interested person looks for cultural events and consumes them like a vulture looks for carrion in order to feed on it, but there are animals that eat in a more ferocious way than vultures or are better-known for intensely searching for food. For most people, vultures are disagreeable animals, and the expression ‘culture **vulture**’ is often used in a critical way. However, what makes vultures the perfect metaphorical vehicle is the fact that it rhymes with culture and produces an amusing phonetical effect. A similar effect is produced in the headline ‘Roam with a **Roman**’, where reference is made to a walk along Hadrian’s Wall, built by the Romans.

In addition, the label ‘reversed metaphor’ was introduced to describe a peculiar case of conventionalised metaphors in the Spanish corpus that do not fit any other category. Reversed metaphors have a basic meaning that is out of use or highly infrequent, and a metaphorical meaning that is part of the common contemporary vocabulary. In the context of this reversed metaphor, the word is applied with the original meaning in mind. The Spanish expression *a tus pies* [at your feet] can be translated as ‘at your service’/ ‘at your disposal’. In the sentence ‘[P]uedes ir de los Pirineos a la Costa Brava en BTT y hacer los últimos kilómetros con el Mediterráneo **a tus pies**.’ [You can cycle from the Pyrenees to the Costa Brava by mountain bike doing the last kilometres with the Mediterranean Sea **at your feet**.], the expression is clearly used with its basic,

spatial meaning, although in many readers, the metaphorical meaning may be activated simultaneously. This particular example is excluded from the analysis since it is a multiword expression, but there are other cases of reversed metaphor in the corpus that fulfil the necessary requirements to be part of the analysed data.

These mapping schemes are active at different levels and do indeed overlap. The relationship of the mapping schemes and the levels at which they are active are summarised in Table 6.28.

The levels at which typological differences have been observed in our data are the type of feature that is mapped from the source to the target domain, the kind of large domain areas that are decisive for the description of the metaphor, and the relationship of conceptual scope of the literal and metaphorical meaning of a metaphor vehicle. In addition to these, there are metaphors that are active on both the conceptual and phonetic level, which is typical of puns. A special case of mapping in which the common direction from source to target domain was inverted was detected and named 'reversed metaphor'. Thus the direction of the mapping can also be a criterion for the classification of metaphors.

With respect to the mapped feature, a distinction between abstract resemblance, physical resemblance and experiential correlation can be made. Metaphors based on abstract resemblance transfer abstract features, such as non-physical characteristics, function, results, effects, processes or inner structures, from source to target domain. Meanwhile, physical-resemblance metaphors are based on the transfer of physical features, such as size, shape, colour, touch or overall appearance, from source to target domain. Experiential correlation transfers emotional responses, bodily responses or effects of physical interaction from the source to the target domain.

Classification by intervening domain areas reflects the most typical kinds of ontological metaphor: personification, reification and modelling in space. The source domain area of personification metaphors can be called 'Person' or 'Human being', while the source domain area of reification metaphors is that of objects. Metaphors that are based on modelling in space draw on the domain area 'Space' as their source. In personification and reification, all types of features may be mapped: physical, abstract and experiential ones. Since modelling in space is typically used for abstract concepts, the transferred features are generally abstract ones. These are only a few kinds of all existing ontological metaphors. Yet, these are especially common in our research corpus and considered of interest for the purpose of this study.

**Table 6.28. Typology of conceptual mappings**

<b>Level</b>	<b>Mapping scheme</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>
Type of mapped feature	Physical resemblance	Transfers physical features, such as size, shape, colour, touch or overall appearance from source to target domain
	Abstract resemblance	Transfers abstract features, such as non-physical characteristics, function, results, effects, processes or inner structures from source to target domain
	Experiential correlation	Transfers emotional responses, bodily responses or other effects of physical interaction from the source to the target domain
Domain areas	Reification	Transfers features from the domain area of Object to other domain areas, such as Abstract Concepts, Person, Animal, ...
	Personification + basic meaning	Transfers features from the domain area of Person to the domain areas of Object, Animal, Plant, Place, ... while maintaining the basic meaning of the metaphor vehicle
	Personification + change of meaning	Transfers features from the domain area of Person to the domain areas of Object, Animal, Plant, Place, ... causing the metaphor vehicle to take on a slightly different meaning
	Modelling in Space	Transfers features from the domain area of Space to other abstract domain areas or conceptual domains
Conceptual scope	Generalisation	The application of the meaning is broadened from a restricted conceptual area to a large number of conceptual areas
	Specification	The meaning is restricted to a specific target domain or domain area, which is often more limited than the original scope of application
	Reduction to important aspect	The meaning is substituted by a part of it or a related aspect that symbolises it, based on experiential correlation
	Domain to domain	The meaning is transferred from one domain to another with approximately the same extension
Conceptual and phonetic level	Pun	Both features from the source domain and features related to the phonetic form of the metaphor vehicle are mapped
Direction of mapping	Reversed metaphor	Transfers features from the target domain to the source domain

At the level of conceptual scope, the phenomena of generalisation, specification, reduction to an important aspect and ordinary domain-to-domain changes have been observed. Generalisation occurs when the application of the meaning is broadened from a restricted conceptual area to a large number of conceptual areas. The opposite effect is specification. Here, the meaning is restricted to a specific target domain or domain area, which is often more limited than the original scope of application of the metaphor vehicle. In the cases of reduction to an important aspect, a part or an essential related concept symbolically substitutes the target concept. The default type at the level of conceptual scope is a domain change, where the mapped features are transferred to a different but approximately equivalent domain in terms of size and structure. The mapping scheme ‘reduction to an important aspect’ is necessarily linked to an experiential correlation. All other mapping schemes at this level can theoretically co-occur with any of the types of mapped features (abstract resemblance, physical resemblance and experiential correlation). As far as ontological metaphors are concerned, my intuition is that most of these undergo a typical ‘domain change’ in the metaphorical process. However, further research would be necessary to confirm this hypothesis.

As far as puns and their interrelation with mapping schemes at other levels are concerned, there seems to be no restriction. Any of the aforementioned schemes could, in theory, be combined with a homophone or similar phonetic effect. Since there are puns that draw on phonetic aspects and others that play with double meanings, puns might provide research material for studies into reversed metaphor.

In the following sections, the results from the sample corpora are presented and discussed in groups as per the mapping schemes that occur at the same level. Finally, the relations between some of the mapping schemes across these levels are shown.

### ***6.5.1. Mappings based on the types of mapped features***

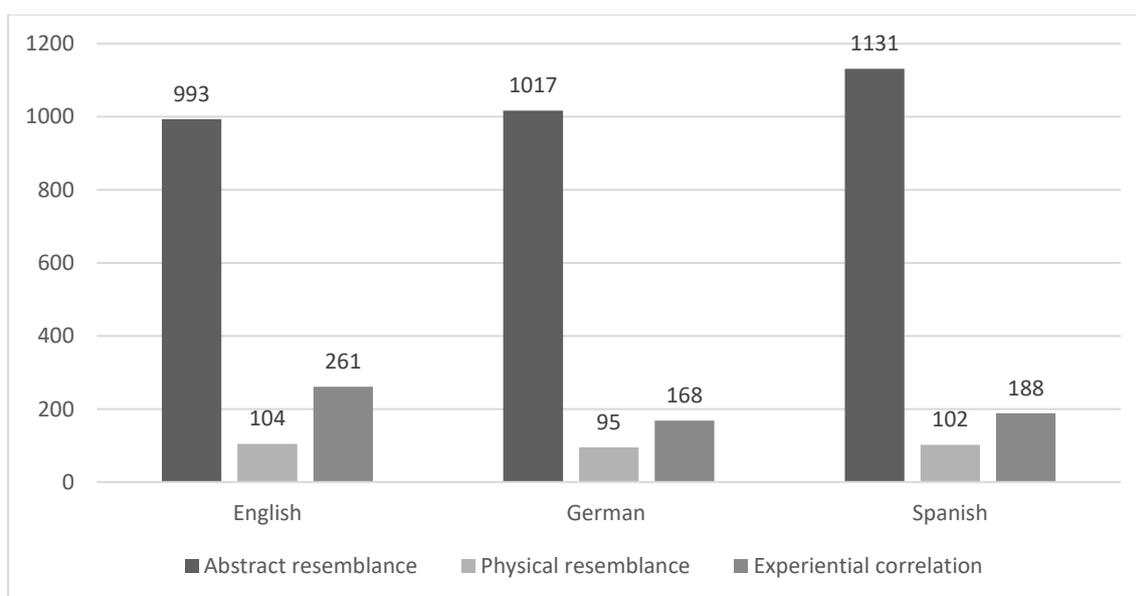
As can be seen from Table 6.29. and Figure 6.14., the distribution of the mapping schemes ‘abstract resemblance’, ‘physical resemblance’ and ‘experiential correlation’ is similar in English, German and Spanish. In all three languages, abstract resemblance is the predominant mapping scheme with regard to the type of mapped feature. There were 993 cases in English, 1017 in German and 1131 in Spanish. This confirms Newmark’s ([1981] 1986:84-85) observation that a metaphorical image is more often chosen for its connotations than for its physical resemblance. Experiential correlation is the underlying motivation of 261 linguistic metaphors in English, 168 in German and 188 in Spanish, thus being the second most frequent category. The least frequent group is made up of metaphors based on physical resemblance with 104 cases in English, 95 in

German and 188. The sums at the bottom of the table are slightly higher than the number of identified metaphors since double mappings<sup>70</sup> have been taken into account.

**Table 6.29. Mapping schemes based on type of mapped feature in sample corpora**

Mapping scheme	English	German	Spanish
Abstract resemblance	993	1017	1131
Physical resemblance	104	95	102
Experiential correlation	261	168	188
<b>Total</b>	1358	1280	1421

Within the category ‘abstract resemblance’, the Spanish corpus yielded most metaphors in absolute numbers, and the English corpus the least. With reference to physical resemblance, the English and the Spanish corpora produced almost the same number of metaphors, 104 and 102. The German sample corpus contains 95 physical resemblance metaphors, only slightly less than the other two languages. Regarding experiential correlation, the English corpus is in first position with 261 metaphor vehicles, followed at a distance by the Spanish corpus with 188, and German with 168 metaphor vehicles.



**Figure 6.15. Mapping schemes based on type of mapped feature in sample corpora**

Since the density of lexical units and metaphorical language varied in the three sample corpora, percentages of the numbers given above were calculated and displayed in Table 6.30. The proportions are almost identical for German and Spanish. English on the contrary shows a slightly lower percentage of metaphors based on abstract resemblance. The percentage for physical resemblance metaphors is only slightly higher than in German and Spanish. The proportion of experiential correlation metaphors,

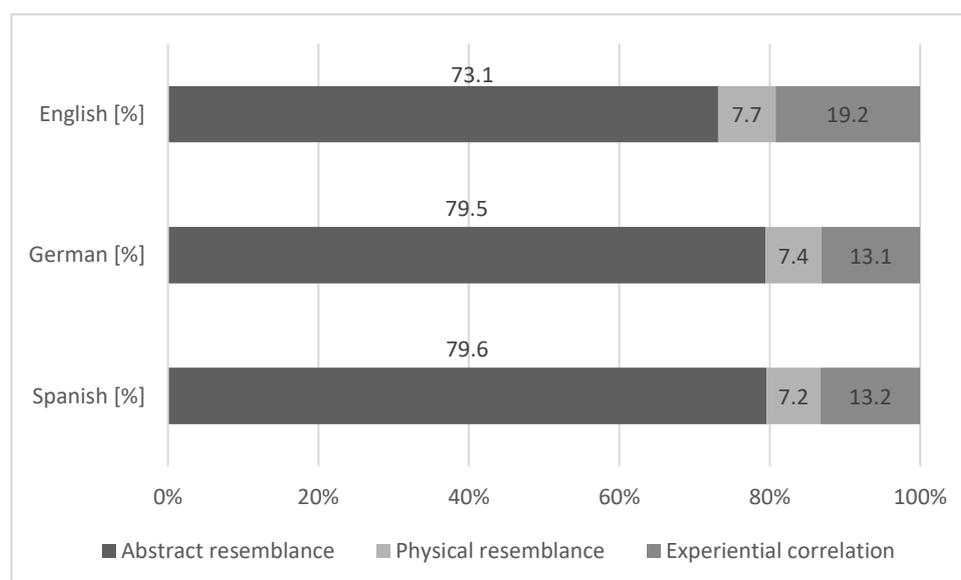
<sup>70</sup> A metaphor vehicles can sometimes express two metaphorical mappings. In the phrase “the trail **brings together** Sunderland’s past and present”, the verb instantiates a personification of the subject and, at the same time, a reification of the objects, ‘past’ and ‘present’.

however, exceeds the other languages by almost 50%, with 19.2% in English compared to 13.1% in German and 13.2% in Spanish.

**Table 6.30. Percentages of mapping schemes based on type of mapped feature in sample corpora**

Mapping scheme	English [%]	German [%]	Spanish [%]
Abstract resemblance	73.1	79.5	79.6
Physical resemblance	7.7	7.4	7.2
Experiential correlation	19.2	13.1	13.2
Total	100	100	100

Figure 6.16. illustrates the high degree of similarity in the distribution of the mapped features. At the same time it highlights the predominance of abstract features in the metaphorical mappings of our tourism promotional website corpora.



**Figure 6.16. Percentages of mapping schemes based on type of mapped feature in sample corpora**

The main difference in this set of results can be found in the proportion of experiential correlation metaphors, which is notably higher in English. A look into our research data reveals that English seems to use certain metaphorical adjectives more often than German and Spanish. This is the case for adjectives from the domain of size and height, such as ‘big’, ‘wide’ or ‘top’ to highlight quality, as well as for the metaphor vehicles ‘to love’ and ‘lover’ with objects other than a person. In addition, there are 27 metaphors in English based on experiential correlations that are used for modelling in

space, while in German there are only nine such metaphors, and in Spanish only 2. Several factors can help explain these differences. Firstly, the English texts often distinguish between a short and a long stay, which is not observed in the other two corpora. Secondly, more text is dedicated to attractions that simulate a journey in time in the English and German corpora than in the Spanish corpus. Finally, the use of these experiential-correlation metaphors for modelling in space is often expressed through the particle ‘back’, which is an easy and quick way of underlining the age of an object or the time when an event happened, which is not easily recreated in Spanish and German due to the lack of such a particle.

Mapping scheme	Sample sentence	Grounds
Abstract resemblance	Chris Tuckley is Acting <b>Head</b> of Interpretation at York Archaeological Trust, [...]	Same function: makes decisions
Abstract resemblance	Unterirdische Gänge, Tunnel oder Räume – das <b>riecht</b> nach Geheimnis und Abenteuer. [Underground passageways, tunnels or rooms – that <b>smells</b> of secret and adventure.]	Same effect: makes you think that something exists somewhere
Physical resemblance	Climb to the top for a panoramic view of the gardens or descend underground to a tunnel that leads to a waterfall in the <b>sunken</b> garden.	Looks like at the bottom of a body of water or a depression
Physical resemblance	Acaricie la escarpada silueta verde del Pirineo, y observe cómo se <b>ondula</b> [...] [Caress the rugged green silhouette of the Pyrenees, and observe how it <b>undulates</b> ...]	Looks like waves
Experiential correlation	The county is synonymous with the sport of kings, with no fewer than nine <b>top</b> class courses - more than any other region in the UK	GOOD IS UP
Experiential correlation	With a whole <b>host</b> of trails around the city and county, exploring our heritage doesn't have to cost the earth!	Impressive because of large number
Experiential correlation	For <b>lovers</b> of good food and wine - the region offers a wide variety of restaurants and pubs	Similar emotional response

**Table 6.31. Examples of metaphors based on abstract resemblance, physical resemblance and experiential correlation**

Given that the distribution of mapping schemes at the level of transferred features is roughly the same in all three languages and the differences that have been detected partially depend on the topics treated and their typical vocabulary rather than on stylistic preferences, there seem to be no significant consequences for translation. It is to be expected that the type of mapped feature (abstract, physical or correlational) is maintained in a translation. If a metaphorical translation equivalent cannot be found, the information contained in the mapping should be transmitted by the non-metaphorical

translation equivalent as far as possible. This, however, concerns the conceptual content and, therefore, applies to all three kinds of mapping that have been discussed in this section alike.

### 6.5.2. *The conceptual scope of the mapping*

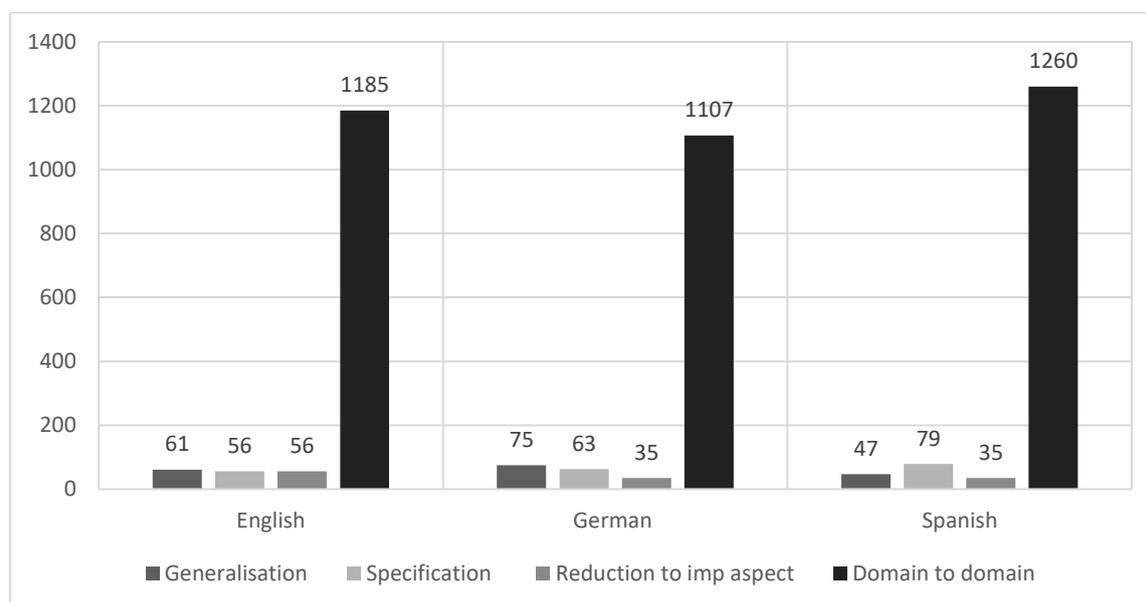
Not all mappings involve the same scopes of conceptual domains. Some metaphors transfer features from a limited domain area to a wide range of conceptual domains, producing a generalisation of the vehicle's meaning. Others change and limit the meaning, while maintaining the mapped features, by specification. Yet other mappings are greatly reduced in that the features of one part or of a somehow related concept of the target domain highlights certain aspects of the latter. For instance, *im Auge behalten* [keep in your eye] is synonymous with *im Blickfeld behalten* [keep in your field of vision], but the connotations of *Auge* as a body part map a higher degree of activeness and responsibility than *Blickfeld* [field of vision]. The simple transfer from one domain to another that is similar in size is not marked in the analytical process since it seems to be the default situation. It has been completed here to show the overall proportions. As displayed in Table 6.32., these domain-to-domain mappings constitute the largest group in all three languages with 1185 cases in English, 1107 cases in German and 1260 cases in Spanish. For the remaining categories, the three languages show differing distributions. As the second most frequent group, generalisation of the conceptual scope is observed for 61 metaphors in English. Specification and reduction to an important aspect are equally frequent in the English corpus with 56 cases. In German, the second most frequent group are generalisation metaphors (75), followed by specification metaphors (63 cases). The least frequent group is metaphors based on reduction to an important aspect. In the Spanish sample corpus, the order of the least frequent mappings at this level is specification (79 cases), generalisation (47 cases) and reduction to an important aspect (35 cases).

**Table 6.32. Mapping schemes based on conceptual scope in sample corpora**

	English	German	Spanish
Generalisation	61	75	47
Specification	56	63	79
Reduction to imp aspect	56	35	35
Domain to domain	1185	1107	1260
<b>Total</b>	1358	1280	1421

As can be seen in Figure 6.17., the vast majority of metaphors present a simple domain-to-domain mapping. Generalisation is most frequent in absolute numbers in the German

corpus, specification in the Spanish corpus and reduction to an important aspect in English. These relations are maintained when the frequencies are expressed in percentages, as in Table 6.33.



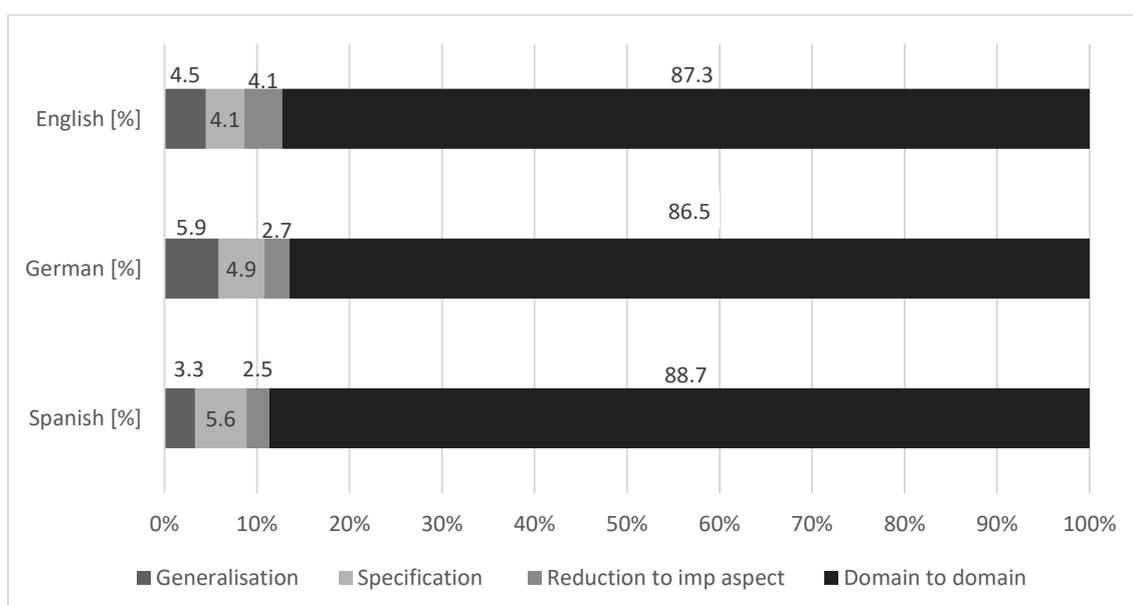
**Figure 6.17. Mapping schemes based on conceptual scope in sample corpora**

**Table 6.33. Percentages of mapping schemes based on conceptual scope in sample corpora**

	English [%]	German [%]	Spanish [%]
<b>Generalisation</b>	4.5	5.9	3.3
<b>Specification</b>	4.1	4.9	5.6
<b>Reduction to imp. Aspect</b>	4.1	2.7	2.5
<b>Domain to domain</b>	87.3	86.5	88.7
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100

The distributions of mapping schemes observed at the level of conceptual scope are similar for the three languages, despite minor differences. In English, generalisation is found in metaphor vehicles, such as ‘rich’, ‘highlight’, ‘icon’, ‘wealth’, ‘treasure’ or ‘harmony’, that is, in source concepts with a very positive feature that is then mapped onto target concepts from all kinds of domains. At times two features are mapped, as in ‘vintage’ where both the aspect of age and high quality are transferred from wine to different kinds of objects. Not all mapped features in the English corpus are positive in meaning. In the case of ‘challenge’, it is the emotional stress that is projected onto the target domain, while in other generalisation metaphors quantity and importance are mapped. German shares some of the English generalisation metaphors, such as *Harmonie* [harmony], *Herausforderung* [challenge] or *Schatz* [treasure]. Generalisation metaphors in the German corpus cover a wider range of semantic areas and mapped

features than the other two languages. For instance, *Entdeckung* [discovery] maps the newness and positive emotional experience, *bunt* [colourful] maps variety, *Spur* [traces/footprints] maps the consequences of something that is no longer present, etc. In the Spanish corpus, as in the English, many of the generalisation metaphors draw on source concepts from the domain of material wealth, such as *rico* [rich], *riqueza* [wealth], *tesoro* [treasure], *joya* [gem]. Other source concepts of generalisation metaphors are *protagonista* [protagonist], *protagonismo* [protagonism], *culture* [cultura], *fuelle* [source] and *reto* [challenge]. A small subgroup of the generalisation metaphors identified in our corpora can also be described as GENERIC-IS-SPECIFIC metaphors as described by Grady (1999). For instance, English uses ‘hoards’ or ‘host’ to describe a large number of a wide range of things that are neither saved and hidden nor soldiers. In German, several novel metaphors can be understood in terms of GENERIC IS SPECIFIC. For example, the sports term *Auszeit* [timeout] is used in the sense of break. In another text, after wars and an epidemic in the history of a town are mentioned, the situation is commented on with the following words *ein Wunder, dass durch solche **Fluten** die Stadt nicht ganz in Grund gerissen wurde* [it is a miracle that the town was not completely erased through such **floods**]. Here, *Fluten* [floods] stands for disasters.



**Figure 6.18. Percentages of mapping schemes based on conceptual scope in sample corpora**

Metaphorical mappings that produce a specification of the conceptual scope do not show clear patterns but draw from a wide range of source concepts. Some examples from the English corpus are ‘(wheelchair-) **accessible**’, ‘industrial **revolution**’, ‘gift **hunter**’ or ‘river **bus**’. German examples are *Publikumsmagnet* [audience magnet], *Stadtkern* [city core = innercity], *Kulturzentrum* [cultural centre] or *Baumkrone* [tree crown]. There is a greater share of conventionalised specification metaphors in German

than in English. This is also the case for Spanish with such typical compound nouns as *cámara de fotos* [(foto) camera], *parque infantil* [children's park = playground] and *reserva natural* [nature reserve].

Among the metaphors that are based on reduction to an important aspect, a surprisingly large proportion uses the same mapping scheme in all three languages. This is the case for 'digital music', 'film festival', or 'green spaces'. Other metaphors belonging to this group are expressed in a different way linguistically or conceptually: 'Live music' is based on a calque in German (*Live-Musik*), but uses a prepositional construction in Spanish (*música en vivo* [=in alive]), while 'organically grown food' is *Biolebensmittel* [Bio(logically grown)-food] in German and *comida ecológica* [ecological food] in Spanish. Just like specification metaphors, reduction metaphors draw on a wide range of source domains and are applied to a wide range of target concepts. Both conventional and novel metaphors can be found in this category in all three languages. What all these reduction-metaphors have in common is that the connection between the metaphor vehicle and the target concept needs to be obvious.

**Table 6.34. Examples of metaphors based on generalisation, specification and reduction to important aspect**

Mapping scheme	Sample sentence	Grounds
Generalisation	Visit Hackney's hip Broadway Market on a Saturday for 100 stalls selling food, drink, fresh produce and <b>vintage</b> clothing.	Old, but good quality (from wine to many products)
Generalisation	Romanische und gotische Stilelemente verschmelzen im Münster zu einer seltenen <b>Harmonie</b> [Romanic and gothic elements blend in rare harmony at the minster]	Agreeable combination (from music to arts, architecture, relationships, ...)
Specification	Sites are chosen so that they can be seen from a wheelchair- <b>navigable</b> path or area, ...	Can be travelled by a certain kind of vehicle
Specification	... sus tabernas donde las anécdotas de los viejos <b>lobos</b> de mar os acompañarán, ... [... its taverns, where the anecdotes of old sea wolves (= sea dogs) will accompany you, ...]	Astuteness (due to experience), looks (greyish hair, weathered appearance)
Reduction to important aspect	... there's a short <b>blue</b> trail of 4.5 miles to try.	Trails with an intermediate level of difficulty are marked in blue on maps
Reduction to important aspect	In Jüterbog könnte jederzeit sofort ein Mittelalterfilm <b>gedreht</b> werden. [In Jüterbog, a film on the Middle Ages could be <b>turned</b> (= shot) any time without preparation.]	In old cameras, the film roll had to be moved by turning a handle

The described metaphor types have different implications for translation. The fact that generalisation metaphors usually transfer one highly salient feature to the target domain makes it relatively easy to find a substitute, which maps the same quality if the metaphor vehicle cannot be translated literally. Linguistic metaphors deriving from GENERIC IS SPECIFIC offer the possibility to substitute one specific concept of the generic group by another if the concept used in the source text does not work in the target language. Metaphors that are based on specification often designate a very specific concept which has a standard translation equivalent. In the case of novel specification metaphors, both the target domain and the mapped feature(s) should be reflected in the translation if a new term needs to be coined. With regard to metaphors based on reduction to an important aspect, it is more difficult to make recommendations. If there is an equivalent metaphor in the target language or the connection between the metaphor vehicle and the target concept is evident for the target readership, the translation should not pose any problems except for cases in which the metaphor vehicle has a specific function in the text. If a literal translation is not understandable because the target culture has a different conceptual understanding of the source and/ or target concept, the translator will have to choose from a range of solutions that include a non-metaphorical translation of the sense, paraphrasing, or substitution by another type of metaphor, to name just a few.

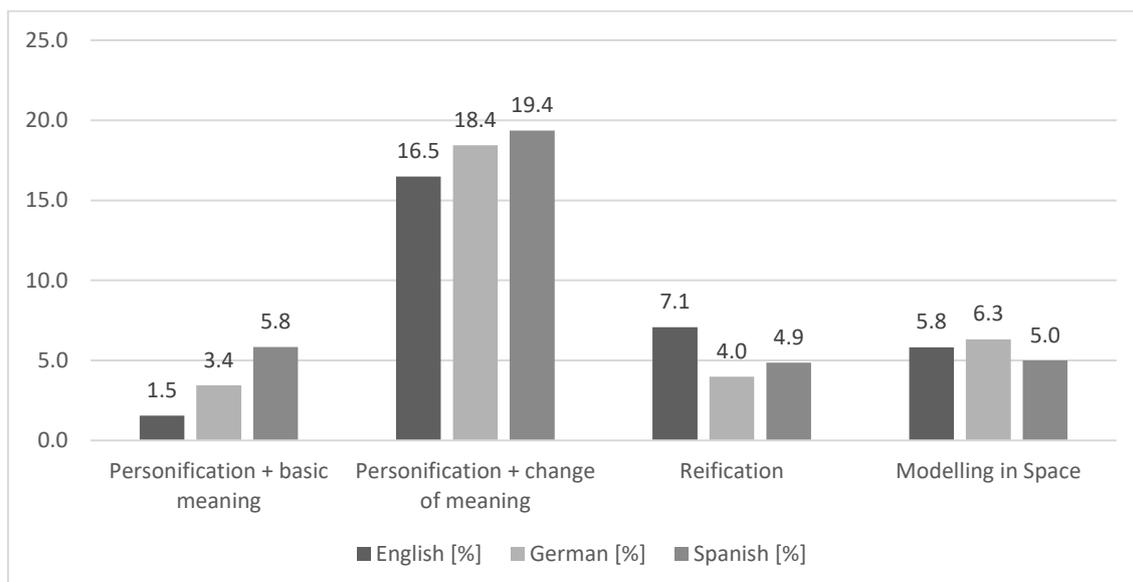
### ***6.5.3. The domain areas of the mapping***

Ontological metaphor structures one domain with the help of another domain. The most well-known ontological metaphor might be personification which maps structures from the domain 'Person' onto objects, places, and sometimes even abstract concepts. This mapping scheme accounts for 18 % of all metaphors in the English sample corpus (245 cases), 21.8 % or 280 cases in German and 25.2% or 358 cases in in the Spanish corpus. During the analysis and in Table 6.35., personification was split up into two categories: personification with a change of meaning, which is detected by the MIP procedure, and personification with the basic meaning, which is an addition to MIP that was introduced for the present study. This addition consists of marking as a personification all those metaphor vehicles that still fulfil the basic sense description, but whose subject cannot truly perform the action expressed by the verb because it lacks certain properties or abilities that a person typically has. Personification with basic meaning is less frequent than personification with a change of meaning, where the basic sense description of the metaphor vehicle can no longer be applied without adjustments. In English, the former category constitutes only 1.5% of all metaphor vehicles. In German it is relatively more frequent, with 3.4%. The Spanish sample corpus contained most personifications with basic meaning both in absolute numbers, 83 cases, and expressed as a percentage, 5.8%

**Table 6.35. Mapping schemes based on large domain areas in sample corpora**

	English		German		Spanish	
Personification + basic meaning	21	1.5%	44	3.4%	83	5.8%
Personification + change of meaning	224	16.5%	236	18.4%	275	19.4%
Total personification	245	18.0%	280	21.8%	358	25.2%
Reification	96	7.1%	51	4.0%	69	4.9%
Modelling in space	79	5.8%	81	6.3%	71	5.0%

Reification, the treatment of abstract concepts, and sometimes people, as though they were objects, is a little less common than personification. In the English sample corpus, reification accounted for 96 metaphor vehicles (7.1%). In German, it was only 51 metaphor vehicles (4.0%). Spanish was in between the English and German numbers, with 71 reifications, or 4.9% of all metaphor vehicles. Modelling in space was approximately as common as reification across the three languages. In English, the percentage of modelling in space, 5.8%, was a little lower than the percentage of reification, 7.1%. In the German sample corpus, modelling in space was more common than reification (6.3% as opposed to 4.0%). Finally, in the Spanish sample corpus, the numbers for these two categories were almost identical: modelling in space accounted for 5.0% of all identified linguistic metaphors, 0.1% more than reification. The percentages are also reflected in Figure 6.19. Newmark ([1981] 1986:85) once stated that "[t]he vast majority of metaphors are either anthropomorphic (personification), the first process, or reific (mental to physical), the converse process, both processes reinforcing the emotive effect." In our corpora the proportion of all personifications and reifications taken together amounts to 25.1% in English, 25.8% in German and 30.1% in Spanish, which would not normally be considered the vast majority. Moreover, the analysis of discursive functions revealed that personification contributes greatly to economy of speech.

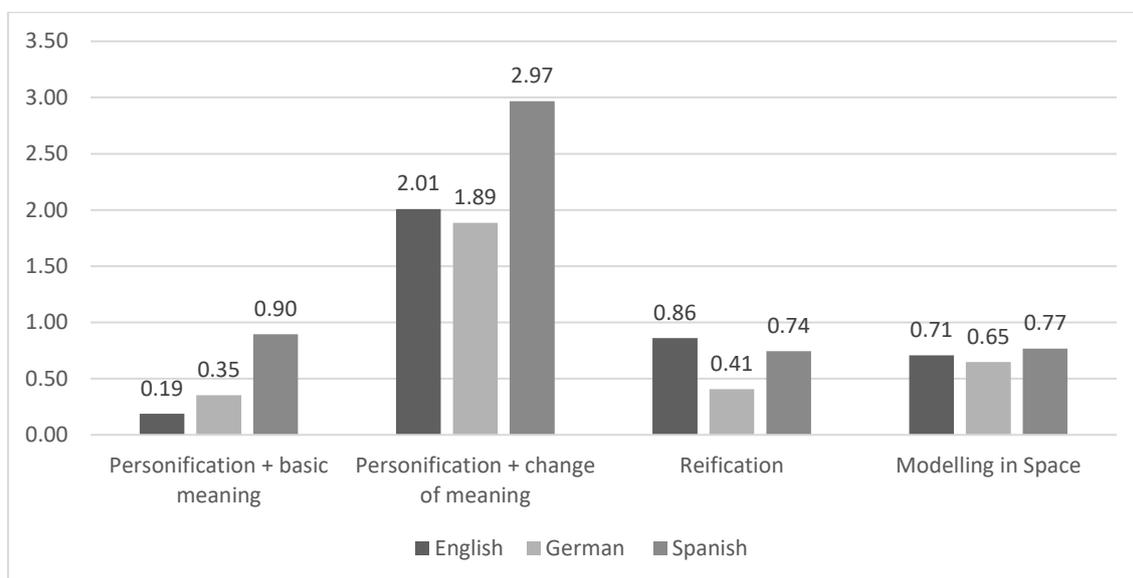


**Figure 6.19. Mapping schemes based on large domain areas in sample corpora**

There is a large number of ontological metaphors, and the ones contemplated here are only a few especially extensive categories that are of interest to this study. For this reason, it may be useful to normalise the results over 100 lexical units in addition to the percentages. This will make it easier to compare them to other studies in the future. When comparing Figure 6.19. and Figure 6.20., two effects become evident. On the one hand, normalising the results makes the differences more notable in some cases, for example for personification with basic meaning. On the other hand, the order of the languages changes for some of the data. When the results are given as percentages of the total number of metaphors, German is in second place in the category ‘personification + change of meaning’. When the results are given per one hundred lexical units, German is the language with the least metaphors in this category. A similar effect can be observed for personification with change of meaning, where German drops from first place to third place, when changing from percentages to mappings per one hundred lexical units.

Personifications with basic meaning include two types of phrases. In the first type, an object or abstract concept is used with a verb that requires the capacity to move or to experience. The second type is borderline cases that allow for both a metaphorical and a metonymical interpretation. In the latter, the subject might be a metonymical representations of the people who work or live there, as in ‘the tearoom **serves** delicious home-made cakes.’ Both types of personifications with basic meaning contribute to economy of speech and can be illustrating. Examples of both these functions can be found in all three corpora. In Spanish, a group of verbs in this mapping scheme category is noteworthy: *llevar* [carry/ take], *llegar* [arrive/reach] and *descender* [descend] describe routes, paths and the like in the corpus. This is a common practice in Spanish. However, this use in which a way is outlined is not covered by any independent sense

description in the Spanish dictionary. The basic sense description is applicable in the context but contains another personification. That is, it could not be carried out by the subject since it lacks the ability to move or the intelligence to guide a person. In conclusion, the higher proportion of personifications with basic meaning in Spanish might be a consequence of the way the sense description in the dictionary is formulated.



**Figure 6.20. Mapping schemes based on large domain areas/ 100 lexical units**

Personifications with change of meaning show very similar characteristics to those with basic meaning. On the one hand, there is a large group of verbs referring to physical activities that is used to describe the physical features of objects and places, such as ‘to build’, ‘to run’, ‘to pass through’, ‘to follow’, ‘to wend’, *führen* [to guide], *stehen* [to stand], *bilden* [to form], *begleiten* [to accompany], or *conducir* [to conduct], *continuar* [to continue] and *seguir* [to follow]. On the other hand, there are words that require will, conscience or other things that are only typical of living beings. Examples are ‘to enjoy’, ‘glory’, *warten* [to wait], *versprechen* [to promise], or *querer* [to want/ love], *invitar* [to invite], *albergar* [to host], etc. Personifications with change of meaning also share their main functions with personification with basic meaning. They mostly help to increase economy of speech and/ or have an illustrating function.

With regard to translation, the three languages seem to share many of the personifications found in the corpora as well as the main functions of this kind of metaphor. Thus, if a literal translation sounds odd in the target language, the translator might want to concentrate on the main functions of the metaphor in question and try to reproduce these in the target language. Adding a personification with basic meaning not contained in the source text during the translation into Spanish does not seem to be a problem since the target readership is accustomed to and even expects this kind of language on promotional tourism websites. Accordingly, when translating from Spanish into the other two languages, the suppression of a personification will usually not be

problematic and will, in fact, lower the number of personifications to what is usual on English and German tourism websites.

As far as reification is concerned, many of the metaphors in this category in all three languages belong to one of the following three groups: high frequency verbs, the adjective ‘full’/ *voll*/ *lleno* including synonyms, and vocabulary that describes the handling and mixing of substances. In English, these high frequency verbs seem to be more common in reifications than in German and Spanish. In the English corpus, ‘give’, ‘hold’ and ‘take’ in particular are used in order to form expressions, such as ‘give an experience’, ‘hold an event’, and ‘take a tour’. In the German corpus, it is mainly the verbs *halten* [to hold] and *geben* [to give] that fulfil the same function in expressions such as *eine Ansprache halten* [hold a speech] or *Einblick geben* [give insight]. The equivalents in the Spanish corpus are *dar* [to give] and, to a lesser degree, *tomar* [to take] which are used in expressions, such as *dar paseos* [to give walks = take walks] or *tomar influencias* [take influences]. The second notable group of metaphors is formed by adjectives, such as ‘full’, ‘packed’ in English, or its Spanish equivalents *lleno* and *repleto*. The German adjective *voll* is especially frequent with 24 occurrences, almost all of them in compound adjectives, such as *liebevoll* [full of love/ loving], *genussvoll* [full of pleasure/ pleasant], *eindrucksvoll* [full of impressions/ impressive], *stimmungsvoll* [full of atmosphere], *wechsellvoll* [full of changes]. The last big group within reification is that of verbs and nouns associated with handling and mixing objects and substances. Examples are ‘team **building**’, ‘**operate** a policy’, ‘**share** the same ideology’, *Stadtführungen **zusammenstellen*** [put together guided tours], ***sacar** su tradición* [take out one’s tradition (= to display it publicly)], ***perder** la esencia* [lose the essence], ***mezcla** de culturas* [mix of cultures], ***reunir** el misterio y la historia* [bring together mystery and history]. What stands out in the Spanish corpus with respect to reification is the repeated use of *grande* [big] with abstract concepts, such as *prestigio* [prestige], *atractivo* [attractiveness, attraction] or *devoción* [devotion]. The Spanish corpus contains sixteen uses of *grande* in reifications. This is mainly due to the fact that the senses of ‘big’ and ‘great’ are conflated in the adjective *grande* in Spanish. In our study, depersonification metaphors are included in the category ‘reification’. These metaphors, which treat human beings like objects, are scarce in our corpora and usually belong to the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE MACHINES.

As far as translation is concerned, most reification metaphors in our corpora involve abstract concepts and are necessary to express the otherwise inexpressible. They are highly likely to have translation equivalents that are also based on reifications. Which verb or noun is typically used with a specific abstract concept is a matter of convention and can be researched with the help of a collocation dictionary, a reference corpus, a competent native speaker or, if all else fails, the internet can act as a mega-corpus. This will help to improve the adequacy and naturalness of the target text. In the translation of novel reification metaphors and those with a special intra-textual function, the translator

might want to reproduce the mapped features and this intra-textual function in the target text as far as possible.

Metaphors based on modelling in space draw on vocabulary from the domain Space. In our corpora, this vocabulary included nouns such as ‘journey’/ *Reise/ viaje*, ‘course’/ *Lauf/ -*, a wide range verbs of motion and transport, and adjectives, such as ‘long’/ *lang/ largo*, and ‘short’/ *kurz/ -*, or [close] */nah/ cercano* and ‘distant’/ *- / remote*. As can be seen from these examples, the three languages share many metaphor vehicles in this field. A remarkable difference is the extensive use of ‘back’, which is hardly mirrored in German, where it can be expressed with the prefix *zurück*, and which does not have a grammatical equivalent in Spanish. This is usually compensated for in translations with a series of motion verbs that contain either the syllable *re-* or the conceptual information of a turn or regression. Examples are *regresar* [return], *volver* [turn] and *remontar* [ascend/go back]. With reference to translation, there seems to be a large overlap in the three languages. Due to the high frequency of particles, such as ‘back’, in general language, trained translators are used to making the corresponding morphosyntactic transformations in order to convey the same meaning while complying with the grammatical rules of the target language. In the case of less frequent metaphor vehicles in this field, the collocational acceptability of the translation should be checked when translating into a non-mother tongue.

**Table 6.36. Examples of metaphors based on personification, reification and modelling in space**

Mapping scheme	Sample sentence	Grounds
Personification + basic meaning	The quintessentially English tradition of afternoon tea <b>is experiencing</b> something of a revival	Experiencing something = being the object of an event or situation
Personification + basic meaning	... the walls you build are left standing, <b>shaping</b> the Yorkshire countryside	To be the cause of a shape/ look
Personification + basic meaning	El otoño <b>pinta</b> el hayedo de cientos de tonalidades de ocre y rojo, además de <b>llenar</b> sus suelos de setas. [Fall <b>paints</b> the beech forest in hundreds of shades of ochre and red, besides <b>filling</b> the soil with mushrooms.]	To cause a change in colour/ to cause the soil to be full of something
Personification + change of meaning	Bexhill, the <b>birthplace</b> of British motor racing.	Place where something started to exist in the world
Personification + change of meaning	Raureif bedeckt Wiesen und Bäume, im Wald <b>herrscht</b> erholsame Stille ... [Hoar frost covers meadows and trees, silence <b>governs</b> in the forest ...]	To have a bigger influence/ impact than anybody/ anything else in an area
Reification	Here in Lancashire we’ve got everything you could possible want, ranging from fun <b>packed</b> theme parks	Existence of a lot of something somewhere

	and hands-on museums to...	
Reification	Mit dem aktuellen Projekt „Reisen für Alle“ können Menschen mit Handicap, [...] auf einheitlich geprüfte Informationen <b>zugreifen</b>  [With the current project ‘Travelling for Everyone’, people with a handicap ... can <b>get a hold</b> of consistently verified information.]	When you get a hold of something, you actively get something you didn’t have
Modelling in space	If you are looking to easily browse and securely book from a wide range of Bristol hotels, you’ve <b>come</b> to the right <b>place</b> .	WEBSITES ARE PLACES, charging one is going there
Modelling in space	La muestra <b>recorre</b> los siglos medievales ...  [The exhibition runs through (= explores) the Medieval centuries ...]	TIME IS SPACE, dealing with contents in like moving in them

#### 6.5.4. Special cases: pun and reversed metaphor

Those metaphors that draw on double meanings or phonetic effects have been labelled ‘puns’. All examples found in the corpora are shown in Table 6.37. below. ‘Culture vulture’ exploits a rhyme, while in ‘Roam with a Roman’, the defensive construction known as Hadrian’s Wall is referred to as a ‘Roman’ because it involves the repetition of a phonetic syllable. The metaphor found in the German corpus is a more classical example of a pun. “*Ich zeige dir **Gleitzeit** auf Bayerisch*” means ‘I’ll show you (*Gleitzeit*) in Bavarian’. In contemporary German, *Gleitzeit* stands for flexible working hours, but the word can also be decomposed into *Gleit-* [sliding] and *Zeit* [time], a time for gliding. This was a caption in a website text about Alfons Dorner, a champion at cross-country skiing. In this context *gleiten* refers to the sports and the way the skiers seem to glide through the landscape. Since a word that is habitually used metaphorically has been forced into a literal interpretation of its components, this is also an example of reversed metaphor.

The Spanish corpus does not contain any puns, but two cases of reversed metaphor which both belong to the same lemma, *transcurrir* [elapse]. Nowadays, this verb is usually only used for time and related aspects. For Spanish speakers, the etymological origin is clearly visible in the prefix *trans-* and the root that originally comes from *correr* [to run]. By using this verb it is clear that it describes the cycling route and, at the same time, it evokes moving, not static pictures of the route unfolding between water reservoirs or along the coast. This, of course, is an interpretation, and we cannot be absolutely sure that this was the motivation for using *transcurrir* and not a more common verb. Nevertheless, it is a dead metaphor used in its originally literal sense. The reversal of metaphor has also been described by Goatly (1997:66).

Table 6.37. Examples of metaphors based on pun and reversed metaphors

Mapping scheme	Sample sentence	Grounds
Pun	Roam with a <b>Roman</b> Walk Hadrian's Wall [...]	Hadrian's wall was built by the Romans
Pun	ideal for culture <b>vultures</b>	Looks for something in order to devour it
Pun / reversed metaphors	" <i>Ich zeige dir <b>Gleitzeit</b> auf Bayerisch.</i> " [ I'll show you gliding time/flexible working hours in Bavarian. – caption of article on ski-champion, with a photo showing him on skis]	Gleitzeit means flexible working hours, but can also be read literally as a time for gliding in the snow
Reversed metaphor	<i>hay diferentes rutas que <b>transcurren</b> entre los embalses de La Noguera</i> [there are different routes that <b>elapse</b> /run in between the water resevoirs of La Noguera]	The activation of the elapsing of time invokes moving instead of static pictures
Reversed metaphor	<i>hay varios recorridos en BTT que atraviesan sectores montañosos y otros que <b>transcurren</b> a pie de playa.</i> [there are several mountain bike itineraries that pass through mountainous areas and others that <b>elapse</b> /unfold at beach level]	The activation of the elapsing of time invokes moving instead of static pictures

### 6.5.5. Relationship between mapped feature and other schemes

It was found that mappings can be categorised according to at least three criteria: the type of feature that is mapped, the conceptual scopes of the source and target meaning, and the large domain areas that are involved. Since these occur at different levels, they can take place simultaneously. In Table 6.38., the relationships between the type of mapping and the other mapping schemes have been summarised. The letters 'AR' stand for abstract resemblance. 'PR' stands for physical resemblance, and 'EC' for experiential correlation. Special cases, i.e. pun and reversed metaphor, have been included in the table. The results are given both in absolute numbers and metaphors per one hundred lexical units in the column to the right. The numbers in bold indicate the highest absolute number and the highest normalised frequency per one hundred lexical units (as defined in the methodology).

Among the standard mappings, labelled 'domain to domain', the distribution of abstract resemblance, physical resemblance and experiential correlation is roughly the same as for all three sample corpora, with abstract resemblance being the most numerous group and physical resemblance the least. Spanish presents the highest absolute number of domain-to-domain AR mappings with 1047 cases and 11.30 metaphors per 100 lexical units. In abstract resemblance metaphors, the source and the target domain have similar non-physical features, similar functions, similar results or effects, similar processes or a

similar inner structure. That means that, on Spanish promotional tourism websites, it is mainly these characteristics that are described and highlighted with the help of metaphor, and this happens more often per one-hundred lexical units than in either the German (7.22/ 100 LU) or the English corpus (8.08/100 LU). With regard to domain-to-domain PR metaphors, the English sample corpus presents the highest absolute number (92) and normalised frequency (0.82/ 100 LU). These metaphors describe and highlight with the help of physical features, such as size, shape, colour, touch and overall appearance. That means that English relies more on physical features for purposes of illustration, highlighting and economy of speech on its promotional tourism websites than German (0.68 metaphors/100 LU) and Spanish (0.66 metaphors/ 100 LU). Also, with respect to domain-to-domain EC mappings, it is the English corpus that contains the highest number of metaphors (165) and presents the highest normalised frequency (1.48/100 LU), followed closely by Spanish (1.45/100 LU). German makes considerably less use of this kind of mapping with 0.88 metaphors/ 100 LU. Since experiential correlation draws on emotional and bodily responses to experiences, often resulting from physical interaction with the world, one might say that the texts on the English and Spanish websites try to put their readers in contact with their feelings in order to achieve their goals to a higher degree than the German websites do. After all, Germans have a reputation of suppressing their feelings. The extensive use of abstract mappings reflects the more literary style in Spanish that seems to strive for a higher register. Meanwhile, the relatively higher use of physical resemblance mappings and experiential correlation in the English corpus points to a plainer style, which is also reflected in the low proportion of novel metaphor and the low lemma/token ratio for metaphor vehicles.

Regarding generalisation, abstract resemblance was once again the strongest subgroup with normalised frequencies of 0.44 metaphors/ 100 LU in English and 0.50 metaphors/ 100 LU in both German and Spanish. These metaphor vehicles are often from the field of material wealth, and even those from other semantic fields usually map one very salient positive feature to its target concepts. There were hardly any generalisation metaphors based on physical resemblance: only the German corpus contained one (*Landschaftsszenerie* [landscape scenery]<sup>71</sup>). This seems logical since Generalisation draws less often on experiential correlation in English (12 cases, 0.11/100 LU) and German (11 cases, 0.9/100 LU) and seldom at all in the Spanish corpus (1 case). With respect to cross-linguistic differences, one can observe that there are relatively fewer generalisation metaphors in Spanish (which had the largest number of metaphors overall) and that Spanish seems to draw less often on experiential correlations for generalisation metaphors. However, this conclusion is based on a relatively small subgroup of data and requires further research to allow for more reliable statements.

---

<sup>71</sup> *Szenerie* comes from the world of theatre and can be used for any place of an action or event, but in the given context, the metaphor vehicle highlighted the ideal beauty of the place, thus the resemblance with an idyllic backdrop.

Table 6.38. Mapping schemes listed by mapped feature

Mapping scheme	English		German		Spanish	
	Absolute	/ 100 LU	Absolute	/ 100 LU	Absolute	/ 100 LU
Domain to domain AR	901	8.08	903	7.22	<b>1047</b>	<b>11.30</b>
Domain to domain PR	<b>92</b>	<b>0.82</b>	85	0.68	61	0.66
Domain to domain EC	<b>192</b>	<b>1.72</b>	119	0.95	152	1.64
Generalisation AR	49	0.44	<b>63</b>	<b>0.50</b>	46	<b>0.50</b>
Generalisation PR	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00
Generalisation EC	<b>12</b>	<b>0.11</b>	11	0.09	1	0.01
Specification AR	43	0.39	<b>51</b>	<b>0.41</b>	38	<b>0.41</b>
Specification PR	12	0.11	9	0.07	<b>41</b>	<b>0.44</b>
Specification EC	1	0.01	<b>3</b>	<b>0.02</b>	0	0.00
Reduction to imp asp EC	<b>56</b>	<b>0.50</b>	35	0.28	35	0.38
Reification AR	<b>96</b>	<b>0.86</b>	51	0.41	52	0.56
Reification PR	0	0.00	0	0.00	<b>1</b>	<b>0.01</b>
Reification EC	0	0.00	0	0.00	<b>16</b>	<b>0.17</b>
Personification + basic meaning AR	21	0.19	44	0.35	<b>83</b>	<b>0.90</b>
Personification + change AR	219	1.96	234	1.87	<b>268</b>	<b>2.89</b>
Personification + change PR	5	0.04	2	0.02	<b>7</b>	<b>0.08</b>
Personification + change EC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Modelling in space AR	52	0.47	<b>72</b>	0.58	69	<b>0.74</b>
Modelling in space PR	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Modelling in space EC	<b>27</b>	<b>0.24</b>	9	0.07	2	0.02
Pun AR	<b>2</b>	<b>0.01</b>	1	0.00	0	0.00
Reversed metaphor AR	0	0.00	1	0.01	<b>2</b>	<b>0.02</b>

Specification metaphors, like standard mappings and generalisations, map mostly abstract features with 43 cases and 0.44 metaphors/ 100 LU in English, 51 cases and 0.41 metaphors /100 LU in German and 38 cases and 0.41 metaphors/ 100 LU in the Spanish corpus. The picture changes, however, with respect to the second most frequent type of mapped feature. More specification metaphors are based on physical resemblance (12 in English, 9 in German and 41 in Spanish) than on experiential correlation (1 in English, 3 in German). The large number in Spanish is partially caused by the extensive promotion of green areas in a dry country, such as Spain. The word *parque* [park] accounted for more than half of the specification metaphors based on physical resemblance (27 out of 41), forming compounds, such as *parque natural*,

*parque rural*, and *parque ecológico*. Subtracting this borderline case<sup>72</sup>, the Spanish frequency is within the same range as the English and German frequencies.

The mapping scheme ‘reduction to an important aspect’ is always based on an experiential correlation. Otherwise, the readership would not be able to make the connection between the metaphor vehicle and its target concept.

Reification predominantly maps abstract features, which stands to reason since it is mainly applied to abstract concepts. The English corpus produced the most reification metaphors that map abstract features (96 cases, 0.86 metaphors/ 100 LU). The normalised frequency for German amounted to 0.41 metaphors/ 100 lexical units and to 0.56 for Spanish. The larger number in English might be related to the larger number of verbal phrases formed with high frequency verbs, which is a less common lexical strategy in Spanish and German: the English sample corpus contains 22 metaphorically used verbal phrases compared to five in German and two in Spanish. Only the Spanish corpus yielded reific metaphors that are based on physical resemblance (1 case) and experiential correlation (16 cases). The physical resemblance metaphor was a case of economy of speech<sup>73</sup>, and all the cases of experiential correlation were the use of the adjective *grande* [big] in the sense of ‘great’.

Personification with basic meaning maps the capability of action, will or emotions onto non-living concepts. These are abstract features, so all the personification metaphors that maintain their basic meaning fall into the category of abstract resemblance, and so do most personifications with a change of meaning. Only a very reduced proportion of these metaphors are based on physical resemblance: five out of 224 in the English corpus, two out of 236 in German, and seven out of 275 in Spanish. Cases of personification with a change of meaning based on experiential correlations have not been found in any of the sample corpora. Whether a personification is categorised as occurring with basic its meaning or with a change of meaning often seems to be a matter of dictionary definitions rather than the common language users’ understanding of the concept.

Just like the other mapping schemes related to ontological metaphor, modelling in space transfers mostly abstract features. Similarly to reification, modelling in space is applied almost exclusively to abstract concepts, which explains the predominance of this kind of mapping and the absence of cases that are based on physical resemblance. Experiential correlations, to the contrary, are common in this category with 27 instantiations in the

<sup>72</sup> The basic definition in the RAE dictionary being “Espacio cercado, con vegetación, destinado a recreo o caza, generalmente inmediato a un palacio o a una población”, a *parque natural* (*parque rural/ parque ecológico*) is not a subtype of *parque* since it does not fulfil the conditions of being fenced in, it is not next to a palace and usually not next to a village; some are used for hunting, but in most of them hunting is forbidden to the public. It can be understood by means of similarity or comparison with the basic meaning. And it can be considered sufficiently distinct in meaning since it has a numbered entry different from the basic meaning. In German, the basic meaning in the Duden dictionary is much broader, so *Naturpark* [Nature reserve] and *Nationalpark* [national park] fulfil the necessary conditions to be considered subtypes and are, therefore, not marked as a metaphor.

<sup>73</sup> The mapped physical feature was smell in this case: *La Navidad en Andalucía huele a almendras tostadas y azúcar* [Christmas in Andalusia smells of roasted almonds and sugar]

English corpus, nine in the German corpus and two in Spanish. This kind of metaphor arises from our experiences of space and are reflected, for instance, in the adjectives ‘short’ and ‘long’. As commented on above, the differing frequencies in the three corpora seem to be related to the topics that are treated on the one hand, and morphosyntactic cross-linguistic variation on the other.

In all three cases of puns and reversed metaphor, the mapped features were abstract in nature. Unfortunately, this reduced sample does not allow for the drawing of any further conclusions.

With respect to the superposition of mapping schemes, overall, the three languages seem to share more similarities than there are differences. The use of a larger number of abstract resemblance mappings seems to be related to a more literary style, as in the case of the Spanish corpus, and the mapping of a higher proportion of physical features and experiential correlations seem to go hand in hand with a plainer style, as in the English corpus. When interpreting the obtained results with the help of examples of metaphor vehicles in context, we are venturing into an area where semantics play a role. Semantic aspects do not show a statistical distribution, as occurs in the cases of word class or the degree of conventionalisation. For this reason, conclusions drawn from small subsets of data have to be treated with caution.

## **6.6. Source domains, target domains and their relationships**

In the metaphorical process, information from one domain is transferred to a different target domain. These conceptual domains have long been used to describe metaphors in A IS B form, for example LIFE IS A JOURNEY, HAPPY IS UP, THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, etc. There are different opinions as to which level of specificity is best used to describe conceptual metaphors. Lakoff (1993:211) holds that mappings occur at the superordinate semantic level, for example ‘vehicle’, not ‘car’, ‘train’, ‘truck’, and so on. For our purposes of providing general guidelines, this level is still too fine-grained. Therefore, source and target domain labels in this study cover source domain areas, such as ‘person’, ‘object’, ‘animal’, ‘physical activity’, ‘height’ or ‘arts’.

In the following sections, the identified source and target domain areas and their frequencies, as well as the most frequent source-target domain combinations will be presented and compared across languages.

### **6.6.1. Source and target domain frequencies**

By domain frequencies we understand the frequency of metaphor vehicles that reflect a certain conceptual domain or domain area. In the analysis, each identified metaphor vehicle has been assigned a source domain area and a target domain area. As in the case of mapping schemes, a combination of inductive and deductive approaches was followed for the descriptive labels of these source and target domain areas. Based on the

literature review and personal observations in translation courses, certain domain area labels were established beforehand, while other labels were added during the analytical process. The domain labels that had been prompted by literature were those necessary to describe the conceptual transfer from concrete to abstract, spatialisation in orientational metaphors, personification and reification as observed in ontological metaphors.

Moreover, it was likely that metaphor-based terminology from diverse technical or specialised areas would be found in the corpus. However, instead of creating a comprehensive list of fields of knowledge prior to the analysis, necessary domain areas were included as they arose in the corpus data. The same procedure was followed for domain areas associated with primary metaphors and experiential correlation, such as 'height', 'size', 'intensity', etc. In addition, several metaphors with a strong euphemistic motivation were encountered during the analysis, so the domain area 'life/death' was added. Some experiences related to magic, dreams and mystic aspects did not fit well in the categories 'physical experience' or 'abstract experience', which led to the creation of the label 'hypothetical experience'. In other cases, the distinction between literal and metaphorical use is based on the transfer of a human-related concept to a non-human target domain. Thus, the labels 'human activity' and 'human feature' were introduced. Finally, the domain label 'General' was included, since there are words that come from a clearly defined, rather specific cognitive concept and have come to be used in all kinds of conceptual domains.

A more detailed description of the labels will be given in the following sections. The discussion of both source and target domains has been broken down into blocks which are typically related to a certain kind of metaphor or mapping scheme. First, the domain areas that are related to the mapped feature will be described. Here, concreteness and abstractness play an important role. Then, there are domain areas that typically describe ontological metaphors. The next group of domain areas is often found in the description of primary metaphors and metaphors based on experiential correlation, while the last block of domain areas is related to topical fields. These topical fields are often involved in the characterisation of specification metaphors and those metaphors that fill a lexical gap. It is important to take into account that this division was made to organise the presentation of a large amount of data in smaller blocks for clarity's sake. The domain areas included in each block are not exclusively used for the description of the metaphor type they typically characterise. Neither do these metaphor types only occur with these source and target domains.

When assigning a domain area, sometimes two or more categories are possible. In these cases, the categories for source domain and target domain which best describe the metaphorical process should be chosen. That is, the domain areas are to reflect the changes in meaning which a metaphor vehicle undergoes in the mapping. If two ways of labelling the source and target domain seem equally fit for this purpose, the more specific version is given priority.

The frequency of the identified source domain areas and target domain areas are given in metaphor vehicles with this domain per 10,000 lexical units. This is the frequency that best shows the cross-linguistic differences since it gives the involved domains per words or word components that could actually be used metaphorically. Due to morphosyntactic differences, the 20,000-word corpora contain differing numbers of such lexical units<sup>74</sup>. These frequencies per lexical units are more accurate for cross-linguistic comparison than absolute numbers and are, therefore, more interesting for translation, localisation or copywriting. Although in most other tables in this dissertation, results are given per 100 lexical units, here they are presented per 10,000 lexical units. This way of displaying the data makes it easier to cognitively process them compared to numbers smaller than one. For the same reason, the numbers have been rounded.

Due to reasons of space, the tables with absolute numbers and percentages have been included in appendix C.

#### 6.6.1.1. Concrete and abstract source and target domains

Much has been said about the need for metaphor in order to express abstract matters. For this purpose, humans across cultures have often used vocabulary from the physical world and their interaction with it, where they perceived some kind of resemblance. As bases for this comparison, four source domain areas were established: physical activity, physical experience, physical event and physical feature. The category ‘physical activity’ comprises metaphor-related words that originally describe actions that require movement as a central aspect and are primarily aimed at producing physical change including changes of position. Examples for this category are ‘to cover’, ‘to lead’, *schlängeln* [to crawl like a snake], and *volcar* [to overturn/ to tip]. The category ‘physical event’ is used for linguistic evidence describing events that involve material substances and focus on the event, not a possibly existing agent who caused it, for instance, ‘to unwind’, ‘click’, *widerspiegeln* [to reflect], *inundar* [to flood]. The domain area ‘physical experience’ involves interaction with the physical world, but instead of a perspective of agency, a perspective of the experiencing object is taken. ‘Physical experience’ can be expressed in words, such as ‘flavour’, ‘to see’, *Druck* [pressure], *atrapado* [trapped] or *perder* [to lose]. The category ‘physical feature’ applies to the physical characteristics of material substances and of living beings. Examples are ‘full’, ‘mark’, *zäh* [tough], *accesible* [accessible].

Vehicles from the above-mentioned source domain areas can describe abstract activities, abstract events, abstract experiences, abstract features and abstract concepts. The category ‘abstract activity’ designates cognitive and emotional activities, such as thinking, imagining, wishing, planning, concentrating, mentally relaxing, etc. When

<sup>74</sup> The English corpus contained 11,155 lexical units, the German corpus 12,513, and the Spanish one 9,267. Lexical has to be understood as content word with certain specifications given in the chapter on methodology.

such abstract activities are expressed metaphorically, this can happen through expressions like ‘to **immerse** yourself in a song’ or ‘to **discover** the history of ...’. ‘Abstract events’ are considered to be non-physical events or events that involve physical action but whose main effects are abstract. Such ‘abstract events’ can be expressed through linguistic metaphors, such as ‘**rising** to international fame’, ‘**torn apart** by conflict’, ‘rite of **passage**’. For a word to be classified as belonging to the domain area ‘abstract experience’, there needs to be a human or living being capable of experiencing some cognitive, emotional or time-related effect. Metaphors with the target domain area ‘abstract experience’ use vehicles, such as ‘to **unwind**’, ‘be part of the **magic**’, ‘to **die for**’. An ‘abstract feature’ is a characteristic that is related to an abstract concept, such as quality or time, or causes cognitive/emotional reactions, and can be found in metaphorical expressions, like ‘fun-**packed**’, ‘**hard** day’, ‘**big** year’. The fact that a place was the setting of a historical event, was included in the category of ‘abstract feature’. The domain area ‘abstract concept’ is the least complicated as it comprises exactly what is commonly understood as an abstract concept, for example ‘history’, ‘harmony’, *suerte* [luck], *Urteil* [verdict]. These abstract cognitive domain areas mostly represent target domains. At times, however, they are also used as the source domain of a metaphor. Some of the examples found in the corpus were ‘tribute’, ‘dream’, *Recht* [right], and *privilegiado* [privileged] as can be seen in examples (99) - (102) below.

- (100) The UK’s No1 **Tribute**, fronted by respected singer/songwriter Clive John, with The Spirit Band, re-create [...] a real Cash show!<sup>75</sup>
- (101) East Sussex’s biggest sandy beach and a **dream** for kite surfers [...]
- (102) *So werden etwa David Hockneys Jahreszeiten-Zyklus, [...] zu sehen sein.*  
[For instance, David Hockney’s **cycle** of the seasons, ... will be shown]<sup>76</sup>
- (103) *La costa suroeste de la isla es un lugar **privilegiado** para poder ver ballenas.* [The island’s southwest coast is a **privileged** place to see whales.]

In the following tables, the three columns presenting results on the left show frequencies for source domain areas, the other three columns to the right display frequencies for target domain areas. For each domain area item, the highest number of uses as a source domain and target domain across languages has been highlighted in bold. Fields representing domain areas without occurrences in a certain language have been left blank. The aim of these two visual measures is to facilitate the identification of the most and least frequent domain areas.

<sup>75</sup> Independent sense description of ‘tribute’ in Macmillan: Denoting or relating to a group or musician that performs the music of a more famous one and typically imitates them in appearance and style of performance

<sup>76</sup> Basic sense description: 1. regelmäßige Wiederkehr [regular return]; secondary sense description: 2. Reihe zusammenhängender, besonders künstlerischer Werke derselben Gattung zu einem Gedankenkreis oder Themenkreis [series of connected, mostly artistic works of the same genre about a philosophical or topical field]

**Table 6.39. Abstract and physical domain areas: metaphor vehicle frequencies**

Domain area	Metaphor vehicle frequency per source domain area/ 10,000 LU			Metaphor vehicle frequency per target domain area/ 10,000 LU		
	English	German	English	German	English	German
Abstract activity	1	22	<b>49</b>	39	60	<b>81</b>
Abstract concept		4	<b>14</b>	112	<b>148</b>	115
Abstract evento			<b>1</b>	17	17	<b>43</b>
Abstract experience	1	<b>2</b>	1	22	17	<b>38</b>
Abstract feature	9	<b>20</b>	9	77	127	<b>139</b>
Object feature: abstract				61	<b>110</b>	90
Physical activity	124	182	<b>273</b>	16	10	<b>32</b>
Physical evento	<b>54</b>	7	41	16	4	<b>32</b>
Physical experience	8	9	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>	2	
Physical feature	<b>93</b>	81	59	12	10	<b>45</b>
Object feature: physical				121	143	<b>207</b>
Object	168	102	<b>177</b>	<b>92</b>	23	54

In the following paragraphs, the frequencies of metaphor vehicles with a metaphorical process that is best described by abstract and physical domains areas will be discussed from a cross-linguistic perspective, starting with source domains and then moving on to the target domains. Frequencies in the subsequent paragraphs are always expressed as metaphor vehicles with this source/ target domain per 10,000 lexical units (MV/ 10,000 LU). For greater ease of reading, numbers will often be given in brackets without the exact description of the units. In the few exceptions where absolute frequencies are given, they are referred to as occurrences or cases in order to mark the difference with the normalised frequencies.

The first block of domain areas, which is discussed in this section, is closely related to the mapping schemes of abstract resemblance and physical resemblance. The Spanish corpus is the one that draws most on source domain areas related to the abstract, the non-physical. Taking all abstract source domain areas together, there are 74 metaphor vehicles/ 10,000 lexical units, 49 of which represent abstract activities, and fourteen abstract concepts. In German, there are fewer metaphors with an abstract source domain area (48), and in English they are remarkably infrequent in comparison (11). This might be related to the more literary style of the Spanish websites. Theoretically, this could also be a matter of the predominant topics. However, it does not seem to be the case here, since both the German, and especially the English, corpora contain more texts on cultural topics, such as arts, theatre and concerts, as well as industrial heritage, while the Spanish corpus contains more texts that concentrate on natural, culinary and traditional assets. Therefore, a variation in topics is most probably not the reason for the higher frequency of metaphors with abstract source domains in Spanish. Moreover, most of the

metaphors that draw on abstract activity (which is the most numerous group within all abstract source domains) are neutral with respect to the target domain. That is, they can be applied in a wide range of target domains with approximately the same metaphorical meaning. Some of their most frequent metaphor vehicles are *contar (con)* [to count (on) = have], *esperar/ aguardar* [to wait/ await], *apreciar* [to appreciate], *completar* [to complete] and *autor* [author = initiator]. Consequently, it seems more likely that the ample use of abstract source domains in Spanish may be related to national register conventions. For translation purposes, this means that a high concentration of metaphors with an abstract source domain in German, and especially in English, may lead to the impression of a too formal register. This, in turn, might lead to a perceived social distance and be negative for the overall purpose of promotional tourism websites.

A physical source domain area was decisive for the description of 386 metaphor vehicles/ 10,000 LU in Spanish, which was more than in either the English or the German corpus (both 279). Within the categories of ‘physical activity’, ‘physical event’, ‘physical experience’ and ‘physical feature’, the first is the most common in all three languages, although Spanish shows a higher frequency (273) than German (182) and English (124). Physical activities often help describe a physical feature of an object or place and are frequent in personifications. With regard to source domains, a physical feature was the main motivation for 93 metaphor vehicles/ 10,000 LU in English, 81 in German and 59 in Spanish. The implications for translation are that reproducing each and every metaphor that is instantiated by a Spanish verb denoting a physical activity in a German or English text as an equivalent metaphor might lead to an effect of saturation in the reader. On the contrary, too many metaphors based on a physical feature in translations of tourism promotional websites from German and English to Spanish might catch the reader’s attention. This does not necessarily need to be negative since the Spanish readership seems to be quite accustomed to metaphorical descriptions with a literary touch. If the translation is written skilfully, it may be noted as a positive, pleasant, even slightly exotic effect.

After dealing with source domain uses, the discussion will now shift to target domain uses. Across all three languages, abstract domain areas are the most numerous group within the target domains. In the English sample corpus, over a quarter of all metaphors have an abstract target domain as in examples (103) and (104). In Spanish and German, this is true for more than a third of all metaphors (see examples 105 and 106).

- (104) There's accommodation to suit all budgets and **tastes** in London.
- (105) Take your kids on a **walk** through time and **explore** the history of English interiors.
- (106) *eine noch wenig bekannte, aber reizvolle Landschaft* [an as yet little known, but delightful (literally: **full** of **stimuli**) landscape]

- (107) *Existe una ciudad que reúne todo el misterio de África y la historia de España* [There is a city that **brings together** all the mystery of Africa and the history of Spain]

The normalised frequency of metaphor vehicles that describe an abstract activity, concept, event, experience or feature amounted to 328 MV/ 10,000 LU in English, 479 in German and 506 in Spanish. Since the abstract can only be expressed through metaphor, it can be concluded that the English corpus texts deal more with issues from the physical world and less with abstract topics. Within the abstract domain area group, Spanish showed the highest frequency for all abstract domain areas, except for ‘abstract concept’, which was more frequent in German than in the other two languages. This might point to a higher degree of nominalisation in German, while Spanish tends to realise a lot of descriptions through verbs. It needs to be pointed out that abstract concepts in the broader sense may have been assigned other labels, apart from the ones mentioned in these paragraphs. They might have been classified as belonging to the target domain ‘quality’ or ‘intensity’ or any of the topical areas. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, which category a metaphor is assigned to depends on the source and target domain which describe the metaphorical process best. When the concept ‘soul’, which originally refers to a part of a person (according to the Macmillan dictionary), is applied to a music genre, it doubtlessly is an abstract concept in its musical context. Nevertheless, what essentially characterises the source-target domain relationship is the exportation of the concept from the domain area ‘person’ to the domain area of music, which for our purposes is comprised in ‘arts’. Hence, the source-target domain relationship would be described as ‘person to arts’ rather than ‘abstract concept to abstract concept’. The latter version does not fulfil two of the main classification criteria since it is less precise and has the disadvantage of not reflecting the conceptual change.

The physical target domain areas comprise the categories ‘physical activity’, ‘physical event’, ‘physical experience’, ‘physical feature’, ‘object feature: physical’ and ‘object’, which is listed in the block of ontological metaphors. ‘Object’ can be understood as the physical equivalent of ‘abstract concept’. When adding up the frequencies of all target domain areas which are essentially characterised by belonging to the physical realm, it becomes clear that Spanish (371) uses metaphor to a higher degree than English (265) to describe physical concepts in the broader sense of the meaning, and to a much higher degree than German (192). Supposing that only a relatively small proportion of these metaphors are actually filling lexical gaps, this suggests that the German promotional tourism websites employ less metaphorical language when referring to physical concepts than the English websites and considerably less than the Spanish. The most numerous target domain area within this group is ‘object feature: physical’. The normalised frequencies in this group are 207 for the Spanish corpus, 143 for the German corpus and 121 for the English. Most metaphor vehicles with this target domain (object

feature: physical) are verbs. In Spanish, this was true for 165 cases out of 192, resulting in a normalised frequency of 178 metaphor vehicles with this target domain / 10,000 LU. In German 159 cases out of 179 were verbs, leading to a frequency of 127 metaphors/ 10,000 LU. English was the corpus with the fewest verbal metaphor vehicles with the target domain ‘object feature: physical’ (102 cases out of 135, or 91 metaphors/ 10,000 LU). That means the vast majority of linguistic metaphors that describe the physical features of objects (and places in this case) in all three languages are instantiated by verbs, German showing the largest proportion of verbs, and Spanish the highest density in the text. Most metaphors of this type that are conventionalised will have a standard translation and not pose any problem for translators. Novel metaphors, to the contrary, are more likely to be problematic. Therefore, the percentage of novel metaphor among the verbal vehicles with the target domain ‘object feature: physical’ was calculated. In German, 10% of these metaphors were novel, in English 17.6% and in Spanish 30.7%. This constitutes a relative overuse in Spanish with respect to the other two languages, and, to a minor degree, in English with respect to German. In translations that accurately reproduce each novel metaphor by a novel one in the target language, this overuse may be perceived by the reader as more literary than expected from a promotional tourism website, or even as florid in style<sup>77</sup>. Some readers may find this positive, but in general, novel metaphor requires more cognitive effort. This entails a certain risk: if the cognitive effort is greater than the readership is accustomed to, the reader might lose interest in the text.

#### 6.6.1.2. Large domain areas and ontological metaphors

The second block of source domain areas is especially useful for the description of ontological metaphors, such as personification, reification and modelling in space. As discussed in more detail in chapter 2.3.9, personification is a common type of metaphor (Knowles and Moon, 2006:6; Kohl, 2007:38; Kövecses, 2010:39). In order to account for personification, the following categories were established: person, human activity, human feature, object, institution, place, object feature: abstract, object feature: physical. In addition to this, the following domain area labels were added during the analysis: animal, living being, moving thing/ creature, non-moving thing/ creature, nature, plant, culture/ cultural event, time and general. Table 6.40. is organised in the same way as the previous table with source domain uses on the left and target domain uses on the right. Frequencies have been given by languages and as MV/ 10,000 LU.

<sup>77</sup> It has been commented on before, that some verbs in Spanish are classified as novel metaphor because they lack a description that applied to roads or buildings, although they are commonly used in this context and will probably not be perceived as novel by a native Spanish speaker. In the group of 59 novel verbal metaphors with the target domain ‘object feature: physical’, nine of such dubious cases were detected, including *llegar* [arrive], *continuar* [continue], *rodear* [surround], and *enlazar* [bind = link]. Subtracting these 9 cases, the percentage of novel cases in this kind of verbal metaphor drops to 26.0%, which is still notably higher than in the other languages (10.6% and 17.6%).

**Table 6.40. Domain areas associated with ontological metaphors: metaphor vehicle frequencies**

Domain area	Metaphor vehicle frequency per source domain area/ 10,000 LU			Metaphor vehicle frequency per target domain area/ 10,000 LU		
	English	German	Spanish	English	German	Spanish
Person	105	68	<b>108</b>	<b>27</b>	18	5
Human activity	82	137	191	19	2	4
Human feature	59	13	39	1		1
Animal	<b>48</b>	15	12	3	2	<b>5</b>
Living being	<b>25</b>	24	19			<b>2</b>
Moving thing/ creature	29	15	<b>28</b>			
Non-moving thing/ creature				<b>4</b>		3
Object	168	102	<b>177</b>	<b>92</b>	23	54
Object feature: abstract				61	<b>110</b>	90
Object feature: physical				121	143	<b>207</b>
Place	<b>35</b>	18	23	<b>166</b>	94	132
Nature	6	6	<b>47</b>	14	15	<b>54</b>
Plant	4	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	1	2	<b>4</b>
Culture/ cultural event				14	9	<b>21</b>
Institution			1	11	10	<b>32</b>
Time		1	4	44	19	<b>46</b>
General	<b>18</b>	2	5	62	<b>81</b>	29

The category ‘person’ applies when the source domain concept is originally done to or by a person, or used for a person. It is also applied for metaphor vehicles denoting the role of a person or a part of a person that would not be included in the category animal or living being since it is specific to human beings. Examples of metaphor vehicles with this source domain are ‘credentials’, ‘sister’, *besuchen* [visit], *aliado* [ally]. The domain label ‘person’ is also applied to grammatical objects when the selection restrictions would usually ask for a human object. The source domain ‘person’ is equally frequent in English (105) and Spanish (108), and a little less common in German (68). In the case of personification, this domain area represents the source domain. Nevertheless, it can also describe the target domain area in other kinds of metaphors.

The domain area labels ‘human activity’ and ‘human feature’ were introduced to make flouted selection restrictions visible and are usually applied to cases of personifications. A metaphor vehicle labelled as belonging to the source domain area ‘human activity’ describes either a physical or an abstract activity, which is typically carried out by humans, not other living beings or machines. Examples of such metaphor vehicles are ‘to ask for’, ‘to boast’, ‘to offer’, ‘to serve’, ‘to earn’, ‘to babble’, *zeugen* [give testimony], *cobrar* [charge money]. A ‘human feature’ is considered to be a physical or abstract feature that is typical of human beings, not other living beings or objects. This

category includes metaphor vehicles, such as ‘faithful’, ‘reasonable’, ‘devoted’, ‘intimate’, ‘friendly’, *anspruchsvoll* [demanding], and *porte* [bearing]. Human activities or a typically human feature were decisive for the classification of 230 metaphors/10,000 LU in the Spanish corpus, 141 in the English and 149 in the German. Once again, the Spanish corpus shows a notably higher frequency of such metaphor vehicles than English or German, which are at the same level.

When adding up the frequencies for the source domains ‘person’, ‘human activity’ and ‘human feature’, the results are 338 MV/10,000 LU in Spanish, which is notably more than in English (246) and in German (217). This accounts for a large proportion of all kinds of personification metaphors. However, other source domains can also be assigned to mappings that are classified as personifications. These domains are ‘animal’, ‘moving thing/ creature’ and ‘abstract activity’. The numbers suggest that an accurate reproduction of all the metaphors drawing on these related domains when translating from Spanish to German or English might produce an effect of saturation in the readership. Notwithstanding that, the risk of this saturation is lower than one might expect, since many of these metaphors are conventional and have a standard translation that might be non-metaphorical or highly conventionalized in the target language. Such a standard translation would probably be the first choice of the translator. If there is a remarkably high proportion of novel personifications in the Spanish source text, the translator should take this into account and bear adequacy for the target readership in mind. In particular, it should be mentioned that not all linguistic metaphors based on human activities and features have to be reproduced in the target text when translating from Spanish to the other languages if they sound unnatural and a literal expression seems more adequate.

The domain area ‘animal’ shows some overlap with that of ‘person’. Metaphor vehicles associated with this source domain are, for instance, ‘to browse’, ‘to ride’, ‘to head (to)’, ‘dominant’, ‘mammoth’ or ‘kite’, *fressen* [eat (verb for animals, which is different from the one for people)], and *cresta* [crest]. Also body parts that receive the same name in humans and animals, such as ‘heart’ were classified as belonging to the source domain ‘animal’. This source domain area is present in more linguistic metaphors in the English corpus (48 MV/10,000 LU) than in the German (15) or the Spanish (12). The metaphor vehicle ‘heart’ was the most frequent from this source domain with eighteen absolute occurrences, followed by ‘ride’, with seven occurrences, and ‘to browse’, with five. It turns out that some frequent expressions in English tourism discourse, such as ‘heart’ for the vital centre of something and ‘ride’ for a journey in a vehicle and other words from the same family, draw on the source domain ‘animal’, which is not mirrored in the other two languages or only with a notably lower frequency of use. Due to the overlap with the domain area ‘person’ and the reduced number of pure animalisation metaphors, animalisation as a mapping scheme was included in ‘personification with

basic meaning' and 'personification with change of meaning' in order not to unnecessarily inflate the number of mapping schemes.

The category 'plant' includes parts of plants, plant-related physical events and features of plants, such as 'to bloom', 'budding', *Wurzel* [root], *fruto* [fruit]. However, aspects that are shared by all living creatures would be labelled 'living being' as, for example, 'birthplace', 'to grow', *lebendig* [alive], *envejecimiento* [aging]. Then, there are a certain number of verbs, but also some nouns, such as 'to follow', *Spuren* [footprints], *alcanzar* [to reach/ catch up] which could, according to logic, only be applied to things and creatures capable of moving. When these kinds of words were used metaphorically, the source domain area was labelled 'moving thing/creature' and the target domain 'non-moving thing/ creature'. Metaphor vehicles with this source domain were relatively infrequent. The frequency of the source domain 'living being' is approximately equal in all three languages, ranging from 19 to 25 MV/10,000 LU. English and Spanish drew more frequently on the source domain 'moving thing/creature' than German, while English and German yielded more metaphor vehicles from the source domain 'plant' (see Table 6.40.).

The domain area 'object' is assigned to source domains when aspects that are typical of a physical object are transferred to an abstract concept, non-physical concept or living creature, or when an object name gives rise to a nickname or a term for new technical inventions, as for the metaphor vehicles 'interwoven', '(blue) flag', 'the Tube', *Netz* [net], *ventana* [window]. This source domain is frequently involved in reifications<sup>78</sup>. Some of these reific metaphors suggest that abstract concepts behave like fluid substances that 'blend', are 'mixed' or 'flow together'. Being material substances, fluids are categorised as 'object' in order to keep the number of categories low. In our sample corpora, the frequency of the source domain 'object' is approximately equal in Spanish (177) and English (160), but less so in German (102). In English, it accounts for many of the verbal phrases. In all three languages it is instantiated mainly through verbs and nouns. In the case of verbs, this source domain can point to the flouting of selection restrictions. Unfortunately, no clear patterns that could shed light on the cross-linguistic difference in the frequency of this source domain have been found.

The source domain label 'general' is used for metaphor vehicles with an originally broad meaning that have developed a specific meaning in certain fields, e.g. 'accessible' meaning adapted for disabled users, *besetzen* [put sth. on sth. else > to occupy, in the military sense], *instrumento* [instrument > musical instrument]. These specification metaphors are more frequent in English (18 MV/10,000LU) than in either Spanish (5) or German (2). Some of these linguistic metaphors are used with the specifying element,

---

<sup>78</sup> Moreover, it has also been applied to abstract concepts, in which case abstract features of the object are mapped, or to reductions to an important aspect.

others have lost this element and the metaphorical meaning has to be derived from the broader context. With respect to translation, no clear patterns are visible from our data.

With regard to the target domain areas that intervene in ontological metaphors, few metaphors have the target domain ‘person’, ‘animal’, ‘living being’ or ‘plant’. Rather, these domains are typically source domains in all three languages. The category ‘non-moving thing/ creature’ was initially introduced as the target equivalent of the source domain label ‘moving thing/ creature’. However, most target domains associated with this source domain turned out not to be things or creatures at all, but abstract concepts, cultural events and places. Actually, only four metaphors in English and three in the Spanish sample corpus were categorised as ‘non-moving thing/ creature’. The most frequent target domains across all three languages in this block related to ontological metaphors are ‘place’, ‘object’, ‘general’ and ‘time’, in this order.

The domain label area ‘place’ in this analysis was applied to metaphor vehicles that designate or describe a ‘place’, as well as in cases where selection restrictions are flouted, and a conceptually different grammatical subject or object would be expected according to the basic sense description of the metaphor vehicle. The target domain area ‘place’ is mostly involved in personifications. For this target domain area, the following normalised frequencies can be found in the sample corpora: 166 MV/10,000 LU for English, 132 for Spanish and 94 for German. It needs to be pointed out that in this category about a third of all metaphor vehicles belong to the word family of ‘visit’, which originally referred to people, but has been extended to places in all three languages. In the English corpus, 53 out of 185 cases of metaphor vehicles with the target domain ‘place’ belong to the group ‘to visit’/‘visit’/‘visitor’. In German, *besuchen/ Besuch/ Besucher* account for 43 out of 118 occurrences in this category. Similarly, 44 out of 122 cases of metaphor vehicles in Spanish are *visitar/ visita/ visitante*. Other frequent metaphor vehicles in the English corpus are ‘centre’, ‘sight’, ‘heart’ and ‘base’. Frequent German metaphor vehicles with the source domain ‘place’ are *Viertel* [quarter], *Zentrum* [centre] and *Kern* [core] as in *Stadtkern* [town centre]. In Spanish, further frequent metaphor vehicles with this target domain area are *punto* [point], *patrimonio* [heritage], *descubrir* [to discover] and *capital* [capital]<sup>79</sup>. The high frequency of the target domain area ‘place’ in comparison with ‘person’ reflects the fact that tourism websites dedicate a lot of text to the presentation of places. People as agents in economic, cultural and daily life or famous citizens receive less attention in general, which is likely to be mirrored in the frequencies of metaphorical language. As far as implications for translation are concerned, the observations made for personifications in general are also valid for all personifications with the target domain ‘place’.

---

<sup>79</sup> *Capital* does not have an independent entry as a noun. It is only defined as an adjective with the basic meaning of ‘belonging to or with respect to the head’. One of the secondary meanings refers to its use for towns and cities.

The target domain label ‘object’ is applied when the metaphor vehicle designates an object in general or is applied to an object against selection restrictions or in contrast with its original use. Buildings and delimited items of the landscape are also included. Among the metaphor vehicles with the target domain ‘object’, all kinds of mapping schemes can be found, but personifications are especially frequent in the German and the Spanish corpora, and abstract resemblance stands out in the English corpus. As can be seen from examples (108) – (113), linguistic metaphors with this target domain draw on a variety of source domains and word classes:

- (108) ‘Many of the city's **attractions** are free.’
- (109) ‘Or visit the Chantry Chapel, famous for being the **oldest** building in the town.’
- (110) *Sie haben hier nicht nur die Möglichkeit, alte Schiffswracks und andere bedeutende **Zeugen** der Kulturgeschichte, die das Wasser birgt, zu bewundern [...] [You not only have the possibility to admire old shipwrecks and other important **witnesses** of the cultural history...]*
- (111) *Nur an Sonn- und Feiertagen wurden sie geöffnet, sonst sah man lediglich die bemalten Flügelrückseiten. [They were only opened on Sundays and holidays, otherwise one would only see the painted backs of the (altar) **wings**.]*
- (112) *[...]los carpinteros de la ciudad quemaban frente a sus talleres, en las calles y plazas públicas, los trastos inservibles junto con los artilugios de madera que **empleaban** para elevar los candiles [...]. [The carpenters of the city burnt, in front of their workshops, in the streets and on public squares, useless junk together with wooden artifacts which they **employed** to lift oil lamps (...)]*  
or
- (113) *[...] donde el sol **nace y muere** cada día en su mar [(...) where the sun **is born and dies** every day in its sea].*

Metaphor vehicles with the target domain area ‘object’ are more frequent in English (92 MV/ 10,000 LU) than in either Spanish (54) or German (23). Apart from the domain area ‘object’, the labels ‘object feature: abstract’ and ‘object feature: physical’ have been introduced in order to distinguish these cases from the general labels ‘abstract feature’ and ‘physical feature’. With the help of this distinction, applications of mapped features to objects can be traced; this is useful, for instance, to identify personifications, and especially patterns, that map physical movement onto objects. When taken together, the target domain areas ‘object’, ‘object feature: abstract’ and ‘object feature: physical’ display a normalised frequency of 274 MV/10,000 LU in English, 277 in German and 351 in Spanish. This is roughly a fourth of all identified metaphor vehicles in each of the languages. The high frequency of ontological metaphor vehicles with the target domain ‘object’ in English is partially due to high frequency metaphor vehicles, such as ‘attraction’, ‘old’, and ‘to ride’. The repetition of these metaphor vehicles can be associated with the lower lemma/token ratio in the English corpus and the conscious

repetition of keywords to achieve a good position in the hit list of online search engines. The latter concern is apparently not taken as seriously by the commissioners of German and Spanish promotional tourism websites.

The target domain label ‘general’ is used exclusively for generalisation metaphors, which usually map one or two highly salient features from a rather delimited source domain to a wide range of target domains. The mapped features are mostly, but not necessarily, positive. The highest frequency of metaphors with this wide range of target domains have been detected in the German sample corpus with 81 MV/ 10,000 LU. The frequency in the English corpus is approximately 25% lower (62). In the Spanish corpus, only 29 metaphors per 10,000 LU have such a wide target domain scope. Frequent metaphor vehicles of this category are ‘icon’, ‘iconic’, ‘host’ and ‘fantastic’. In the German corpus, this category draws on a wider range of source domain areas than in the other two languages. In order to determine whether this cross-linguistic variation holds for general language and how it can be explained, larger corpora covering a variety of text genres would have to be researched. Frequent metaphor vehicles in German are *genießen* [ingest = enjoy], *Genuss* [consumption = enjoyment], *Schatz* [treasure] and *Spur* [trace]. In Spanish, more than half of the generalisation metaphors are instantiated by *cultura*<sup>80</sup> with 15 out of 27 occurrences. The second most frequent metaphor vehicle in this category in Spanish is *protagonista* [protagonist] with three occurrences. As noted above in the section on mapping schemes, many of these generalisation metaphors are highly conventionalised and have a similarly conventionalised or literal standard translation. Novel generalisation metaphors are usually not challenging in translation since most of them are based on the mapping of one salient feature, which can also be found in other source domains, if the one used in the source language does not work in the target language. Some generalisation metaphors are linguistic instantiations of the conceptual metaphor GENERIC IS SPECIFIC. Related examples from the corpus are ‘bloodthirsty’ or *Hunger auf das Unbedingte* [hunger for the unconditional]. In the translation process, the metaphor vehicle of a GENERIC-IS-SPECIFIC metaphor can be replaced by another specific concept of the same generic group, if the source concept understanding in the target language is markedly different. Although the differences in normalised frequency between the languages are notable, their high degree of conventionalisation makes it unlikely that translations will produce dense texts or awkward formulations due to metaphors with the target domain label ‘general’.

Ontological metaphors may involve modelling in space. For instance, time is often talked about as though it were space, and people and events were moving within this space. Therefore, the domain areas ‘space’ and ‘time’ were included. ‘Space’ must be understood as physical space as opposed to abstract spaceless dimensions.

---

<sup>80</sup> The basic meaning in Spanish, *cultivo*, refers to the growing of crops

Metaphor vehicles indicating the TIME IS SPACE metaphor are, for example ‘back’, ‘to transport’, *Jenseits* [beyond], *llegada* [arrival]. Although the target domain ‘time’ is closely interconnected with the mapping scheme ‘modelling in space’, a few cases of personification, reification and abstract resemblance with this target domain can be found. Normalised frequencies are higher for English (44) and Spanish (46) than for German (18). As noted before in the analysis of mapping schemes, ‘time’ is a relatively specific and topic-related target domain. As a highly abstract conceptual area, it relies on metaphor for description and discussion. In most cases, an alternative literal expression does not exist. Given the mandatory use of metaphor in this conceptual domain, the frequency of time-related metaphors does not depend so much on language- or register-related preferences with respect to metaphorical or literal language use, but on the topics that are treated in a corpus. A possible effect of saturation, as in the case of personifications, is not likely since this target domain does not affect style in the way that personifications and reifications do. In the analysis and discussion of the mapping scheme ‘modelling in space’, it was shown that this mapping, and hence the target domain ‘time’, shows large areas of overlap in the three languages, although some variations in the typical metaphor vehicles have been detected due to the different morphosyntactic features of each language (such as the particle ‘back’). In general, few translation problems are expected, with the exception of special discursive, intra- or intertextual functions of the metaphor vehicle.

#### 6.6.1.3. Primary metaphors and experiential correlation

The source domain areas that have been grouped together in the third block are often involved in both primary metaphors and other metaphors based on experiential correlation. These metaphors do not map from cognitively lower level to higher level concepts (typically from concrete to abstract) but rather connect fundamental concepts from different areas through experience (Grady, 1997:134-135). Thus, this block contains areas such as ‘height’, ‘shape’, ‘size’, ‘quantity’, ‘quality’, ‘intensity’, ‘space’ and ‘time’, which can be typically related to primary metaphors. The domain area ‘hypothetical experience’ was included in this group because of the experiential aspects that are mapped, although the experience may only be imagined. Moreover, this block also contains two domain areas that were difficult to assign to one of the four blocks: ‘life/ death’ and ‘material wealth/ value’. It was decided that they fit best into this block since they share certain features with the typical primary metaphor areas. Everybody who lives in society can somehow relate emotionally to life and death, so there is an experiential basis for the understanding of metaphors involving this domain. Meanwhile, ‘material wealth/ value’ often maps experiential impressions apart from quantity.

As can be seen in Table 6.41., in German the source domain area ‘material wealth/value’ stands out due to its frequency of 69 metaphor vehicles per 10,000 LU, as

opposed to 35 in English and 44 in Spanish. This source domain area includes the highly prolific adjective *reich* in German, and its equivalents ‘rich’ and *rico*, as well as other members of the word family, such as ‘to enrich’ or *riqueza* [wealth]. The source domain area ‘shape’ shows a frequency of 26 in German, 22 in Spanish and 21 in English. The source domain ‘size’ stands out in Spanish as the most frequent category in this block for this language (42) and as more frequent than in either English (22) or German (1). The most frequent source domain areas in this block in English are ‘height’ (30), which shows a similar frequency to German (26), and ‘space’ (53), which is approximately as frequent as in the Spanish corpus (55). Typical metaphor vehicles of the source domain ‘height’ are ‘high’/*hoch/alto*, ‘top’, *superior* [superior] and *destacar* [to stand out]. In the source domain area ‘space’, the most common metaphor vehicles are ‘point’/ *Punkt/ punto*, plus ‘circular’/ *rund*, and in Spanish *forma* [shape, form]. Apart from the most frequent domain area ‘material wealth/ value’, which has a wider metaphor vehicle variety, the other source domains associated with primary metaphors and experiential correlation have a fairly limited variety of lemmas. This limited number, however, largely overlaps in all three languages. Due to this overlap and the mapping of mostly single salient features, metaphors with these source domains do not seem to be problematic for translations. Low frequency expressions should be checked for literal translatability. If the literal translation is not common, there is often a close synonym that maps the same features, as is the case for ‘gem’, which correlates with *joya* [jewel], not *gema* in Spanish, and *Schmuckstück* [piece of jewellery] in German. Despite this recommendation, novel metaphors can and should of course be transferred into the target language as such.

**Table 6.41. Domain areas associated with primary metaphors and experiential correlation: metaphor vehicle frequencies**

Domain area	Metaphor vehicle frequency per source domain area/ 10,000 LU			Metaphor vehicle frequency per target domain area/ 10,000 LU		
	English	German	Spanish	English	German	Spanish
Height	30	10	26			
Intensity				2		2
Hypoth. experience	13	4	44			
Life/ death					2	
Material wealth/ value	35	69	44	3	1	
Quality		1	1	63	17	100
Quantity		1	21	15	4	37
Shape	11	26	21			
Size	22	1	42		2	2
Space	47	34	55	1	1	3

The target domain area ‘hypothetical experience’ has other entailments for translation since a remarkable cross-linguistic difference was found in the use of metaphor vehicles

from this domain. Creative metaphors often seek expressiveness, and so do some conventionalised metaphors. One way of achieving this effect of expressiveness is the use of source domains that are extreme or intense in some respect. Therefore, metaphorical comparisons may be based on concepts belonging to the realm of magic, the unreal, the paranormal, or fiction, which led to the creation of a category called ‘hypothetical experience’. In these cases, the reader is asked to draw on concepts that he/she cannot know from personal experience since they are either impossible to experience or highly unlikely in our time and society. Examples (114) to (117) contain metaphor vehicles from this source domain area.

- (114) Don't miss the world-famous Blackpool Illuminations, that turn six miles of promenade into a glittering festival of light and **magic**.
- (115) *Hier im äußersten Nordwesten Niedersachsens laden **endlose** Weiten zum Entspannen und aktiven Erleben ein.* [Here in the northwestern outpost of Lower Saxony, **endless** landscapes invite you to relax and to actively experience.]
- (116) *Hallarás **paraísos** como el del nacimiento del Río Mundo* [You will find paradises such as the source of Río Mundo]
- (117) *Tras pasar unos días en Melilla disfrutando de los últimos días occidentales entre el **hechizo** modernista y los primeros olores de África ...* [After spending a few days in Melilla enjoying your last days in the West between modernist **enchantment** and the first scents of Africa ...]<sup>81</sup>

As mentioned above, there is a remarkable cross-linguistic difference in our corpora concerning this source domain area, which consists of the wide gap between the Spanish frequency of 44 and the frequencies for English (13) and German (4). This source domain is represented by the metaphor vehicles ‘magic’ and ‘fantastic’ in English, and by *Wunder* [miracle], *zaubern* [to do magic], *verzaubern* [to put a spell on someone] and *endlos* [endless] in German. Some of the Spanish metaphor vehicles from this source domain are *encanto* [charm], *paraíso* [paradise], *ensueño* [(day)dream], *hechizo* [spell], *sinfin* [myriad], and *renacimiento* [rebirth]. This is in line with Suau's (2013:16) observation that boosters are the preferred metadiscursive device on Spanish hotel websites, a register closely related to promotional tourism websites, while English prefers other metadiscursive markers. Although metadiscursive markers constitute a research field of their own, boosters emphasise the force of a proposition or the writer's certainty, and this function is also fulfilled by metaphors based on comparisons with a hypothetical experience. The extensive use of this source domain in combination with other highlighting vocabulary might be the main reason why British and German tourists often perceive Spanish promotional tourism texts or the discourse of Spanish tourist guides as amusing. From their cultural viewpoint, the statements are seen as exaggerations, which results in a loss of credibility. This, in turn, detracts from the

<sup>81</sup> The Spanish basic sense description of *reto* is more specific than the English, referring explicitly to a duel: *l. m. Provocación o citación al duelo o desafío.*

ultimate goal of persuading the readers of the website to actually visit the promoted destination. In the case of this special source domain, the translator's task not only consists of conveying the informational content, he/ she also needs to find the right balance between credibility and the exotic otherness.

Another mapping scheme that goes hand in hand with experiential correlation is 'reduction to an important aspect'. However, this mapping scheme cannot be pinpointed in terms of source and target domains.

#### 6.6.1.4. Topical areas

Due to the role that conceptual metaphor plays in lexical creation, any of the scientific branches or fields of specialisation may be the source domain area of a metaphor. Likewise, any generally known vocabulary from such a specialised field may be used metaphorically to increase the vividness or compactness of a communication. Since there are many scientific branches and fields of specialisation, the categories of these domain areas were created during the analytical process when needed. They include the following domain areas with respect to pure and applied sciences: geography, geometry/ maths, humanities (soft sciences including sociology, politics, history, law etc.), economy, psychology/ feelings, agriculture, architecture, arts, medicine, and technology (including engineering). Regarding other specialised fields, metaphors related to the following domain areas were identified: culture/ cultural events (popular culture as opposed to arts), food/ gastronomy, military, sports and transport. Another source domain area that provides expressive and generally known concepts is 'religion', which yielded linguistic metaphors including vehicles such as 'icon', 'shrine', *Pilgerort* [pilgrimage site], *culto* [cult] in the present research corpus.

All these topical domain areas listed in the previous paragraph form the fourth block. These areas can theoretically all be either source or target domain area in a metaphorical mapping. Their actual use and normalised frequencies in our sample corpora are given in Table 6.42.

In English, many metaphors are formed from the following source domain areas (normalised frequencies given in parentheses): architecture (19), arts (46), geometry/ maths (42), military (22) and transport (19). It should be pointed out that all metaphor vehicles with the source domain 'geometry/maths' are forms of the word 'centre' in the English corpus. Although not as common as it is in English, the largest category in German is 'arts', with a frequency of 28 MV/ 10,000 LU, followed by 'food/ gastronomy' (20). Two thirds of the latter source domain are instantiated by the verb *genießen* [to ingest], whose meaning has been generalised to become 'to enjoy'. The Spanish corpus takes many metaphor vehicles from the source domain areas 'agriculture' (22), 'arts' (35), 'geometry/ maths' (27), 'religion' (17) and 'natural science' (17). Similarly to what can be observed in the English corpus, almost all

metaphor vehicles from the source domain ‘geometry/ maths’ are forms of the noun *centro* [centre] in the Spanish corpus. With regard to ‘arts’, the most numerous category in the group of topical domain areas, the corpora contain several metaphor vehicles that describe something as belonging to a literary or arts genre, such as ‘legendary’/ *legendär/ legendario*, ‘epic’, ‘fabulous’, ‘iconic’, ‘dramatic’. The English corpus displays a larger variety and higher frequency of this kind of metaphor vehicles than either the Spanish or the German. Technical terms from the world of theatre can be found in all three corpora: ‘scenery’/ *Szenerie/ escenario*, ‘backdrop’/ *Kulisse*, ‘highlight’, *Szene* [scene]. Other metaphor vehicles from the domain area ‘arts’ that are contained in more than one corpus are ‘perspective’/ *Perspektive*, and ‘harmony’/ *Harmonie*. Although there is an even larger number of metaphor vehicles in the research corpora that are not repeated in another language, it seems that metaphors that draw on concepts from this field are likely to be used or at least understood in the other languages due to the shared European culture and its main art forms. This observation can probably be extrapolated to other topical areas: metaphors based on commonly known concepts from shared cultural, scientific, technological, etc. fields are likely to exist in the other language(s) or will at least be understood if the mapping is based on a salient feature (cf. Weinrich, 1976:283-285; Dobrovolskij & Piirainen, 2005:10 on Euroversals and Standard Average European).

**Table 6.42. Topical domain areas: metaphor vehicle frequencies**

Domain area	Metaphor vehicle frequency per source domain area/ 10,000 LU			Metaphor vehicle frequency per target domain area/ 10,000 LU		
	English	German	Spanish	English	German	Spanish
Agriculture	6		22		3	
Architecture	19	17	12	4	7	6
Arts	46	28	36	54	18	11
Culture/ cultural event				14	9	21
Economy	4	4	2	21	6	25
Food/ gastronomy	10	20	1	11	7	16
Geography	4	9	4	10	1	23
Geometry/ maths	42	23	27			
Humanities	7	7	5	2	4	37
Language	3	1				1
Medicine		4	2	2		
Military	22	3	3	2	1	
Natural science	2	2	17		5	5
Psychology/ feelings				3	3	
Religión	4	9	17			2
Sports		6	2	15	3	15
Technology	4	2	1	49	9	28
Transport	19	2	3	10	6	2

Topical target domain areas give information on the semantic fields that are covered by a text. However, due to the reduced number of samples and lacking data for literal language in these semantic areas, our data reveal little about language-specific preferences regarding metaphorical language use in these fields. The main observations that can be made based on our research corpora with respect to topical target domains are cross-linguistic frequency comparisons. English promotional tourism websites seem to contain more metaphors with the target domain ‘arts’ (54 as compared to 18 in German and 11 in Spanish) and the target domain ‘technology’ (49 as compared to 9 in German and 28 in Spanish). Since arts rely heavily on metaphor because of the large number of abstract concepts that this conceptual area handles, and technology relies heavily on metaphor in order to fill lexical gaps and describe technological processes, the proportions between the frequencies in the three languages are likely to reflect the textual space that is dedicated to these topics in each language. In other words, arts and technology seem to be topics that are considered more important on the English promotional websites than on their German and Spanish counterparts. More texts seem to have been dedicated to humanities and geography on the Spanish websites, since the frequencies for metaphors with these target domains is higher in the Spanish corpus than in either the German or the English. The Spanish corpus contains 37 MV/ 10,000 LU with the target domain area ‘humanities’ as compared to two in English and four in German. The target domain ‘geography’ is represented by 23 MV/ 10,000 LU in Spanish, ten in English and one in German. None of the topical domain areas stands out as being more frequent in the German sample corpus than in the other languages. Yet, ‘arts’ is the most frequent topical target domain area in this corpus with 18 MV/ 10,000 LU.

According to Kövecses (2010:23ff) the most common target domains of metaphors are the following: 1) emotions, 2) desire, 3) morality, 4) thought, 5) society/ nation, 6) politics, 7) economy, 8) human relationships, 9) communication, 10) time, 11) life and death, 12) religion, 13) events and actions. On our promotional tourism website corpora, few metaphors describe emotions and desire, which would be labelled ‘psychology/ feelings’. The topics of morality and politics seem to have been consciously avoided in the tourism texts. Thought is not a common topic either since the main purpose of tourism texts consists of describing places and services. Human relationships play a role in the metaphorical language of our tourism texts, but rather as a source domain for the description of services and places as in ‘warm and **friendly** service’ or ‘**welcoming** atmosphere’. Metaphors describing society or communication do not have a domain category of their own and their exact number has not been established in this study. However, judging from the memories of the analytical process, they are relatively rare and limited to information and communication technologies. Time is definitely a relatively frequent target domain with a normalised frequency of 46 in English, 29 in German and 44 in Spanish. Economy plays a minor role with frequencies of 21, 6 and 25. The topic ‘life/ death’ seems to have been avoided in these promotional tourism

webpages: only two metaphors with this target domain can be found in the three sample corpora. The same is true for the domain area ‘religion’. With respect to topical areas, the target domain ‘technology’ stands out. In our corpora, across the three languages, the principal target domain areas are 1) physical object features, 2) places, 3) abstract concepts, 4) abstract features, 5) quality, 6) general, 7) object, 8) time, 9) technology, 10) nature, 11) arts. This is not directly comparable with Kövecses’ (2010) list since the categories are designed in a different way. The category ‘abstract concept’, for example, could apply to many metaphor vehicles from all of Kövecses’ categories. However, it contains a large number of verbs and adjectives that are applied to an abstract concept in a way that is not topic-specific. Those metaphor vehicles that have been assigned the target domain ‘abstract concept’ and actually designate a term of a topical area mostly belong to the conceptual area culture. The main finding, with respect to the target domain list by Kövecses, is that on the tourism promotional website corpora, a large proportion of the identified metaphors map features onto physical objects and places. This is a kind of insight that can only be gained with a bottom-up approach, analysing each lexical unit in the text as in the present study.

#### **6.6.2. Most frequent source-target domain combinations**

Altogether, the English sample corpus yielded 254 source-target domain combinations, of which 107 only had one instantiation. The German sample corpus produced 253 source-target domain relationships. Of these, 119 had only one instantiation. In the case of Spanish, the different source-target domain pairings amounted to 281, with 129 single instantiations. In this section, a comparison of the twenty most frequent source-target domain pairings in the three languages will be offered. First, the frequency of the three most common pairings in each language will be compared with their rank and frequency in the other languages. Then, an overview of the source-target domain pairings that are among the twenty most frequent in all three languages will be given. The presence of primary metaphors among the most frequent source and target pairings will be commented on briefly. Finally, further observations will be presented.

In Table 6.43. and throughout the discussion, frequencies are given as normalised frequencies in metaphor vehicles characterised by the source-target pairing per 10,000 lexical units, if not explicitly stated otherwise. Table 6.43. contains the most common pairings in order of frequency in each of the languages of this study. The source domain is given first, followed by a hyphen and the target domain. The hyphen can be read as ‘to’, for example ‘person to object’ for ‘person – object’, while providing a better visual separation than the preposition. The source-target pairings that made the top-twenty list in all three languages have been highlighted in bold.

Table 6.43. Most frequent source-target domain pairings in normalised frequencies [metaphor vehicle/ 10,000 lexical units]

ENGLISH	NF	GERMAN	NF	SPANISH	NF
<b>person – place</b>	58	<b>physical feature - abstract feature</b>	65	<b>physical activity - object feature: physical</b>	81
<b>object - abstract concept</b>	48	<b>human activity - object feature: physical</b>	58	<b>person – place</b>	74
<b>human activity - object feature: physical</b>	48	<b>human activity - object feature: abstract</b>	54	<b>physical activity - abstract activity</b>	66
<b>physical feature - abstract feature</b>	45	material wealth/ value - abstract concept	49	<b>human activity - object feature: physical</b>	52
geometry/ maths – place	39	<b>physical activity - abstract activity</b>	44	<b>object - abstract concept</b>	47
physical event – object	38	<b>physical activity - object feature: physical</b>	42	<b>human activity - object feature: abstract</b>	41
<b>physical activity - abstract activity</b>	37	<b>person – place</b>	38	<b>physical feature - abstract feature</b>	37
human feature - object feature: abstract	35	<b>object - abstract concept</b>	36	nature – nature	31
<b>physical activity - object feature: physical</b>	30	physical activity - object feature: abstract	29	<b>space – time</b>	30
<b>space – time</b>	30	shape - abstract feature	18	physical activity - abstract feature	24
height – quality	27	food/ gastronomy – general	18	arts – humanities	23
animal – place	17	<b>space – time</b>	16	human feature - object feature: physical	22
human feature - object feature: physical	16	abstract feature - abstract feature	16	abstract activity - object feature: physical	21
arts – general	15	space - abstract concept	15	geometry/ maths - institution	21
object – technology	15	arts – general	15	physical activity - abstract event	19
object – arts	15	geometry/ maths – place	14	quantity – quality	18
<b>human activity - object feature: abstract</b>	14	abstract activity - object feature: abstract	12	hypothetical experience - quality	18
person – object	14	object – person	10	height – quality	18
material wealth/ value – general	14	physical activity - abstract concept	10	size - abstract feature	18
animal – object	13	living being – place	10	physical activity - object feature: abstract	17

The most common source-target domain pairing (STD pairing) in English was ‘person – place’, with a normalised frequency of 58. In this category, most metaphor vehicles in the English corpus were involved in the breach of a selection restriction. According to their basic sense description, they should have been applied to a person as their grammatical or implicit object. However, in these metaphorical cases, they referred to a place. It is noteworthy that 58 out of 75 identified metaphor vehicles<sup>82</sup> with this STD pairing are forms of ‘to visit’, ‘visit’ or ‘visitor’. The ample use of these words is linked to the name of many promotional tourism websites in England, such as *visitlondon.com*, and might further be motivated by the desire to achieve a good position in online search engines. The STD pairing ‘person-place’ ranked second on the Spanish list with a frequency of 74, which is actually higher than on the English (58). In German, it was the seventh most frequent STD pairing with a frequency of 38, roughly half of the Spanish frequency, which points to a cross-linguistic difference in the frequency of personifications.

In the German sample corpus, the most common STD pairing was ‘physical feature – abstract feature’ with a frequency of 65. This pairing ranks fourth in English with a frequency of 46, and seventh in Spanish with a frequency of 31. This kind of pairing can be associated with abstract resemblance through the mapping of similar inner structures, similar functions or similar effects, as in ‘**turbulent** past’. It also often describes metaphors based on experiential correlation, as ‘**hard** work’. However, these are not the only mappings that appear with this source-target domain combination.

After the metaphor identification process, it comes as no surprise that the most common STD pairing in the Spanish corpus is ‘physical activity – object feature: physical’. This pairing has a normalised frequency of 81 in Spanish, which is twice as much as in the German corpus (42). In English, it ranks ninth with a frequency of 30. Examples of this STD combination are: ‘**rolling** parkland’, ‘**swooping** descents’, *560 Kilometer Wanderwege liegen im Nationalpark Harz* [560 kilometres of trails **lie** in the Harz National Park], *Burgen in Thüringen erheben sich meist auf Anhöhen* [castles in Thuringia **rise up** mostly on hilltops], *hay un camino que conduce a los dólmenes* [there is a path that **leads** to the dolmens] and *paredes inclinadas dibujan un laberinto de piedra y vegetación* [steep walls **draw** a maze of stone and foliage]. With regard to this STD pairing, Spanish not only shows the highest frequency, but also the greatest variety of metaphor vehicles. Despite this variety, the proportion of novel metaphors for this STD pairing in Spanish, 20%, lies below the sample corpus average of 24.4%. This illustrates how entrenched this pairing is in the Spanish language.

The second most frequent STD pairing in the English corpus is ‘object – abstract concept’. The vast majority of these metaphors are reifications as in ‘**give** an update’, ‘**share** interest in’ or ‘travellers **collect** experiences’. A smaller group shows abstract

---

<sup>82</sup> In absolute numbers

resemblance mappings, such as ‘sign’ in ‘with every **sign** that the sport’s popularity is growing’, or ‘essence’ in ‘capture the true **essence** of what it is like to ...’, which was included in the category ‘object’ as a physical substance. The normalised frequencies of the three languages for this pairing are similar: 48 for the English corpus, 47 for the Spanish, and slightly less, 36, for the German.

In the German corpus, the second most common STD pairing is ‘human activity – object feature: physical’. Human activity is usually either a physical or an abstract activity. What makes it special is that, in its basic sense, it is only carried out by people. This pairing almost exclusively contains personifications, as in the following examples:

- (118) the cottage **boasts** beautiful beaches
- (119) *Ab Aken **begleitet** der Europaradweg die Elbe bis Vockerode.* [From Aken on, the European cycling route **accompanies** the river Elbe till Vockerode],
- (120) *Castilla y León **atesora** una buena muestra de espacios culturales* [Castilla-León **treasures** a good sample of cultural spaces].

The frequency of ‘human activity – object feature: physical’ in the German corpus amounts to 58. In the English corpus, this is the third most common STD pairing (48) and in Spanish it is in position four with a frequency of 52, only exhibiting very small cross-linguistic differences.

The second most frequent source-target domain combination in Spanish is ‘person – place’, which has been commented on above as the most frequent combination in English. Also the STD pairing ranking third in English, ‘human activity – object feature: physical’, has a higher ranking in another language, German.

The third most frequent STD combination in German transfers features from human activities to objects, describing abstract features (human activity – object feature: abstract). It shows a frequency of 68 in German. In English, it ranks only seventeenth, with a frequency of 14. In Spanish, however, the frequency is higher and amounts to 41.

In Spanish, the third most common STD pairing combines physical activity and abstract activity. This is typically an abstract resemblance mapping, since most cases are based on similar processes or similar results or effects, but personifications, modelling in space and cases of experiential correlation also display this source-target domain combination. ‘Physical activity – abstract activity’ has a frequency of 66 in Spanish. It is in fifth position on the German list, with a normalised frequency of 44, and in seventh position in English, with a frequency of 37. Thus, differences between German and English are minor.

Eight pairings of the top-twenty lists are shared by all three languages. These items are:

- person - place
- object - abstract concept
- human activity - object feature: physical

- physical feature - abstract feature
- physical activity - abstract activity
- physical activity - object feature: physical
- space – time
- human activity - object feature: abstract

The first six pairings on this list are among the three most frequent of one or more of the three languages. ‘Space – time’ is a combination that is related to modelling in space and presents a frequency of 30 for both English and Spanish, while the German corpus displays a frequency of only 16 related metaphors/ 10,000 LU. The last combination from this short list, ‘human activity – object feature: abstract’ often produces personifications, such as the following:

- (121) ‘this farmhouse [...] **beckons** you to explore’  
 (122) *Weiterer Luxus wartet bei den Speisen* [Further luxury **awaits** (you) with respect to the meals]  
 (123) *todo invita a la gran aventura oriental* [everything **invites** to the great oriental adventure].

Some ‘space-time’ metaphors are motivated by experiential correlation as in ‘the day **ahead**,’ and may also be classified as a primary metaphor, since we learn through repeated situations; for instance, when we are walking, what lies ahead of us is where we will be in the future. Another domain combination that points to primary and experiential-correlation metaphors is ‘height – quality’, with a frequency of 27 in English and 18 in Spanish. It does, however, not make the top twenty list in German displaying a frequency of merely 7 MV/ 10,000 LU. Moreover, the STD pairing ‘quantity – quality’ can be linked to experiential correlation metaphors. It ranks 16<sup>th</sup> on the Spanish list with a frequency of 18.

Only few topical domain areas are represented in the top twenty lists. ‘Arts’ is the topical domain area which appears most often: it figures in ‘arts – general’ on the English and German lists and in ‘arts - humanities’ on the Spanish list. It is also contained as a target domain area in ‘object – arts’ in English.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that some STD pairings are entirely constituted by one word, such as ‘physical event – object’, which is always instantiated by ‘attraction’ in the English corpus, 42 occurrences, which makes a normalised frequency of 38 (see example 124 below). The other two languages do not have similar frequencies of this word. In Spanish it is disambiguated into *atracción* for the phenomenon and *atractivo* for the potential, which can both be used metaphorically/ metonymically for the touristic asset. However, *atractivo* is not considered metaphorical since it lacks literal uses in contemporary Spanish. Furthermore, Spanish strives for a higher lexical variety. In German, a tourist attraction is generally referred to as *Sehenswürdigkeit* [sight], and

even when it is referred to as *Attraktion*, it is a loanword and, as such, not included in the present analysis.

- (124) London is a diverse and exciting city with some of the world's best sights, **attractions** and activities.
- (125) *Una **atracción** diferente que te hará viajar en el tiempo* [An **attraction** unlike any other, which will take you on a journey through time]

Other source-target domain combinations are dominated by one word or word family as well. Most instantiations of ‘geometry/maths – place’ in English are the word ‘centre’ (example 126-127). The combination ‘person – object’ contains a large proportion of metaphor vehicles that belong to the group ‘to visit/ visit/ visitor’ in all three languages. ‘Food/ gastronomy – general’ in German consists almost exclusively of the metaphor vehicles *genießen* [ingest = enjoy] and *Genuss* [consumption – enjoyment], a meaning extension that has not taken place in Spanish or English (example 128-131). The Spanish pairing ‘nature – nature’ is constituted by compound nouns containing *parque* in the sense of natural park. This is a borderline case resulting from very specific dictionary descriptions. Ideally, source and target domain labels should not be identical.

- (126) For an opportunity to discover the past of Maidenhead the newly relocated Heritage **Centre** is a must with regular exhibitions and talks on the towns past
- (127) Ashford has bloomed into a lively, cosmopolitan commercial **centre**.
- (128) *Mittermeier - ein optischer und kulinarischer Genuss* [Mittermeier – a feast for the eyes and the palate (literally: an optical and culinary consumption/ delight)]
- (129) *Denn das Land bietet zahlreiche Touren für Jung und Alt, für **Genussradler** oder sportliche Radfahrer, für Individualisten, Gruppen und die ganze Familie.* [Since the region offers plenty of tours for the young and the old, for **pleasure** (literally: consumption) cyclists or sporty bikers, for individualists, groups and the entire family]
- (130) ***Genießen** Sie bei Ihrem Besuch in Marburg auch das abwechslungsreiche Angebot im Kulturzentrum* [Also **enjoy** (literally: ingest) the varied offer of the cultural centre during your visit in Marburg.]
- (131) *... cuidados caseríos, cuevas legendarias, verdes prados y espacios como el **Parque** Natural de Bertiz sorprenden a la cámara.* [... neat farmhouses, legendary caves, green meadows and spaces such as the Bertiz Natural **Park** surprise your camera.]

In summary, there is a large number of source-target domain pairings that are actually realised in the sample corpora. However, only the approximately twenty most frequent combinations produce frequencies of 15 MV/ 10,000 LU and above. About a third of these most frequent combinations overlap in all three languages. Consequently, it is highly likely that a combination that is frequent in one language is frequent, or at least relatively frequent, in the other languages. The highest normalised frequencies are

found for German and Spanish, ranging from approximately 60 to 81. Meanwhile, the highest frequency in the English corpus reaches 65 MV/ 10,000 lexical units. Furthermore, closer analysis shows that a given source-target domain relationship can occur with several different mapping schemes and that even some of the most frequent source-target domain pairings can be dominated by one word or word class. Clear cross-linguistic differences, such as the systematic preference of a specific source-target domain pairing, or a group of them, in one language which receive(s) very little attention in the other languages, have not been found. The detected differences can be associated with a genre-specific overuse of certain vocabulary linked with different lexical developments or differences in the dictionary entries in each language, as in the case of ‘attraction’ and *parque* [park].

The lack of marked language-specific differences in the STD pairings is in line with the findings of a study on metaphor in economics and tourism texts by Corbacho Sánchez (2014). He concluded that in German and Spanish, metaphors are largely congruent at the conceptual level, while, at the linguistic level, they can be realised through different lexical means and constructions (Corbacho Sánchez, 2014:37-8). This will be the focus of the following section, which looks into the literal translatability of the identified linguistic metaphors.

### 6.7. Literal translatability

In order to identify areas with a high risk of translation mistakes, it was necessary to establish for each of the metaphor vehicles whether they can be transferred literally into the other two languages that are studied in this research. This is done by a four-step process, which was described in section 5.4.6.

In the following sections, the results from the translatability analysis will be presented by language pairs, starting with the combination English–German, and moving on to English–Spanish and then German–Spanish. A first question that the translatability analysis of this study tries to answer is which proportion of the identified linguistic metaphors can actually be translated literally and whether the translation direction matters. In other words: Is the same percentage of metaphors literally translatable from language A to language B as from language B to language A, or does this percentage vary? A second question was whether conventional and novel metaphors showed identical behaviour with respect to literal translatability, and, once again, whether the translation direction made any difference.

In this quantitative part of the study certain special cases with implications for translation quality were observed. The degree of conventionalisation, the frequency of use and the status of metaphor itself are factors that might change from one language to another although literal translatability as such is given. So the third question that this translatability analysis tries to answer is which proportion of all metaphors these three

special cases account for, and whether any cross-linguistic variation can be observed with regard to these factors.

Moreover, the source-target-domain combinations that are associated with higher potential translation problems will be listed and discussed for each of the language pairs and translation directions.

### 6.7.1. *Literal translatability: English–German*

#### 6.7.1.1. *Quantitative Analysis*

The results given in Table 6.44. and Figure 6.21. will help answer the three quantitative questions explained above for the language pair English–German.

**Table 6.44. Number and percentage of literally translatable and not literally translatable linguistic metaphors: English – German**

<u>Linguistic metaphors</u>	English to German		German to English	
	Absolute nrs	Percentages	Absolute nrs	Percentages
<b>All metaphors total</b>	<b>1350</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1269</b>	<b>100</b>
Literally translatable, all types	717	53.1	746	58.8
Not literally translatable, all types	633	46.9	523	41.2
<b>Conventional metaphors total</b>	<b>1208</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1030</b>	<b>100</b>
Literally translatable, conventional	622	51.5	507	49.2
Not literally translatable, conventional	586	48.5	523	50.8
<b>Novel metaphors total</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>100</b>
Literally translatable, novel	92	64.8	146	61.1
Not literally translatable, novel	50	35.2	93	38.9

When all types of metaphor are taken together, 53.1% of the English linguistic metaphors in the sample corpus are literally translatable to German, while 58.8% of the German linguistic metaphors are literally translatable to English. Consequently, our data suggest that a German linguistic metaphor on a promotional tourism website is more likely to be literally transferable to English than an English metaphor to German. What this difference can be attributed to is not evident. On the one hand, it seems plausible that a language with a higher overall metaphoricity, such as English, should be more flexible in language use and, consequently, have a wider range of conventional metaphors and more readily admit novel metaphors. On the other hand, despite showing

a higher overall frequency of linguistic metaphor, our English corpus contains a large proportion of conventionalised metaphor (89.5%) and displays a relatively low lemma/token ratio for metaphor vehicles (0.33 as compared to 0.39 in German). Usually, one would expect a language with a high proportion of conventional metaphors and a lower lexical variety of metaphor vehicles (in our case, English), to be less flexible. As a consequence, the literal translatability of metaphors from a language with a greater metaphorical variety and a higher proportion of novel metaphor into English, should be lower than from English into this other language, German in this case. The fact that this is not the case for our sample corpora may depend on various factors: the relationship between promotional tourism website discourse and general English language, prefixation and loanwords. These points shall be discussed in some more detail in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, the higher degree of literal translatability in the direction German to English confirms the hypothesis stated earlier on that English tourism websites might have been written with an international readership in mind. Thus, lexical variety and novel language use are reduced consciously in order to facilitate comprehension. As a result, English promotional tourism websites do not represent general British language use and metaphor use. Translatability, however, was established based on general language dictionaries and internet searches without topical or genre filters. This may be one reason for the apparent contradiction between literal translatability on the one hand, and the proportion of conventional metaphor and lemma/token ratio on the other.

Secondly, one morphological difference stood out in the translatability analysis, namely prefixation. A certain number of metaphorically used verbs cannot be translated by the literal equivalent of their basic meaning, since the correct word choice in German is formed from the same verb by prefixation, as for examples (132) to (134):

- (132) ... techniques such as the Big Picture, which **puts** you right in the centre of the experience using a dramatic display of projected images and sound.
- (133) You can also **take** a picture with the 95-storey skyscraper in the background  
...
- (134) London's history **stretches** back over thousands of years.

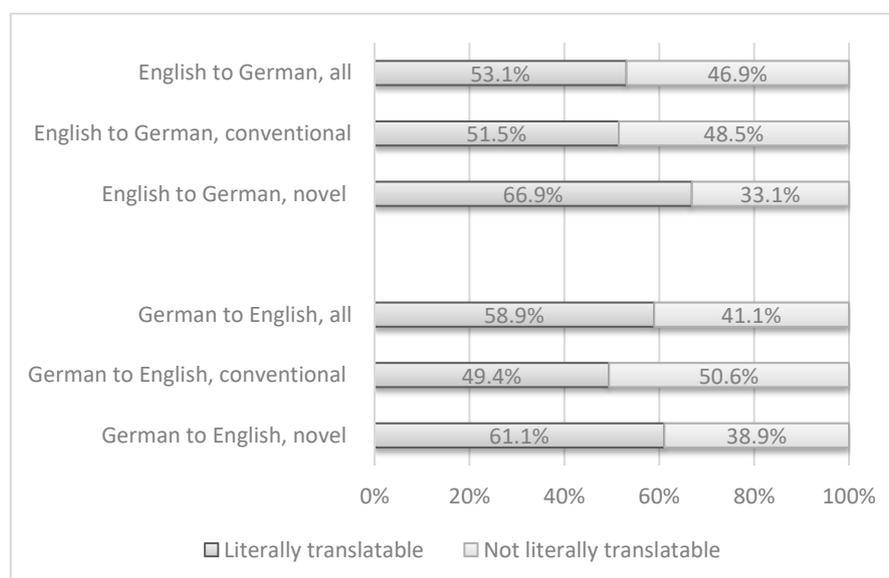
In the first example, the verb 'put' in its basic meaning can be *setzen*, *legen*, or *stellen* in German, depending on the final position of the object. In this specific context, the correct translation of 'puts you right in the centre of the experience' would be *versetzt dich genau ins Zentrum der Erfahrung*, adding the prefix *ver-* to the verb *setzen*. In the second example, the literal translation of the basic meaning of 'take' is *nehmen*, while the translation in this context is *aufnehmen*. Similarly, in the third sentence, the verb 'to stretch' is not translated as *strecken*, but *sich erstrecken*, that is, with a prefix and a reflexive pronoun. When translating these prefixed verbs back to English, the translation equivalent is often identical with the plain verb. Hence, these prefixed verbs contribute to a disparity in the literal translatability between the translation direction

English to German and the direction German to English. The lack of literal translatability due to prefixation in the former direction is present in 29 cases, or 2.1% of the metaphor vehicles in the English sample corpus, thus accounting for only slightly more than a third of the disparity.

The third factor that adds to the higher translatability from German to English is the fact that the English sample corpus contains 31 metaphor vehicles that are generally translated to German with a loanword taken from English. These 31 cases account for 2.3% of the identified metaphor vehicles. Many of these loanwords come from the world of music, such as ‘soul’, ‘garage’, ‘metal’, ‘underground’, ‘hardcore’, ‘live’ or ‘tribute band’. Others belong to the field of ICT, such as ‘link’, ‘browse’ and, in a wider sense, ‘audio guide’. Yet others are used in the field of sports and general language. In the translation direction English to German, these cases are not considered to be literally translatable since ‘soul’ is not represented by *Seele*, the literal translation of its basic meaning, thus reducing the proportion of literally translatable metaphors. In the opposite translation direction, from German to English, such loanwords are not considered metaphorical and are, therefore, not reflected in this study.

In summary, of the 5.7%-difference in translatability between the two translation directions, more than two thirds (4.4%) can be attributed to morphological differences and loanwords. The remaining 1.3% might be caused by the simpler style in the English sample corpus.

In the following paragraphs, the literal translatability of conventional and novel metaphors shall be compared.



**Figure 6.21. Percentages of literal translatability of all, conventional and novel metaphors: English - German**

As can be seen in Figure 6.21., the overall translatability for the translation direction English to German ascends to 53.1%. It is slightly lower for conventional metaphors (51.5%) and notably higher for novel metaphors (66.9%). In other words, almost half of the conventional metaphors identified in the English sample corpus (48.5%) are potentially problematic in translations to German, whereas only about a third of the novel metaphors of this corpus (33.1%) show the same problem. The higher literal translatability of novel metaphors may be attributed to the genre and the target audience. Unlike poetic metaphors, tourism website metaphors need to be easily interpretable. They need to be entertaining enough to keep the reader's attention and noteworthy in order to persuade and be remembered. However, they must not be too difficult to decode since potential visitors might desist from reading the rest of the website if the cognitive effort is too high. This is especially important for texts that address an international readership. Accordingly, novel tourism website metaphors map only few salient, often graphical, features or contribute to economy of speech through personifications, as can be seen in examples (135) to (137) below.

- (135) Bankside was once known as London's **larder**.
- (136) The Cleveland Way **roller-coasts** around the North York Moors
- (137) The exhibition also **looks at** cycling from the perspectives of four different subcultures.

All these factors —reduced number of mapped features, graphical content and personifications— are metaphor features that increase their translatability. Furthermore, the languages studied in this dissertation share large areas of cultural background, and, due to increased mobility and the recent fast development of ICT, this cultural overlap is growing constantly. In summary, owing to the nature of a typical novel metaphor on a tourism website and a common European cultural base, it seems plausible that the literal translatability of novel metaphors is high and exceeds the value for conventional metaphors.

For German to English, the overall literal translatability amounts to 58.8%, with a complementary 41.2% of potential translation difficulties. For conventional metaphors, the literal translatability is lower, amounting to only 49.2%. This value is close to that of the English metaphor vehicles with literal translatability to German: 51.5%. Just like the identified novel English metaphors, the novel German metaphors show a higher literal translatability (61.1%) and consequently a lower risk of possible translation problems (38.9%). Once again, the numbers are comparable to the numbers for the translation direction English to German.

Within the group of literally translatable metaphors of all kinds, special cases occur that require special attention in the translation process since a literal translation entails a slightly different effect on the readership due to a change of the degree of conventionalisation, a different frequency of use in the studied genre or loss of connotations due to the loss of metaphoricality in the target language. As a consequence,

adjustments, such as compensation strategies or a non-literal translation, might best reproduce the effect of the source text metaphor on the reader. The absolute numbers of these cases and their percentage with respect to all identified metaphors are displayed in Table 6.45.

**Table 6.45. Number and percentage of literally translatable metaphors and their special cases:  
English – German**

	English to German		German to English	
	Absolute nrs	Percentages	Absolute nrs	Percentages
<b><u>Linguistic metaphors</u></b>				
All metaphors total	1350	100	1269	100
<b>Literally translatable, all types</b>	<b>717</b>	<b>53.1</b>	<b>746</b>	<b>58.8</b>
*Novel/ conventional change	39	2.9	64	5.0
*Different frequency of use	33	2.4	6	0.5
*Not metaphorical in target language	18	1.3	16	1.3
<b>*Special cases total</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>6.8</b>

A change in the degree of conventionalisation is observed for 2.9% of all identified metaphor vehicles in the translation direction English to German whereas in the direction German to English, this kind of change amounts to 5.5% of all metaphor vehicles. The change takes place mainly from conventional to novel. In the English sample corpus, this is true for 36 out of 39 metaphor vehicles, while, in the German corpus, it is the case for 47 out of 64 linguistic metaphors. Considering that the share of novel metaphors in the English sample corpus is 10.5% and in the German one 18.8%, the higher proportion of changes from novel to conventional in the direction German to English reflects this disparity. Systematic differences in the two dictionaries and their way of formulating sense descriptions that might cause the difference in the overall percentage of changes in the degree of conventionalisation have not been detected.

A difference in the frequency of use is present in 2.4% of the English metaphor vehicles when translated to German, and for 0.5% of the German metaphor vehicles when transferred literally to English. The English metaphor vehicles that can be translated literally but show a different frequency of use are mainly the words ‘back’, used to refer to past times, and ‘heart’ as in the expression ‘in the heart of’. Half of the German metaphor vehicles with a change their in frequency of use are *Grund* [ground], which is the common German word for reason, and the other half are forms of *Krone* [crown] in *Baumkrone* [treetop]. While both ‘crown’ and ‘treetop’ can be used in English, the latter is a lot more common. The use of the words ‘grounds’ and ‘crown’ in the English translation would therefore create the impression of a sophisticated style, which is not present in the German source text.

Finally, in both the English and the German corpora, 1.3% of all metaphor vehicles have a literal translation with the same meaning in context but cannot be considered metaphorical in the target language in the strict sense of an MIP-based operationalisation since the basic meaning is no longer in use or the basic sense description in the target language dictionary covers both the literal and the metaphorical sense in the source language.

When all the special cases where a change in the perception by the readership can be expected (changing degree of conventionalisation, differing frequency of use and loss of metaphorical status) are added up, they amount to 6.6% in English and 6.8% for the German metaphor vehicles. This distracts from the general literal translatability, since these almost 7% of cases require attention and translation decisions. When compared to the number of the literally translatable metaphor vehicles instead of the overall number of metaphor vehicles, the percentage of the special cases amounts to 12.6% (English to German) and 11.5% (German to English), which is a share that cannot be neglected in an analysis. Despite several minor cross-linguistic differences, the overall picture as regards translatability is rather similar for both translation directions so far.

In summary, the translation direction does not seem to have a strong influence for the language pair English–German. Literal translatability overall, for conventional metaphors and for novel metaphors is approximately equal for both translation directions, with minor differences, sometimes with German in the lead, sometimes with English displaying higher values, but without clear tendencies, apart from the fact that the novel metaphors in our corpora seem to entail fewer translation problems than the conventionalised metaphors.

#### 6.7.1.2. *Potentially problematic source-target-domain combinations and metaphor vehicles*

In addition to describing the observed cross-linguistic variation of metaphor use on promotional tourism websites, one of the research objectives consisted in identifying source-target-domain combinations which are potentially problematic in the translation process. In order to do so, the source-target-domain (STD) combinations of all metaphor vehicles that had been marked as not literally translatable were listed and organised by frequency. Altogether, 633 of the 1350 identified English metaphors cannot be translated literally into German. These 633 cases belong to 143 different STD combinations. In the direction German to English, 523 of a total of 1269 linguistic metaphors lack literal translatability. These linguistic metaphors belong to 136 different STD combinations. The twenty STD combinations with most instantiations for each translation direction can be seen in Table 6.46. The left part of the table contains data for the translation direction English to German, while the three columns on the right display the results for the inverse direction, German to English. For each language, the first column displays the STD combination, the second the absolute number of not-

literally-translatable metaphor vehicles found for this combination. Meanwhile, the third column shows the percentage of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles within this STD combination. Those combinations with a percentage equal to or higher than 75% have been highlighted in bold.

**Table 6.46. Occurrences and percentages of not literally translatable source-target-domain combinations: English – German**

<b>Not literally translatable English &gt; German</b>	<b>Occ.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Not literally translatable German &gt; English</b>	<b>Occ.</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>physical event_ object</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>material wealth/ value_ abstract concept</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>90</b>
physical feature_ abstract feature	36	72	physical feature_ abstract feature	41	51
<b>physical activity_ abstract activity</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>76</b>	physical activity_ abstract activity	38	69
object_ abstract concept	30	56	physical activity_ object feature: abstract	24	67
<b>height_ quality</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>90</b>	object_ abstract concept	20	44
physical activity_ object feature: physical	22	65	food & gastronomy_ general	16	73
human feature_ object feature: abstract	21	54	abstract feature_ abstract feature	13	65
<b>animal_ object</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>	physical activity_ object feature: physical	13	25
<b>arts_ general</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>76</b>	shape_ abstract feature	13	59
<b>object_ technology</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>76</b>	physical activity_ abstract concept	11	85
<b>place_ technology</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>86</b>	abstract activity_ object feature: abstract	10	67
human activity_ object feature: physical	10	65	<b>architecture_ technology</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>object_ place</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>77</b>	human activity_ object feature: abstract	9	13
<b>material wealth/ value_ time</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	human activity_ object feature: physical	9	13
<b>object_ object</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>object_ abstract feature</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>physical feature_ place</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	person_ object	8	73
<b>transport_ abstract concept</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>abstract activity_ object feature: physical</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>living being_ arts</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>plant_ place</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100</b>
military_ general	8	73	space_ abstract concept	7	37
<b>object_ physical activity</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>geometry/ maths_ abstract concept</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>75</b>

The source-target-domain (STD) combination that contains most metaphor vehicles that are not literally translatable from English to German is ‘physical event\_ object’. This combination is represented by a single lemma, ‘attraction’, which shows a remarkable overuse on English tourism websites, not only due to the topic, but probably also due to an effort to achieve good positioning in search engines. ‘Attraction’ in this metaphorical sense cannot be translated as *Anziehung* but is rather transferred into German as *Sehenswürdigkeit* [sight] or the loanword *Attraktion*. With only one lemma and the special circumstances which have just been described, it is difficult to draw general conclusions about metaphors that map from the source domain ‘physical event’ to the target domain ‘object’. Further, more specific studies would be necessary to make any predictions about this STD pairing.

The problematic STD combination with most instantiations in the translation direction German to English is ‘material wealth/ value\_ abstract concept’. Similarly to the top problematic STD combination for English into German, its metaphor vehicle variety is extremely limited, counting only two lemmas: *reich* [rich] and *Erbe* [inheritance]. In this category only compound adjectives in which the component *reich* is combined with an abstract concept are contained (see examples 138 - 140).

- (138) *Schön und abwechslungsreich ist die Mecklenburgische Ostseeküste* [Beautiful and varied (literal: **rich** in variety) is the Baltic coast of Mecklenburg]
- (139) *Zahlreiche Kirchen und Klöster zeugen bis heute von der romanischen Baukunst.* [Numerous (literally: **rich** in number) churches and monasteries remain as testimonies of the Romanic architecture.]
- (140) *Der erlebnisreiche Streifzug durch Schloss Gottorf präsentiert dem Besucher ein Jahrtausend Kulturgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins.* [The adventurous (literally: **rich** in experiences) foray through the Castle of Gottdorf presents a thousand years of cultural history of Schleswig-Holstein to the visitor.]

The metaphor vehicle *Erbe* is mainly present in compound nouns, such as *Weltkulturerbe* [world heritage] or *Weltkulturerbestätte* [world heritage site], and less frequently in collocations, such as *musikalisches Erbe* [musical heritage].

The second most frequent problematic combination of source domain and target domain for both translation directions is ‘physical feature\_ abstract feature’. Frequent metaphor vehicles are ‘warm’, ‘packed’, ‘hard’, ‘extensive’, ‘accessible’ and *voll* [full], *offen* [open] and *verbinden* [to tie together] (see examples 141-148).

- (141) This cool venue housed under railway arches showcases an incredibly diverse range of music to a **warm** and friendly crowd.
- (142) Norden Farm offers a **packed** programme of theatre, dance, comedy, visual arts, music and film as well as the Norden Farm Café Bar ...

- (143) With so much to do, it's **hard** to narrow down the long list of reasons to visit, ...
- (144) ... making the Hotel the ideal getaway for visiting friends, sampling the **extensive** nightlife or even treating yourselves to a shopping weekend...
- (145) With over 80 miles of easy access footpaths, and great **accessible** facilities, it's very wheelchair and pushchair friendly
- (146) ... *mit einem bunten Mix aus Zauberkunst, Artistik und Comedy* ... [...with a varied (literally: **colourful**) mix of magic, artistry and comedy...]
- (147) ... *sowie eine Vielzahl von kleineren Bühnen in Clubs und Kneipen, die in Sachen Musik keine Wünsche offen lassen.* [... as well as a large number of small stages in clubs and bars that leave nothing to be desired (literally: leave no desires **open**).]
- (148) ...*die Wiege des sächsischen Automobilbaus, der in Sachsen mit dem Namen August Horch verbunden ist,* ... [ ... the cradle of Saxon automotive industry, which is associated with (literally: **tied together** with) the name August Horch in Saxony ...]

The third source-target-domain relationship with regard to the number of metaphor vehicles that cannot be translated literally is 'physical activity\_ abstract activity' for both translation directions. The lexical variety in this group is high, with most metaphor vehicle lemmas occurring only once or twice. The only metaphor vehicle from the English corpus that occurs more often is 'to keep' as in 'keep someone satisfied/ happy/ entertained/ etc.'. The sample corpus contains six occurrences of 'to keep' that cannot be translated literally. Metaphor vehicles in this category in the German corpus that occur more than twice are *prägen* [to emboss] and *stellen* [to put]. All thirteen occurrences of *prägen* take on the meaning of exerting an influence on someone or something, shaping the person or thing in a special way. The three problematic cases of *stellen* occur in combination with abstract nouns: *außer Dienst stellen* [take out of service], *zur Schau stellen* [to display] and *unter Beweis stellen* [to prove].

The fourth most numerous problematic STD combination for the translation direction English to German is 'object\_ abstract concept'. It is also the fifth most numerous category for the opposite translation direction. The source domain 'object' does not only include nouns that denote physical objects or parts thereof, but also adjectives and verbs that are limited to physical objects in their basic meaning due to selection restrictions. The lexical variety in this category, 'object\_ abstract concept', is relatively high for both translation directions. The most frequent metaphor vehicles in English that are not literally translatable to German are 'to take' (14 occurrences) and 'to give' (six occurrences). In these metaphorical contexts, 'to take' is used in expressions like 'take a break', 'take advantage of', 'take care of', or 'take someone's fancy', for instance. 'To give' occurs in phrases such as 'give plenty of challenges', 'give it a try' and 'give a

whole new experience'. In the translation direction German to English, the most frequent metaphor vehicles with potential translation problems are *Rahmen* [frame], with four occurrences, and *Grund* [ground, bottom], with only three occurrences. The former is used in the rather standardised expression *im Rahmen von* [in the context of, as part of], while the latter is used in the phrase *der Grund von etwas sein* [to be the reason for something].

With respect to the cross-linguistic comparison, it can be observed that most of the highest-ranking STD combinations in Table 6.46. have a relatively large number of occurrences for both translation directions. This is true for 'physical feature\_ abstract feature', 'physical activity\_ abstract activity', 'object\_ abstract concept' and 'physical activity\_ object feature: physical'.

When interpreting the data in Table 6.46., one should bear in mind that a higher number of not literally translatable metaphor vehicles does not necessarily mean that a STD combination is more problematic. For instance, the STD combinations mentioned in the previous paragraph happen to also rank high on the global list, which includes all cases, not only the potentially problematic ones. However, their percentage of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles are not particularly high. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that these are particularly problematic STD combinations. A problematic STD category would be one with a high percentage of problematic cases per identified metaphors. It is also interesting to determine whether this STD combination is dominated by one or a few lemmas with a high frequency on promotional tourism websites, or whether there is a wide lexical variety. The latter scenario would point to a high probability that metaphors with this STD combinations will lack literal translatability, the former doesn't allow for this conclusion. Both situations are of practical interest. On the one hand, high-frequency linguistic metaphors that cannot be translated literally should be included in training material for tourism students and translation and interpreting students, as well as in resources for professional translators. On the other hand, STD combinations with great lexical variety and a high proportion of problematic cases (in the sense of literal translatability) should be brought to the awareness of translation students and professionals, so they can be alert and verify their translation equivalent when they encounter this type of metaphor. Table 6.47. contains a summary of those STD combinations for the direction English to German that show a high proportion of not-literally-translatable metaphors. A high proportion was determined to be 75% or more. The STD combination is presented together with the number of their problematic occurrences (NLT<sup>83</sup>), percentage of problematic cases (%), number of different lemmatised problematic metaphor vehicles and the dominant lemmas of the not-literally-translatable cases.

---

<sup>83</sup> As in 'not literally translatable'

Table 6.47. Problematic STD combinations: English to German

STD combination	NLT	%	number lemmas	Predominant metaphor vehicles in lemmatised form
physical event_ object	42	100	1	attraction (42)
physical activity_ abstract activity	31	76	21	-
height_ quality	30	90	2	top (22x), high (8x)
animal_ object	15	100	4	ride (9x), to ride (2x), rider (1x)
arts_ general	17	76	2	iconic (10x), highlight (7x)
place_ technology	12	86	1	(web)site (12x)
object_ place	10	77	4	base (6x)
material wealth/value_ time	9	100	1	to spend (9x)
object_ object	9	100	4	-
physical feature_ place	9	100	1	sight (9x)
transport_ abstract concept	9	100	2	way (8x)
living being_ arts	8	100	2	live (7x)
object_ physical activity	8	100	3	to take (6x)

As can be seen from Table 6.47., thirteen out of the twenty most numerous STD combinations with translation difficulties in the direction English to German show a large percentage ( $\geq 75\%$ ) compared to the overall number of metaphor vehicles with these source and target domain areas. Out of these thirteen, ten are characterised by one or two predominant lemmas. For instance, ‘height\_ quality’ is represented by only two lemmas, ‘top’ and ‘high’, while ‘arts\_ general’ is dominated by ‘iconic’ and ‘highlight’. In the case of ‘animal\_ object’ a whole word family (ride, to ride, rider) plays a central role. Regarding STD combinations with a high lexical variety, only two have been detected: ‘physical activity\_ abstract activity’ and ‘object\_ object’. Here, translators should verify literal translations. In the latter category, ‘object\_ object’, the reason for the cross-linguistic variation seems to lie in the fact that the feature that is highlighted by the metaphor can be a salient feature of various source domains, and that different languages do not always choose the same source domain.

For the translation direction German to English, fewer STD combinations with a high percentage of not-literally-translatable metaphors have been found. In only seven out of twenty categories is their percentage 75% or higher (see Table 6.48). Six of these seven categories show predominant metaphor vehicles, such as *reich* [rich] and *Erbe* [inheritance, heritage] in the category ‘material wealth/ value\_ abstract concept’. Only one category with a range of lemmas was found, namely ‘physical activity\_ abstract concept’, which has been described in more detail above.

**Table 6.48. Problematic STD combinations: German to English**

STD combination	NLT	%	number lemmas	Predominant metaphor vehicles?
material wealth/value_ abstract concept	55	90	2	reich (32x), Erbe (23x)
food & gastronomy_ general	16	73	1	genießen (16x)
physical activity_ abstract concept	11	85	5	-
architecture_ technology	9	100	1	Hütte (9x)
object_ abstract feature	9	75	2	gehören zu (8x)
abstract activity_ object feature: physical	7	78	1	zählen zu (7x)
geometry/ maths_ abstract concept	6	75	2	Schwerpunkt (3x), Mittelpunkt (3x)

This analysis is based on the twenty STD combinations with most instantiations, which might seem a low number compared to the 143 combinations with potential translation problems for the direction English to German and the 136 combinations for German to English. However, the number of instantiations of each STD combination drops quickly, being as low as eight and six for the twentieth category on the list. Due to these low numbers, it is difficult to draw conclusions and make generalisations. A study on larger corpora would be necessary to reach further conclusions. I do believe, however, that the method applied in this study is a reliable way of identifying linguistic metaphors that may pose problems in the translation process.

In conclusion, translators should pay special attention to metaphors with the STD combinations ‘physical activity\_ abstract activity’ and ‘physical activity\_ abstract concept’ when translating promotional tourism discourse (and possibly also general texts) between German and English since the two languages seem to conceptualise abstract activities in different ways frequently. The same recommendation can be made for metaphors mapping from one object to another in the translation direction English to German. This section of the study furthermore reveals potentially problematic vocabulary with a high frequency on promotional tourism websites. This vocabulary should be included in teaching material for translation and tourism students and is of interest for further, more detailed studies. This applies to the following words in English: top, high, ride/ to ride/ rider, iconic, highlight, (web)site, base, to spend (time), sight, way and live (performance). Also interesting are the multifunctional verbs ‘to take’, ‘to give’ and ‘to keep’, which are excluded from some studies due to their polysemous nature and flexibility in grammatical structures. Nevertheless, they are highly interesting for metaphor translation studies. For German, vocabulary worth including in didactic units on conventional metaphor translation is: *Erbe* [inheritance, heritage], *genießen* [to ingest, enjoy], *gehören (zu)* [to belong to, be regarded as], *zählen(zu)* [to count to, be regarded as], *Schwerpunkt* [centre of gravity, main

emphasis], *Mittelpunkt* [midpoint, focus] and *prägen* [to emboss, mark]. Due to their role in the STD combination ‘physical activity\_ abstract activity’, the verbs *stehen* [to stand] and *stellen* [to put (upright)] are worth studying in combination with abstract nouns. Also of interest for metaphorical and translation studies is the use of *voll* [full] and *reich* [rich] in compound adjectives.

## 6.7.2. *Literal translatability: English–Spanish*

### 6.7.2.1. *Quantitative analysis*

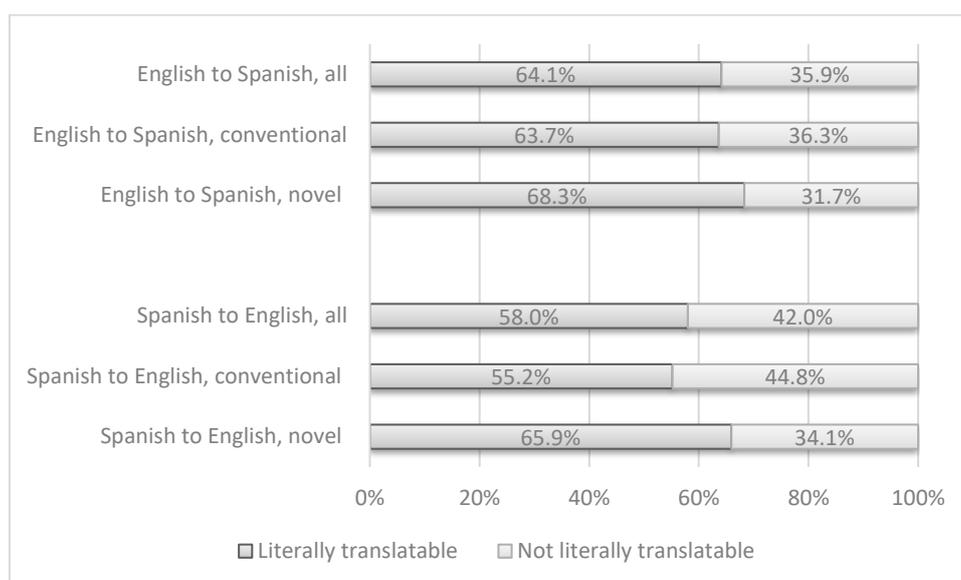
In this subsection, the questions which proportion of the identified linguistic metaphors can actually be translated literally and whether conventional and novel metaphors show identical behaviour with respect to literal translatability will be answered for the language pair English – Spanish. The numbers that reflect the answers to these questions are given in Table 6.49. and visualised in Figure 6.22. below.

**Table 6.49. Number and percentage of literally translatable metaphors and special cases: English – Spanish**

	English to Spanish		Spanish to English	
	Absolute nrs	Percentages	Absolute nrs	Percentages
<b><u>Linguistic metaphors</u></b>				
<b>All metaphors total</b>	<b>1350</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1417</b>	<b>100</b>
Literally translatable, all types	866	64.1	822	58.0
Not literally translatable, all types	484	35.9	595	42.0
<b>Conventional metaphors total</b>	<b>1208</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1047</b>	<b>100</b>
Literally translatable, conventional	769	63.7	578	55.2
Not literally translatable, conventional	439	36.3	469	44.8
<b>Novel metaphors total</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100</b>
Literally translatable, novel	97	68.3	244	65.9
Not literally translatable, novel	45	31.7	126	34.1

When taking into account all types of metaphor, the proportion of literally translatable metaphor vehicles in the translation direction English to Spanish amounts to 64.1% or 866 cases. In the opposite direction, Spanish to English, this proportion is a little lower, 58% or 822 cases. This suggests that the probability of encountering problematic cases when translating promotional tourism websites from English to Spanish is somewhat lower than in the other direction. This is in line with the results obtained so far, which

revealed that the Spanish corpus has the highest metaphor frequency, the highest proportion of novel metaphors as well as the highest metaphor vehicle variety. Therefore, it seems plausible that Spanish promotional tourism discourse on websites may be more flexible with respect to metaphorical uses than English promotional tourism discourse, admitting a larger proportion of literal translations of metaphor vehicles. However, drawing conclusions for general language or other registers based on these data would be problematic since the language in our English corpus may have been kept simple avoiding novel metaphors in order to better suit an international audience.



**Figure 6.22. Percentages of literal translatability of all, conventional and novel metaphors: English – Spanish**

As to whether the degree of conventionalisation matters, Figure 6.22. gives useful information. Similarly to the language pair English-German, the language combination English-Spanish shows a slightly lower literal translatability for conventional linguistic metaphors than for all types of metaphor taken together. Meanwhile, literal translatability of the novel linguistic metaphors in our corpora is higher. For the metaphor vehicles found in the English corpus, the overall percentage of literally translatable metaphor vehicles amounts to 64.1%, while the value for conventional metaphors is 63.7% and the value for novel metaphors 68.3%. This difference is greater for metaphor vehicles in the Spanish corpus with an overall literal translatability of 58%, which drops to 55.2% for conventional metaphors and raises to 65.9% for novel metaphor. As reasoned above, novel metaphors must be easy to decode if the attention of the readership is to be maintained, which entails the mapping of few and salient features that are commonly known to the wider public. These, in turn, are features of easily translatable metaphors.

**Table 6.50. Number and percentage of literally translatable metaphors and their special cases:  
English – Spanish**

	English to Spanish		Spanish to English	
	Absolute nrs	Percentages	Absolute nrs	Percentages
<b><u>Linguistic metaphors</u></b>				
All metaphors total	1350	100	1417	100
<b>Literally translatable, all types</b>	<b>866</b>	<b>64.1</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>58.0</b>
*Novel/ conventional change	64	4.7	73	5.2
*Different frequency of use	23	1.7	10	0.7
*Not metaphorical in target language	22	1.6	82	5.8
<b>*Special cases total</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>11.7</b>

A change in the degree of conventionalisation occurred in 4.7% of all literally translatable linguistic metaphors for the direction English to Spanish (64 cases), and 5.3% for the direction Spanish to English (73 cases). Out of the 64 English linguistic metaphors with a change in conventionalisation, the vast majority changed from conventional metaphor in English to novel metaphor in Spanish, while only two of them changed status from novel metaphors in English to conventional metaphors in Spanish. With roughly 90% of the English metaphors being conventional, it can be expected that most of the changes should occur from conventional to novel in the translation direction English to Spanish. However, a closer look at the data raises the question whether this remarkably high proportion may also be attributable to differences in the dictionaries. More precisely, the RAE dictionary does not seem to be quite as up to date with respect to metaphorical uses as the Macmillan dictionary. For instance, the lemma *cálido* [warm] lacks the sense description for its use in social situations, such as a *cálida bienvenida* [warm welcome]. There is no sense description for *presumir de* [to boast] when describing a positive feature of a place, and, surprisingly, the meaning of *abierto* [open] when referring to the opening hours of shops, museums and the like, is not reflected by the RAE dictionary. Yet, these three examples are easily understood and rather common in tourism discourse. Together they make up 25 of the 62 cases with a change from conventional to novel metaphor. If they were covered by the Spanish dictionary, the proportion of metaphors that require special consideration in the translation process would be lower. This shows that dictionary entries are not a perfect record of actual language use. They help improve inter-rater reliability, but when working in different languages, gaps in sense descriptions have a negative impact on the accuracy of cross-linguistic comparisons.

In the translation direction Spanish to English, only 29 out of 73 linguistic metaphors change from conventional to novel, and 44 from novel to conventional when translated literally. No clear patterns or notable effects can be observed in this translation direction

apart from the fact that the proportion of literally translatable metaphors that undergo a change from novel to conventional is remarkably high.

The differing frequency of use was an issue in only 1.7% of literal translations from English to Spanish and 0.7% for the direction Spanish to English. Given these low percentages, frequency of use seems to be a marginal translation difficulty for this language pair.

Metaphor vehicles that do not count as metaphorical in the target language, when strictly applying MIP rules, accounted for 1.6% of literally translatable linguistic metaphors in the English corpus and 5.8% in the Spanish corpus. This is a notable difference, which seems to be related to the continuing use of the original meanings in Spanish, while only the metaphorical meanings have persisted in contemporary English, at least according to the dictionaries. Examples are *descubrir* [to discover], *ideal* [ideal], *época* [epoch] and *espectacular* [spectacular].

When all cases that need special attention in the translation process in order to reproduce the exact same cognitive effect in the new readership (i.e. changes in degree of conventionalisation, differing frequency of use and loss of metaphoricity strictly speaking) are added up, this group accounts for 8.0% of all metaphor vehicles identified in the English corpus and 12.6% of the literally translatable metaphor vehicles. In the case of the Spanish corpus, the special cases account for 11.7% of all metaphors and 20.1% of metaphor vehicles that can be translated literally according to our operationalisation. These data suggest that promotional tourism website translations from English to Spanish require fewer considerations than in the opposite translation direction.

In summary, the translatability of all kinds of metaphor is higher in the translation direction English to Spanish than vice versa. The novel metaphors show higher translatability than the conventional for both translation directions. Special cases that may require fine-tuning in the translation process seem to be more frequent when translating promotional tourism websites from English to Spanish, although these results have to be treated with caution due to possible differences in the national dictionaries.

#### 6.7.2.2. *Potentially problematic source-target-domain combinations and metaphor vehicles*

The twenty STD combinations with most instantiations for each translation direction can be seen in Table 6.51. As in Table 6.46. above, the left part of the table contains data for the translation direction English to Spanish, while the three columns on the right display the results for the inverse direction, Spanish to English. For each language, the first column displays the STD combination, and the second the absolute number of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles found for this combination. Meanwhile, the third column shows the percentage of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles within

this STD combination. Those combinations with a percentage equal to or higher than 75% have been highlighted in bold.

**Table 6.51. Occurrences and percentages of not literally translatable source-target-domain combinations: English –Spanish**

<u>Not literally translatable</u> <u>English to Spanish</u>	<u>Occ.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Not literally translatable</u> <u>Spanish to English</u>	<u>Occ.</u>	<u>%</u>
<b>human feature_ object feature: abstract</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>82</b>	physical activity_ object feature: physical	25	33
physical feature_ abstract feature	26	52	<b>arts_ humanities</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>
object_ abstract concept	21	39	person_ place	21	30
physical activity_ object feature: physical	19	56	physical activity_ abstract activity	21	34
height_ quality	17	57	human activity_ object feature: physical	19	40
physical activity_ abstract activity	17	41	<b>abstract activity: object feature physical</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>animal_ object</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>93</b>	object_ abstract concept	17	39
<b>arts_ general</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>82</b>	space_ time	17	61
<b>arts_ nature</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>agriculture_ general</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>material wealth/ value_ time</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	human activity_ object feature: abstract	15	39
object_ technology	9	53	<b>quantity_ quality</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>physical feature_ place</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>human activity_ economy</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>transport_ abstract concept</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	physical activity_ abstract feature	14	64
<b>living being_ arts</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>physical_ experience_ abstract experience</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>living being_ place</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>78</b>	physical feature_ abstract feature	11	32
military_ general	7	64	human feature_ object feature: physical	10	50
<b>person_ physical activity</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>object_ geography</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>physical feature_ sports</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100</b>	object_ physical activity	10	67
<b>food &amp; gastronomy_ object</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>material wealth/ value_ abstract concept</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>object_ culture/ cultural event</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>physical activity_ place</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>80</b>

The source-target-domain (STD) combinations in the English corpus with most linguistic metaphors that cannot be translated literally into Spanish are ‘human feature\_ object feature: abstract’ (32 cases), ‘physical feature\_ abstract feature’ (26 cases), ‘physical activity\_ object feature: physical’ (21 cases), ‘height\_ quality’ (19 cases) and

‘physical activity\_ abstract activity’ (17 cases). For the metaphor vehicles in the Spanish corpus, the STD combinations with most cases that lack literal translatability are ‘physical activity\_ object feature: physical’ (25 cases), arts\_ humanities (21 cases), ‘person\_ place’ (21 cases), ‘physical activity\_ abstract activity’ (21 cases) and ‘human activity\_ object feature: physical’ (17 cases). There is not much overlap among these STD combinations and all of them also rank high on the general list of STD combinations, i.e. comprising both problematic and literally translatable metaphor vehicles. This study, however, is not so much interested in the absolute numbers of problematic cases, but in STD pairings with a high proportion of problematic cases. Therefore, the percentage of problematic metaphor vehicles has been calculated. Table 6.52. and 6.53. present those STD combinations with a proportion of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles equal to or higher than 75%. As above, the STD combination is accompanied by the number of their problematic occurrences (NLT) and the percentage of these not-literally-translatable occurrences. The tables also contain the number of lemmatised metaphor vehicles in order to give an idea of the lexical variety in the corpus for these STD combination. Furthermore, the last column contains the predominant metaphor vehicles in this category if there are any.

**Table 6.52. Problematic STD combinations: English to Spanish**

STD combination	NLT	%	number lemmas	Predominant metaphor vehicles?
human feature_ object feature: abstract	32	82	3	free (18x), friendly (13x)
animal_ object	14	93	4	ride (8x), to ride (1x), rider (1x)
arts_ general	14	82	3	iconic (10x)
arts_ nature	9	100	1	scenery (10x)
material wealth/ value_ time	9	100	1	spend (9x)
physical feature_ place	9	100	1	sight (9x)
transport_ abstract concept	9	100	2	way (8x)
living being_ arts	8	100	2	live (7x)
living being_ place	7	78	2	old (6x)
person_ physical activity	7	78	1	to head (7x)
physical feature_ sports	7	100	1	course (7x)
food & gastronomy_ object	6	100	1	vintage (6x)
object_ culture/ cultural event	6	100	1	to hold (6x)

Out of the twenty STD combinations with the highest number of not-literally-translatable linguistic metaphors, thirteen combinations have a proportion of problematic cases that is higher than 75%. This is almost identical with the translation direction English to German, in which case this is true for twelve STD combinations.

For English to Spanish, all these categories display low lexical variety and are dominated by one or two words or a word family, as is the case for the mappings ‘animal\_ object’. These dominant metaphor vehicles are interesting for didactic units on problematic vocabulary in English for tourism or translation courses. Unfortunately, STD combinations with a wide lexical variety that could point to systematic cross-linguistic differences in conceptualisation have not been found. A search beyond the top twenty STD combinations with most problematic cases does not seem to make sense, since sample sizes of six or fewer metaphor vehicles do not allow for reliable generalisations.

**Table 6.53. Problematic STD combinations: Spanish to English**

STD combination	NLT	%	number lemmas	Predominant metaphor vehicles?
arts_ humanities	21	100	1	historia (21x)
abstract activity: object feature physical	17	89	4	contar (14x)
agriculture_ general	15	100	1	cultura (15x)
quantity_ quality	15	88	2	único (12x)
human activity_ economy	14	100	2	oferta (12x)
physical experience_ abstract experience	12	100	5	perder (7x)
object_ geography	10	77	3	cañón (7x)
material wealth/ value_ abstract concept	9	90	1	patrimonio (9x)
physical activity_ place	8	80	3	recorrido (6x)

Nine of the top twenty Spanish STD combinations with most metaphor vehicles that lack literal translatability have been listed in table 6.53. as problematic, since 75% or more of their metaphor vehicles cannot be translated literally. Most of these nine STD combinations are represented by one to three metaphor vehicle lemmas and dominated by one of them. Many of these are of interest for English for Tourism lessons or translator training, although others, such as *cultura* [culture] or *cañón* [canyon], do not pose any problems since they share etymological roots and their meaning in context is the predominant meaning in English. The STD pairings that are possibly interesting for studies on common conceptualisation differences are those with a higher lexical variety. For the translation direction Spanish to English these are ‘abstract activity\_ object feature: physical’ and ‘physical experience\_ abstract experience’. The former can be found in the metaphors *contar* [to count] in the sense of ‘to boast/ have a positive feature’, *alternar* [to alternate] in the sense of offering two different types of something, *determinar* [to determine] in the sense of being the limit of something, and *representar* [to represent] in the sense of constituting a certain proportion of a territory. The other STD combination showing lexical variety, ‘physical experience\_ abstract experience’, comprises the lemmas *perder* [to lose] in the sense of missing an opportunity or experience, *atrapar* [to trap] in the sense of fascinating someone, *sabor* [taste], as in

*sabor medieval* [medieval atmosphere], *acogedor* [sheltering] in the sense of ‘cosy’, and *desencuentro* [failure to meet] in the sense of a clash, a discussion. Further studies with larger corpora would be necessary to confirm that these STD combinations are particularly problematic due to great differences in conceptualisation and would help to identify further problematic STD pairings.

In summary, for the translation direction English to Spanish, no potentially problematic STD combination has been detected, only potentially problematic vocabulary has been identified. Metaphor vehicles which are especially interesting for English for Tourism or translator training for Spanish-speaking students are: free (entry/ activity), (dog/ family/ wheelchair-) friendly, iconic, scenery, to head to, to hold (an event). In the translation direction Spanish to English, mappings from abstract activities that serve to describe physical object features, and mappings that use physical experiences to describe abstract experience seem to have a high percentage of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles. Metaphor vehicles that might need special attention in language and translation training due to differences in use are: *contar con*, *único*, *perder* and *recorrido*.

### 6.7.3. *Literal translatability: German–Spanish*

#### 6.7.3.1. *Quantitative analysis*

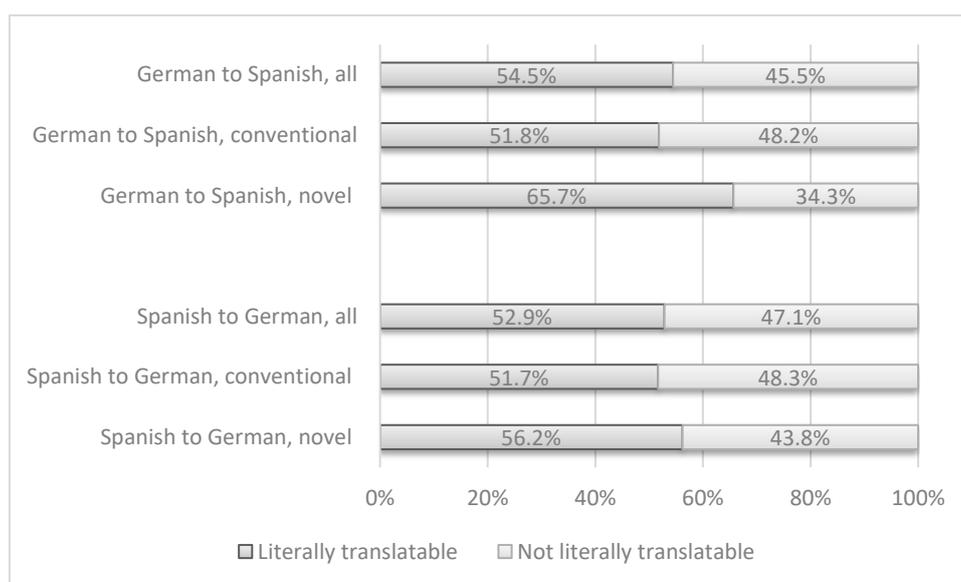
The third language pair to be studied was German – Spanish. Out of 1269 metaphor vehicles that have been identified in the German sample corpus, 691 can be translated literally into Spanish in their context, while 578 do not work as literal translations (see Table 6.54.). This is equivalent to 54.5% of literal translatability and 45.5% of metaphor vehicles that lack literal translatability. The 578 metaphor vehicles that cannot be translated literally belong to 135 source-target-domain (STD) combinations.

**Table 6.54. Number and percentage of literally translatable and not literally translatable linguistic metaphors: Spanish – German**

	German to Spanish		Spanish to German	
	Absolute nrs	Percentages	Absolute nrs	Percentages
<b>Linguistic metaphors</b>				
<b>All metaphors total</b>	<b>1269</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1417</b>	<b>100</b>
Literally translatable, all types	691	54.5	749	52.9
Not literally translatable, all types	578	45.5	668	47.1
<b>Conventional metaphors total</b>	<b>1030</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1047</b>	<b>100</b>
Literally translatable, conventional	534	51.8	541	51.7
Not literally translatable, conventional	496	48.2	506	48.3
<b>Novel metaphors total</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100</b>
Literally translatable, novel	214	89.5	208	56.2
Not literally translatable, novel	25	10.5	162	43.8

For the translation direction Spanish to German, literal translatability is slightly lower. A total of 749 out of 1417 metaphor vehicles or 52.5% can be translated literally into German in their context, while 668 metaphor vehicles or 47.1% of them cannot. The number of STD relationships of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles is highest in the Spanish corpus, amounting to 195, followed by 143 in the English corpus and 135 in the German. This is in line with the higher lexical variety of metaphor vehicles in the Spanish corpus.

This means the overall translatability of the identified metaphor vehicles is only slightly higher for the direction German to Spanish than for Spanish to German. The proportion of metaphor vehicles that cannot be translated literally due to prefixation in German amounts to 2.1%. In these cases, the German language is more precise, disambiguating nuances of meaning with the help of prefixes. Consequently, literal translatability is not given, but cognitively, the two metaphors are very close. Taking this into account, the translation direction does not seem to have a significant influence on the literal translatability for the language pair German – Spanish.



**Figure 6.23. Percentages of literal translatability of all, conventional and novel metaphors: Spanish – German**

The question as to whether the degree of conventionalisation matters with respect to translatability is answered by the information visualised in Figure 6.23. For the translation direction German to Spanish, there is a marked difference between conventional metaphor and novel metaphor. While the proportion of literally translatable conventional metaphors amounts to 51.8%, the proportion of literally translatable novel metaphors is 65.7%. For Spanish to German, the literal translatability of conventional metaphors was determined to be 51.5%, which is almost identical with

the proportion in the opposite translation direction. The literal translatability for novel metaphors in the same direction is only a little higher than the overall and conventional translatability, with 56.2%. This means that the translation direction does not seem to matter much for conventional metaphors, but it does for novel metaphors. Approximately half of the identified conventional metaphors are conceptualised and expressed in the same way in Spanish and German, the other half is either conceptualised differently or at least expressed differently at the linguistic level. The conventionalised metaphorical vocabulary of a language has built up slowly over centuries. Many metaphors were coined and popularised in past times when contacts between different cultures and languages were a lot more limited than today. Although some of them may not reflect modern ways of conceptualisation, they are learned in context as just another meaning of a polysemous word. The mappings in novel metaphors, however, must be deducible from the context and the shared common knowledge of speaker and hearer. Especially in promotional texts that want to convey a clear and convincing message, difficult and culture-specific metaphors are out of place. This might be an explanation for why the translatability of novel metaphors in our corpora is higher literal than the translatability of conventional metaphors.

The literal translatability of novel metaphors might be higher for the direction German to Spanish than the opposite direction, because Spanish is a less compositional language than German, which often uses prefixes to fine-tune the meaning of words. As a consequence, Spanish vocabulary tends to be a little less specific, requiring the hearer to disambiguate from the context. The constant practice of such disambiguation might cause Spaniards to be more open to metaphorical meanings and approximate uses of language. This would be in line with the higher frequency of metaphor as well as the higher percentage of novel metaphor vehicles in the Spanish corpus. Hence, it is only plausible that it is more likely to find the translation of the German novel metaphors in Spanish as a conventionalised or novel metaphor than to find the translation of a Spanish novel metaphor in German.

**Table 6.55. Number and percentage of literally translatable metaphors and special cases: Spanish – German**

	German to Spanish		Spanish to German	
	Absolute nrs	Percentages	Absolute nrs	Percentages
All metaphors total	1269	100	1417	100
<b>Literally translatable, all types</b>	<b>691</b>	<b>54.5</b>	<b>749</b>	<b>52.9</b>
*Novel/ conventional change	86	6.8	93	6.6
*Different frequency of use	8	0.6	11	0.8
*Not metaphorical in target language	7	0.6	84	5.9
<b>*Special cases total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>13.3</b>

The special cases within the group of literally translatable metaphor vehicles have been summarised in Table 6.55. The percentages of the special cases should be read as the their proportion in all identified metaphors in the corpus. Concerning the degree of conventionalisation, 86 or 6.8% of the German metaphor vehicles are literally translatable into Spanish but underwent a change from novel to conventional or vice versa during the translation process. Out of these, 49 (56.9%) are from conventional to novel. This is interesting, because it does not reflect the overall proportion of conventional metaphors, which is 76.8%. In the translation direction Spanish to German, 93 or 6.6% of the literally translatable metaphor vehicles changed their degree of conventionalisation when being transferred into German. Half of these changes (49.5%) occurred from conventional to novel. Since these numbers are similar for both translation directions, there seems to be no correlation between changes in the degree of conventionalisation and the overall metaphor frequency or the lexical variety of metaphor vehicles.

A different frequency of use for literally translatable linguistic metaphors was detected in 8 cases (0.6%) for the direction German to Spanish and 11 cases (0.8%) for the direction Spanish to German. It affects the metaphor vehicles *fruto* [fruit, *Frucht*] for the result of work or an effort, *joya* [jewel, *Juwel*] to describe touristic assets, and *cara* [face, *Gesicht*] of a mountain. In the German corpus, the following metaphor vehicles have been labelled as having different frequencies of use in Spanish: *Herz* as in the expression *im Herzen von* [in the heart of, *en el corazón de*], *fein* [fine, *fino*] used to emphasise the excellent quality of food, and *bezahlen* as in *mit dem Kopf/Leben bezahlen* [to pay with one's head/ life, *pagar con la cabeza/ vida*]. The difference in frequency of use often goes hand in hand with a difference in style, which alters the effect of the text on the readership. If the difference results in a major clash with the context or when minor clashes cluster, the translator should assess whether the literal translation is the most adequate one or should be substituted.

The group of literally translatable metaphor vehicles which are not metaphorical in the target language Spanish is rather small. It comprises only seven cases belonging to five different lemmas. The seven cases constitute 0.6% of all identified metaphor vehicles in the German corpus. In the Spanish corpus, this proportion is a lot bigger: 84 metaphor vehicles (5.9%) lose their metaphorical status when translated to German. Some of them are loanwords from Romanic languages which have only been imported in their metaphorical meaning, such as *spektakulär* [spectacular, *spectacular*], which is not used in the sense of 'belonging to show business or performance arts' in German, and *Epoche* [epoch, *época*], which is not used in its original astronomical sense like its Spanish counterpart. Other translations of metaphor vehicles are not considered metaphorical according to MIP, because their sense description is a lot broader than the Spanish one (e.g. *Park* [park, *parque*]) or the basic meanings given in the dictionaries do not coincide (e.g. *Geschichte* [history, *historia*]).

When adding up all shifts in the degree of conventionalisation, differences in the frequency of use and cases of loss of metaphorical status, these amount to 8% for the translation direction German to Spanish and 13.3% in the opposite direction. In other words, although the proportion of metaphor vehicles that lack literal translatability is slightly lower for the translation direction Spanish to German than vice versa, the proportion of literally translatable metaphor vehicles that might need adjustments in the translated texts in order to produce the same cognitive effect in the new readership as the original is notably higher.

#### 6.7.3.2. *Potentially problematic source-target-domain combinations and metaphor vehicles: German–Spanish*

The source-target-domain (STD) pairings with most metaphor vehicles that lack literal translatability are listed in Table 6.56., followed by the number of occurrences and percentage of not-literally-translatable instantiations. What is remarkable about the translation direction German to Spanish is that only four STD combinations of this top-twenty list actually display a high percentage of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles ( $\geq 75\%$ ). These have been marked in bold letters in the table. In addition, the first nine STD combinations on this list have not been classified as interesting for further study, since their percentage of problematic metaphor vehicles lies below this 75%-limit. For the translation direction Spanish to German, eight potentially problematic STD combinations have been identified. Just like in the opposite translation direction, these STD combinations gather in the second half of the table, where the numbers of occurrences start to drop, suggesting that the lack of translatability must be spread over a wide range of less numerous STD combinations.

Like for the other language pairs, the potentially problematic STD combinations have been checked for lexical variety or predominant metaphor vehicles. The findings have been summarised in table 6.56., together with the absolute number of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles (NTL), and the percentage of these vehicles within this STD combination (%). One of the STD pairings is dominated by one word, namely ‘living being\_ place’ which is mainly instantiated through the adjective *alt* [old] applied to things instead of living beings. Another of the STD pairings, ‘physical activity\_ arts’, has a dominant word family, *Spiel* [play, *obra de teatro*] and *spielen* [play = act, *jugar* = *actuar*]. *Spiel* is usually used in compound words, such as *Spielplan* [play plan = programme (of a theatre); *plano de juego* = *programación (del teatro)*] or *Schauspiel* [show play = play; *obra de teatro*]. The use of the adjective *alt* [old] for objects and places is unproblematic for Spanish speakers, Spanish translation students and professionals, since this use is mirrored in the Spanish language. The word family around *Spiel* in the sense of theatre play is of more interest to German in tourism contexts.

**Table 6.56. Occurrences and percentages of not literally translatable source-target-domain combinations: German–Spanish**

<u>Not literally translatable</u> <u>German to Spanish</u>	<u>Occ.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Not literally translatable</u> <u>Spanish to German</u>	<u>Occ.</u>	<u>%</u>
physical feature_ abstract feature	54	67	physical activity_ object feature: physical	37	49
human activity_ object feature: physical	38	53	physical activity_ abstract activity	30	49
material wealth/ value_ abstract concept	34	56	physical feature_ abstract feature	20	59
physical activity_ abstract activity	32	58	<b>physical activity_ abstract feature</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>86</b>
physical activity_ object feature: physical	27	51	human activity_ object feature: physical	18	38
human activity_ object feature: abstract	24	35	space_time	18	64
physical activity_ object feature: abstract	20	56	human activity_ object feature: abstract	17	45
food & gastronomy general	16	73	object abstract concept	16	36
abstract feature_ abstract feature	14	70	<b>abstract activity_ object feature: physical</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>object person</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>agriculture general</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>
shape abstract feature	13	59	person place	15	22
<b>living being_ place</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>quantity_ quality</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>physical activity_ abstract concept</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>object_ abstract feature</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>physical activity_ arts</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>physical experience_ abstract experience</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>92</b>
abstract activity_ object feature: abstract	10	67	human feature_ object feature: physical	10	50
architecture_ technology	9	9	<b>moving thing/ creature_ object feature: physical</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100</b>
object abstract concept	9	20	<b>object nature</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>
arts general	8	42	physical activity abstract event	9	50
geometry/ maths place	8	47	object geography	8	62
object abstract feature	8	67	object physical activity	8	53

**Table 6.57. Potentially problematic STD combinations: German to Spanish**

STD combination	NLT	%	number lemmas	Predominant metaphor vehicles
object_person	13	100	5	-
living being_place	12	100	3	alt (10x)
physical activity_ abstract concept	11	85	4	-
physical activity_ arts	11	92	4	Spiel (5x), spielen (2x)

The two STD combinations with a relatively high lexical variety and no dominant vocabulary are ‘object\_person’ and ‘physical activity\_ abstract concept’. The former comprises metaphor vehicles that would normally be used for objects but have been applied to peoples such as *Bunker* [large deposit = air raid shelter/ bunker; depóstio/ silo = búnker], or *Käuflichkeit* [venality, *venalidad* = *corruptibilidad*]. The latter, ‘physical activity\_ abstract concept’, contains the metaphor vehicles *erfüllen* [fulfil = meet demands; *llenar de* = *cumplir con*], *Fall* [fall = case; *caída* = *caso*], *Ruf* [call = reputation; *llamada* = *reputación*] and *Überblick* [(panoramic) view = overview; *vista panorámica* = *resumen/ synopsis*]. The metaphor vehicles characterised by this STD pairing come from a wide range of different conceptual areas, which makes it difficult to study them with a top-down approach searching for source-domain vocabulary in a corpus, for instance, with the tool Sketchengine or BootCaT. A study with a bottom-up approach similar to the present approach but on a larger corpus might yield better defined groups of metaphor vehicles that could then be studied based on a source-domain vocabulary search.

**Table 6.58. Potentially problematic STD combinations: Spanish to German**

STD combination	NLT	%	number lemmas	Predominant metaphor vehicles?
physical activity_ abstract feature	19	86	12	-
abstract activity_ object feature: physical	15	79	2	contar (14x)
agriculture_ general	15	100	1	cultura (15x)
quantity_ quality	14	82	2	único (12x)
object_ abstract feature	13	93	5	-
physical experience_ abstract experience	11	92	5	perder (6x)
moving thing/ creature_ object feature: physical	10	100	4	-
object_ nature	9	100	1	reserva (9x)

The same kind of information has been gathered for the translation direction Spanish to German and is presented in Table 6.58. Eight potentially problematic STD combinations have been identified. Five of these are expressed mainly through one metaphor vehicle. Among these, three may be interesting for Spanish for Specific

Purposes and translator training. These are *contar* [to count] when used with the preposition *con*, meaning ‘to boast’ or ‘to have’ something positive; *único* [only, unique], which is represented by two different words in German (*einzig* and *einzigartig*), and *perder* [to lose] in the sense of missing an opportunity or experience.

STD combinations that may often conceptualise things in different ways in Spanish and German are ‘physical activity\_ abstract feature’, ‘object\_ abstract feature’ and ‘moving thing/ creature\_ object feature: physical’. Examples of metaphor vehicles will be given in the following paragraphs.

The first of these three STD pairings uses vocabulary from the field of physical activity to describe abstract features. This often involves modelling in space as can be seen in phrases (148) and (149) below. Personification with change of meaning is also common in this STD combination (examples 150 and 151). Furthermore, verbs describing physical activities are used for reification (phrase 152) and abstract resemblance in this STD combination. The literal transfer of most of these to German would sound inadequate or awkward. Moreover, in the case of example (152), the German translation involves prefixation using *sich vermischen* instead of the plain *mischen*.

(148) *La muestra recorre los siglos medievales...* [The exhibition covers (literally: **travels/runs through**) the medieval centuries...]

(149) ... *cuyo origen se remonta a la antigua sociedad agrícolica balear.* [... the origin of which dates back to (literally: **surmounts**) the ancient agrarian Balearic society.]

(150) ... *un comercio que mirara al exterior ...* [... a commerce oriented towards (literally: **looking at**) foreign trade ...]

(151) *Pero la Costa Blanca esconde muchos otros atractivos ...* [But Costa Blanca offers many other attractions off the beaten track ... (literally: **hides** many other attractions)]

(152) ... *donde peculiares ritos religiosos se mezclan con las más antiguas leyendas paganas.* [... where peculiar religious rites **blend** with older pagan legends.]

The STD combination ‘object\_ abstract feature’ uses metaphor vehicles that either denote objects or are originally used with objects. These are employed in order to describe abstract features as can be seen in the examples below. In phrase (153) the word *puente* [bridge, *Brücke*] is used to describe a cultural connection, while in (154), *ambiente* [environment, *Umgebung*] is used to refer to the festive atmosphere, *Stimmung* [mood] in German. In phrase (155) the basic-meaning translation of *guardar*, ‘to keep’, works for English but not for German. The literal translation *aufbewahren*, which is used with objects, needs to be substituted by the verb *hüten* [to take care of] for its abstract collocate *Geheimnis* [secret].

(153) *Andalucía es puente de unión entre dos continentes, África y Europa, ...* [Andalusia is a connecting **bridge** between two continents, Africa and Europe, ...]

- (154) *Desde el 1 de Marzo se puede vivir el **ambiente** festivo en Valencia ...* [From 1 March on, one can experience this festive atmosphere in Valencia ...]
- (155) ... *bucea entre los secretos mejor **guardados** de Castellón., ...* [... dive in the best **kept** secrets of Castellón...]

The third STD combination that seems to contain many cross-linguistic differences is ‘moving thing/ creature\_ object feature: physical’. Here, ‘object’ comprises also places. This category is mainly instantiated through verbs of movement as can be seen in examples (156) through (158). This use of verbs of movement is not unusual for the German language. Yet, they are often combinations of prefixes and the kind of movement, mostly with a lexicalised distinction between the movement of living creatures and moving objects. For instance, *laufen* [to walk] would only be used for moving creatures, *fahren* [lexical gap >> to run/ to go/ to leave] for moving objects and *verlaufen* [lexical gap >> to run, to go, to pass] for non-moving things like roads, tracks, channels, etc., as is the case in example (156). Similarly, in sentence (157), a natural-sounding alternative to the awkward *hereinkommen* [to come in] would be *wo der Jakobsweg nach Aragien **hineinführt*** [= leads into] or *wo der Jakobsweg beginnt, in Aragonien zu **verlaufen*** [where the Way of St. James starts to **run** in Aragon]. In example (158), the literal translation of the basic meaning, *ankommen* [to arrive], cannot be used in German but can be substituted by *reichen* [to reach].

- (156) *La carretera FV-1 ... **pasa** por aquí.* [Road FV-1 ...**comes through** this área]
- (157) ... *donde el Camino **entra** en Aragón ...* [where the Way of St. James **comes into** Aragón ...]
- (158) ... *el impresionante Arco Parabólico que **llega** hasta el mar ...* [...the impressive Parabolic Arch that ends in (literally: **arrives in**) the sea ...]

In summary, the evaluation of the translatability of German metaphor vehicles based on their STD relationship showed that the most common STD combinations in the German corpus generally present a low to medium percentage of problematic cases for translations to Spanish. Problematic cases must be widespread in less common STD combinations, which however have too few instantiations to allow for generalisation. STD combinations that might be interesting for further study are ‘object\_ person’ and ‘physical activity\_ abstract concept’. In terms of vocabulary, *Spiel* in the sense of theatre play and its word family may be of interest to tourism students and translator trainees.

For the direction Spanish to German, the following interesting vocabulary for didactic units in for tourism and translation studies has been identified: *contar* [to count] when used with the preposition *con*, *único* [only, unique], and *perder (una oportunidad)* [to miss (an opportunity)]. The STD combinations ‘physical activity\_ abstract feature’ and ‘object\_ abstract feature’ seem to be interesting for further studies in order to detect different ways of conceptualisations. Particularly interesting for a metaphor search

based on source-domain vocabulary is the STD pairing ‘moving thing/ creature\_ object feature: physical’.

#### 6.7.4. *Literal translatability: summary*

The first question concerning translatability was which percentage of the identified metaphor vehicles can be translated literally into the other languages and whether this depends on the language pair and translation direction. Table 6.59. summarises the results which answer this question. The highest proportions have been underlined; the lowest proportions are marked with an asterisk. The language-pair-dependent and translation-direction-dependent differences in the translatability of metaphor vehicles are noticeable, but not remarkable, with values ranging from 52.9% to 64.1% for the overall translatability, from 49.4% to 63.7% for conventional metaphors and from 56.2% to 68.3% for novel metaphors.

**Table 6.59. Proportion of literally translatable metaphorical vehicles**

Translation direction	Literal translatability		
	Overall	Conventional	Novel
English to German	53.1%	51.5%	66.9%
German to English	58.9%	49.4%*	61.1%
English to Spanish	<u>64.1%</u>	<u>63.7%</u>	<u>68.3%</u>
Spanish to English	58.0%	55.2%	65.9%
German to Spanish	54.5%	51.8%	65.7%
Spanish to German	52.9%*	51.7%	56.2%*

English to Spanish is the translation direction with the highest translatability for conventional metaphors, novel metaphors, and, consequently, also overall. The lower literal translatability in other language pairs may partially be due to the compositional character of the German language, which makes its vocabulary more precise and morphologically diverse, as well as the number of English loanwords in German and Spanish. The lowest translatability for all types of metaphors (overall) is observed for the translation direction Spanish to German. This is also true for novel metaphors. Here, the compositionality of the German language and the preference for a more aesthetic style on Spanish promotional tourism websites may be at play. Finally, the translatability of conventional metaphors is lowest for the translation direction German to English. This might be attributable to a combination of several factors. An interesting question is whether the degree of the influence of Romanic languages and cultures on English and German in the past shows correlations with the translatability of their metaphors. However, that is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The translation direction has been found to matter with respect to literal translatability, although to a relatively small degree with differences within a language pair ranging from 0.9% to 9.5%. In our corpora, translation direction matters least overall and for conventional metaphors in the language pair German–Spanish (1.6% and 0.9% respectively). Interestingly, it is also the same language pair for which translation direction matters most: regarding novel metaphor the translatability difference between the two translation directions amounts to 9.5%. This might be due to the fact, that promotional tourism discourse on German websites uses more standardised language, while, on the Spanish websites, the language is more flexible and creative, striving for aesthetics to a higher degree.

A second question was whether conventional and novel metaphors show identical behaviour with respect to literal translatability. This is not the case: the literal translatability of novel metaphors is higher than that of conventional metaphors for all language pairs and all translation directions in our corpora, which confirms van den Broeck's (1981:84) observations.

The proportion of literally translatable metaphors which undergo a change in the degree of conventionalisation, their frequency of use or their metaphorical status in the translation process is displayed in Table 6.60. The middle column displays the percentage with reference to all identified metaphors in a corpus, while the right column shows the percentage out of the literally translatable metaphors. The numbers range from 6.6%, for English to German, to 13.3%, for Spanish to German, when compared to all metaphors. The share of these special cases in the literally translatable metaphors goes from 11.5%, for the translation directions German to English, to 25.1%, for Spanish to German. This means that adjustments due to these minor cross-linguistic differences in metaphorical behaviour are least necessary for the language pair English–German. The need for this kind of adjustments seems to be highest when translating from Spanish to the other two languages. This can partially be explained by the inclusion of words with a Latin origin in the English and German vocabulary with their metaphorical meaning, but not of the basic meaning that is part of the Spanish vocabulary in both its basic and metaphorical meaning.

**Table 6.60. Percentage of literally translatable metaphor vehicles with minor changes**

Translation direction	Changes in degree of conventionalisation, frequency of use or metaphorical status	
	Proportion of all metaphors	Proportion of literally translatable metaphors
English to German	6.6%	12.6%
German to English	6.8%	11.5%
English to Spanish	8.0%	12.6%
Spanish to English	11.7%	20.1%
German to Spanish	8.0%	14.6%
Spanish to German	13.3%	25.1%

A look into the source-target-domain (STD) combinations with the highest number of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles reveals two kinds of information: it identifies high frequency metaphor vehicles in tourism discourse that might be problematic for language students and translation students on the one hand, and it provides STD combinations that seem to point to systematic cross-cultural differences in conceptualisations on the other hand. The latter may warn translators of translation difficulties motivating them to verify their literal translations and may be interesting for further studies, for example studies based on source-domain vocabulary searches.

For the translation direction English to German, problematic high frequency metaphor vehicles include not only typical vocabulary from the area of tourism and free time but also the multifunctional verbs ‘to take’, ‘to give’ and ‘to keep’, which are excluded from some studies due to their polysemous nature and flexibility in grammatical structures. This characteristic, however, makes them especially difficult for language learners. With regard to problematic STD combinations, ‘physical activity\_ abstract activity’ has been found to contain a high proportion of problematic metaphor vehicles in the sense of literal translatability, displaying at the same time a high lexical variety and may, therefore, contain many traps for translators and language learners. This is true for both translation directions.

With regard to the translation direction German to English, vocabulary worth including in didactic units for Tourism and Translation students has been found but is less numerous than for the inverse translation direction.

The analysis of the English corpus with respect to the literal translatability to Spanish did not yield any STD combinations that point to systematic differences in conceptualisation. Instead a great deal of high frequency metaphor vehicles related to tourism topics has been found.

In the translation direction Spanish to English, mappings from abstract activities that serve to describe a physical object feature, and mappings that use physical experiences to describe abstract experiences seem to have a high percentage of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles, which makes them potentially problematic for language learners and translators. A group of metaphor vehicles that do not have direct correspondences in English has also been identified.

With respect to Spanish, the German corpus revealed relatively few problematic STD combinations with a high number of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles. Rather, problematic cases seem to be distributed in a wide range of STD combinations with few instantiations.

In the translation direction Spanish to German, the STD combinations ‘physical activity\_ abstract feature’ and ‘object\_ abstract feature’ present a relatively high number of potentially problematic metaphor vehicles and a certain degree of lexical variety and may point to different ways of conceptualisation in Spanish and German. Large

differences in the linguistic realisation have also been observed for metaphors which are characterised by the STD pairing ‘moving thing/creature\_ object feature: abstract’.

Although the applied methodology proved to be valid, all in all, the analysis yielded fewer problematic STD combinations than expected. Larger corpora would be necessary to obtain more, and more accurate, data.

### **6.8. Problematic source-target domain relationships in the large corpora**

In the previous stage, problematic source-target-domain (STD) combinations were identified in the sample corpora. Problematic means that a high percentage of the metaphor vehicles that are categorised as belonging to a STD combination are not literally translatable. In the present stage, a concordance search of the large corpora based on source-domain vocabulary is to provide further information as to whether there are cognitively motivated language-specific patterns which characterise the metaphorical language use of two specific STD combinations.

One of these STD combinations is ‘moving thing/creature\_ object feature: physical’ and uses metaphor vehicles from the field of movement to express physical features of objects and, in a wider sense, places. Most of them are verbs. These metaphor vehicles from all three languages were listed and translated into the other two languages. Then, the large, 275,000-word corpora were searched for these metaphor vehicles with the help of the Sketch Engine concordance tool<sup>84</sup>. Table 6.61. displays these metaphor vehicles, followed by their total number of appearances in the large corpus and the number of their metaphorical uses that display the STD domain combination under study. Moreover, this information is presented visually in Figure 6.24.

When summing up all metaphor vehicles belonging to the STD combination ‘moving thing/ creature\_ object feature: physical’, there are 130 of them in the Spanish corpus, 231 in the German corpus and 148 in the English. This means that the German corpus is the one that most often draws on concepts from the area of movement to describe physical features, while the Spanish corpus uses this strategy least often. These are absolute numbers. While the corpora have the same number of words, the German texts contain more lexical units (as defined for operationalisation in the methodology chapter) per word than the Spanish texts. Therefore, the disparities will be reduced if they are normalised over the number of lexical units, but the big picture will remain the same with German in the lead, English in mid and Spanish following English closely.

---

<sup>84</sup> <https://www.sketchengine.eu/>

Table 6.61. Vocabulary of movement describing physical object features

English	Total	This STD	German	Total	This STD	Spanish	Total	This STD
to arrive	30	0	ankommen	10	0	llegar	285	21
to chase	2	1	verfolgen	11	0	perseguir	7	0
to come	208	2	kommen	241	3	venir	62	3
to come in(to)	0	0	hereinkommen/-gehen/-laufen, hineinkommen/-laufen	0	0	entrar	48	6
to go in(to)	0	0	hineingehen	1	0			
to descend/	9	1	heruntergehen/-kommen/-laufen/-steigen, hinuntergehen/-kommen/-laufen/-steigen	0	0	descender	26	6
to come down	0	0	hinabsteigen	3	0			
to go down	0	0	absteigen	4	1			
to follow	165	15	folgen	45	6	seguir	144	10
to cross	26	7	durchqueren	11	4	atravesar	79	29
to lead	106	19	führen	359	170	guiar	67	2
to pass (through)	64	14	durchlaufen	2	0	pasar (por)	241	18
to ramble	6	4	umherstreifen	0	0	caminar por/ entre	0	0
			bummeln	5	0			
rolling	24	19	rollend	0	0	rodando/ rodante/ rueda	0	0
to rise	17	5	sich erheben	21	15	elevarse	43	7
to run	178	38	rennen	0	0	correr	16	1
to snake	1	1	schlängeln	20	18	serpentear	2	2
to go round	0	0	umrunden	5	1	rodear	85	34
track	66	0	Spur	113	11	huella	75	8
footprints	2	0						
to walk	253	3	laufen	21	2	andar	14	0
						caminar	49	1
to wend	1	1	schlendern	11	0	(lexical gap)	-	-

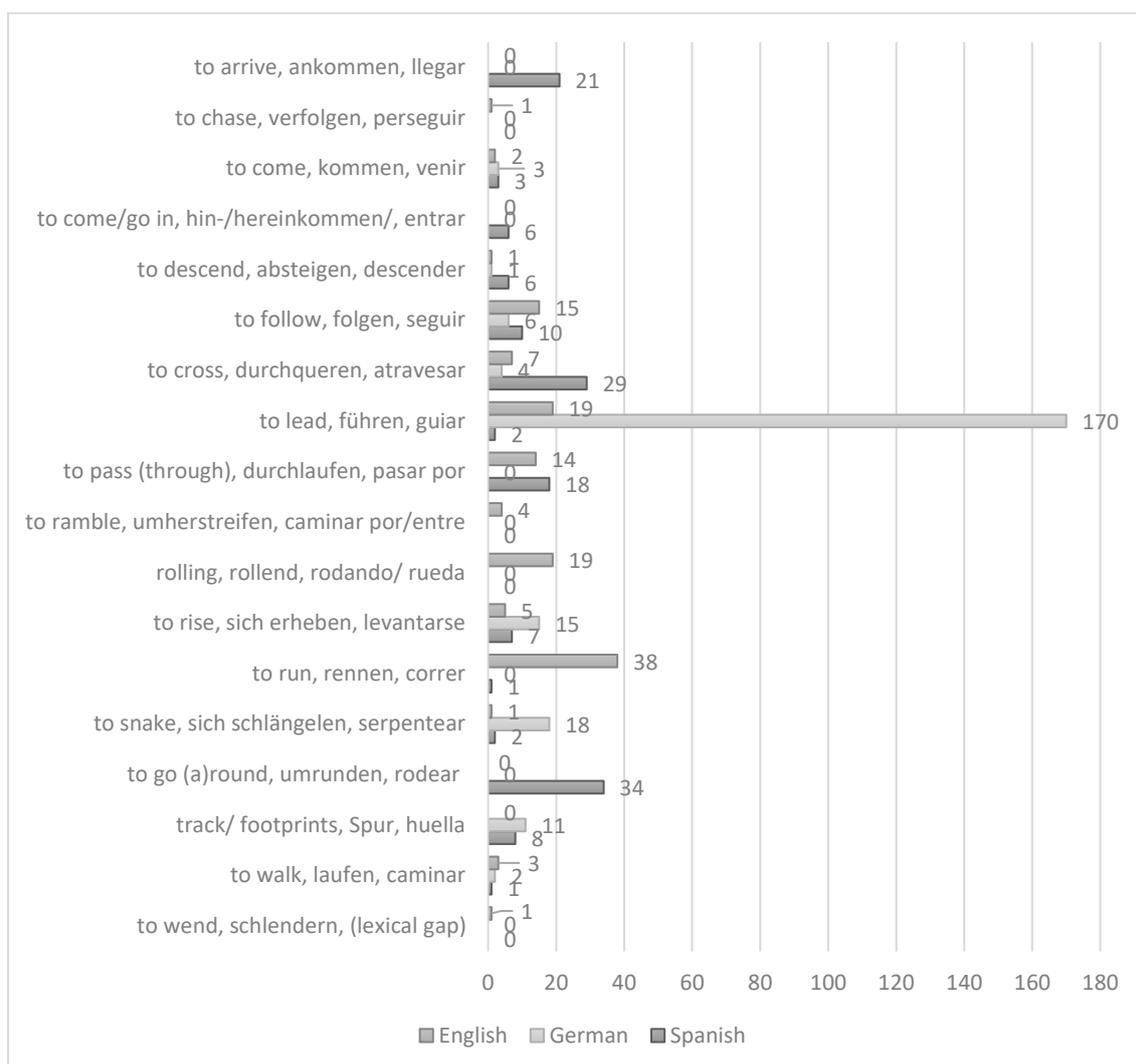
Among the descriptions of physical object features through movement in the German corpus, the predominance of the verb *führen* [to lead] stands out, with 170 occurrences (see example 159). The English equivalent, ‘to lead’, is employed only nineteen times with this STD combinations (example 160) in the large English research corpus. Meanwhile, in the Spanish corpus the word *guiar* is not used once in this context. This fact suggests that, in German, the description of ways, roads, paths, and so on, is rather standardised and mainly realised through the verb *führen* [to lead]. On the one hand, such descriptions seem to be carried out differently in the other two languages, that is, by a wider range of movement verbs, which is reflected in Table 6.61: In the English corpus, 13 out of 18 lemmas produced hits in the concordance search, in the Spanish 14 and in the German corpus only 9 out of 18. Possibly, similar descriptions in English and Spanish employ other metaphorical as well as literal expressions. For instance, the verb *umrunden* in German (5 cases) and *rodear* in Spanish (34 cases, example 161) do not have their English equivalent in ‘to go (a)round’, but in ‘to surround’. Despite having metaphorical origins from an etymological point of view, ‘to surround’ is not considered metaphorical according to MIP. On the other hand, movement verbs that describe physical object features are much more common in the German corpus because the German promotional tourism websites simply contain more information on hiking tracks and cycleways than the English and Spanish websites<sup>85</sup>, apart from having more lexical units per word.

(159) *Der Lahnwanderweg führt Sie darüber hinaus in historische Städte, vorbei an stolzen Burgen oder zur Rast bei einem Winzer.* [Moreover, the Lahn Hiking Track **leads** you to historical towns, past proud castles and to a break at a winegrower’s.]

(160) The steepest cliff railway in the UK **leads** up to Hastings Country Park; ...

(161) *La singularidad de los campos de golf cántabros viene avalada por los espectaculares entornos que los rodean, la mayoría con vistas al mar Cantábrico.* [The singularity of the Cantabrian golf courses is guaranteed by the spectacular environment that **surrounds** them, most of them with views of the Cantabrian Sea]

<sup>85</sup> A concordance search in the large corpora produced the following hits for way and track and its equivalents: way (298) and track (81) in English, *Weg* (1069) and *Pfad* (135) in German, *camino* (299) and *sendero* (95). A small proportion of the German hits for *Weg* represent street names, but the vast majority of occurrences still refers to hiking and cycling tracks.



**Figure 6.24. Metaphor vehicle occurrences for STD pairing ‘moving thing/creature\_ object feature: physical’**

Each of the three languages shows a group of four or five particularly frequent words from the conceptual domain of movement that instantiate this STD combination. For English, this would be ‘to run’ (38 cases), ‘rolling’ (19 cases), ‘to lead’ (19 cases) and ‘to follow’ (15 cases). For Spanish, these frequent metaphor vehicles are *rodear* [to surround], with 34 occurrences, *atravesar* [to cross], with 29 occurrences, *llegar* [to arrive], with 21, *pasar* [to pass], with 18 and *seguir* [to follow], with ten occurrences. In the large German corpus, the following metaphor vehicles from this conceptual field have been found with the function of describing a physical object feature: 170 cases of *führen* [to lead], 18 cases of *sich schlängeln* [to snake], 15 cases of *sich erheben* [to rise] and 11 cases of *Spur* [track, footprint]. There is no recognisable pattern regarding language-specific restrictions or preferences that would, for example, limit metaphorical use conceptually to horizontal movement or linguistically to a certain grammatical category. Although no adjectives have been found in this source-domain-vocabulary-

based search in either the German or the Spanish corpus, the gerund *laufend* [walking, running] was detected with adjectival use. In a wider search, the Spanish adjective *serpenteante* [snaking, winding] has been detected three times in the large research corpus. It needs to be taken into account that, even if a certain metaphorical use does not appear in the research corpora, this does not mean that it is not acceptable and actually employed in real language use. We can only affirm that metaphorical uses that occur in our research corpora of official regional promotional websites have been considered acceptable and adequate by the copywriters and commissioners and are actually used. If we were to reformulate the present STD pairing as *WAYS ARE MOVING CREATURES* and *BUILDINGS ARE MOVING CREATURE*, we could state that the translations of some linguistic instantiations do not seem to be acceptable in all three languages. Moreover, the use of linguistic metaphors that are based on *WAYS ARE MOVING CREATURES* and *BUILDINGS ARE MOVING CREATURE* is patchy for the genre of promotional tourism websites. In addition, it seems that this patchiness has its own characteristics in each of the languages. This confirms an observation made by Cameron & Deignan (2006:688) for the level of genre. According to these scholars, “mappings are not as complete as cognitive theory suggests”, and, sometimes, produce meanings that clearly cross the boundaries of a fixed, stable cognitive system of metaphor.

Returning to the fact that no clear cognitive patterns or systematic restrictions are visible in our data, there are two possible conclusions. Firstly, it is possible that a study on a larger scale might bring these underlying systematic cognitive rules and cross-linguistic differences to the surface. Alternatively, these underlying cognitively motivated patterns might not exist or be of marginal influence, and metaphorical use might ultimately be a matter of usage and convention. This is a theory put forward by Sanford (2010), who considers the assumption that metaphor is a ‘deep system’ to be a hinderance. He argues that “metaphor is more productively viewed as an organic dynamic system that emerges over and follows from language in use” (Sanford 2010:159). In other words the existence of certain linguistic metaphors, both in general language and in a specific genre, might simply be usage-based.

The second STD combination that was studied in more detail, using the large research corpora, is ‘abstract activity\_ object feature: physical’. At first, it may be difficult to imagine verbs of abstract activities describing physical features of objects and places. A full list of the verbs and the noun that have been identified in the sample corpora and their equivalents in the other two languages can be seen in Table 6.62.

Table 6.62. Vocabulary of abstract activity describing physical object features

English	Total	This STD	German	Total	This STD	Spanish	Total	This STD
allow	30	8	erlauben	16	1	permitir	180	15
await	17	3	erwarten	86	33	aguardar	5	2
communication	5	0	Kommunikation	4	0	comunicación	32	3
count on	1	1	zählen auf	0	0	contar con	212	103
			rechnen auf	0	0			
be counted among	1	1	zählen zu	31	13	contarse entre	1	0
number among	0	0				figurar entre	0	0
determine	3	0	bestimmen	25	9	determinar	2	0
enjoy	557	7	genießen	278	0	disfrutar	484	6
ensure	37	2	sicherstellen	4	0	asegurar	16	1
illustrate	8	2	veranschaulichen	9	1	ilustrar	8	0
offer	485	65	bieten	649	71	ofrecer	363	63
order	9	0	verfügen	31	19	disponer	80	37
orient	1	0	sich orientieren	13	6	orientar	9	5
represent	17	0	wiedergeben	0	0	representar	55	5
tell	57	1	erzählen	68	4	contar	85	0

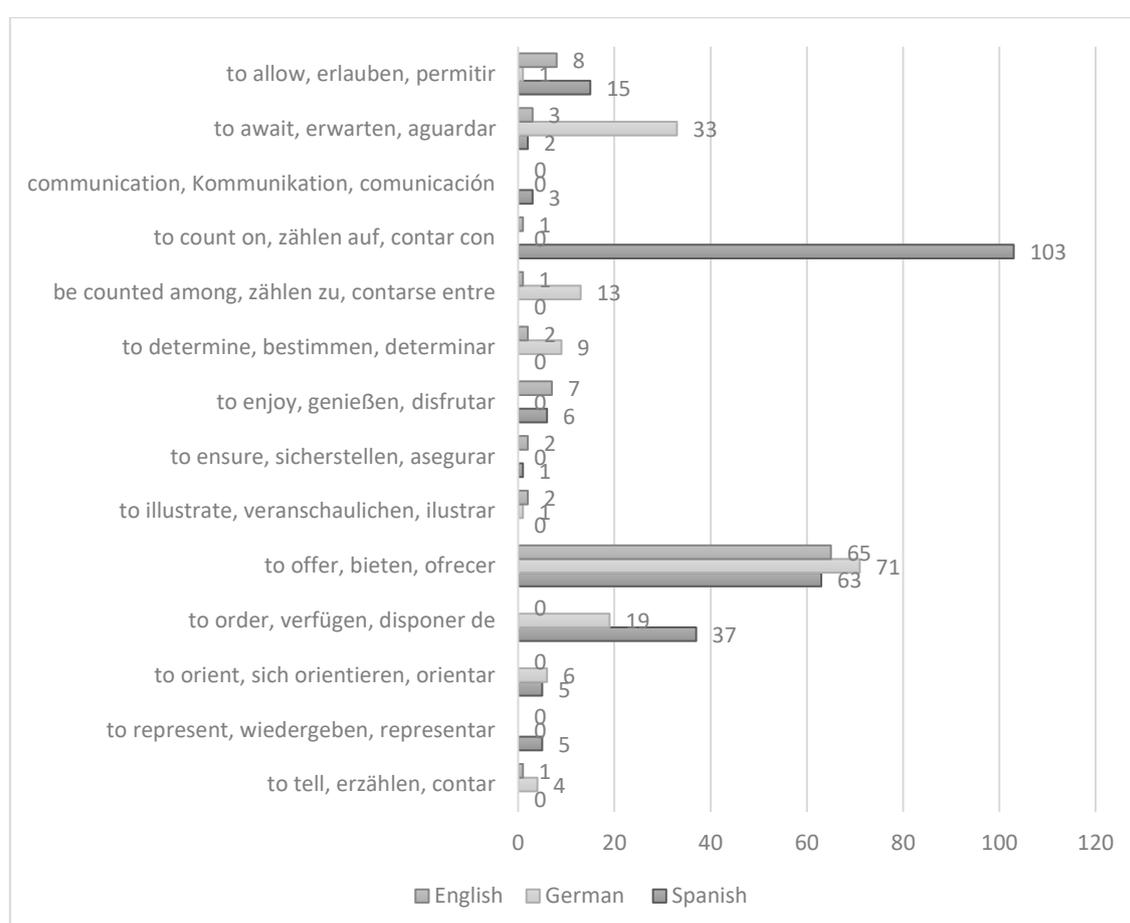
Several of the metaphor vehicles in this table are ways of describing an object or place as having certain parts or features. This is the case for *contar con*/ ‘to count on’ as can be seen in example (162), ‘to enjoy’/ *disfrutar* as in example (163), ‘to offer’/ *bieten / ofrecer* (example 164) and *verfügen über/ disponer de* (example 165). Others describe styles or positions (*sich orientieren/ orientar, determinar*), or classify the objects or places as belonging to a group or larger entity (‘to be counted among’/ *zählen zu*, ‘to represent’/ *representar*), as illustrated by examples (166) to (171).

- (162) *La provincia malagueña cuenta con más de 160 kilómetros de franja costera.* [The province of Malaga **counts on** more than 160 kilometres of coastal line].
- (163) ‘Warren Gill **enjoys** some of the most picturesque countryside in North Yorkshire with its narrow secluded tree lined valley winding beck and wild flowers ...’
- (164) *Das Ferienboot-Flaggschiff hat drei Kabinen und bietet zahlreiche hochwertige Details wie Polstermöbel und Teakholzdeck.* [The holiday-boat flagship has three cabins and **offers** numerous high-quality details, such as the upholstery and the teak deck.]
- (165) *Una gran parte de las estaciones de esquí de Catalunya disponen de jardín de nieve.* [Many of the ski resorts **have** a snow garden **at their disposal**.]
- (166) *Formal orientiert sich das Stadion mit seinen klaren geometrischen Grundformen an antiken Sportstätten.* [With regard to its shape, the stadium with its clear geometrical basic shapes is **inspired (literally: oriented)** by antique sports facilities]
- (167) *Jugendstilgebäuden, barocke Kirchen, historische Wohnviertel, aber auch herausragende Einzelgebäude bestimmen das Gesicht Hamburgs.* [Art Nouveau buildings, baroque churches, historical residential quarters, but also outstanding single buildings **determine** the face of Hamburg.]
- (168) *... im Herzen der Hansestadt liegt die Weserburg, Bremens Museum für moderne Kunst. Es zählt zu den größten Museen in Deutschland ...* [... in the heart of the Hanseatic city lies the Weserburg, Bremen’s museum of modern art. It **is counted among** the largest museums in Germany ...]
- (169) *El territorio andaluz representa el 17,3% de España, ...* [The territory of Andalucía **represents** 17.3% of Spain, ...]
- (170) *el Camino entra en Aragón, permitiendo ir desde la punta más oriental hasta la más occidental...* [... the Way of St. Jakob comes into Aragón, **allowing** to go from the westernmost to the easternmost point ...]
- (171) A delightful variety of spectacular and picturesque long-distance footpaths **awaits** you in Devon.

Some of these metaphor vehicles are rather indirect ways of describing object features. For instance, if a bridge allows you to go from point A to point B, this is a function of the bridge, but it also means that the bridge physically lies between these points. If

something awaits the visitor in a certain place, it implies that it exists, it is located in this place and that it is a feature of this place.

Figure 6.25. shows the metaphorical occurrences of the metaphor vehicles characterised by the STD combination ‘abstract activity\_ object feature: physical’. The only semantic unit that displays a similar frequency of use in all three languages is ‘to offer’/ *bieten* / *ofrecer*. Only clearly metaphorical cases are taken into account here, excluding possible metonymical motivations, i.e. uses with institutions, companies, shops, etc. The number of occurrences of ‘to enjoy’ and *disfrutar* are in the same range for English and Spanish, while *sich orientieren* and *orientar* are similarly frequent in the German and the Spanish research corpus. For all other metaphor vehicles, the use with this STD combination is markedly different or has not yielded any examples.



**Figure 6.25. Metaphor vehicle occurrences for STD pairing ‘abstract activity\_ object feature: physical’**

There are no recognisable patterns that indicate an underlying cognitive reason why some of the metaphor vehicles are used in one corpus but not in another. Most of the metaphorical uses can be decoded in the other languages. This may be due to the fact, that the source domains that have been studied here, abstract activity and movement, are common to all human beings. Consequently, the conceptual areas are largely

overlapping. Moreover, speakers can relate to these source domain areas easily since they actively perform abstract activities and movements on a daily base. They are likely to be applied so often since they are easily accessible in cognitive terms, which also helps the decoding process. A study of more culture-specific source-domain vocabulary might show clearer cross-linguistic differences since one can simply not draw on a source domain that is inexistent in one's culture or only known to a small minority of travellers (in which case it could be used as an insider metaphor). Food and gastronomy might be such a culture-specific source domain. The conceptual domains of geography and religion can also be expected to show certain differences for the three research languages and cultures. But then, these metaphors would have a negative impact on the comprehensibility for non-national readerships. This is probably why the number of lemmatised metaphor vehicles for STD combinations with these source domains is relatively small in the sample corpora.

Other factors than what can be imagined according to the culture-specific system of conceptualisations seem to be at play in actual metaphor use. It is noteworthy that three of the most commonly used metaphor vehicles with the STD combination 'abstract activity\_ object feature: abstract' are used with prepositions that either form alliterations with the verb or repeat sounds within the words: *contar con* [to count on], *disponer de* [to have something at one's disposal] and *verfügen über* [to have something at one's disposal]. This is in line with Sanford's (2010) usage-based theory of metaphor, since this kind of linguistic metaphor comes with an extra motivation: it contributes to the economy of speech since the position of the vocal tract does not need to be altered much, while attracting more attention and being more memorable due to the repetition of sounds.

In summary, the study of STD-combination-related metaphor vehicles in the large research corpora has not provided the expected insights. Factors other than restrictions in culture-specific conceptual representations seem to exert an influence on the acceptability and actual use of linguistic metaphors on promotional tourism websites, at least for the languages English, German and Spanish. Metaphor use in promotional tourism websites might possibly be explained more successfully by usage in general language and in the genre, but this will need to be confirmed in further studies. This notwithstanding, the results that have been obtained are useful to show which metaphor vehicles are commonly used in which language, and which highly frequent uses are not mirrored in the promotional tourism discourse of another language despite the theoretical possibility to do so. Consequently, good knowledge of the genre and its preferred vocabulary in the target language will help to produce high-quality translations. This knowledge can be improved by reading original texts of the same type in the target language before embarking on the translation task.

## **6.9. Summary**

The results obtained in the present study can be summarised in the following way. Our data suggest that the language of the Spanish promotional tourism websites shows the highest frequency of linguistic metaphors, followed by English, with German employing fewest metaphors. The data also revealed that the metaphor vehicle variety is greater for Spanish and German than for the English sample corpus. This may be related to the proportion of novel metaphor and the characteristics of the target readership of each corpus. The target readership is mainly domestic for German websites, while the Spanish websites mostly, but not exclusively, address native speakers usually offering an English version for the broad international public. Meanwhile, England's tourism websites need to cater for both domestic and international readers.

The most frequent metaphor vehicles have been found to reflect key functions of promotional tourism discourse, namely information and persuasion. Cultural preferences regarding style and lexis, the targeted readership and country-specific practices when naming institutions and places may also have an influence on the frequencies of metaphor vehicles.

With regard to grammatical aspects, the word class distribution of the identified metaphor vehicles is similar, albeit not identical, in the three sample corpora. Our promotional tourism texts use mainly nouns and verbs to express underlying conceptual metaphors. Adjectives are less common, while adverbs account for a very small proportion of the metaphor vehicles. The highest percentage of metaphorical verbs and nouns is found in the Spanish promotional tourism websites, whereas the English ones have the highest proportion of adjectives. Since differences are relatively small, a priori, no basic grammatical changes need to be introduced in the translation process to adapt metaphor use to the other research languages.

The locus of semantic tension is intrinsically linked to the grammatical category of the metaphor vehicles. For this reason, what is most interesting here is the behaviour within one word-class related group. In this regard, a preposition following a noun or adjective is rarely the indicator of a metaphorical use. For almost half of the metaphor vehicles in all three corpora, the non-literal use becomes evident from the broader context. For this reason, translators should not limit their vocabulary searches and verifications to bi-grammes but take the whole sentence or paragraph and their semantic fields into consideration.

With regard to the degree of conventionalisation, it has been found that conventional metaphor is distributed fairly evenly throughout the three sample corpora. Furthermore, the proportions of conventional metaphors and novel metaphors vary significantly from language to language. The percentage of conventional metaphors is highest for the English corpus (89.5%), followed by the German corpus (81.2%). The proportion of novel metaphors is highest for the Spanish corpus, which had a composition of 26.1%

novel and 73.9% conventional linguistic metaphors. The low proportion of novel metaphors in English might be motivated by an effort to keep the cognitive strain low with an international readership in mind. Spanish promotional tourism websites seem to aim at a more aesthetic, creative style, while German takes a middle position, valuing both aesthetics and precision, which, in turn, ensures comprehensibility. The normalised frequency of conventional metaphor is lowest for German, approximately 30% higher in English and 40% higher in Spanish. The frequency of novel metaphor in the Spanish corpus doubles the concentration in the German corpus and even triples the normalised frequency in the English one. These numbers imply that, when translating from Spanish to English or German, it may be legitimate and recommendable to reduce the number of novel metaphors and replace some of them by conventional metaphors or even literal language in order to avoid an effect of saturation for the reader.

The discursive function was analysed for novel metaphors only, assuming, as a compromise, that their choice was conscious and deliberate. In all three sample corpora, economy of speech is the most frequent discursive function, followed by highlighting in second place and language aesthetics in third place. Economy of speech accounted for just over half of the novel metaphor vehicles in English and approximately one third in German and Spanish. Less frequent identified discursive functions are illustrating, modelling, filling a lexical gap, humour and euphemism. The main conclusion for translation drawn from these data is that a novel metaphor that contributes to the economy of speech on an English tourism website does not need to be transferred to German or Spanish as such, especially if it has a mainly informative or descriptive purpose. Similar conclusions have been drawn for other functions as well.

Based on a detailed analysis, a typology of mapping schemes with several levels has been proposed. With reference to the kind of the mapped feature, three categories have been established based on Grady (1997): physical resemblance, abstract resemblance and experiential correlation. A categorisation of the mappings based on the involved conceptual domain areas led to the creation of the categories of ‘reification’, ‘personification with basic meaning’, ‘personification with change of meaning’ and ‘modelling in space’. With reference to the development of the conceptual scope during the mapping process, domain-to-domain mappings were observed to be the default mappings, but there are also numerous cases of generalisation, specification and reduction to an important aspect. Two special cases can be observed in the corpora: ‘puns’, which draw on both the conceptual and phonetic level, and ‘reversed metaphors’, which inverse the common direction of the mapping.

In each of the languages, the vast majority of the mappings in our promotional tourism corpora were classified as being based on an abstract resemblance. Only about a tenth of the mappings in each language are based on physical resemblance and approximately two tenths on experiential correlation. Due to the similarities across the three languages, there seem to be no consequences for translation.

Regarding the change of the conceptual scope due to the metaphorical process, the distribution of all observed mapping schemes is roughly the same for the three sample corpora, but the kind of mapping scheme at this level gives information about the degree of translatability and recommendable translation strategies.

The classification of mapping schemes according to the involved domain areas is closely linked to the big ontological metaphors. Personifications constitute the vast majority at this level of mapping schemes in all three languages, with the Spanish websites displaying the highest normalised frequency by far. As a result, the accurate reproduction of each personification metaphor from a Spanish promotional website in an English or Spanish target text may lead to an effect of saturation in the target readership. Reification is approximately twice as frequent in English and Spanish as in German. Therefore, the suppression of a reification metaphor when translating promotional tourism texts into German seems to be unproblematic. Meanwhile, modelling is similarly frequent in all three sample corpora, showing a certain degree of semantic overlap for all three languages. Puns and reversed metaphors, to the contrary, are likely to present a low degree of translatability for the languages of this study.

As there are several types of mapping schemes that occur at different levels, the superposition of these schemes is possible and frequent. The most common combination are domain-to-domain-abstract-resemblance metaphors, which are about 50% more frequent per lexical unit in Spanish than in the other languages. This reflects the more sophisticated style in the Spanish websites, which seem to strive for a higher register. Meanwhile, the English corpus was found to contain a higher use of physical-resemblance mappings and experiential correlation than either Spanish or German, which points to a plainer style. Also for generalisation metaphors, specification metaphors, personification metaphors and reification metaphors, abstract resemblance is the most frequently mapped feature, while reduction to an important aspect always involves experiential correlation.

Based on the corpus analysis, a typology of source and target domain areas was proposed with the objective to be able to pinpoint the change in meaning a metaphor vehicles undergoes in a given context. The results from the domain-area analysis have been broken down into for blocks related to the concrete-abstract shift, to ontological metaphors, to experiential correlation and primary metaphor, and to topical domain areas. Metaphors that draw on a physical source domain are a lot more common than those mapping from an abstract source domain. The overlap of metaphor vehicles across the three languages that has been observed for many of the topical areas, points to the conclusion that metaphors based on commonly known concepts from shared cultural, scientific, technological, and similar fields are likely to exist in the other language(s) or will at least be understood if the mapping is based on a salient feature. As for the target domains, just over a quarter of the English metaphor vehicles and approximately a third of the German and Spanish metaphor vehicles had an abstract one. The most common

target domains are 1) physical object features, 2) places, 3) abstract concepts, 4) abstract features, 5) quality, 6) general, 7) object, 8) time, 9) technology, 10) nature, 11) arts. It is striking that, in the promotional tourism website corpora, a large proportion of the identified metaphors map features onto physical objects and places, not onto domains with a high degree of abstract conceptualisation as assumed for general language by many conceptual metaphor theorists (c.f. Kövecses, 2010). Noteworthy is the relative overuse of physical activities as source domains for the description of physical object features in the Spanish corpus with respect to the others, and their high proportion of novel metaphors. This entails a danger of saturation in translations to English or German.

With respect to the source-target-domain pairings, a large number of combinations is realised. Therefore the number of metaphor vehicles per combination is low. About a third of the twenty most frequent combinations are present in all three languages. Closer analysis shows that a given STD relationship can occur with several different mapping schemes. Moreover, the STD pairings, including some of the most frequent ones, can be dominated by one word, word family or word class. Clear cross-linguistic differences, such as the systematic preference of a specific STD pairing, in one language which receives very little attention in the other languages, have not been found. The majority of the detected cross-linguistic differences can be associated with a genre-specific overuse of certain vocabulary, different lexical developments or differences in the dictionary entries in each language.

The literal translatability of the metaphor vehicles has been found to be both language-pair dependent and translation-direction dependent. English to Spanish is the translation direction that displays the highest literal translatability in all categories (overall, conventional and novel metaphors). The lowest percentages of literal translatability have been found for the translation direction Spanish to German overall and for novel metaphors. Conventional metaphors display the lowest percentage of literal translatability in the translation direction German to English. In addition, it has been found that literal translatability is higher for novel metaphors than for conventional metaphors for all language pairs and translation directions. Within the group of literally translatable metaphor vehicles, certain cases show minor cross-linguistic differences. Depending on the language pair and the translation direction, between 12.6% and 25.1% of all literally translatable metaphor vehicles undergo a change of their degree of conventionalisation, of their frequency of use or suffer the loss of their metaphorical status in the literal translation. These special cases should be taken into account by the translator, who needs to decide whether compensation strategies are necessary.

The analysis of the number of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles per source-target combination revealed two kinds of information: a series of high frequency metaphor vehicles in tourism discourse that might be problematic for language students and translators, and STD combinations that seem to point to systematic cross-linguistic

differences in their conceptualisations. Fewer such STD combinations than expected have been detected, since the low metaphor vehicle variety and low metaphor vehicle numbers per STD pairing make it difficult to extrapolate the findings.

Finally, two of the identified problematic STD combinations were selected for a source-domain vocabulary search in the large corpora. These are ‘moving thing/creature\_ object feature: physical’ and ‘abstract activity\_ object feature: physical’. A few metaphor vehicles are present in all three corpora, most occur in two of them, others only in one language. There seem to be no recognisable patterns that indicate underlying cognitive structures that would explain the use or lack of use of certain metaphor vehicles in a given language, such as the limitation to certain types of movements, to a grammatical category, or similar. Factors other than restrictions in culture-specific conceptual representations seem to exert an influence on the acceptability and actual use of linguistic metaphors on promotional tourism websites, at least for the languages English, German and Spanish.

# Chapter 7

## Conclusions

This final chapter of the dissertation summarises the main findings and their implications for translation. It describes possible applications, discusses the limitations of the present study and offers suggestions for future research.

This dissertation has addressed the use of metaphor in promotional tourism discourse in three languages: British English, German of Germany and European Spanish. Its main aim has been to provide a comprehensive description of the linguistic instantiations and the cross-linguistic variation of metaphor in three comparable corpora and to derive implications for translation from the obtained data. It thus offers an in-depth analysis of metaphors in promotional tourism discourse in terms of frequency, word class, degree of conventionalisation, discursive function, mapping schemes, source and target domain areas, and literal translatability. By focussing on a specific genre, frequency data become more accurate and meaningful. Therefore, the recommendations for the translation process can be much more specific than possible guidelines for the metaphor translation based on general language data. The results obtained in this study suggest that, in general, the three languages show similar patterns with respect to most of the studied parameters of metaphor in tourism discourse, although cross-linguistic differences are observable. The variation seems to occur mainly at the linguistic level, while underlying conceptualisations seem to be shared largely by the three languages and the related cultures.

In the following paragraphs the research questions shall be presented anew and answered one by one.

Research question 1: What are the main features of linguistic metaphors in terms of their frequency, grammatical form, degree of conventionalisation and discursive functions in promotional tourism discourse as represented by sample corpora of tourism websites in English, German and Spanish, and how do they vary across the three languages?

The language of the Spanish sample corpus was found to be the most metaphorical with 15.29 MV/100 LU<sup>86</sup>, followed by the English sample corpus (12.1 MV/ 100 LU). The least metaphorical language was used in the German sample corpus with a normalised frequency of 10.14 MV/ 100 LU. The lemma/ token ratio of the metaphor vehicles revealed that the lexical variety of the metaphor vehicles was greater in Spanish (0.4) and German (0.39) than in English (0.33). The most frequent metaphor vehicles in all three languages reflect the main functions of promotional tourism discourse: information and persuasion. Interestingly, for approximately half of the thirty most frequent metaphor vehicles in each language a metaphorical use of its literal translation was not found in the other sample corpora. This indicates that highly standardised metaphor vehicles in one language may not be commonly used as such in another language.

With respect to the grammatical category, metaphors are most often instantiated by verbs, closely followed by nouns, but less frequently by adjectives and rarely by adverbs in promotional tourism discourse as represented by the sample corpora. The distribution of the word classes was similar for all three languages. As regards the locus of semantic tension, in almost 50% of all cases in each language the closest grammatical or collocational partner was not enough to unambiguously determine its metaphorical use, but the broader context was needed. For all other cases, the locus of semantic tension most often arose between verb and subject, between verb and object, between components of a compound noun and between adjective and noun, with slight variations in the order depending on the language.

The proportion of conventional metaphors, as compared to novel ones, is highest for English (89.5%), a little lower for German (81.4%) and lowest for the Spanish sample corpus (73.4%). The normalised frequencies of metaphors in Spanish and English promotional tourism websites lie close together, while German seems to express meaning with fewer conventional metaphors. Meanwhile, the frequency of novel metaphors in the Spanish corpus doubles the frequency in the German corpus and even triples their concentration in the English. Altogether, the overall metaphor frequency, lemma/ token ratio and the use of novel and conventional metaphors reflect a more sophisticated style on the Spanish tourism websites, while the English websites seem to have been written in a simpler style to cater for an international readership. The German websites seem to give priority to lexical precision.

In all three sample corpora, speech economy was the most frequent discursive function, followed by highlighting in second place and language aesthetics in third place. Speech economy accounted for just over half of the novel metaphor vehicles in English and approximately one third in German and Spanish. Just over a quarter of the metaphor vehicles had highlighting as their main functions in the German and the Spanish corpus.

---

<sup>86</sup> metaphor vehicles/100 lexical units

In English, this proportion was a little lower. Less frequently identified discursive functions were illustrating, modelling, filling a lexical gap, humour and euphemism.

Research question 2: What metaphorical mapping typology can be operationalised for studies of metaphor translatability and translation practice?

Based on a detailed analysis, a typology of mapping schemes with several levels has been proposed. With reference to the kind of the mapped feature, three categories were established based on Grady (1997): physical resemblance, abstract resemblance and experiential correlation. A categorisation of the mappings based on the involved large conceptual domain areas led to the creation of the categories ‘reification’, ‘personification with basic meaning’, ‘personification with change of meaning’<sup>87</sup> and ‘modelling in space’. With regard to the development of the conceptual scope during the mapping process, domain-to-domain mappings were observed to be the default mappings, but there are also cases of generalisation, specification and reduction to an important aspect. Two special cases were observed. The term ‘pun’ was used to label linguistic metaphors that draw on both the conceptual and phonetic level. The second special case was named ‘reversed metaphor’, inspired by Goatly (1997:66), since the common direction of the mapping is inverted here.

Research question 3: What metaphorical mappings have been used in the detected metaphors and what variations can be identified in terms of their type and frequency?

In each of the languages, the vast majority of the mappings in our promotional tourism corpora were classified as being based on an abstract resemblance. Only about a tenth of the mappings in each language were based on physical resemblance and approximately two tenths on experiential correlation.

Regarding the change of the conceptual scope due to the metaphorical process, domain-to-domain mappings are the default process. The distributions of all observed mapping schemes are roughly the same for the three sample corpora.

The classification of mapping schemes according to the involved large domain areas is closely linked to the big ontological metaphors (personification, reification, modelling in space). Personifications constitute the vast majority at this level of mapping schemes in each of the corpora, with the Spanish websites displaying the highest proportion. Most personifications occur with a simultaneous change in meaning, while only few of the metaphor vehicles maintain their basic meaning. When normalised over 100 lexical units, personifications with change of meaning are approximately 50% more frequent in the Spanish corpus than in the other two languages. The differences are even more remarkable for personifications with basic meaning, amounting to 0.19 MV/ 100 LU in English, 0.35 in German and 0.9 in Spanish. Reification is approximately twice as

---

<sup>87</sup> The distinction between personification with basic meaning and personification with change of meaning resulted from the operationalisation of the metaphor identification procedure. In practice, whether a metaphor is categorised as one personification or the other often seems to be a matter of dictionary definitions rather than the common language users’ understanding of the concept.

frequent in English and Spanish as in German. Meanwhile, modelling is similarly frequent in all three languages, showing a certain degree of semantic overlap. Puns and reversed metaphors are scarce in the three sample corpora

As there are several types of mapping schemes that occur at different levels, the superposition of these schemes is possible and frequent. It was found that for metaphors with a standard domain-to-domain mapping, the distribution of abstract resemblance, physical resemblance and experiential correlation is roughly the same for all three sample corpora, abstract resemblance being the most frequent scheme. The Spanish texts contain approximately one and a half times as many of these domain-to-domain-abstract-resemblance metaphors per lexical unit as the English corpus. This reflects the more sophisticated, more literary style in the Spanish websites, which seem to strive for a higher register. Meanwhile, the English corpus was found to contain a relatively higher use of physical-resemblance mappings and experiential correlation, which points to a plainer style. Similar observations have been made for specification and generalisation metaphors. The mapping scheme ‘reduction to an important aspect’ is particular in that it is always based on an experiential correlation.

Reification has been found to be applied mainly to abstract concepts, mapping predominantly abstract features. Its frequency is particularly high in the English websites as compared to the other two languages. This is partially related to the larger number of verbal phrases in English, many of which are formed by combining a high frequency verb and an abstract noun. Metaphors that can be described as personification with basic meaning map the capability of action, will or emotions of a person onto non-living concepts. These are abstract features. Consequently, all personification metaphors that maintain their basic meaning fall into the category of abstract resemblance. This mapping scheme has also been observed to be present in the vast majority of personifications with change of meaning. Only a small proportion of these are based on physical resemblance, remaining under three percent of all cases of personification with change of meaning in each sample corpus. Modelling in space also maps mostly abstract features and is applied almost exclusively to abstract concepts. While physical resemblance has not been found to be the mapped feature for any of the metaphors that model in space in our sample corpora, experiential correlation is rather common for this kind of metaphor. The puns and reversed metaphors that have been found in the present study are all based on abstract resemblance. However, the low number of examples does not allow for generalisations.

Research question 4: What source and target domain description can be operationalised for studies of metaphor translatability and translation practice?

Based on the corpus analysis, a typology of source and target domain areas was elaborated with the objective to be able to pinpoint the change in meaning that occurs due to the metaphorical use and to handle the typology time-efficiently. When a metaphor vehicle can be described with the help of more than one of the domain area

labels, those that best characterise the conceptual changes of the mapping process have been chosen. The results that have been obtained from the source domain and target domain analysis have been broken down into blocks. The first block considers domain areas related to the concrete-abstract shift. The second one treats domain areas that are often activated in ontological metaphors (personifications, reification and modelling in space). The third block analyses domain areas that play a role in experiential correlation and primary metaphor, while the last block deals with topical domain areas.

Research question 5: How do the source-target domain relationships of metaphors in promotional tourism discourse as represented by sample corpora of tourism websites in English, German and Spanish vary across the three languages?

Among the linguistic metaphors that are characterised by a shift between a concrete and an abstract domain area, those drawing on a physical source domain are a lot more frequent in Spanish (386 MV/ 10,000 LU) than in English and German (both 279 MV/ 10,000 LU). This is also true for abstract source domain areas (Spanish 74, German 48 and English 11 MV/ 10,000 LU), which reflects once again the emulation of a higher register in the Spanish promotional tourism websites. With regard to the physical source domain areas, 'physical activity', 'object' and 'physical feature' were most frequent in all three corpora. In Spanish, physical activity as a source domain area stands out in comparison with English and German and is often combined with the target domain 'object feature: physical'. For abstract source domain areas, the cross-linguistic differences do not seem to be topic-related, since most of these metaphors are neutral with respect to the target domain, meaning that they are applicable in many different semantic contexts. Physical target domains are used to a higher degree in the Spanish texts than in the other languages, exceeding the English numbers by 50% and almost doubling the German frequency. This suggests that the German promotional tourism websites employ less metaphorical language when referring to or describing physical concepts.

The second block is dedicated to domain areas that are active in ontological metaphors. The relative overuse of personification metaphors in Spanish is confirmed by the source and target domain analysis. Apart from this overuse, cross-linguistic differences in this block are less notable or can be explained by the predominant topics on the websites and morphological features of the languages.

With respect to experiential correlation and primary metaphor, our research data suggest that the domain areas of space, size, height and shape are the most common ones. Material wealth and value as a source domain is similarly frequent, with the German corpus showing an especially extensive use of this source domain. Great cross-linguistic differences can be observed for the source domain 'hypothetical experience', which comprises concepts from the realm of imagination, myths and religion. The frequency of this source domain in the Spanish corpus is four times the English frequency and eleven times the German frequency.

A study of the domains that represent a topical area revealed that, on English promotional tourism websites, many metaphor vehicles come from the source domain areas of architecture, arts, geometry/maths, military and transport. The most common source domain areas in the German sample corpus are 'arts' and 'food & gastronomy'. Meanwhile, the Spanish corpus takes many metaphor vehicles from the source domains of agriculture, arts, geometry and maths, religion and natural science. It is noteworthy that several of these source domain areas are dominated or even constituted by one metaphor vehicle only. While this reflects the metaphorical key vocabulary of the genre, it reduces the possibility of detecting underlying cognitive patterns. For many of the topical areas, overlap of metaphor vehicles has been observed across the three languages.

A striking finding with respect to the target domain areas is that, in the tourism promotional website corpora, a large proportion of the identified metaphors map features onto physical objects and places, not onto domains with a high degree of abstract conceptualisation as assumed for general language by many conceptual metaphor theorists.

Research question 6: Which proportion of the linguistic metaphors in promotional tourism discourse as represented by sample corpora of tourism websites in English, German and Spanish can actually be translated literally into the other languages, and does the translation direction matter?

The literal translatability of the identified metaphor vehicles was found to be both language-pair dependent and translation-direction dependent. English to Spanish is the translation direction that displays the highest literal translatability in all categories: overall (64.1%), for conventional metaphors (63.7%) and for novel metaphors (68.3%). This may be attributed to the large influence of Romanic languages on English in the past and a possible effort to keep the language on English promotional tourism websites simple for an international readership. The lowest percentages of literal translatability were found for the translation direction Spanish to German overall (52.9%) and for novel metaphors (56.2%). Conventional metaphors displayed the lowest percentage for literal translatability in the translation direction German to English (49.4%). In addition to these data, it was found that the translatability was higher for novel metaphors than for conventional metaphors for all language pairs and translation directions. Unlike poetic metaphors, those in promotional tourism texts have to be persuasive, memorable and, most of all, easy to decode in order to avoid unwanted interpretations and an excessive cognitive effort, which might stop the potential visitor from reading on. For this reason they need to be straightforward and based on commonly shared knowledge. Apart from the pure existence or non-existence of the literal translation in one of the other languages, intermediate conditions exist. In these cases, the metaphor vehicle is literally translatable but undergoes a change of its degree of conventionalisation or of its frequency of use, or loses its metaphorical status. These kinds of changes affected

between 6.6% (English to German) and 13.3% (Spanish to German) of the identified metaphor vehicles.

Research question 7: Which are the particularly problematic source-target domain combinations in promotional tourism discourse for the translation directions resulting from the combination of the three research languages and which are the underlying cognitive patterns that account for the lack of literal translatability?

The analysis of the source-target domain (STD) pairings that are actually realised in the sample corpora revealed that there is a large number of different combinations in all three corpora. Consequently, the number of metaphor vehicles per source-target pairing cannot be very high. Indeed, only the approximately twenty most frequent pairings produced frequencies of 15 MV/ 10,000 LU and above. Clear cross-linguistic differences, such as the systematic preference of a specific STD pairing, in one language which receive very little attention in the other languages, have not been found. The majority of the detected cross-linguistic differences can be associated with a genre-specific overuse of certain vocabulary linked with different lexical developments or differences in the dictionary entries in each language, hence not with culture- or language-specific conceptualisations.

The analysis of the proportion of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles per source-target combination reveals two kinds of information. On the one hand, it identifies high frequency metaphor vehicles in tourism discourse that might be problematic for language students and unexperienced translators. On the other hand, it provides STD combinations that seem to point to systematic cross-linguistic differences in their conceptualisations. Many of the STD pairings with a high percentage of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles did not display a great lexical variety, but were dominated by one or few metaphor vehicles, which makes it difficult to extrapolate the findings. The STD combinations that were identified as problematic were ‘physical activity\_ abstract activity’ for the translation directions English to German and German to English, ‘object\_ object’ for German to English, ‘abstract activities\_ object feature: physical’ for Spanish to English, ‘object\_ person’ and ‘physical activity\_ abstract concept’ for German to Spanish. The highest number of problematic STD pairings, three, was identified for the translation direction Spanish to German. These are ‘physical activity\_ abstract feature’, ‘object\_ abstract feature’ and ‘moving thing/creature\_ object feature: physical’. For the translation direction English to Spanish, a systematic cross-linguistic difference in conceptualisation could not be deduced for any of the STD combinations. These are fewer STD combinations with possibly different conceptualisations than expected.

Finally, two of the identified problematic STD combinations that seemed especially interesting were selected; their metaphor vehicles were translated into the other languages and searched in the large corpora, manually filtering the metaphorical uses that corresponded to the selected STD pairings. The use and frequency of these

metaphor vehicles provides information about common and less frequent metaphor vehicles or the lack of use of these vehicles in our promotional tourism corpora in each of the three languages. The STD combinations under study were ‘moving thing/creature\_ object feature: physical’ and ‘abstract activity\_ object feature: physical’. A few metaphor vehicles are present in all three corpora, most occur in two of them, others only in one language. There seem to be no recognisable patterns that indicate underlying cognitive structures that would explain the use or lack of use of certain metaphor vehicles in a given language, such as the limitation to horizontal movements or verbs that only code the direction and not the manner. Factors other than restrictions in culture-specific conceptual representations seem to exert an influence on the acceptability and actual use of linguistic metaphors on promotional tourism websites, at least for the languages English, German and Spanish.

Research question 8. What are the implications of the cross-linguistic variation features identified for metaphor translation of promotional tourism websites in the following language pairs: English – German, English – Spanish, German - Spanish?

The occurrences of metaphor vehicles and their normalised frequencies revealed promotional tourism discourse to be most metaphorical in the Spanish sample corpus and least metaphorical in the German sample corpus. Therefore, an accurate reproduction of the metaphorical language use in the target text might be experienced as too metaphor-laden when translating from Spanish to German and English, or from English to German. Here, transformations of some of the metaphorical expressions into literal language seem to be unproblematic. For the translation direction Spanish to German they are even recommendable. In the opposite translation directions, the transformation of literal into metaphorical language may avoid a style that is too factual and direct for the target readership, thus improving the perceived adequacy of the target text. The question whether a native-speaker copywriter would use a metaphorical expression or rather a literal one in a given context, may help to take decisions.

Although the study of the three sample corpora showed that the most frequent metaphor vehicles reflect the same key functions, language-specific and culture-specific features have been observed as well. Translators should take into account cultural preferences regarding style and lexis, as well as specific practices when naming institutions and places. Another factor that intervenes in the choice of metaphors seems to be the targeted readership, their language skills and their background-knowledge of the promoted culture. Consequently it may be legitimate to simplify a sophisticated metaphor of a source text that was written for a native-speaker audience or even for a national readership if the new target readership can be expected to consist of non-native speakers from a wide range of cultures.

Approximately half of the thirty most frequent metaphor vehicles in each of the sample corpora did not produce any metaphorical hits when translated literally into the other research languages. Moreover, a highly frequent metaphor vehicle in one sample

corpus, may occur very few times in another one. This implies that some typical metaphor vehicles in promotional tourism discourse in one language are not commonly used in this genre in the other language(s) and might sound less typical or even unnatural when translated literally. Instead of a literally translated equivalent, a pragmatic equivalent might be more adequate for certain metaphor vehicles, such as ‘iconic’, ‘fantastic’, ‘top’, ‘fine’, *espectacular* [spectacular], *privilegiado* [privileged], *hoch* [high(ly)], *präsentieren* [to present]. The findings also support Bernádez’ (2013:323) observation that a metaphorical expression does not necessarily require a metaphorical translation.

Due to the fact that the three sample corpora showed similar word class distributions of the metaphor vehicles, the recommendations deriving from these findings for translation are that, a priori, no basic grammatical changes need to be introduced in the translation process to adapt metaphor use to the other research languages. Rather, the need for grammatical changes will depend on each individual case. For translations from English to Spanish or to German, a large number of metaphorically used adjectives may be reduced by replacing part of these by non-metaphorical language, especially when it serves the goal of increasing the naturalness of the Spanish or German target text. It may also be legitimate to substitute part of the metaphorically used verbs in Spanish source texts or nouns in German texts by other grammatical categories if this improves the style and naturalness of the translation. Due to the low percentage of metaphorically used adverbs in Spanish, it does not seem necessary to transfer a metaphorical adverb of an English or German original as a metaphorically used adverb to the Spanish target text, unless this adverb has a special textual function, in which case this function should be maintained or be compensated for. When no satisfactory metaphorical translation can be found, or whenever the translator feels that the genre in the target language would use more metaphorical language, our data suggest that compensations to increase metaphoricity can be achieved most easily, for all three target languages, by adding a metaphorical verb where there was a literal one in the original. For the target language English, replacing non-metaphorical adjectives by metaphorical ones seems to lead to a natural-sounding effect as well. In German, compensations for suppressed metaphors may also be sought for in nouns.

The analysis of the locus of the semantic tension showed that, in our data, the non-literal use of a metaphor vehicle most often becomes evident from the broader context not a grammatical or collocational partner. Consequently, the best target language equivalent of a metaphor is often determined by the broader context. For this reason, when searching for and verifying vocabulary, translators should go beyond bi-grammes or two-word combinations and take the whole sentence (or even paragraph) and its semantic fields into consideration.

With regard to the degree of conventionalisation, it was found that the proportions of conventional metaphors and novel metaphors vary significantly from language to

language. The same is true for the frequencies of conventional and novel metaphors when normalised over 10,000 lexical units. As a consequence of the detected cross-linguistic differences, when translating from Spanish to English or German, it may be legitimate and recommendable to reduce the number of novel metaphors and replace some of them by conventional metaphors or even literal language in order to avoid an effect of saturation in the new readership. To a lesser degree, this is also true for translations from German to English. Translators working in the opposite translation directions who feel that their target text needs more metaphorical language to be attractive, would be justified in adding novel metaphors in substitution of conventional metaphors or even literal language. In addition, a translation into Spanish may gain naturalness and stylistic adequacy by transforming some literal expressions into conventional metaphors in the target text. Translations into German that aim to emulate the German style instead of bringing in some exotic flavour, can do so by reducing the number of conventional metaphors turning them into non-metaphorical language.

Moreover, the results from the analysis of the discursive functions of novel metaphors allowed for a series of conclusions regarding the translation process. For instance, a novel metaphor that contributes to speech economy on an English tourism website does not necessarily need to be transferred to German or Spanish as such, especially if it has a mainly informative or descriptive purpose. If the novel metaphor resulting from the translation sounds too bold or otherwise inadequate, a conventional metaphor with the same meaning can be considered an adequate translation equivalent. Secondly, our data suggest that humour is not a common element on Spanish promotional tourism websites. Consequently, humorous novel metaphors do not need to be transferred as such from English or German to Spanish. A non-humorous, but well-sounding, metaphor that is part of an aesthetic formulation might be just as well or even better received by the Spanish readership. Thirdly, given the higher frequency of modelling as a discursive function in the Spanish promotional websites, translators do not have to be afraid to venture into novel linguistic metaphor when translating ontological metaphors into Spanish in this genre. Finally, our data reveal that English uses novel metaphor to a lower degree for highlighting than the other two languages. Therefore, a translator might want to tone down a novel highlighting metaphor from a German or especially a Spanish source text that sounds too bold in English. This will most probably contribute to the credibility of the target text in the British cultural context.

The application of the typology of mapping schemes showed that the proportions of abstract resemblance, physical resemblance and experiential correlation were similar for all three sample corpora. Due to these similarities, there seem to be no consequences for translation. Similarly, the distributions of the mapping schemes at the level of the conceptual scope are roughly the same for the three sample corpora. However, the kind of mapping scheme at this level gives information about the degree of translatability and recommendable translation strategies. The fact that generalisation metaphors usually

transfer one highly salient feature to the target domain makes it relatively easy to find a substitute which maps the same quality if a literal translation is inadequate. Generalisation metaphors deriving from the conceptual metaphor *GENERIC IS SPECIFIC* offer the possibility to substitute the specific concept by another one belonging to the same generic group if the concept used in the source text does not work in the target language. The opposite process of generalisation is specification, which often designates a very specific concept that has a standard translation equivalent. In the case of novel specification metaphors, both the source domain and the mapped feature(s) should be reflected in the translation if a new term needs to be coined. In the case of metaphors that are based on the reduction to an important aspect, the translator needs to make sure that the connection between the metaphor vehicle and the target concept is evident for the target readership. If literal translations are not understandable because the target culture has a different conceptual understanding of the source and/ or target concept, the translator will have to choose from a range of solutions that include non-metaphorical translation of the sense, paraphrasing, and substitution with another type of metaphor, to name just a few.

The classification of mapping schemes according to the involved domain areas showed that the normalised frequency of personifications is remarkably higher in Spanish than in English and German. Therefore, the accurate reproduction of each personification metaphor from a Spanish promotional website in an English or Spanish target text may lead to an effect of saturation in the target readership. Or, in other words, the suppression of a personification metaphor when translating promotional tourism discourse from Spanish to English or German will not be problematic, while the addition of a personification metaphor in a Spanish target text will be well-received and even expected by Spanish readers. In terms of semantic contents, the three languages seem to share many of the personifications found in the corpora as well as the main functions of this kind of metaphor, namely speech economy and highlighting. Should a literal translation sound odd in the target language despite this fact, the translator might want to concentrate on the main functions of the metaphor in question and try to reproduce these in the target language.

Reification is approximately twice as frequent in English and Spanish as in German. Therefore the suppression of a reification metaphor when translating promotional tourism texts into German seems to be unproblematic, and so does an addition when translating from German to Spanish or English. Meanwhile, modelling in space is similarly frequent in all three languages, showing a certain degree of semantic overlap for all three languages. Language-specific morphosyntactic features, such as the particle ‘back’ in English, usually have standard translations and are therefore not challenging. Puns and reversed metaphors were only present in a very reduced number of metaphors, which makes it difficult to extrapolate findings. Nevertheless, given their basic nature,

they are likely to present a low degree of translatability for the languages of this study. Translators will have to study and resolve each case separately.

Regarding, the superposition of mapping schemes, it was found that for metaphors with a standard domain-to-domain mapping, the distribution of abstract resemblance, physical resemblance and experiential correlation is roughly the same for all three sample corpora. This notwithstanding, the Spanish texts contain approximately one and a half times as many domain-to-domain-abstract-resemblance metaphors per lexical unit as the English corpus. The English corpus, on the contrary, contains a relatively higher use of physical-resemblance mappings and experiential correlation. Therefore, changes in metaphorical language that imply a shift to a more sophisticated and literary style are unproblematic in translations to Spanish. Likewise, changes towards a plainer, less abstract style in translations to English are likely to contribute to the perceived adequacy of the target text. For metaphors based on generalisation, specification or reduction to an important aspect and their superpositions with other mapping schemes, cross-linguistic differences in our data are minor.

The analysis of the source and target domain areas that are activated in a metaphor revealed some cross-linguistic variation. For instance, the description of physical object features is often realised through activity verbs, especially in the Spanish corpus. The relative overuse of this kind of metaphors and the relatively high number of novel metaphors among them in Spanish as compared to the other languages have entailments for their translation. The accurate reproduction of this kind of metaphors in the target language will probably be noticed by the readers. Some may find this style positive in an exotic way, but there is also the risk of losing the readers' attention due to a higher cognitive effort for the unaccustomed reader. A similar effect as the one just described might be caused by the accurate reproduction of metaphors with the target domain area 'person', in English and German, which have been found to be remarkably more frequent in the Spanish sample corpus. Meanwhile, metaphors with the source domain 'space' and the target domain 'time', which are generally characterised as using the mapping scheme 'modelling in time' seem to be unproblematic, with the exception of metaphor vehicles displaying special discursive, intra- or intertextual functions. Likewise, metaphors with the source domain areas 'space', 'size', 'height' and 'shape', as well as 'material wealth/ value' are often present in primary metaphors and other metaphors that draw on experiential correlation. Most of these metaphors are highly standardised language and are not expected to pose difficulties for translation. The normalised frequency of metaphors with the source domain 'hypothetical experience' is four times higher in the Spanish sample corpus than in the English sample corpus, and eleven times higher than in the German one. An accurate reproduction of each of these metaphors from a Spanish source text in an English or German target text may lead to issues of credibility. With respect to topical source domain areas, the overlap of metaphor vehicles across the three languages, which has been observed for many of

these, points to the conclusion that metaphors based on commonly known concepts from shared cultural, scientific, technological, and similar fields are likely to exist in the other language(s) or will at least be understood if the mapping is based on a salient feature. Therefore, they are mostly unproblematic in translation. In the analysis of the source-target domain (STD) pairings, no clear cultural preferences or gaps at a conceptual level were observed.

The literal translatability, which was established for each of the metaphor vehicles of the three sample corpora with respect to the other two languages, can give translators and translation agencies a rough orientation of which language pairs and translation directions can be expected to pose most challenges in the translation of metaphorical language. The quality of the translation product will also depend on how literally translatable metaphor vehicles which undergo a change of their degree of conventionalisation, or of their frequency of use, or lose their metaphorical status in the translation process are handled. The translator will have to monitor if these changes accumulate or otherwise alter the style or effect of the translation product. If this is the case, the translator should take the necessary measures to compensate for these alterations.

Several STD combinations have been identified as problematic in translation due to a high proportion of not-literally-translatable metaphor vehicles. Whenever a translator encounters these problematic combinations, literal translations should be verified.

As a final recommendation for translation practice, the study of the STD combinations ‘moving thing/creature\_ object feature: physical’ and ‘abstract activity\_ object feature: physical’ in the three large corpora revealed that some metaphor vehicles are especially common means to express certain physical object features in a given language, but not necessarily in the other two. In order to become acquainted with the typical vocabulary of a genre or text type and its metaphorical uses, translators may want to read several original texts of the genre in the target language before they start the translation task.

One of the main contributions of this dissertation consists in the adaptation of a methodology successfully used in monolingual contexts to a trilingual project. This includes mainly the definition of lexical unit, the normalisation over lexical units instead of words, the use of lemma/token ratios and a set of rules in order to compensate for dictionary-related cross-linguistic differences and imperfections. The methodological adaptations and other contributions of this dissertation shall be commented on in the following paragraphs.

The three research languages basically share the same word formation strategies but use them in entirely different proportions. Thus, in order to guarantee cross-linguistic comparability, a lexical unit was defined to be a content word (adjective, adverb, noun or verb) or a component of a content word that also exists as an independent word belonging to one of these four grammatical categories.

Several grammatical aspects, such as the formation of compound words, use of personal pronouns and contractions, differ in the three research languages and make the comparison of results per 100 words unreliable. Instead, results were normalised over 100 lexical units as defined for the operationalisation since this is the variable that is actually analysed. As shown in the methodology and the discussion of the results, the comparison of occurrences instead of normalised frequencies may not only be inaccurate but may, at times, lead to wrong conclusions. Therefore, this adjustment should be included in all cross-linguistic studies with morphologically different languages that exclude any kind of word class from the analysis or focus on one specifically.

Similarly, the analysis of the lexical variety of the metaphor vehicles was carried out with lemmatised forms, not the word forms as found in the corpora since type/token ratios would most probably give a wrong impression of the data and would be difficult to interpret given the morphological differences of the three research languages. As a consequence, the type/token ratio was turned into a lemma/token ratio.

The fact of working with three languages and, hence, three different dictionaries, brought to the light a series of shortcomings of the dictionary-based metaphor identification procedure, which required additional measures. Doubts concerning the completeness of a dictionary and, in particular, the persisting use of a literal meaning need to be solved with the help of further dictionaries and of large reference corpora. Cases of conflation of literal and metaphorical meanings in one sense description were treated as though the senses were deflated whenever they contained two meanings that belonged to distinct large domain areas, such as concrete and abstract, people and places, animals and objects, or to different topical areas, for example music and architecture. The same rule was also applied to deal with internal inconsistencies within a dictionary and for decisions on sufficient distinctness as it was not possible to apply the MIPVU rule that relies on the dictionary numbering since the main dictionaries used in this study present their data in different ways.

For future research, I would not recommend the use of advanced learners' dictionaries and dictionaries that organise their sense descriptions in a non-chronological order. These dictionaries require frequent verification of lacking sense descriptions and more basic meanings, which is time-consuming and detracts from inter-rater reliability and cross-study comparability. It is more advantageous to employ a contemporary dictionary that is known for covering a large number of senses, including metaphorical ones.

Apart from the methodological contributions to metaphor studies mentioned above, a number of different fields can benefit from the present dissertation. A deeper understanding of metaphor types and the implications of their translatability will be an advantage for translation and localisation practice. Translators and translation students will also benefit from the knowledge of the cross-linguistic differences in genre

conventions concerning metaphor, which is offered by this dissertation. The metaphor frequencies combined with the percentages of literally translatable metaphor vehicles can give translation agencies and translation teachers an idea of which language pairs and translation directions will require most adjustments and therefore most attention and translation time. Additionally, the identified high frequency metaphor vehicles, and especially problematic ones, will be of interest to anyone who is preparing material for English/ Spanish/ German for Specific Purposes courses addressed at tourism students or tourism professionals, for example staff in tourist information offices, at tour operators, travel agencies, hotel receptions and at regional institutions in charge of tourism promotion. This will improve communication in this branch, guarantee more successful promotion, and ultimately increase the income and wealth of the region. Furthermore, this dissertation offers valuable methodological considerations for quantitative cross-linguistic studies in general. Since genre conventions include metaphor use, this dissertation also offers interesting insights for monolingual and cross-linguistic genre studies.

With regard to the limitations of this study, it has already been explained that working with three different dictionaries entailed certain inaccuracies as each of them has a typical way of formulating and organising sense descriptions and shows certain gaps with respect to meanings. These inaccuracies can partially be compensated for by additional methodological steps and, in the future, by avoiding learner's dictionaries. The problems encountered in this and other metaphor studies may also serve as a motivation to elaborate new guidelines for the formulation and organisation of both monolingual and bilingual dictionary entries, taking into account the crossing of domain boundaries. This way of disambiguating sense descriptions that were conflated in the past, possibly due to spatial limitations, will help to provide more adequate translation equivalents.

The application of an MIP-based method implies that the text is analysed lexical unit by lexical unit. As a consequence, idioms, figurative expressions and verbal phrases are not analysed as a whole but by their components. Such expressions that are not compositional in their meaning but have acquired a new, independent meaning as a multi-word expression, e.g. 'cutting edge', are disregarded in the analysis. Many of these expressions are metaphorically motivated but are not included in our study due to the chosen metaphor identification procedure.

Since MIP only compares contextual meanings within the same word class, the group of metaphorically motivated words that change grammatical category was disregarded in a similar way as multi-word expressions. Examples of such derivatives are 'fully', 'high-end', 'to network', 'to snake' and 'showcasing'. The present study focussed more on the linguistic aspect. However, studies that endeavour to fully explain the conceptual dimension of metaphor should include metaphorically motivated derived words.

Larger corpora will always provide more representative and, possibly, more precise data. When working with source and target domains, semantic aspects gain importance, and a larger corpus size would have been advantageous. Therefore, caution has been taken not to extrapolate observations of the sample corpora prematurely to promotional tourism discourse or general language, especially when metaphor numbers were low, or the linguistic variety of the metaphor vehicles was limited.

The perspective gained from the present study is that Conceptual Metaphor Theory helps to show and describe cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences. However, it does not seem to be well-suited to make predictions about the actual existence or the use of certain kinds of metaphors. Except for metaphors with a culture-specific metaphor vehicle or target concept, what can be conceived cognitively in one language can also be conceived in another language. When using a new metaphor, it merely seems to be a question of making its mappings evident to the hearers or readers. If it is striking to them and, at the same time, has other benefits such as speech economy, amusement, memorability, etc. such a metaphor is likely to be successful and spread in a particular speech community.

Moreover, Conceptual Metaphor Theory cannot account for all factors that contribute to the use of a certain metaphor in a given text. Alliterations and other phonetic effects might contribute to the success of a linguistic metaphor and might explain its choice over another metaphor. Furthermore, this study has shown that genre conventions for promotional tourism websites differ cross-culturally. Therefore, a combination of Conceptual Metaphor Theory with usage-based aspects and genre studies might lead to a more complete picture and more satisfactory explanations in metaphor studies in general.

With respect to this particular study, the manually annotated proportion of the research corpora shall be extended in the future in order to gather more information on source domains, target domains and problematic combinations. This may help to remedy the fact that the semi-automatic search in the large corpora did not yield the expected insights into cross-cultural conceptualisations and the entailed cross-linguistic differences. Also, greater variation might be found in the future by concentrating on more culture-specific source domains instead of the rather universal domain areas of movement and abstract activity.

Furthermore, the three research corpora can be used to study the relationship between metaphor and certain lexico-grammatical patterns, or the use of certain groups of verbs or nouns with a specific typical target domain area.

As for now, this study is strictly comparative and synchronic. Future studies that take into account the diachronic development of conceptual and linguistic metaphor might be able to better account for the preference of certain metaphor vehicles over others and the resulting cross-linguistic differences. Here, approaches and findings from a usage-based

theory of language might be helpful for the research design and discussion of the obtained data.

In summary, we can say that this dissertation has taken the application of the well-known Metaphor Identification Procedure one step further by adapting it to a cross-linguistic study. This was not an easy task and a great deal of measures were necessary to ensure the comparability of the results across languages. The quantitative analysis has shown that the distribution of metaphor features and mapping schemes is largely similar for British, German and Spanish promotional tourism websites. However, frequencies may vary significantly. The genre-approach allowed for a detailed description of the metaphor use, which provided information on when additions, omissions and compensation strategies are justified and recommendable in the translation process. It also revealed that metaphors in this genre are most often employed to describe objects and places, not concepts from a target domain with a high degree of abstraction. The translatability study, on the other hand, confirmed, for this genre, that novel metaphor poses fewer problems in translation than conventional metaphor. Furthermore, it has been found that the applied methodology reliably identifies metaphor vehicles that are likely to be problematic for language learners and unexperienced translators. From the study of problematic source-target domain combinations, it was concluded that differences in metaphor use occur mainly at the linguistic level for the studied languages and genre. Further research with larger corpora will be necessary to provide more accurate data on possible underlying conceptual motivations for these cross-linguistic differences. In addition, opening up the theoretical framework to a usage-based approach may help to account for observations that are difficult to explain drawing exclusively on the two-domain approach.

# References

- Abrahamson, D., Gutiérrez, J., & Baddorf, A. (2012). Try To See It My Way: The Discursive Function of Idiosyncratic Mathematical Metaphor. *Mathematical Thinking and Learning*, 14, 55-80.
- Adu-Ampong, E. A. (2016). A metaphor analysis research agenda for tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 57, 248-250.
- Agorni, M. (2012). Tourism Communication: The Translator's Responsibility in the Translation of Cultural Differences. *PASOS Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 10(4), 5-11.
- Agorni, M. (2014). Translating Figures in the Domain of Business Economics: A Rhetorical Role for Terminology? In D. R. Miller, & E. Monti (Ed.), *Tradurre Figure / Translating Figurative Language* (pp. 85-98). Bologna: CeSLiC, 'Quaderni del CeSLiC. Atti di Convegni'.
- Ahrens, K. (1999). Mapping Image-Schemes and Translating Metaphors. *Conference Paper 13th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*, (pp. 95-102).
- Ahrens, K. (2010). Mapping principles for conceptual metaphors. In G. Low, Z. Todd, A. Deignan, & L. Cameron, *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World* (pp. 185-207). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ahrens, K., & Say, A. (1999). Mapping Image-schemes and Translating Metaphors. In J.-F. Wang, & C.-H. Wu (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 13th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation* (pp. 95-102). Tainan City, Taiwan: National Cheng Kung University.
- Alafi Alshinet, M. E. (2019). Planting in New Soils: Translating Metaphors Into New Context Within a Cognitive Perspective. *Studies in Translation*, 5(1), 75-103.
- Al-Garrallah, A. (2016). Towards a New Model for Implied Metaphor Translation: English Translations of Al Muallaqat. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies; Footscray* 7(3), 178-188.
- Al-Harrasi, A. (2001). *Metaphor in (Arabic-into-English) Translation with Specific Reference to Metaphorical Concepts and Expressions in Political Discourse (PhD thesis, Aston University)*. Retrieved July 2020, from [https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Metaphor-in-\(Arabic-into-English\)translation-with-Al-Harrasi/fdbef505609533b3fd48a0700225c264f039e6ee](https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Metaphor-in-(Arabic-into-English)translation-with-Al-Harrasi/fdbef505609533b3fd48a0700225c264f039e6ee)

- Allan, K. (2006). On Groutnolls and Nog-Heads: A Case Study of the Interaction Between Culture and Cognition in Intelligence Metaphors. In A. Stefanowitsch, & S. Gries, *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy* (pp. 175-190). Berlin/ New York:: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Allison, G. (1969). Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis. *The American Political Science Review*, 63, 689-717.
- Almela Sánchez-Lafuente, A. (2012). La evaluación de la calidad del discurso turístico. In S. Sáez, & Julia (Eds.), *Discurso turístico e Internet* (pp. 259-284). Madrid/ Frankfurt: Iberoamericana.
- Al-Zoubi Mohammad, Q., Al-Ali Mohammad, N., & Al-Hasnawi Ali, R. (2009). Cogno-Cultural Issues in Translating Metaphors. *Perspectives, Studies in Translatology*, 14(3), 230-239.
- Al-Zoubi, M. (2009). The validity of componential analysis in translating metaphor. *Studies in Translation Theory and Practice*, 173(3), 151-160.
- Amiradis, C. (2011). Die Fachsprache des Tourismus: Charakteristika und Anwendungsbereiche. *Zeitschrift für die regionale Wissenschaft*, 2(1), 57-73.
- Antoniou, M. (2017). Understanding Metaphor in a Second Language: Factors Affecting the Inferential Processes. In A. Baicchi, & E. Pinelli, *Cognitive Modelling in Language and Discourse Across Cultures* (pp. 119-134). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Arduini, S. (2002). Metáfora y cultura: La traducción. *Revista electrónica de estudios filológicos*, IV, 1-8.
- Arduini, S. (2014). Metaphor, Translation, Cognition. *Tradurre Figure: Translating Figurative Language* (pp. 41-52). Bologna: CeSLiC, 'Quaderni del CeSliC. Atti di Covegni'.
- Arts, W., Hagenars, J., & Halman, L. (2003). *The Cultural Diversity of European Unity: Findings, Explanations and Reflections from the European Values Study*. Leiden/ Boston: BRILL.
- Azar, M. (1989). La métaphore traduisible. *META*, 32(4), 794-796.
- Bachmann-Medick, D. (1997). *Übersetzung als Repräsentation fremder Kulturen*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Baicchi, A., & Pinelli, E. (2017). *Cognitive Modelling in Language and Discourse Across Cultures*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Balbuena Torezano, M. C., & Álvarez Jurado, M. (2017). La presencia del francés en el léxico turístico alemán: formación de palabras y traducción de páginas web. *Skopos*, 7, 3-17.

- Barcelona, A. (2001). On the Systematic Contrastive Analysis of Conceptual Metaphors: Case studies and proposed methodology. In M. Pütz, *Applied Cognitive Linguistics. Language pedagogy, volume 2* (pp. 117-142). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Barcelona, A. (2002). Clarifying and Applying the Notions of Metaphor and Metonymy within Cognitive Linguistics: An Update. In R. Dirven, & R. Pörings, *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast* (pp. 207-278). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Barton, D. (2007). *Literary: An introduction to the ecology of written language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Becher, G. (2002). El lenguaje propio del sector turístico: Reflexiones en torno a un estudio terminológico y temático desde una perspectiva multidisciplinar y plurilingüe. *Revista de las lenguas para fines específicos*, 9, 15-30.
- Beekman, J., & Callow, J. (n.d.). *Translating the Word of God*. Michigan: Zondervan.
- Berger, A. (2016). Different Functions of (Deliberate) Metaphor in Teaching Scientific Concepts. *Metaphorik.de* 26, 61-86.
- Bernárdez, E. (2013). A Cognitive Review on the Role of Culture in Translation. In A. Rojo, & I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano, *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications* (pp. 313-338). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bielenia-Grajewska, M., & Cortés de los Ríos, M. (Eds.). (2018). *Innovative Perspectives on Tourism Discourse*. Hershey: IGI Global.
- Black, M. (1955). Metaphor. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, New Series, Vol. 55 (1954-1955)*, (pp. 273-294). Retrieved from <https://studyfiles.net/preview/4538325/>
- Blanco Gómez, M. L. (2012). Informing or Persuading Travellers: The Language of Airlines Advertisements. *Aula*, 18, 81-94.
- Blumenberg, H. ([1960] 2013). *Paradigmen zu einer Metaphorologie*. Bonn: Bouvier und Co.
- Boers, F. (2003). Applied Linguistics Perspectives on Cross-Cultural Variation in Conceptual Metaphor. *Metaphor and Symbol* 18(4), 231-238.
- Boers, F., & Lindstromberg, S. (2008). *Cognitive Linguistic Approaches to Teaching Vocabulary and Phraseology*. Berlin/ New York: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Bogetić, K., Bročić, A., & Rasulić, K. (2019). Linguistic Metaphor Identification in Serbian. In S. Nacey, A. Dorst, T. Krennmayr, & W. Reijnierse, *Metaphor*

- Identification in Multiple Languages. MIPVU around the world* (pp. 203-226). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Bolognesi, M. (2017). Conceptual Metaphors and Metaphorical Expressions in Images. In A. Baicchi, & E. Pinelli, *Cognitive Modelling in Language and Discourse Across Cultures* (pp. 365-382). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Borrueco Rosa, M. A., & Andalucía Consejería Turismo, C. y. (2007). *El lenguaje publicitario en el turismo*. Sevilla, Spain: Signatura Ediciones Andalucía.
- Boulanger, P.-P. (2016). Quand les médias traduisent la crise: Les métaphores utilisées par la presse généraliste pendant la crise des subprimes. *Meta, LXI [hors série]*, 144-162.
- Bowdle, B., & Gentner, D. (2005). The Career of Metaphor. *Psychological Review, 112*, 193-216.
- Boyd, R. (1993). Metaphor and Theory of Change: What Is 'Meaphor' a Metaphor for? In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 481-532). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brdar, M., & Brdar-Szabó, R. (2013). Translating (by Means of) Metonymy. In A. Rojo, & I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano, *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications* (pp. 199-226). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Brugman, C. (1990). What Is the Invariance Hypothesis? *Cognitive Linguistics 1(2)*, 257-266.
- Bugnon, F., & Bessis, R. (1968). *Biologie de la vigne. Acquisitions récentes et problèmes actuels*. Paris: Masson Ed.
- Burmakova, E. A., & Marugina, N. I. (2014). Cognitive Approach to Metaphor Translation in Literary Discourse. *Procedia, social and behavioral sciences, 154*, 527-533.
- Caballero, P., & Ferré, J. (2001). *Bioinsecticidas: fundamentos y aplicaciones de Bacillus thuringiensis en el control integrado de plagas*. Valencia: Phytoma - UPN.
- Calvi, M. V. (2000). El léxico del turismo. *Cultura e intercultura en la enseñanza de español como lengua extranjera*. Retrieved from <http://www.ub.es/filhis/culturele/turismo.html>
- Calvi, M. V. (2006). *Lenguaje y comunicación en el español del turismo*. Madrid, Spain: Arco Libros.
- Calvi, M. V. (2010). Los géneros discursivos en la lengua del turismo: una propuesta de clasificación. *Ibérica (Castellón de la Plana, Spain), 19*, 9-32.

- Calvi, M. V. (2012). Palabras y cultura en la lengua del turismo. *PASOS Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 10(4), 1-3.
- Calvi, M., & Suau-Jiménez, F. (2018). International languages in tourism in Europe: Spanish. *Sociolinguistica*, 32(1), 79-90.
- Cameron, L. (2003). *Metaphor in Educational Discourse*. London: Continuum.
- Cameron, L. (2007). Patterns of Metaphor Use in Reconciliation Talk. *Discourse & Society*, 18(2), 197-222.
- Cameron, L. (2008). Metaphor Shifting in the Dynamics of Talk. In M. Zanotto, L. Cameron, & M. Cavalcanti, *Confronting Metaphor in Use: An applied Linguistic Approach* (pp. 45-62).
- Cameron, L., & Deignan, A. (2006). The Emergence of Metaphor in Discourse. *Applied Linguistics*, 27(4), 671-690.
- Cameron, L., & Maslen, R. (2010). Identifying Metaphors in Discourse Data. In L. Cameron, & R. Maslen, *Metaphor Analysis: Research Practice in Applied Linguistics, Social Sciences and the Humanities* (pp. 97-115). London: Equinox Publishing.
- Cameron, L., & Stelma, J. (2004). Metaphor Clusters in Discourse. *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 1(2), 107-136.
- Cappelli, G. (2007). The Translation of Tourism-Related Websites and Localization: Problems and Perspectives. In *Voices on Translation. Linguistic, Multimedia and Cognitive Perspectives. Rassegna di linguistica applicata* (pp. 97-116). Roma: Bulzoni.
- Cardona, G. (1991). *Diccionario de Lingüística*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel.
- Carpí, E. (2013). La neología léxica en el discurso del turismo: Análisis de blogs profesionales del corpus Linguaturismo. In *Discurso profesional y Lingüística del Corpus* (pp. 51-72). Bergamo: CELSB.
- Carrió Pastor, M. L. (2013). El lenguaje del turismo y la publicidad : terminología y traducción.
- Carstensen, K. U., Ebert, C., Ebert, C., Jekat, S., Klabunde, R., & Langer, H. (2010). *Computerlinguistik und Sprachtechnologie*. Heidelberg: Spektrum Akademischer Verlag.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2003). Speaking with Forked Tongue: A Comparative Study of Metaphor and Metonymy in English and Malay phraseology. *Special Edition of Metaphor and Symbol*, 18(4), 289-310.

- Chierichetti, L., Garofalo, G., & Mapelli, G. (2019). Hacia una visión holística del discurso turístico. *Círculo De Lingüística Aplicada a La Comunicación*, 78, 3-16.
- Clausner, T., & Croft, W. (1997). Productivity and Schematicity in Metaphors. *Cognitive Science*, 21(3), 247-282.
- Collombat, I. (2019). Métaphore et traduction. In R. Trim, & D. Śliwa, *Metaphor and Translation* (pp. 2-12). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Corbacho-Sánchez, A. (2014). Die metaphorische Konzeptualisierung der Wirtschaft in touristischen Texten. Deutsch und Spanisch im Kontrast. *Muttersprache*, 1/2014, 26-40.
- Corts, D., & Meyers, K. (2002). Conceptual Clusters in Figurative Language Production. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 31(4), 391-408.
- Corts, D., & Pollio, H. (1999). Spontaneous Production of Figurative Language and Gesture in College Lectures. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 14(2), 81-100.
- Coulson, S. (2008). Metaphor Comprehension and the Brain. In R. J. Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 177-194). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulson, S., & Matlock, T. (2001). Metaphor and the Space Structuring Model. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 16(3-4), 295-316.
- Crystal, D. (2010). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dagut, M. (1987). More About the Translatability of Metaphor. *Babel*, 2(33), 78-83.
- Dagut, M. B. (1976). Can metaphor be translated? *Babel. International Journal of Translation*, 33(2), 77-83.
- Dann, G. M. (1996). *The Language of Tourism. A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Oxon: CAB International.
- Defez Candel, E., & Soler Basauri, V. (2013). *Introducción al cálculo integral*. Valencia, España.
- Deignan, A. (1999). Corpus-based research into metaphor . In L. Cameron, & G. Low, *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (pp. 177-199). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deignan, A. (2005). *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Deignan, A. (2008). Corpus linguistic data and conceptual metaphor theory. In M. Zanotto, L. Cameron, & M. Cavlacanti, *Confronting Metaphor in Use: An*

- applied linguistic approach* (pp. 149-162). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Deignan, A. (2010). The cognitive view of metaphor: Conceptual metaphor theory. In L. Cameron, & R. Maslen, *Metaphor Analysis: Research Practice in Applied Linguistics, Social Sciences and the Humanities* (pp. 44-56). London: Equinox Publishing.
- Deignan, A., Gabrys, D., & Solska, A. (1997). Teaching English Metaphors Using Cross-Linguistic Awareness Techniques. *ELT Journal*, 51, 353-360.
- Deignan, A., Littlemore, J., & Semino, E. (2013). *Figurative Language, Genre and Register*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dickins, J. (2005). Two Models for Metaphor Translation. *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies*, 17(2), 227-273.
- Ding, Y., Noël, D., & Wolf, H. G. (2010). Patterns in metaphor translation: a corpus-based case study of the translation of FEAR metaphors between English and Chinese. In R. Xiao (Ed.), *Using Corpora in Contrastive and Translation Studies*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Dobrovolskij, D., & Piirainen, E. (2005). *Figurative Language: Cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspectives*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Dobrzyńska, T. (1995). Translating Metaphor: Problems of Meaning. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 24(6), 595-604.
- Dorst, A. (2011). *Metaphor in Fiction: Language, Thought and Communication [Doctoral dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam]*. Oisterwijk: Uitgeverij BOXPress.
- Dubois, J., Giacomo, M., Guespin, L., Marcellesi, C., Marcellesi, J.-B., & Mével, J.-P. (1994). *Diccionario de Lingüística*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Durán Muñoz, I. (2012). Caracterización de la traducción turística: problemas, dificultades y posibles soluciones. *Revista de Lingüística y Lenguas Aplicadas*, 7, 103-113.
- Durán Muñoz, I. (2012). Necesidades de mejora y de adecuación en la traducción de textos turísticos promocionales. *Herméneus. Revista de Traducción e Interpretación*, 14, 263-278.
- Dynel, M. (2009). Creative metaphor is a birthdaycake: Metaphor as the source of humour. *Metaphorik.de*, 17, 27-48.
- Edmond, C. (2017, August 3). Where do Europeans go on holiday? *World Economic Forum*. Retrieved March 25, 2021, from

- <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/08/where-do-europeans-go-on-holiday-clue-not-far-from-home/>
- Edo Marzá, N. (2012). Páginas web privadas e institucionales: el uso de la adjetivación en un corpus inglés-español de destinos turísticos. In S. Sáez, & Julia (Eds.), *Discurso turístico e Internet* (pp. 51-79). Madrid/ Frankfurt: Iberoamericana.
- El Refaie, E. (2001). Metaphors We Discriminate By: Naturalized Themes in Austrian Newspaper Articles About Asylum Seekers. *Journal of Psycholinguistics*, 5/3, 20, 352-371.
- Emsel, M., & Endruschat, A. (2010). *Metáforas en la Traducción - Metaphern in der Übersetzung*. München: Martin Meidenbauer Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Erdmann, K. (2017). *An Analysis of Geert Hofstede's Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutes and Organizations across Nations*. London: Macat International.
- European Commission (2007). Special Eurobarometer. (2007). *European Cultural Values SUMMARY REPORT*. Retrieved from [https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs\\_278\\_sum\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_278_sum_en.pdf)
- Evans, V., Bergen, B. K., & Zinken, J. (2007). The Cognitive Linguistics Enterprise: An Overview. In V. Evans, & J. Zinken, *The Cognitive Linguistics Reader* (pp. 263-296). London: Equinox.
- Expedia Group (2018), Field Work (2017). (n.d.). European Travel and Tourism Trends Research. Travel habits, behaviors, and influencers of British, German, and French travellers. Retrieved from [https://info.advertising.expedia.com/hubfs/Content\\_Docs/Rebrand-2018/European%20Travel%20Trends-Small.pdf?hsCtaTracking=16af8478-6de2-4c6e-b08f-88e6eb5b57b4%7Cbb0d6939-27ef-4d54-add1-2fc9b7531720](https://info.advertising.expedia.com/hubfs/Content_Docs/Rebrand-2018/European%20Travel%20Trends-Small.pdf?hsCtaTracking=16af8478-6de2-4c6e-b08f-88e6eb5b57b4%7Cbb0d6939-27ef-4d54-add1-2fc9b7531720)  
Accessed on 26/03/2021
- Fauconnier, G. (1984). *Espaces mentaux: Aspects de la construction du sens dans les langues naturelles*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.
- Fauconnier, G. (1997). *Mappings in Thought and Language*. Cambridge/ New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fauconnier, G., & Turner, M. (2002). *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's hidden complexities*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fauconnier, G., & Turner, M. (2008). Rethinking Metaphor. In R. J. Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 53-66). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Federici, E. (2018). *Translation Theory and Practice: Cultural differences in Tourism and Advertising*. Naples, Italy: Paolo Loffredo Iniziative Editoriali.
- Fernandea, J. (1991). *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Fernández Rodríguez, A. (2020). La metáfor orientacional en la traducción económica (fr-es-fr). *Çédille: Revista de Estudios Franceses*, 17, 115-139.
- Francesconi, S. (2008). Metaphors of Jewels as Strategies of Persuasion in British Tourist Promotional Texts. In G. Garzone, & P. Catenaccio (Eds.), *Language and Bias in Specialized Discourse* (pp. 176-186). Milano: CUEM.
- Frank, R. H., & Bernanke, B. S. (2008). *Principles of Microeconomics*. Boston: McGraw-Hill/Irwin.
- Fraser, B. (1993). The Interpretation of Novel Metaphor. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 329-341). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FRONTUR. (2018). Retrieved from <http://estadisticas.tourspain.es/WebPartInformes/paginas/>
- Fuentes Luque, A. (2005). La traducción de promoción turística institucional: la proyección de la imagen de España. In A. Fuentes Luque (Ed.), *La traducción en el sector turístico* (pp. 59-92). Granada: Atrio.
- Fuentes Luque, A. (Ed.). (2005). *La traducción en el sector turístico*. Granada: Atrio.
- Gandin, S. (2019). Metaphors of Disability in Tourism Promotion. Linguistic and Translational Considerations. In R. Trim, & D. Śliwa (Eds.), *Metaphor and Translation* (pp. 200-221). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- García González, R., & Rocamora Abellán, R. (2015). Aerolíneas y metáforas. Las metáforas conceptuales venden billetes. *Grand Tour: Revista de Investigaciones Turísticas*, 12(2), 67-93.
- Gawronsky, D. (2002). *Die Textform Website und Fragen ihrer Lokalisierung am Beispiel deutscher und französischer Tourismuswebsites (Master's dissertation, Hochschule Anhalt)*.
- Gentner, D., & Bowdle, B. (2008). Metaphor as Structure Mapping. In R. J. Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 109-128). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gevaert, C. (2001). Anger in Old and Middle English. A 'Hot' Topic? *Belgian Essays on Language and Literature*, 89-101.
- Gibbs Jr., R. W. (1993). Process and Products in Making Sense of Tropes. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 252-275). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gibbs Jr., R. W. (2017). *Metaphor Wars: Conceptual Metaphors in Human Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibbs, R. (1994). *The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Languages & Understanding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibbs, R. W. (2010). The Wonderful, Chaotic, Creative, Heroic, Challenging World of Researching and Applying Metaphor: A Celebration of the Past and Some Peeks Into the Future. In G. Low, Z. Todd, A. Deignan, & L. Cameron (Eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World* (pp. 1-18). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Gil Bonilla, J. F. (2018). A Critical-cognitive Analysis of Donald Trump's Discourse Across Time: Trump as a Businessman Versus Trump as a President. *Actas do XIII Congreso Internacional de Lingüística Xeral*, (pp. 409-416). Vigo.
- Gildea, P., & Glucksberg, S. (1983). On Understanding Metaphor: The Role of Context. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 22(5), 577-590.
- Giora, R. (2008). Is Metaphor Unique? In W. J. Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 143-160). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Glucksberg, S. (2002). *Understanding Figurative Language: From Metaphors to Idioms*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Glucksberg, S. (2008). How Metaphors Create Categories - Quickly. In R. J. Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 67-83). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Glucksberg, S., & Keysar, B. (1990). Understanding Metaphorical Comparisons: Beyond Similarity. *Psychological Review*, 97, 3-18.
- Glucksberg, S., & Keysar, B. (1993). How Metaphor Works. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 401-424). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goatly, A. (1997). *The Language of Metaphor*. London: Routledge.
- Goatly, A. (2007). *Washing the Brain - Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Goatly, A. (2011). *The Language of Metaphor*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.
- Góngora Ruiz, A. (2010). Metáfora y/o metaforización en el sitio web turístico: algunos aspectos específicos a considerar en un análisis textual orientado a su traducción. In M. Emsel, & A. Endruschat (Eds.), *Metáforas en la traducción - Metaphern in der Übersetzung* (pp. 71-81). München: Martin Meidenbauer Verlagsbuchhandlung.

- González García, V. (2012). El discurso del turismo en internet: hacia una caracterización de sus géneros. In J. Sanmartín Sáez (Ed.), *Discurso turístico e Internet* (pp. 13-49). Madrid/ Frankfurt: Iberoamericana.
- González Pastor, D., & Candel Mora, M. (2018). La neología del turismo 2.0: análisis de la creación léxica y retos para la traducción. *TRANS. Revista de Traductología*, 22, 81-97.
- Gordon, D., & Lakoff, G. (1971). Conversational postulates. *Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting, April 16-18, 1971* (pp. 63-84). Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Goschler, J. (2012). *Studienbibliographien Sprachwissenschaften, Band 41: Metaphern*. Tübingen: Groos Verlag Brigitte Narr GmbH.
- Grady, J. (1997). *Foundations of Meaning: Primary Metaphors and Primary Scenes. Doctoral dissertation*. Berkley: Universidad de California. Retrieved from <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3g9427m2>
- Grady, J. (1999). A typology of motivation for conceptual metaphor: correlation vs. resemblance. In R. Gibbs, & G. Steen, *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 79-100). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Grady, J., Taub, S., & Morgan, P. (1996). Primitive and Compound Metaphors. In A. Goldberg, *Conceptual Structure, Discourse and Language* (pp. 177-197). Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Grice, P. (1975). Logic and Conversation. In P. Grice, *Studies in the Way of Words* (pp. 22-40). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Hagenaars, J., Halman, L., & Moors, G. (2003). Exploring Europe's Basic Values Map. In W. Arts, J. Hagenaars, & L. Halman, *The Cultural Diversity of European Unity: Findings, Explanations and Reflections from the European Values Study* (pp. 23-58). Leiden/Boston: BRILL.
- Halman, L., Sieben, I., Zundert, M., & Zundert, M. (2011). *Atlas of European Values. Trends and Traditions at the Turn of the Century*. Leiden/ Boston: BRILL.
- Halverson, S. (2013). Implications of Cognitive Linguistics for Translation Studies. In A. Rojo, & I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano, *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications* (pp. 33-74). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hart, C. (2008). Critical Discourse Analysis and Metaphor: Toward a Theoretical Framework. *Critical Discourse Studies* 5:2, 91-106.
- Heitmann, S. (2010). Tourism Motivation and Tourism Behaviour. In P. Robinson, S. Heitmann, & P. Dieke, *Research Themes for Tourism* (pp. 31-44). Wallingford, Oxfordshire: CABI.

- Herder, J. ([1775] 1884). Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament. In B. Suphan, *Herder, Johann Gottfried. Sämtliche Werke, vol. 7* (pp. 335-470). Berlin: Weidemann.
- Hermann, B. (2013). *Metaphor in Academic Discourse: Linguistic Forms, Conceptual Structures, Communicative Functions and Cognitive Representations*. [Doctoral dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam]. Oisterwijk: Uitgeverij BOXPress.
- Herrmann, J., Woll, K., & Dorst, A. (2019). Linguistic Metaphor Identification in German. In S. Nacey, A. Dorst, T. Krennmayr, & W. Reijnierse, *Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages. MIPVU around the world* (pp. 113-135). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hofstede, G., Hofstede, G. J., & Minkov, M. (2010). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. (Third ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill Professional Publishing.
- Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I. (1999). *Polysemy and Metaphor in Perception Verbs: A Cross-Linguistic Study*. PhD dissertation. Edinburgh. Retrieved from <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/22334>
- Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I. (2013). The Relationship Between Conceptual Metaphor and Culture. *International Pragmatics, 10*(2), 315-339.
- Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I., & Filipovic, L. (2013). Lexicalisation Patterns and Translation. In A. Rojo, & I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano, *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications* (pp. 251-281). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística). (2020, December 11). Cuenta Satélite del Turismo de España (CSTE). Revisión estadística 2019 . Retrieved from [https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica\\_C&cid=1254736169169&menu=ultiDatos&idp=1254735576581](https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736169169&menu=ultiDatos&idp=1254735576581)
- Iñesta Mena, E., & Pamies Beltrán, A. (2002). *Fraseología y metáfora: Aspectos tipológicos y cognitivos*. Granada: Granada Lingvistica.
- Inhoff, A., Lima, S., & Carrol, P. (1984). Contextual Effects on Metaphor Comprehension in Reading. *Memory and Cognition, 12*, 558-567.
- Jaworska, S. (2017). Metaphors We Travel by: A Corpus-Assisted Study of Metaphors in Promotional Tourism Discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol, 32*(3), 61-177.
- Johansson Falck, M. (2018). From Ecological Cognition to Language: When and Why do Speakers Use Words Metaphorically? *Metaphor and Symbol, 33*(2), 61-84.
- Johnson, M. (2008). Philosophy's debt to metaphor. In R. W. Gibbs Jr., *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 39-52). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Jönsson, C., & Devonish, D. (2008). Does Nationality, Gender, and Age Affect Travel Motivation? A Case of Visitors to The Caribbean Island of Barbados. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 25(3-4), 398-408.
- Kaal, A. (2012). *Metaphor in Conversation*. [Doctoral dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam]. Oisterwijk: Uitgeverij BOXPress.
- Kelly, D. (2005). Lest Periko Ortega give you a sweet ride...» o la urgente necesidad de profesionalizar la traducción en el sector turístico. Algunas propuestas para programas de formación." In A. Fuentes Luque (Ed.), *La traducción en el sector turístico* (pp. 155-170). Granada: Atrio.
- Killick, S., Curry, V., & Myles, P. (2016). The Mighty Metaphor: A Collection of Therapists' Favourite Metaphors and Analogies. *The Cognitive Behaviour Therapist*, 9. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1754470X16000210>
- Kim, D., & Vorobel, O. (2017). Discourse Communities: From Origins to Social Media. In S. Wortham, D. Kim, & S. May, *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (pp. 267-281). Springer International Publishing AG.
- Kintsch, W. (2008). How the Mind Computes the Meaning of Metaphor: A Simulation Based on LSA. In R. J. Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 129-142). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kittay, E. (1987). *Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kloepfer, R. (1967). *Die Theorie der literarischen Übersetzung*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- Knowles, M., & Moon, R. (2006). *Introducing Metaphor*. London: Routledge.
- Knutsen, O. (2009). Regions, Social Structure and Value Orientations: A Comparative Study of 15 West European Countries. *European Political Science Review*, 1(3), 401-434.
- Koch, C. (2010). Lexikalisierte Metaphern als Herausforderung im Fremdsprachenunterricht. *Metaphorik.de*, 18, 33-55.
- Kohl, K. (2007). *Metapher*. Stuttgart/ Weimar: Verlag J.B. Metzler.
- Köhler, R. (2013). Statistical Comparability: Methodological Caveats. In S. Sharoff, R. Rapp, P. Zweigenbaum, & P. Fung (Eds.), *Building and Using Comparable Corpora* (pp. 77-89). Heidelberg/ New York/ Dordrecht/ London: Springer.
- Koivisto-Alanko, P., & Tissari, H. (2006). Sense and Sensibility: Rational Thought Versus Emotion in Metaphorical Language. In A. Stefanowitsch, & S. Gries, *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy* (pp. 191-213). Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Koller, V. (2003). Metaphor Clusters, Metaphor Chains: Analyzing the Multifunctionality of Metaphor in Text. *Metaphorik.de*, 5, 115-134.
- Koller, V. (2008). Brothers in Arms: Contradictory Metaphors in Contemporary Marketing Discourse. In M. Zanotto, L. Cameron, & M. Calvacanti, *Confronting Metaphor in Use: An Applied Linguistic Approach* (pp. 103-125). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Kopp, R. R. (1995). *Metaphor therapy. Using client-generated metaphor in psychotherapy*. New York: Brunner-Routledge.
- Kövecses, Z. (2000). The Scope of Metaphor. In A. Barcelona, *Metaphor and Metonymy at Crossroads* (pp. 79-92). New York/ Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2008). Metaphor and Emotion. In W. J. Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 380-396). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2008b). Conceptual metaphor theory: Some criticisms and alternative proposals. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 6, 168–184. doi:doi 10.1075/arcl.6.08kov
- Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2014). Conceptual metaphor theory and the nature of difficulties in metaphor translation. *Tradurre Figure: Translating Figurative Language* (pp. 25-39). Bologna: CeSLiC, 'Quaderni del CeSLiC. Atti di Convegni'.
- Kozak, M. (1982). Comparative analysis of tourist motivations by nationality and destinations. *Tourist Management*, 23(3), 221-232.
- Kraslinikova, A. (2017). *Internetauftritt ausgewählter deutscher Bundesländer(Hamburg, Berlin, Bremen). Analyse und Vergleich (Bachelor thesis, University of West Bohemia)*.
- Krennmayr, T. (2011). Metaphor in Newspapers. LOT dissertation series. Utrecht: LOT.
- Kristeva, I. (2019). La Pierre de Rosette du traducteur: les enjeux du transfert métaphorique. In R. Trim, & D. Śliwa (Eds.), *Metaphor and Translation* (pp. 13-23). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*. Chicago/ London: The Chicago University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1987b). The Death of Dead Metaphor. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 143-147.

- Lakoff, G. (1990). The Invariance Hypothesis: Is abstract reasoning based on image schemas. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1, 39-74.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 202-251). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2008). The Neural Theory of Metaphor. In R. J. Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 17-38). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the Flesh*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lakoff, G., & Turner, M. (1989). *More Than Cool Reason. A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Le Poder, M.-E., & Fuentes Luque, A. (2005). El turismo en España: Panorama introductorio. In A. Fuentes Luque (Ed.), *La traducción en el sector turístico* (pp. 21-34). Granada: Atrio.
- Levin, S. (1982). Aristotle's Theory of Metaphor. *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 15(1), 24-46.
- Littlemore, J. (2001). The Use of Metaphor in University Lectures and the Problems That it Causes for Overseas Students. *Teaching in Higher Education* 6(3), 333-349.
- Liverani, E., & Canals, J. (. (2011). *El discurso del turismo. Aspectos lingüísticos y variedades textuales*. Trento: Tangram Edizioni Scientifiche.
- Llahí Ribó, L. (2020). *Schreiben im Fachbereich Tourismus. Leitfäden zur fachspezifischen Abfassung von Texten*. Girona: Servei de Llengües (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), Servei de Llengües Modernes (Universitat de Girona), Serveis Lingüístics (Universitat de Barcelona), Servei Lingüístic (Universitat Rovira i Virgili) and Institut de Llengües (Universitat de Lleida). Retrieved from <https://ddd.uab.cat/record/22094>
- MacCormac, E. (1990). *Cognitive Theory of Metaphor*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Maci, S. (2007). Virtual Touring: The Web-Language of Tourism. *Lingüística y Filología*, 25, 41-65.
- Maci, S. M. (2018). An Introduction to English Tourism Discourse. *Sociolingüística*, 32(1), 25-42.
- Maertens, L., Guermah, H., & Trocino, A. (2014). Dehydrated chicory pulp as an alternative soluble fibre source in diets for growing rabbits. *World Rabbit Science*, 22(2), 97-104.

- Magris, M., & Ross, D. (2018). Different Ways of Cycling? A Contrastive and Translation Analysis of Web Texts on Cycling Holidays. In M. Bielenia-Grajewska, & M. Cortés de los Ríos (Eds.), *Innovative Perspectives on Tourism Discourse* (pp. 265-291). Hershey: IGI Global.
- Malenkina, M., & Ivanov, S. (2018). A Linguistic Analysis of the Official Tourism Websites of the Seventeen Spanish Autonomous Communities. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 9, 203-233.
- Manca, E. (2013). Describing Through the Five Senses. A Contrastive Socio-Cultural and Linguistic Analysis of Italian and British tourist websites. In E. Manca, & F. Bianchi (Eds.), *Tourism and Tourist Promotion Around the World: A Linguistic and Sociocultural Perspective* (pp. 109-124). Lecce: Salento University Publishing.
- Manca, E. (2018). Verbal Techniques of the Language of Tourism Across Cultures: An Analysis of Five Official Tourist Websites. In M. Bielenia-Grajewska, & M. Cortés de los Ríos (Eds.), *Innovative Perspectives on Tourism Discourse* (pp. 91-110). Hershey: IGI Global.
- Manca, E., & Bianchi, F. (2013). *Tourism and Tourist Promotion Around the World: A Linguistic and Sociocultural Perspective*. Lecce: Salento University Publishing.
- Mandelblit, N. (1995). The cognitive view of metaphor and its implications for translation theory. Maastricht: Universitaire Press.
- Mănescu, O. M. (2020). The Complexity of the Language of Tourism. *British and American Studies: B.A.S.*, 26, 221-269.
- Manfredi, M. (2014). Translating Lexical and Grammatical Metaphor in Popular Science Magazines: The Case of National Geographic (Italia). In D. R. Miller, & E. Monti (Ed.), *Tradurre Figure/ Translating Figurative Language* (pp. 151-165). Bologna: CeSLiC, 'Quaderni del CeSLiC. Atti di Convegni'.
- Marinic, I., & Schmidt, G. (2017). Can a tigress change her stripes? On the comprehension of metaphor-based phraseological calques. In A. Baicchi, & E. Pinelli, *Cognitive modelling in language and discourse across cultures* (pp. 153-170). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Mariottini, L. (2011). Las páginas web de turismo. ¿Género móvil o modelo mental? In E. Liverani, & J. Canals (Eds.), *Il discorso del turismo. Aspetti linguistici e varietà testuali*. (pp. 97-126). Trento: Tangram.
- Martí Marco, M. R. (2007). Turismo y publicidad: análisis del discurso publicitario de las campañas internacionales de Turespaña en países de lengua alemana. In M. Borrueco Rosa, & Andalucía Consejería Turismo, Cultura y Deporte (Eds.), *El*

- lenguaje publicitario en el turismo* (pp. 115-134). Seville, Spain: Signatura Ediciones Andalucía.
- Martínez Motos, R. (2005). Análisis comparativo de las convenciones textuales de textos turísticos en inglés y en español: los folletos editados por organismos oficiales. In A. Fuentes Luque, *La traducción en el sector turístico* (pp. 121-138). Granada: Atrio.
- Marula, J., & Rosiński, M. (2019). Linguistic Metaphor Identification in Polish. In S. Nacey, A. Dorst, T. Krennmayr, & W. Reijnders, *Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages. MIPVU around the world* (pp. 183-202). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mason, K. (1982). Metaphor and translation. *International Journal of Translation*, 28(4), 140-149.
- Mattiello, E. (2012). Metaphor in tourism discourse: Imagined worlds in English tourist texts on the web. *Textus*, 1(1), 67-82.
- Mattiello, E. (2018). The Tuscan Paradise in E-Tourism: A Contrastive Analysis of Figuration in Italian Tourism Websites and Their English Renditions. In M. Bielenia-Grajewska, & M. Cortés de los Ríos (Eds.), *Innovative perspectives on tourism discourse* (pp. 111-131). Hershey, USA: IGI Global.
- Mele, E., & Cantoni, L. (2018). Localization of Tourism Destinations' Websites: Theory and Practices. In M. Bielenia-Grajewska, & M. Cortés de los Ríos (Eds.), *Innovative Perspectives on Tourism Discourse* (pp. 132-154). Hershey: IGI Global.
- Méndez Sáinz, E. (2015). Metáfora y narrativa. La magia de los pueblos, un relato para el turismo. *URBS: Revista de estudios urbanos y ciencias sociales*, 5(2), 81-94.
- Mensel, I. (2010). Las metáforas del olfato y su traducción. In M. Emsel, & A. Endruschat (Eds.), *Metáforas en la traducción - Metaphern in der Übersetzung* (pp. 131-152). München: Martin Meidenbauer Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Merkaj, L. (2013). Tourist Communication: A Specialized Discourse With Difficulties in Translation. *European Scientific Journal*(2), 321-326.
- Mervis, C., & Rosch, R. (1981). Categorization of Natural Objects. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 32, 85-115.
- Milić, G., & Vidaković Erdeljić, D. (2017). Translation of Metaphorical Terms in the Field of Economics From English into Croatian. In A. Baicchi, & E. Pinelli (Eds.), *Cognitive Modelling in Language and Discourse Across Cultures* (pp. 171-185). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Miller, G. (1993). Images and Models, Similes and Metaphor. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 357-400). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Minkov, M., & Hofstede, G. (2014). Clustering of 316 European Regions on Measures of Values: Do Europe's Countries Have National Cultures? *Cross-Cultural Research*, 48(2), 144-176.
- Mioduszevska Andrzejewska, M. (2007). Discurso Publicitario y Turismo. In M. Borrueco Rosa, & Andalucía Consejería Turismo, Comercio y Deporte (Eds.), *El lenguaje publicitario en el turismo* (pp. 157-162). Sevilla, Spain: Signatura Ediciones Andalucía.
- Mollica, F., & Wilke, B. (2017). Metaphor and Conceptualisation of Migration in the German and Italian Press. In A. Baicchi, & E. Pinelli, *Cognitive Modelling in Language and Discourse Across Cultures* (pp. 233-248). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Montañés, E. (2010). English for Specific Business Purposes: English for Tourism. In R. Giménez (Ed.), *Words for Working. Professional and Academic English for International Business and Economics* (pp. 139-178). Valencia, Spain: Publicaciones Universidad de Valencia.
- Montero, M., & Sonn, C. C. (2009). *Psychology of Liberation*. Springer.
- Morgan, J. (1993). Observations on the Pragmatics of Metaphor. In A. Ortony, & C. U. Press (Ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 124-134). Cambridge.
- Muelas Gil, M. (2018). A socio-cognitive approach to metaphor in times of elections [PhD Dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid]. Retrieved April 7, 2021, from [https://repositorio.uam.es/bitstream/handle/10486/686197/muelas\\_gil\\_maria.pdf?isAllowed=y&sequence=1](https://repositorio.uam.es/bitstream/handle/10486/686197/muelas_gil_maria.pdf?isAllowed=y&sequence=1)
- Mueller, R. (2010). Critical Analysis of Creative Metaphor in Political Speeches. In G. Low, Z. Todd, A. Deignan, & L. Cameron, *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World* (pp. 321-332). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Musolff, A. (2012). The Study of Metaphor as Part of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 9(3), 301-310.
- Nacey, S., Dorst, A., Krennmayr, T., & Reijnierse, W. (2019). *Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages: MIPVU Around the World*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Nacey, S., Greve, L., & Johansson Falck, M. (2019). Linguistic Metaphor Identification in Scandinavian. In S. Nacey, A. Dorst, T. Krennmayr, & W. Reijnierse, *Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages. MIPVU around the world* (pp. 137-158). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Naciscione, A. (2006). Figurative Language in Translation: A Cognitive Approach to Cognitive Terms. In A. Veisbergs (Ed.), *Pragmatic Aspects of Translation. Proceedings of the Fourth Riga International Symposium* (pp. 102-118). Riga: University of Latvia, National Language Commission.
- Naciscione, A. (2011). A Cognitive Approach to Translating Phraseological Terms. In J. Szerszunowicz (Ed.), *Focal Issues of Phraseological Studies: Research on Phraseology in Europe and Asia* (Vol. 1, pp. 269-290). Bialystok, Poland: University of Bialystok Publishing House.
- Navarro Fajardo, J. C. (2014). *Bóvedas valencianas. Arquitecturas ideales, reales y virtuales en época medieval y moderna*. Valencia, España: Editorial Universitat Politècnica de València.
- Nerlich, B., & Clarke, D. D. (2010). Cognitive Linguistics and the History of Linguistics. In D. Geeraerts, & H. Cuyckens, *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 589-607). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Newmark, P. ([1982] 1986). *Approaches to translation*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Newmark, P. (1988). *A textbook of translation*. New York: Prentice Hall International.
- Nida, E. A. (1964). *Towards a Science of Translating (With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Nobs, M. L. (2005). Lo que usuarios reales esperan de un folleto turístico y cómo evalúan un determinado texto traducido: un estudio empírico con turistas germanohablantes. In A. Fuentes Luque (Ed.), *La traducción en el sector turístico* (pp. 35-58). Granada: Atrio.
- Nogales, P. (1999). *Metaphorically Speaking*. Stanford, California: CSLI Publications.
- Nordal, A. (2013). *La metáfora en un folleto turístico: Un estudio cognitivo, discursivo y traductológico. [Unpublished mater dissertation, Universitetet i Oslo]*.
- Organization, W. T. (n.d.). Glossary of Tourism Terms. Retrieved from <https://www.unwto.org/glossary-tourism-terms>
- Ortony, A. (1980). Some Psycholinguistic Aspects of Metaphor. In R. Honeck, & R. Hoffmann, *Cognition and Figuarative Language* (pp. 69-83). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Ortony, A. (1993). The Role of Similarity in Similes and Metaphors. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 342-356). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oster, U. (2010). Metáforas conceptuales y emociones: El análisis de corpus como herramienta de la enseñanza de la traducción. In M. Emsel, & A. Endruschat (Eds.), *Metáforas en la traducción - Metaphern in der Übersetzung* (pp. 153-174). München: Martin Meidenbauer Verlagsbuchhandlung.

- Paivio, A., & Walsh, M. (1993). Psychological processes in metaphor comprehension and memory. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and thought* (pp. 307-328). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Partington, A. (2006). Metaphors, Motifs and Similes Across Discourse Types: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) at Work. In A. Stefanowitsch, & S. T. Gries (Eds.), *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. (pp. 267-304). Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pasma, T. (2019). Linguistic Metaphor Identification in Dutch. In S. Nacey, A. Dorst, T. Krennmayr, & W. Reijnierse, *Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages. MIPVU around the world* (pp. 90-112). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Peña Cervel, M. (2004). The Image-Schematic Basis of the Event Structure Metaphor. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 2, 127-158.
- Pérez-Sobrino, P., & Littlemore, J. (2017). Conceptual Metaphors and Metaphorical Expressions in Images. In A. Baicchi, & E. Pinelli, *Facing Methodological Challenges in Multimodal Metaphor Research* (pp. 383-399). Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Petrie, H., & Oshlag, R. (1993). Metaphor and Learning. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 579-609). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pierini, P. (2007). Quality in Web Translation: An Investigation into UK and Italian Tourism Web Sites. *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 8, 85-102.
- Piñeiro Maceiras, M. L. (2000). Discurso publicitario turístico. *VII Coloquio APFUE*, 1, pp. 255-265. Cádiz. Retrieved from <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/1212521.pdf>
- Piquer-Píriz, A. M. (2010). Can People Be Cold and Warm? Developing Understanding of Figurative Meanings of Temperature Terms in Early EFL. In G. Low, Z. Todd, A. Deignan, & L. Cameron, *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World* (pp. 21-34). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Planelles Iváñez, M. (2014). La metáfora como fuente de creación léxica en el lenguaje publicitario del turismo en francés y en español. *Çédille Revista de estudios franceses*, 10, 305-318.
- Plangmarn, A., Mujtaba, B., & Pirani, M. (2012). Cultural Value And Travel Motivation Of European Tourists. *Journal of Applied Business Research*, 28(6), 1295–1304.

- Pollio, H., Barlow, J., Fine, H., & Pollio, M. (1977). *Psychology and the Poetics of Growth: Figurative Language in Psychology, Psychotherapy and Education*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Pragglejaz. (s). MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse. *Metaphor & Symbol*, 22, 1-39.
- Prandi, M. (2010). Typology of Metaphors: Implications for Translation. *Mutatis Mutandis*, 3(2), 304-332.
- Prandi, M. (2019). Une typologie des métaphores en vue de la traduction. In R. Trim, & D. Śliwa (Eds.), *Metaphor and Translation* (pp. 24-39). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Prebensen, N., Larsen, S., & Abelsen, B. (2003). I'm Not a Typical Tourist: German Tourists' Self-Perception, Activities, and Motivations. *Journal of Travel Research*, 41(4), 416-420.
- Quinn, N. (1991). The Cultural Basis of Metaphor. In J. Fernández, *Beyond Metaphor. The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology* (pp. 56-93). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Rabadán, R. (1991). *Equivalencia y Traducción. Problemática de la Equivalencia inglés-español*. León: Universidad de León.
- Rázusová, M. (2009). The Language of Tourism. In *International Conference Language, Literature and Culture in a Changing Transatlantic World* (pp. 198-201). Presov: University of Presov. Retrieved from [http://www.pulib.sk/elpub2/FF/Ferencik2/pdf\\_doc/27.pdf](http://www.pulib.sk/elpub2/FF/Ferencik2/pdf_doc/27.pdf)
- Rees, C. E., Knigh, L. V., & Wilkinson, C. E. (2007). Doctors Being Up There and We Being Down Here: A Metaphorical Analysis of Talk About Student/ Doctor-Patient Relationships. *Social Science and Medicine*, 65(4), 725-737.
- Reijnierse, W. (2019). Linguistic Metaphor Identification in French. In S. Nacey, A. Dorst, T. Krennmayr, & W. Reijnierse, *Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages. MIPVU around the world*. (pp. 69-90). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Reiss, K. (1971). *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik*. München: Hüber Verlag.
- Richards, I. A. ([1936] 1965). *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. New York: University Press.
- Robinson, P., Heitmann, S., & Dieke, P. (2010). *Research Themes for Tourism*. Wallingford, Oxfordshire: CABI.

- Roca, F., & Bosch, G. (2005). *Deutsch für den Tourismus : im Spannungsfeld zwischen Gemein- Berufs- und Fachsprache*. Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá Servicio de Publicaciones.
- Rodríguez Abella, R. M. (2010). La lengua de la promoción turística institucional. Análisis del portal [www.spain.info](http://www.spain.info). *PASOS Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 10(4), 115-126.
- Rodríguez Abella, R. M. (2013). El discurso de la promoción turística institucional. In L. Chierichetti, & G. Garofalo (Eds.), *Discurso profesional y Lingüística de Corpus. Perspectivas de investigación* (pp. 217-242). Bergamo: CELSB.
- Rojo, A., & Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I. (2013). *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Rojo, A., & Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I. (2013). Cognitive Linguistics and Translation Studies: Past, Present and Future. In A. Rojo, & I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (Eds.), *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications* (pp. 3-30). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Rojo, A., & Valenzuela, J. (2013). Constructing Meaning in Translation: The Role of Constructions in Translation Problems. In A. Rojo, & I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano, *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications* (pp. 283-310). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Rolf, E. (2005). *Metapherntheorien*. Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter.
- Rosch, E. (1975). Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 104, 192-233.
- Rossi, M. (2019). Traduction et adaptation des métaphores terminologiques: un exemple dans le domaine du sport. In R. Trim, & D. Śliwa (Eds.), *Metaphor and Translation* (pp. 111-126). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Rueda Martín, L. A. (2019). *Análisis gramatical de la página web turística alemana [www.burgen.rlp.de](http://www.burgen.rlp.de) (Bachelor thesis, Universidad de Sevilla)*.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. (1997). Cognitive and Pragmatic Aspects of Metonymy. *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa*, 6(2), 161-178.
- Rumelhart, D. ([1979] 1993). Some Problems with the notion of literal meanings. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 71-82). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saddock, J. (1993). Figurative Speech and Linguistics. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 42-57). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Salas Acosta, M. J. (2017). *Análisis gramatical de una página web turística en alemán* (Bachelor thesis, Universidad de Sevilla).
- Salazar, N. B. (2011). Tourism Imagineries: A Conceptual Approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2), 863-882.
- Salim, M., Ibrahim, N., & Hassan, H. (2012). Language for Tourism: A Review of Literature. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 66, 136-143.
- Samaniego Fernández, E. (1996). *La traducción de la metáfora*. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Científico Universidad de Valladolid.
- Samaniego Fernández, E. (2002). Prescripción y descripción: La metáfora en los estudios de traducción. *TRANS. Revista de Traductología*, 6, 47-61.
- Samaniego Fernández, E. (2011). Translation Studies and the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 9(1), 262-279.
- Samaniego Fernández, E. (2013). The Impact of Cognitive Linguistics on Descriptive Translation Studies: Novel Metaphors in English -Spanish Newspaper Translation - A Case in Point. In A. Rojo, & I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano, *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications* (pp. 159-198). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Sanford, D. (2010). *Figuration & Frequency: A Usage-Based Approach to Metaphor* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Mexico]. University of Mexico Digital Repository. Retrieved from [https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1028&context=ling\\_etds](https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1028&context=ling_etds)
- Sanmartín Sáez, J. (Ed.). (2012). *Discurso turístico en Internet*. Madrid/ Frankfurt: Iberoamericana.
- Schäffner, C. (2004). Metaphor and Translation: Some Implications of a Cognitive Approach. *Journal of Pragmatics* 36(7), 1253-1269.
- Schäffner, C. (2014). Umbrellas and Firewalls: Metaphors in Debating the Financial Crisis From the Perspective of Translation studies. In D. R. Miller, & E. Monti (Ed.), *Tradurre Figure/ Translating Figures* (pp. 69-84). Bologna: CeSLiC, 'Quaderni del CeSLiC. Atti di Convegno'.
- Schäffner, C., & Shuttleworth, M. (2013). Metaphor in Translation: Possibilities for Process Research. *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies* 25(1), 93-106.
- Schön, D. (1993). Generative Metaphor: A Perspective on Problem Setting in Social Policy. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 137-163). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Schwartz, S. (2011). Studying Values: Personal Adventure, Future Directions. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42(2), 307-319.
- Schwartz, S. (2013). National Cultures as Value Orientations: Consequences of Value Differences and Cultural Distance. In V. Ginsburg, & D. Throsby, *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture, Volume 2* (pp. 547-586). North Holland: Elsevier.
- Semino, E. (2008). *Metaphor in Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Semino, E. (2019). Afterword: Some Reflections on MIPVU Across Languages. In S. Nacey, A. Dorst, T. Krennmayr, & W. Reijnierse, *Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages. MIPVU Around the World* (pp. 312-322). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Sharifian, F., & Jamarani, M. (2013). Cultural Conceptualisations and Translating Political Discourse. In A. Rojo, & I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano, *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications* (pp. 339-371). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Sharoff, S., Rapp, R., Zweigenbaum, P., & Fung, P. (2013). *Building and Using Comparable Corpora*. Heidelberg/ New York/ Dordrecht/ London: Springer.
- Shi, X. (2014). The Strategy of Metaphor Translation: Domestication or Foreignization. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 4(4), 766-770.
- Shuttleworth, M. (2014). Translation Studies and Metaphor Studies: Possible Paths of Interaction Between two Well-Established Disciplines. In D. R. Miller, & E. Monti (Ed.), *Tradurre Figure: Translating Figurative Language* (pp. 53-65). Bologna: CeSLiC, 'Quaderni del CeSLiC. Atti di Convegni'.
- Shuttleworth, M. (2014). Translation studies and metaphor studies: Possible paths of interaction between two well-established disciplines. In D. R. Miller, & E. Monti (Ed.), *Tradurre Figure: Translating Figurative Language* (pp. 53-65). Bologna: CeSLiC, 'Quaderni del CeSLiC. Atti di Convegni'.
- Shuttleworth, M. (2019). Metaphor in Translation: What do we know, and what do we still need to know. In R. Trim, & D. Śliwa, *Metaphor and Translation*. (pp. 52-62). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Shylyaeva, T. (2019). Use of metaphors in tourist discourse of danube region. *Journal of Danubian Studies and Research*, 9(1), 256-261.
- Sjørup, A. C. (2013). *Cognitive effort in metaphor translation: An eye-tracking and key-logging study*. [Doctoral dissertation, Copenhagen Business School]. Frederiksberg: Copenhagen Business School. Retrieved June 2020, from <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/208853>

- Skorczynska, H. (2001). Metaphor in Scientific Business Journals and Business Periodicals: An Example of Scientific Business Popularisation. *Ibérica*, 3, 43-60.
- Skorczynska, H. (2010). A Corpus-Based Evaluation of Metaphors in a Business English Textbook. *English for Specific Purposes* 29(1), 30-42.
- Skorczynska, H. (2012). Metaphor and knowledge specialization in business management. The case of project management discourse. In H. Herrera-Soler, & M. White, *Metaphor and Mills. Figurative Language in Business and Economics* (pp. 265-290). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Skorczynska, H. (2015). A case study of building and animal metaphors in specialized discourse. Are scholars' metaphorical conceptualizations represented in discourse? *Signons*, 48(87), 121-143.
- Skorczynska, H., & Ahrens, K. (2016). A Corpus-Based Study of Metaphor Signalling in Three Genres. *Text & Talk*, 35(3), 359-381.
- Skorczynska, H., & Deignan, A. (2006). Readership and Purpose in the Choice of Economics Metaphors. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 21(2), 87-104.
- Skorczynska, H., & Piqué-Angordans, J. (2005). A Corpus-Based Description of Metaphorical Marking Patterns in Scientific and Popular Business Discourse. *Metaphorik.de*, 9, 112-119.
- Snell-Hornby, M. (1988). *Translation Studies: An integrated approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Soriano, C. (2012). La metáfora conceptual. In I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano, & J. Valenzuela, *Lingüística Cognitiva* (pp. 97-122). Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial.
- Soto Almela, J. (2017). Sensorialidad, cognición y afectividad en el lenguaje de promoción turística: análisis de corpus de los verbos de percepción. *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a La Comunicación*, 72, 63-78.
- Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1986). *Relevance, Communication and Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (2008). A Deflationary Account of Metaphors. In R. J. Gibbs, *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 84-105). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Spinzi, C. (2013). Treading Lightly on the Earth: Metaphorical Frames in the Discourse of Ecotourism. In E. Manca, & F. Bianchi (Eds.), *Tourism and Tourist Promotion Around the World: A Linguistic and Sociocultural Perspective* (pp. 82-93). Lecce: Salento University Publishing.

- Stamenković, D., Ichien, N., & Holyoak, K. (2019). Metaphor Comprehension: An Individual-Differences Approach. *Journal of Memory and Language, 105*, 108-118.
- Steen, G. (2007). *Finding Metaphor in Grammar and Usage*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Steen, G. (2011). What Does 'Really Deliberate' Really Mean? More Thoughts on Metaphor and Consciousness. *Metaphor and the Social World, 2011*(1), 53-56.
- Steen, G. (2014). Translating Metaphor: What's the Problem? *Tradurre Figure: Translating Figurative Language* (pp. 11-24). Bologna: CeSLiC, 'Quaderni del CeSLiC. Atti di Convegno'.
- Steen, G., Dorst, A., Herrmann, J., Kaal, A., Krennmayr, T., & Pasma, T. (2010). *A Method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Stefanowitsch, A. (2006). A Corpus-Based Approach. In A. Stefanowitsch, & S. T. Gries (Eds.), *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy* (pp. 63-105). Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stefanowitsch, A., & Gries, S. T. (2006). *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stern, J. (2008). Metaphor, Semantics, and Context. In R. W. Gibbs Jr., *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 262-279). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sternberg, R. J., Tourangeau, R., & Nigro, G. (1993). Metaphor, induction and social policy: the convergence of macroscopic and microscopic views. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 277-303). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sticht, T. G. (1993). Educational uses of metaphor. In A. Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 621-632). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stickles, E., David, O., Dodge, E., & Hong, J. (2016). Formalizing contemporary conceptual metaphor theory: A structured repository for metaphor analysis. *Constructions and Frames, 8*(2), 166-213.
- Stoian, C. (2015). *The Discourse of Tourism and National Heritage: A Contrastive Study from a Cultural Perspective*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Stoian, C. E. (2018). The Discourse of Tourism From a Systemic Functional Perspective: The Case of Tourism Websites. In M. Bielenia-Grajewska, & M. Cortés de los Ríos (Eds.), *Innovative Perspectives on Tourism Discourse* (pp. 181-200). Hershey: IGI Global.

- Suau Jiménez, F. (2012). El turista 2.0 como receptor de la promoción turística: estrategias lingüísticas e importancia de su estudio. *PASOS. Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 10(4), 143-174.
- Suau Jiménez, F. (2012). Páginas web institucionales de promoción turística: el uso metadiscursivo interpersonal en inglés y español. In J. Sanmartín Sáez (Ed.), *Discurso turístico e Internet*. (pp. 125-153). Madrid/ Frankfurt: Iberoamericana.
- Suau Jiménez, F. (2013). Touristic promotion in parallel and comparable corpora: differences in persuasion through interpersonal in English and Spanish websites. *Congreso Internacional de Lingüística de Corpus*. Universidad de Alicante, 14-16 March. Retrieved from <http://roderic.uv.es/bitstream/handle/10550/31057/CILC2013.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Suau Jiménez, F., & Labarta Postigo, M. (2017). El discurso interpersonal en la guía turística en español y alemán y su importancia para la traducción. *Normas (Valencia, Spain)*, 7(1), 204–223.
- Sulaiman, M. Z., & Wilson, R. (2019). *Translation and Tourism: Strategies for Effective Cross-Cultural Promotion*. Gateway East Singapore: Springer.
- Sulzer, J. G. (1771-1774). *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter aufeinander folgenden Artikeln abgehandelt*. Leipzig: Weidemann. Retrieved from [http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/sulzer\\_theorie01\\_1771?p=2](http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/sulzer_theorie01_1771?p=2)
- Swales, J. (1990). *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajuelo Martín, T. (2017). *Análisis gramatical de una página web turística sobre Graz (Bachelor thesis, Universidad de Sevilla)*.
- Tcaciuc, L. S. (2014). The Conceptual Metaphors MONEY IS A LIQUID and ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM in Romanian Translations of European Central Bank Documents. In D. R. Miller, & E. Monti (Ed.), *Tradurre Figure/ Translating Figurative Language* (pp. 99-112). Bologna: CeSLiC, ‘Quaderni del CeSLiC. Atti di Convegno’.
- Tebbit, S., & Kinder, J. J. (2016). Translating developed metaphors. *Babel*, 62(3), 402-422.
- Tendahl, M., & Gibbs Jr., R. W. (2008). Complementary Perspectives on Metaphor: Cognitive Linguistics and Relevance Theory. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40, 1823-1864.
- Thiele, K. (2013). *Metaphors in Spoken Academic Discourse in German and English* [PhD dissertation, Aston University]. Retrieved March 29, 2021, from

- <https://research.aston.ac.uk/en/studentTheses/metaphors-in-spoken-academic-discourse-in-german-and-english>
- Tirkkonen-Condit, S. (2001). Metaphors in translation processes and products. *Quaderns. Revista de traducció*, 6, 11-15.
- Tirkkonen-Condit, S. (2002). Metaphoric expressions in the translation process. *Across Languages and Cultures*, 3.1, 101-116.
- Tissari, H. (2010). Love, Metaphor and Responsibility: Some Examples From Early Modern and Present-Day English Corpora. In G. Low, Z. Todd, A. Deignan, & L. Cameron, *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World* (pp. 125-143). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Tobias, S. (2015). Traversing Textual Terrains: The Translation of Metaphor in “Rashōmon”. *Translation Review*, 92(1), 8-22.
- Todd, Z., & Low, G. (2010). A selective survey of research practice in published studies using metaphor analysis. In L. Cameron, & R. Maslen, *Metaphor Analysis: Research Practice in Applied Linguistics, Social Sciences and the Humanities* (pp. 26-41). London: Equinox Publishing.
- Toffle, M. E. (2014). Cross-cultural Website Analysis as a Method for Teaching Intercultural Competence in the University English Program. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 116, 3524-3535.
- Toury, G. (1982). A Rationale for Descriptive Translation Studies. *Dispositio*, 7(19/21), 23-39. Retrieved March 2018, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41491224>
- Trčková, D. (2014). *Representations of Natural Catastrophes in Newspaper Discourse*. Brno, Czech Republic: Masarykova Univerzita. Retrieved from <https://digilib.phil.muni.cz/handle/11222.digilib/133015>
- Trim, R. (2007). *Metaphor Networks - The Comparative Evolution of Figurative Language*. Basingstoke/ New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- TURESPAÑA. (2020). *Memoria de gestión 2019 - Instituto Nacional de Turismo*. Retrieved from [www.tourspain.es](http://www.tourspain.es)>Memorias anuales>Memoria 2019
- Turner, M., & Fauconnier, G. (2000). Metaphor, Metonymy and Binding. In A. Barcelona, *Metaphor and Metonymy at Crossroads* (pp. 133-145). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tyler, A. (2012). *Cognitive Linguistics and Second Language Learning: Theoretical Basics and Experimental Evidence* (Vol. 1). New York: Routledge.
- Tylor, E. B. ([1871] 1920). *Primitive culture: Researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art and custom* (Vol. 1). London: John Murray.

- Ungerer, F. (2000). Muted metaphors and the activation of metonymies in advertising. In A. Barcelona, *Metaphor and Metonymy at Crossroads*. (pp. 321-340). New York, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- van den Broeck, R. (1981). The limits of translatability exemplified by metaphor translation. *Poetics Today*, 2(4), 73-87.
- Vinay, J.-P., & Darbelnet, J. (1958). *Stylistique comparée de l'anglais et du français. Méthode de traduction*. Paris: Didier.
- Visser, J. (2010). <En la voz de la tierra habló nuestro dolor>: El conflicto de Chiapas y el problema de la traducción 'transcultural' de metáforas. In M. Emsel, & A. Endruschat (Eds.), *Metáforas en la traducción - Metaphern in der Übersetzung* (pp. 191-216). München: Martin Meidenbauer Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Volungeviciene, S. (2008). Metaphorische Kollokation: Zwischen Metapher und Phraseologismus. *KALBOTYRA*, 59(3), 290-297.
- Wageche, I., & Chi, C. (2017). Conceptual Metaphors and Rhetoric in Barack Obama's and Xi Jinping's Diplomatic Discourse in Africa and Europe. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 2, 52-62.
- Wallington, A. (2010). Systematicity in Metaphor and the Use of Invariant Mappings. In G. Low, Z. Todd, A. Deignan, & L. Cameron, *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World* (pp. 209-244). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Wang, C., & Dowker, A. (2010). A Cross-Cultural Study of Metaphoric Understanding. In G. Low, Z. Todd, A. Deignan, & L. Cameron, *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World* (pp. 105-122). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Watkins, L., & Gnoth, J. (2011). The Value Orientation Approach to Understanding Culture. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1274-1299.
- Weinrich, H. (1976). *Sprache in Texten*. Stuttgart: Klett.
- Weinrich, H. (1981). *Lenguaje en textos*. Madrid, Spain: Gredos.
- World Travel & Tourism Council. (2018). *Travel & Tourism: Economic Impact 2018 Spain*. Retrieved from <https://www.wttc.org/economic-impact/country-analysis/country-reports/#undefined>
- Wotjak, G. (2010). Aspectos comunicativos, cognitivos y culturales de la actividad traductora. In M. Emsel, & A. Endruschat (Eds.), *Metáforas en la traducción - Metaphern in der Übersetzung* (pp. 217-244). München : Martin Meidenbauer Verlagsbuchhandlung.

- Yañez García, B. (2019). Inglés como lengua de contacto intercultural y su importancia en la formación del profesional en turismo. *REFCaIE. Publicación arbitrada*, 7(1), 245-258.
- Yu, N. (1998). *The contemporary theory of metaphor. A perspective from Chinese*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Yu, N. (2008). Metaphor from body and culture. In G. Jr., & R.W., *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (pp. 247-261). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zaro Vera, J. J. (2005). Prólogo. In A. Fuentes Luque, *La traducción en el sector turístico* (pp. 5-7). Granada: Atrio.

# **Appendices**

## Appendix A: Corpus source texts

For the presentation of the corpus data, the guidelines proposed by Pragglejaz group (2007) were followed, giving information on the name of the text file, source, mode, genre/ register, date of access, length of text and length of context read by the analysts. The information has been summed up in Table A.1. (Spanish), A.2. (German) and A.3. (English). The mode is the same for all texts: written. Therefore as well as for lack of space, this information will not be repeated in the tables. Similarly, the length of context read by the analysts, apart from the coded text) is identical with the length of the rest of the large corpus for the sample corpora. The number of words extracted from a text file for the sample corpus are given in brackets. The Spanish text files were compiled between 3 Dec and 8 Dec 2015, the German text files between 10 Dec and 28 Dec 2015, and the English files between 2 Jan and 6 Jan 2016.

**Table A.1. Corpus source texts: Spanish**

Nr.	Name	Source	Genre/ register	Length of text (extract sample corpus) [words]
1	S1 Andalucía	<a href="http://www.andalucia.org/es/">http://www.andalucia.org/es/</a>	promotional tourism website	15,036 (1,091)
2	S2 Aragón	<a href="http://www.turismodearagon.com/es/">http://www.turismodearagon.com/es/</a>	promotional tourism website	14,995 (1,067)
3	S3 Cantabria	<a href="https://www.turismodecantabria.com">https://www.turismodecantabria.com</a>	promotional tourism website	9,352 (850)
4	Folleto_S3_Cantabria-General	<a href="https://www.turismodecantabria.com">https://www.turismodecantabria.com</a>	promotional tourism brochure	5,600 (212)
5	S4 Castilla y León	<a href="http://www.turismocastillayleon.com/">http://www.turismocastillayleon.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	12.599 (1,036)
6	Folleto_S4_Castilla-Leon-General	<a href="http://www.turismocastillayleon.com/">http://www.turismocastillayleon.com/</a>	promotional tourism brochure	2,443 (-)
7	S5 Castilla-La Mancha	<a href="http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/">http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/</a>	promotional tourism website	10,731 (1,034 <sup>88</sup> )

<sup>88</sup> From website and brochure

8	Folleto_S5_1_Castilla_LaMancha	<a href="http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/">http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/</a> , downloadable pdf	promotional tourism brochure	1,050 (-)
9	Folleto_S5_2_Castilla_LaMancha_Cuidad_Real	<a href="http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/">http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/</a> , downloadable pdf	promotional tourism brochure	657 (60)
10	Folleto_S5_3_Castilla_LaMancha_Albacete	<a href="http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/">http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/</a> , downloadable pdf	promotional tourism brochure	633 (158)
11	Folleto_S5_4_Castilla_LaMancha_Cuenca	<a href="http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/">http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/</a> , downloadable pdf	promotional tourism brochure	678 (-)
12	Folleto_S5_5_Castilla_LaMancha_Guadalajara	<a href="http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/">http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/</a> , downloadable pdf	promotional tourism brochure	581 (-)
13	Folleto_S5_6_Castilla_LaMancha_Toledo	<a href="http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/">http://www.turismocastillalamancha.es/</a> , downloadable pdf	promotional tourism brochure	676 (-)
14	S6 Cataluña	<a href="http://www.catalunya.com/">http://www.catalunya.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	10,415 (868)
15	Folleto_S6_Cataluña	<a href="http://www.catalunya.com/">http://www.catalunya.com/</a> , downloadable pdf	promotional tourism website, downloadable brochure	4,690 (197)
16	S7 Ceuta	<a href="http://www.ceuta.si/">http://www.ceuta.si/</a>	promotional tourism website	5,411 (398) <sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> No downloadable material available on website to complement website text

17	S8 Comunidad de Madrid	<a href="http://turismomadrid.es/es/">http://turismomadrid.es/es/</a>	promotional tourism website	15.036 (1064)
18	S9 Comunidad Valenciana	<a href="http://comunitatvalenciana.com/">http://comunitatvalenciana.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	15,003 (1,079)
19	S10 Extremadura	<a href="http://turismoextremadura.com/">http://turismoextremadura.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	15,070 (1,110)
20	S11 Galicia	<a href="http://www.turismo.gal/">http://www.turismo.gal/</a>	promotional tourism website	9,292 (648)
21	Folleto_S11_Galicia_Top_10	<a href="http://www.turismo.gal/">http://www.turismo.gal/</a> , downloadable brochure	promotional tourism website	4,678 (420)
22	Folleto_S11_Galicia_Patrimonio	<a href="http://www.turismo.gal/">http://www.turismo.gal/</a>	promotional tourism website, downloadable brochure	1,043 (-)
23	S12 Islas Baleares	<a href="http://www.illesbalears.es/index.jsp">http://www.illesbalears.es/index.jsp</a>	promotional tourism website, downloadable brochure	15,002 (1,111)
24	S13 Islas Canarias	<a href="http://www.holaislascanarias.com/">http://www.holaislascanarias.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	15,018 (1,090)
25	S14 La Rioja	<a href="http://lariojaturismo.com/">http://lariojaturismo.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	10,677 (888)
26	Folleto_S14_LaRioja_Vino	<a href="http://lariojaturismo.com/">http://lariojaturismo.com/</a> , downloadable material	promotional tourism website, downloadable brochure	2,791 (232)
27	Folleto_S14_LaRioja_Paisaje	<a href="http://lariojaturismo.com/">http://lariojaturismo.com/</a> , downloadable material	promotional tourism website, downloadable brochure	1,539 (-)
28	S15 Melilla	<a href="http://www.melillaturismo.com/">http://www.melillaturismo.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	15,012 (1,134)

29	S16 Navarra	<a href="http://www.turismo.navarra.es/">http://www.turismo.navarra.es/</a>	Promotional tourism website	15,018 (1,115)
30	S17 País Vasco	<a href="http://turismo.euskadi.eus/es/">http://turismo.euskadi.eus/es/</a>	promotional tourism website	13,439 (1106)
31	Folleto_S17_PaisVasco_General	<a href="http://turismo.euskadi.eus/es/">http://turismo.euskadi.eus/es/</a> , downloadable material	promotional tourism website, downloadable brochure	1,550 (-)
32	S18 Principado de Asturias	<a href="https://www.turismoasturias.es/">https://www.turismoasturias.es/</a>	promotional tourism website	15,009 (1,127)
33	S19 Región de Murcia	<a href="http://www.murciaturistica.es/">http://www.murciaturistica.es/</a>	promotional tourism website	15,001 (1115)

Table A.2. Corpus text sources: German

Nr.	Name	Source	Genre/ register	Length of text (extract sample corpus) [words]
34	D1 Baden-Württemberg	<a href="http://www.tourismus-bw.de/">http://www.tourismus-bw.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,200 (1,277)
35	D2 Bayern	<a href="http://www.bayern.by/">http://www.bayern.by/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,203 (1,263)
36	D3 Berlin	<a href="http://www.visitberlin.de/de">http://www.visitberlin.de/de</a>	promotional tourism website	17,208 (1,252)
37	D4 Brandenburg	<a href="http://www.reiseland-brandenburg.de/">http://www.reiseland-brandenburg.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,209 (1,276)
38	D5 Bremen	<a href="http://www.bremen-tourismus.de/">http://www.bremen-tourismus.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,202 (1,255)
39	D6 Hamburg	<a href="http://www.hamburg-tourism.de/">http://www.hamburg-tourism.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,202 (1,258)

40	D7 Hessen	<a href="https://www.hessen-tourismus.de/">https://www.hessen-tourismus.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,205 (1,230)
41	D8 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	<a href="http://www.m-vp.de/">http://www.m-vp.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,2013 (1,243)
42	D9 Niedersachsen	<a href="http://www.reiseland-niedersachsen.de/">http://www.reiseland-niedersachsen.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,207 (1,257)
43	D10 Nordrhein-Westfalen	<a href="http://www.nrw-tourismus.de/">http://www.nrw-tourismus.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,208 (1,257)
44	D11 Rheinland-Pfalz	<a href="http://www.gastlandschaften.de">http://www.gastlandschaften.de</a>	promotional tourism website	17,196 (1,233)
45	D12 Saarland	<a href="http://www.tourismus.saarland.de/">http://www.tourismus.saarland.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	19,199 (1,235)
46	D13 Sachsen	<a href="http://www.sachsen-tourismus.de/">http://www.sachsen-tourismus.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,199 (1,243)
47	D14 Sachsen-Anhalt	<a href="http://www.sachsen-anhalt-tourismus.de/">http://www.sachsen-anhalt-tourismus.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,199 (1,249)
48	D15 Schleswig-Holstein	<a href="http://www.sh-tourismus.de">http://www.sh-tourismus.de</a>	promotional tourism website	17,200 (1,225)
49	D16 Thüringen	<a href="https://www.thueringen-entdecken.de/">https://www.thueringen-entdecken.de/</a>	promotional tourism website	17,205 (1,246)

Table A.3. Corpus text sources: English

Nr.	Name	Source	Genre/ register	Length of text (extract sample corpus) [words]
50	E1 Greater London	<a href="http://www.visitlondon.com/">http://www.visitlondon.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	46,545 (3,318)
51	E2 South East England	<a href="http://www.visitsoutheastengland.com/">http://www.visitsoutheastengland.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	35,535 (2,565)
52	E3 South West England	<a href="http://www.visitsouthwest.co.uk/">http://www.visitsouthwest.co.uk/</a>	promotional tourism website	30,135 (2,153)
53	E4 West Midlands	<a href="http://www.visitheartofengland.com">www.visitheartofengland.com</a>	promotional tourism website	30,082 (2,165)
54	E5 North West England	<a href="http://www.visitenglandsnorthwest.com/">http://www.visitenglandsnorthwest.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	30,016 (2,151)
55	E6 North East England	<a href="http://www.visitnortheastengland.com/">http://www.visitnortheastengland.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	30,006 (2,175)
56	E7 Yorkshire and the Humber	<a href="http://www.yorkshire.com/">http://www.yorkshire.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	56,504 (4,062)
57	E8 East Midlands	<a href="http://www.experiencenottinghamshire.com/">http://www.experiencenottinghamshire.com/</a> (no official site for whole region available)	promotional tourism website	3,669 (256)
58	E9 East of England	<a href="http://www.visiteastofengland.com/">http://www.visiteastofengland.com/</a>	promotional tourism website	12,499 (1,159)

## Appendix B: Metaphor analysis registers

### B.1. 100 examples from the metaphor analysis register: English sample corpus

As described in the methodology section (chapter 5), the register contained more information. However, due to spatial limitations, only the most relevant information has been included in this table.

Abbreviations: aj = adjective      av= adverb      Src = source      C?= Conventionalised? (1 = yes)      E = Etymonline      AR = abstract resemblance  
EC = experiential correlation

Abbreviations for sources of definitions: E = Etymonline; M = Macmillan Online Dictionary      O = our own definition      X = Oxford Learner's Dictionary  
MW = Merriam Webster

	Metaphor vehicle	Grammatical category				Context	Basic word sense	Word sense in context	Src	C?	Locus of semantic tension	Source Domain	Target Domain	Mapping scheme
		aj	av	n	v									
1	visitor			1		[Right under name of the website] OFFICIAL VISITOR GUIDE	1. someone who visits a person <del>or a place</del>	1. someone who visits a person or a place	M	1	compound noun	person	place	abstract resemblance
2	guide			1		[Right under name of the website] OFFICIAL VISITOR GUIDE	one who shows the way	O: website about a particular subject or type of activity	E,o		noun + broader context	object	technology	specification AR
3	top	1				Top 10 Reasons to Visit London	1. at or on the highest part of something	2. highest in status, degree, or importance	M	1	adjective + noun	height	quality	experiential correlation
4	visit				1	Top 10 Reasons to Visit London	1 to go and see someone and spend some time with them	1a. to go to a place for a short period of time	M	1	verb + object	person	place	personification + change of meaning AR
5	sight			1		London is a diverse and exciting city with some of the world's best sights, attractions and activities	3 a person or thing that you see that has a particular feature	2. interesting places that people go to see	M	1	noun + broader context	physical feature	place	specification AR
6	attraction			1		London is a diverse and exciting city with some of the world's best sights, attractions and activities	4. a force such as gravity that pulls or keeps things together	1. somewhere or something you can visit that is interesting or enjoyable	M	1	noun + broader context	physical event	object	abstract resemblance

7	hard	1			it's <b>hard</b> to narrow down the long list	1. stiff, firm, and not easy to bend or break	2. difficult to do	M	1	adjective + broader context	physical feature	abstract feature	experiential correlation
8	meet			1	<b>meet</b> a celebrity at Madame Tussauds	1a to see and speak to someone without planning to	see a wax figure of a celebrity in a museum	M, o		verb + broader context	person	object	experiential correlation
9	scene			1	London has the best theatre <b>scene</b> in the world.	1. a part of a play, book, film etc in which events happen in the same place or period of time	4. a particular interest or activity, and the people and places that are involved in it	M	1	noun + broader context	arts	culture/cultural event	abstract resemblance
10	taste			1	There's accommodation to suit all budgets and <b>tastes</b> in London	the flavour that something creates in your mouth when you eat or drink it	the types of thing that you like, for example in art, music, or clothes	M	1	noun + broader context	physical feature	abstract experience	experiential correlation
11	friendly	1			enjoy the comfort of a <b>friendly</b> B&B	1. someone who is friendly is always pleasant and helpful towards other people	1b. Used about places and situations O: with friendly staff	M	1	adjective + noun	human feature	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
12	host			1	with a <b>host</b> of winter activities to suit all ages.	"a multitude," especially an army organized for war	a lot of people or things	E, M	1	noun + broader context	military	general	generalisation EC
13	hunter			1	and the stores are full of gift <b>hunters</b> finishing off their Christmas shopping.	1. someone who chases and kills wild animals	2. someone who is looking for a particular type of thing	M	1	compound noun	nature	culture/cultural event	specification AR
14	make			1	Christmas markets also <b>make</b> a welcome appearance this month	1. to create or produce something by working	3. used with some nouns for showing that someone performs the action referred to by the noun	M	1	verb + object	physical activity	physical event	Reification AR
15	atmosphere			1	not to mention a festive <b>atmosphere</b> and plenty of warming mulled wine.	1. the air round the Earth or round another planet	2. the mood or feeling that exists in a place and affects the people who are there	M	1	noun + broader context	object	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
16	hot			1	with the <b>hottest</b> DJs	1. very high in temperature	5. especially good in some way	M	1	adjective + broader context	physical feature	quality	abstract resemblance
17	sophisticated	1			<b>sophisticated</b> cocktail bars	1 knowing and understanding a lot about a complicated subject	3. complicated and advanced in design	M	1	adjective + noun	human feature	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
18	highlight	1			Another winter <b>highlight</b> is the host of temporary,	A bright or reflective area in a painting, picture, or design.	An outstanding part of an event or period of time.	X	1	compound noun	arts	general	generalisation AR

					outdoor ice skating rinks									
19	free	1			get a <b>free</b> walking tour and a free river tour	not a prisoner or a slave			M	1	adjective + noun	human feature	object feature: abstract	abstract resemblance
20	cover			1	The buses <b>cover</b> four different routes	1. to put one thing over another, in order to protect or hide it			M	1	verb + object	physical activity	object feature: abstract	abstract resemblance
21	guide			1	A live tour guide, or audio <b>guide</b> , is available in the following languages:	E: one who shows the way			E, X	1	noun + broader context	object	technology	specification AR
22	leave			1	The tour <b>leaves</b> from a coach stop near Victoria Station at 8pm	1. to go away from a place			M	1	verb + subject'	Moving thing/ creature	abstract feature	personification + change of meaning AR
23	coach			1	The tour leaves from a <b>coach</b> stop near Victoria Station	an old-fashioned vehicle that is pulled by horses			M	1	noun + broader context	transport	transport	abstract resemblance
24	gallery			1	Already experienced the delights of the National <b>Gallery</b> ?	3. a passage or long narrow room inside a building			M	1	compound noun	architecture	arts	physical resemblance
25	house			1	<b>Housed</b> in a grand residence near Marble Arch, the Wallace Collection includes portraits [...]	1. Provide with shelter or accommodation			X	1	verb + object	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
26	devote			1	there's a large room <b>devoted</b> to armour and weaponry	1. loving someone very much			M	1	adjective + noun	human feature	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
27	hit			1	You also can <b>hit</b> the National History Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum and Science Museum in one go	1. to move quickly onto an object or surface, touching it with force			M	1	verb + object	object	place	abstract resemblance

28	spend			1	by <b>spending</b> the morning (and possibly some of the afternoon) in South Kensington.	1. to use money to pay for things	2. to stay somewhere or to do something for a period of time	M	1	verb + object	material wealth/ value	time	Reification AR
29	tube			1	It's an easy walk, <b>Tube</b> or bus ride to the Carnaby area	1. a long narrow object similar to a pipe that liquid or gas can move through	3. BRITISH INFORMAL the system of underground trains in London	M	1	noun + broader context	object	transport	physical resemblance
30	take			1	Or for a healthy, upmarket <b>take</b> on fast food, Leon serves salads	2. an act or the action of taking	1. 1: a distinct or personal point of view, outlook, or assessment was asked for her take on recent developments also : a distinct treatment or variation a new take on an old style.	MW	1	noun + preposition +	physical activity	abstract activity	abstract resemblance
31	wrap			1	Leon serves salads, <b>wraps</b> and hot lunches at affordable prices.	1. plastic or paper that you use for covering something	3. a type of sandwich made with flat round bread that is wrapped around meat, salad, or vegetables	M	1	noun + broader context	object	food & gastronomy	physical resemblance
32	light	1			try a few <b>light</b> bites at Antidote wine bar	3. not weighing much	8. food or drink that is light has less fat or alcohol than other similar food or drink. This word is sometimes spelt lite on food labels	M	1	adjective + noun	object	food & gastronomy	experiential correlation
33	bite			1	try a few light <b>bites</b> at Antidote wine bar	1. an act of cutting or breaking something using your teeth in order to eat it	2. a small meal, especially one that you eat in a hurry	M	1	noun + broader context	physical activity	object	experiential correlation
34	quarter			1	at Antidote wine bar in the pedestrianised Newburgh <b>quarter</b>	1. one of four equal parts of something	2. a part of a town where you find particular buildings, activities, or people	M	1	compound noun	geometry/ maths	place	abstract resemblance
35	open	1			Buckingham Palace is the official home of the Queen, and is <b>open</b> to the public throughout August and September	2a. something that is open has no cover or has its edges separated so that you can see or take out what is inside	1. if a shop, restaurant etc is open, people are working there and the public can use or visit i	M	1	adjective + broader context	object	institution	abstract resemblance

36	bloodthirsty	1			For a more <b>bloodthirsty</b> morning, visit the Tower of London.	Having or showing a desire to kill and maim; O: having a desire for blood	(of a book, film, etc.) describing or showing killing and violence	O, X	1	compound adjective	physical feature	abstract feature	experiential correlation
37	host'			1	This imposing fortress <b>hosted</b> some of the most gruesome events in London's history	to organize and be in charge of a meal or party for guests, especially an official one	be the venue where an event takes place	M, o		verb + object	person	culture/cultural event	personification + change of meaning AR
38	head'			1	If it's sunny, <b>head</b> to Hyde Park,	1. Be in the leading position on; noun 'head'	3. Move in a specified direction:	X	1	verb + preposition +	person	physical activity	reduction to important aspect
39	take			1	You can also <b>take</b> a picture	1. Lay hold of (something) with one's hands; reach for and hold	15. Make (a photograph) with a camera:	X	1	verbal phrase'	object	abstract concept	Reification AR
40	scraper			1	You can also take a picture with the 95-storey <b>skyscraper</b> in the background	1. a tool with a handle and a sharp edge, used for removing a layer of something from a surface	skyscraper = a very tall building containing offices or flats O: that seems to be scraping the sky	M	1	compound noun	object	architecture	physical resemblance
41	box			1	Telephone <b>box</b>	A container with a flat base and sides, typically square or rectangular and having a lid:	telephone booth	X, o		compound noun	object	object	physical resemblance
42	booth			1	The red telephone <b>booth</b> is another London icon,	1. A small temporary tent or structure at a market, fair, or exhibition, used for selling goods, providing information, or staging shows.	2. An enclosed compartment that allows privacy, for example when telephoning, voting, or sitting in a restaurant.	X	1	compound noun	object	object	physical resemblance
43	icon			1	The red telephone booth is another London <b>icon</b> ,	1. A devotional painting of Christ or another holy figure, typically executed on wood and used ceremonially in the Byzantine and other Eastern Churches.	2. A person or thing regarded as a representative symbol or as worthy of veneration:	X	1	compound noun	religion	general	generalisation AR
44	dot			1	[red telephone booth] there are still a few <b>dotted</b> about the city.	1 Mark with a small spot or spots	1.1 (of a number of items) be scattered over (an area)	X	1	verb + broader context	arts	physical feature	abstract resemblance
45	iconic	1			Stand on Westminster Bridge for a close-up with the <b>iconic</b> clock face,	X: Relating to or of the nature of an icon; Icon= 1. a devotional painting of Christ or another holy figure, typically executed on wood and used ceremonially in the Byzantine	X: Relating to or of the nature of an icon: Icon = 2. a person or thing regarded as a representative symbol or as worthy	X	1	adjective + broader context	arts	general	generalisation AR

						and other Eastern Churches	of veneration						
46	face			1	Stand on Westminster Bridge for a close-up with the iconic clock <b>face</b>	Icon= 1. a devotional painting of Christ or another holy figure, typically executed on wood and used ceremonially in the Byzantine and other Eastern Churches	2.5 The plate of a clock or watch bearing the digits or hands:	X	1	compound noun	person	object	abstract resemblance
47	shot			1	get both landmarks in the same <b>shot</b>	1. The firing of a gun or cannon	4 A photograph	X	1	noun + broader context	military	arts	physical resemblance
48	link			1	upwards of 300 international destinations have direct <b>links</b> to London.	A ring or loop in a chain	A means of contact, travel, or transport between two places	X	1	noun + broader context	object	transport	abstract resemblance
49	centre			1	London is a city at the <b>centre</b> of the world	The point that is equally distant from every point on the circumference of a circle or sphere.	The most important place in the respect specified	X	1	noun + broader context	geometry/ maths	place	abstract resemblance
50	harbour			1	the Oxfordshire Cotswolds <b>harbours</b> over 6,000 years of history	Give a home or shelter to	O: contain remainders or evidence of/ have a long history	M, o		verb + broader context	human activity	object feature: abstract	abstract resemblance
51	harmony			1	the Oxfordshire Cotswolds harbours over 6,000 years of history and a sense of <b>harmony</b> that has taken countless generations to create.	musical notes that are sung or played at the same time, making a pleasant sound	the attractive effect that is created when objects, colours etc combine together well	M	1	noun + broader context	arts	general	generalisation EC
52	peaceful	1			As you travel between thriving communities and <b>peaceful</b> open countryside	1. not involving war or violence	2. calm and quiet	M	1	adjective + noun	abstract feature	object feature: physical	abstract resemblance
53	open	1			As you travel between thriving communities and peaceful <b>open</b> countryside	2a. something that is open has no cover or has its edges separated so that you can see or take out what is inside	4. an open space or area is not covered or enclosed, or does not have many buildings, trees etc in or on it	M	1	adjective + noun	object	space	abstract resemblance
54	flavour			1	you'll experience the full <b>flavour</b> of the Oxfordshire Cotswolds past and present	the particular taste that food or drink has	an idea of what something is like	M	1	noun + broader context	physical experience	abstract experience	abstract resemblance
55	turbulent	1			its sometimes <b>turbulent</b> past	turbulent air or water moves suddenly and violently in different directions	a turbulent situation, place, or period is one in which there is a lot of uncontrolled change	M	1	adjective + noun	physical feature	abstract feature	abstract resemblance

56	colourful	1			its sometimes turbulent past, its <b>colourful</b> people and the rich diversity of its culture	1. something that is colourful has bright colours or a lot of different colours	2. interesting, exciting, and sometimes funny	M	1	adjective + noun	physical feature	abstract feature	experiential correlation
57	rich	1			the <b>rich</b> diversity of its culture and heritage.	owning a lot of money, property, or valuable possessions	containing a large quantity of something	M	1	adjective + noun	material wealth/ value	general	generalisation AR
58	wealth			1	enjoy the <b>wealth</b> of attractions and explore the area's rich history.	An abundance of valuable possessions or money:	A plentiful supply of a particular desirable thing	X	1	noun + broader context	material wealth/ value	general	generalisation AR
59	explore			1	enjoy the wealth of attractions and explore the area's rich <b>history</b> .	1. to travel to a place in order to learn about it or to search for something valuable such as oil	to examine or discuss a subject, idea etc thoroughly	M	1	verb + object	place	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
60	bear			1	a crossing point for the river that <b>bears</b> its name	4. support or carry weight	3a. formal to have a particular name or title	M	1	verb + object	physical activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
61	way			1	and a great <b>way</b> to get an insight into the history of the town	the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another	a method for doing something	M, X	1	noun + broader context	transport	abstract concept	modelling in space AR
62	handy	1			take advantage of the great range of quality accommodation providers available in our <b>handy</b> guide with many properties available to book online.	close to you and therefore easy to reach or get to	useful	M	1	adjective + broader context	space	quality	abstract resemblance
63	warm	1			all offer a <b>warm</b> , friendly welcome and a great place to rest	fairly hot in a way that is comfortable and pleasant	kind and friendly in a way that makes other people feel comfortable	M	1	adjective + broader context	physical feature	abstract feature	experiential correlation
64	hoard			1	enjoying the <b>hoards</b> of attractions here in the South East	a large amount of something that someone has saved or hidden somewhere	O: large amount of something (neither saved, nor hidden)	M, o		noun + broader context	material wealth/ value	general	abstract resemblance
65	box			1	use the search <b>box</b> on the left or links below to find somewhere special	a container with straight sides, a flat base, and sometimes a lid	a space on a printed form, in which you write	M	1	compound noun	object	technology	specification PR
66	link			1	use the search box on the left or <b>links</b> below	A ring or loop in a chain	A code or instruction which connects one part of a program or an element in a list to	X	1	noun + broader context	object	technology	abstract resemblance

							another.							
67	lead				1	the steepest cliff railway in the UK <b>leads</b> up to Hastings Country Park	to walk, drive, fly, sail etc in front of a group of people, vehicles, planes, ships etc	if something such as a road, river, or door leads in a particular direction or to a particular place, or if it leads you there, it goes in that direction or to that place	M	1	verb + broader context	physical activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
68	old	1				a picturesque <b>Old</b> Town with independent shops	1. used for talking about the age of someone or something	3. something that is old has existed or been used for a long time	M	1	compound noun	living being	place	personification + change of meaning AR
69	visit				1	For more ideas on how to entertain the family <b>visit</b> <a href="#">1066 Country</a>	1 to go and see someone and spend some time with them	2 to use a website. This is used mainly in advertisements	M	1	verb + object	person	technology	personification + change of meaning AR
70	discover				1	<b>Discover</b> one of the most fascinating sea and landscapes	2. to find a place, fact, or substance that no one knew about before	3. to find out about a place or activity that is new to you	M	1	verb + object	general	person	abstract resemblance
71	span				1	Discover one of the most fascinating sea and landscapes, <b>spanning</b> 23 miles and over 1700 years of history.	(of a bridge, arch, etc.) extend from side to side of	Extend across (a period of time or a range of subjects):	M	1	verb + object	space	time	modelling in space AR
72	love				1	Children of all ages will <b>love</b> venturing across the amazing glass Sky Walk	to be very strongly attracted to someone in an emotional and sexual way	to like or enjoy something very much	M	1	verb + object	person	object	experiential correlation
73	air				1	Children of all ages will love venturing across the amazing glass Sky Walk, with virtually nothing between you and the waves below – dare you walk on <b>air</b> ?!	1. the mixture of gases surrounding the Earth that we breathe	O: glass platform that gives the impression of walking on air	M, o	1	noun + broader context	chemistry	object	physical resemblance
74	track				1	has a world-class horse-racing <b>track</b> , motor-racing circuit and a large private art collection	a path or road with a rough surface	a piece of ground used for racing	M	1	compound noun	transport	sports	specification PR
75	circuit				1	has a world-class horse-racing track,	A roughly circular line, route, or movement that starts and finishes	A trace used for motor racing, horse	X	1	compound noun	shape	sports	specification PR

					motor-racing <b>circuit</b> and a large private art collection	at the same place:	racing, or athletics						
76	nestle			1	Butser Ancient Farm, <b>nestled</b> within the Southdowns National Park, is a wonderful outdoor space	1. to find a comfortable and safe position to be in, or to put someone or something in such a position	2. to be in a protected position	M	1	verb + broader context	physical activity	object feature: physical	abstract resemblance
77	park			1	Butser Ancient Farm, nestled within the Southdowns National <b>Park</b> , is a wonderful outdoor space	3. an enclosed area of grass and trees surrounding a large country house [oldest meaning according to E]	2. an area in the countryside, often with an important natural feature such as water or mountains, that is protected by the government for people to enjoy	M	1	compound noun	place	place	physical resemblance
78	sparkling	1			taste some of the red, white, rosé and <b>sparkling</b> wines	shining with small points of reflected light	sparkling drinks are full of bubbles	M	1	adjective + noun	physical feature	food & gastronomy	physical resemblance
79	take			1	visitors can [...] or <b>take</b> an organised tour	to move something or someone from one place to another	to do or to have something	M	1	verb + object	object	physical activity	Reification AR
80	tailored	1			Private <b>tailored</b> wine tasting experiences and iconic Saturday wine nights	tailored clothes are shaped in a way that matches the shape of a person's body	made for a particular purpose, situation, or need	M	1	adjective + noun	physical activity	general	generalisation AR
81	character			1	There are nine destinations [...], each with their own unique <b>character</b> to explore.	the qualities that make up someone's personality	the qualities that make something clearly different from anything else	M	1	noun + broader context	human feature	object feature: physical	generalisation AR
82	click			1	<b>Click</b> on the images below to discover more about each destination.	1. to make a short sound like the sound when you press a switch	2. to make a computer do something by pressing a button on the mouse	M	1	verb + broader context	physical event	technology	experiential correlation
83	find			1	Visit Devon and you'll <b>find</b> that there is more to this spectacular and diverse county	1. to discover something, or to see where it is by searching for it	1c. to discover a fact or piece of information	M	1	verb + object	object	abstract concept	Reification AR
84	scenery			1	In addition to beautiful beaches and stunning <b>scenery</b> , you'll find National	the furniture and painted background on a theatre stage	natural things such as trees, hills, and lakes that you can see in a particular place	M	1	noun + broader context	arts	nature	abstract resemblance

					Parks								
85	boast			1	Devon <b>boasts</b> five areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty	1 to proudly tell other people about what you or someone connected with you has done or can do, or about something you own, especially in order to make them admire you	2 to have something good, often an attractive feature that other people admire	M	1	verb + broader context	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
86	reserve			1	a UNESCO Biosphere <b>Reserve</b>	a supply of something that someone has and can use when they need to	an area of land where wild animals or plants are officially protected	M	1	compound noun	object	nature	specification AR
87	rugged	1			[Dartmoor National Park] Its <b>rugged</b> beauty, and that of the Greater Dartmoor area around it, inspired Conan Doyle's The Hound of the Baskervilles	1. not smooth or flat	4. not regular in shape, but attractive	M	1	adjective + noun	shape	object feature: abstract	experiential correlation
88	backdrop			1	[Dartmoor National Park] has been used as the <b>backdrop</b> for Hollywood blockbusters.	a painted cloth hanging at the back of the stage in a theatre	the situation or place in which something happens	M	1	noun + broader context	arts	general	generalisation AR
89	blockbuster			1	[Dartmoor National Park] has been used as the backdrop for Hollywood <b>blockbusters</b> .	Wiki: A blockbuster bomb or cookie was any of several of the largest conventional bombs used in World War II by the Royal Air Force (RAF).	something that is very successful, especially a film, show, or novel	M	1	compound noun	military	arts	abstract resemblance
90	dim	1			Our <b>dim</b> and distant past ...	dim light is not bright	used about something that you do not know much about or cannot understand very well	M	1	adjective + broader context	physical feature	abstract feature	experiential correlation
91	distant	1			Our dim and <b>distant</b> past ...	far away from the place where you are	far away in time	M	1	adjective + broader context	space	time	modelling in space EC
92	age			1	find out about our Stone <b>Age</b> ancestors	the number of years that someone has lived	a period of history	M	1	adjective + noun	physical feature	abstract concept	specification AR
93	take			1	<b>take</b> a walk through time – in miniature – at the famous model village	to move something or someone from one place to another	to perform a particular action or series of actions	M	1	verbal phrase'	object	physical activity	Reification AR
94	walk			1	take a <b>walk</b> through time – in miniature –	a short journey that you make by walking	O: mental exploration of past	M, o		noun + broader	space	time	modelling in space AR

					at the famous model village		times for joy guided by exhibits			context			
95	await			1	a warm Cornish welcome <b>awaits</b> you!	to wait for something that you expect to happen	if something awaits you, it will happen to you	M	1	verb + subject'	human activity	physical event	personification + change of meaning AR
96	ahead		1		to set you up for the day <b>ahead</b> .	used for saying that something is in front of you, in the direction you are going or looking	used when saying what will happen in the future	M	1	adverb + broader context'	space	time	modelling in space EC
97	gateway			1	Helston is a small market town at the <b>gateway</b> to the Lizard Peninsula	an entrance that is opened and closed with a gate	a place that allows you to reach or enter a larger place	M	1	noun + broader context	architecture	physical feature	abstract resemblance
98	vintage			1	Famed for street art, retro and <b>vintage</b> bargains and delicious food	vintage wine is excellent in quality and was made several years ago	a vintage object or vehicle is old, but is kept in good condition because	M	1	adjective + broader context	food & gastronomy	object	generalisation AR
99	enrich			1	The ticket office shop sells plants, and produce from the garden <b>enriched</b> with a variety of local crafts and gifts.	2. to make someone richer	1. to make something better or more enjoyable	M	1	verb + broader context	material wealth/ value	quality	abstract resemblance
100	hide			1	Gastro pub The Compasses at Pattiswick <b>hides</b> neatly away in the North Essex countryside	to put something in a place so that no one can find or see it	to go or be somewhere where no one can find you or see you	M	1	verb + subject'	physical activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR

## B.2. 100 examples from the metaphor analysis registers: German sample corpus

As described in the methodology section (chapter 5), the register contained more information. However, due to spatial limitations, only the most relevant information has been included in this table.

Abbreviations: aj = adjective      av= adverb      Src = source      C?= Conventionalised? (1 = yes)      E = Etymonline      AR = abstract resemblance  
EC = experiential correlation

Abbreviations for sources of definitions: D = Duden (online); o = our own definition      S = Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache      W = Wikipedia

	Metaphor vehicle	Grammatical. category				Context	Basic word sense	Word sense in context	Src	C?	Locus of semantic tension	Source Domain	Target Domain	Mapping scheme
		aj	av	n	v									
1	Süden			1		Wir sind <b>Süden</b> .	dem Norden entgegengesetzte Himmelsrichtung, [...]	Sonne, Temperament, Ferien, Gastfreundlichkeit	D, o		noun + broader context''	geography	abstract concept	experiential correlation
2	Atmosphäre			1		um die einzigartige Weihnachts <b>atmosphäre</b> zu erleben	1a. Lufthülle der Erde; Luft; 1b. Gashülle eines Gestirns;	2a. eigenes Gepräge, Ausstrahlung; Stimmung; Fluidum	D	1	adjective + broader context'	geography	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
3	Kulisse			1		ein unvergessliches Wintererlebnis vor der <b>Kulisse</b> alter Gassen	1. Teil der Bühnendekoration [...]	2. Hintergrund, äußerer Rahmen;	D	1	noun + broader context''	arts	general	generalisation AR
4	alt	1				ein unvergessliches Wintererlebnis vor der <b>Kulisse</b> <b>alter</b> Gassen	1. (von Menschen, Tieren, Pflanzen) nicht [mehr] jung, in vorgerücktem Lebensalter, bejahrt	6a. einer früheren Zeit, Epoche entstammend; eine vergangene Zeit betreffend	D	1	adjective + noun	living being	place	personification + change of meaning AR
5	Motto			1		„Es weihnachtet mehr“ ... ist das <b>Motto</b> zur Weihnachtszeit in Aalen.	1. Wahlspruch	2. Satz mit einer bestimmten zusammenfassenden Aussage, der einem Buch, Kapitel o. Ä. [...]	D	1	noun + broader context''	humanities	general	generalisation AR
6	erwarten				1	Bewährtes und Neues <b>erwartet</b> die Besucher.	1. dem als gewiss vorausgesetzten Eintreffen einer Person oder Sache mit einer gewissen Spannung entgegensehen	sich an einem Ort befinden und entdeckt werden können	D, o		verb + subject'	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR

7	Besucher			1	[Weihnachtsmarkt] Bewährtes und Neues erwartet die <b>Besucher</b> .	1 a) männliche Person, die jemanden aufsucht; bei jemandem einen Besuch macht	1 b) männliche Person, die etwas zu einem bestimmten Zweck aufsucht; Teilnehmer	D	1	noun + broader context'	person	place	abstract resemblance
8	einladen			1	Das märchenhafte Weihnachtsland [...] <b>lädt</b> zu einem Besuch und gemütlichem Beisammensein <b>ein</b> .	1. als Gast zu sich bitten, höflich zu einem Besuch, Aufenthalt bei sich auffordern	2. zu einer kostenlosen Teilnahme an etwas auffordern; bitten, an etwas teilzunehmen, bei etwas mitzumachen	D	1	verb + subject'	human activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
9	Pyramide			1	eine hell beleuchtete Weihnachts <b>pyramide</b>	1. (Geometrie) geometrischer Körper mit einem ebenen Vieleck als Grundfläche und einer entsprechenden Anzahl von gleichschenkligen Dreiecken, die in einer gemeinsamen Spitze enden, als Seitenflächen	3. pyramidenförmiges Gebilde	D	1	adjective + broader context'	geometry/ maths	arts	physical resemblance
10	voll	1			die liebe <b>voll</b> gestaltete Krippe mit Schafstall	1. voll, bedeckt mit;	2. voll, ganz erfüllt, durchdrungen von	D	1	compound adjective	physical feature	abstract feature	reification AR
11	sorgen			1	Krippe mit Schafstall sowie geschnitzte Holzbänke und Tannenbäume <b>sorgen</b> für Waldatmosphäre	1. sich Sorgen machen, besorgt, in Sorge sein	2. c (verblasst) bewirken, zur Folge haben, hervorrufen	D	1	verb + subject'	human activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
12	freundlich	1			Das Weihnachtsland ist sehr kinder <b>freundlich</b> !	1 a. im Umgang mit anderen aufmerksam	Suffix: drückt in Bildungen mit Substantiven aus, dass die beschriebene Sache für jemanden, etwas günstig, angenehm, für etwas gut geeignet ist	D	1	compound adjective	human feature	general	abstract resemblance
13	abrunden			1	Ein täglich wechselndes Programm [...] sowie ein Weihnachtsbriefkasten [...] <b>runden</b> diesen individuellen Markt <b>ab</b>	1. rund machen, in runde Form bringen	4a. (eine Sache) durch Hinzufügen von etwas ausgewogener, vollständiger machen	D	1	verb + broader context'	physical activity	abstract event	abstract resemblance
14	Reiz			1	die landschaftlichen <b>Reize</b> und die angenehme Stille in einer durch und durch natürlichen Winterkulisse	1. äußere oder innere Einwirkung auf den Organismus, z. B. auf die Sinnesorgane, die eine bestimmte, nicht vom	2a. von jemandem oder einer Sache ausgehende verlockende Wirkung; Antrieb,	D	1	noun + broader context'	physical event	psychology/ feelings	abstract resemblance

						Willen gesteuerte Reaktion auslöst	Anziehungskraft b. Zauber, Anmut, Schönheit, Charme							
15	genießen				1	in einer durch und durch natürlichen Winterkulisse <b>genießen</b> können.	1. von einer Speise, einem Getränk etwas zu sich nehmen	2. mit Freude, Genuss, Wohlbehagen auf sich wirken lassen	D	1	verb + object'	food & gastronomy	general	experiential correlation
16	warten				1	Die Loipen <b>warten</b> auf die „Spurenzieher“.	1a. dem Eintreffen einer Person, einer Sache, eines Ereignisses entgegensehen, wobei einem oft die Zeit besonders langsam zu vergehen scheint	bereitstehen, benutzungsfähig sein	D, o		verb + subject'	human activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
17	Spurenzieher				1	Die Loipen warten auf die „ <b>Spurenzieher</b> “.	Person, die Spuren in formbarem Material zieht	Skifahrer	o		noun + broader context''	physical activity	person	reduction to important aspect
18	liegen				1	Das Skigebiet Vogelskopf <b>liegt</b> etwas abseits der Schwarzwaldhochstraße	1a. eine waagerechte Lage einnehmen; in ruhender, [fast] waagerechter Lage, Stellung sein;	4a. an einem Platz (in der Landschaft, in einem Gebäude o. Ä.) zu finden sein; seine (feste) [geografische] Lage haben	D	1	verb + broader context'	physical activity	object feature: physical	physical resemblance
19	Stützpunkt				1	Die 4 Schanzen im Adler-Skistadion sind Olympia-Trainings <b>stützpunkt</b> der Skispringer	1. Punkt, an dem eine Last auf etwas ruht	2. zentrale Stelle, die als wichtiger Ausgangspunkt bestimmter Aktionen dient	D	1	compound noun	physical feature	place	abstract resemblance
20	bieten				1	Auf 9,3 km <b>bieten</b> sich beim Wasserfallsteig Urach herrliche Ausblicke	1a. anbieten, zur Verfügung, in Aussicht stellen	4b. sich zeigen	D	1	verb + subject'	human activity	object feature: physical	abstract resemblance
21	begleiten				1	<b>Begleitet</b> von einem romantischen Bach führt der Wasserfallsteig zu den Wasserfällen	1a. mit jemandem, etwas zur Gesellschaft, zum Schutz mitgehen, mitfahren; an einen bestimmten Ort bringen, führen	(gehoben) gleichzeitig, eng verbunden mit etwas vorhanden sein, auftreten; mit etwas einhergehen	D	1	verb + broader context'	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
22	führen				1	Begleitet von einem romantischen Bach <b>führt</b> der Wasserfallsteig zu den Wasserfällen	1a. jemandem den Weg zeigen und dabei mit ihm gehen, ihn geleiten;	7b. in einer bestimmten Richtung verlaufen, eine bestimmte Richtung auf ein Ziel hin nehmen	D	1	verb + subject'	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
23	locken				1	Herrliche Aussichten <b>locken</b> auf	1a. (ein Tier) mit	2. jemandem sehr	D	1	verb +	physical	object	personification

					die Wiesenrunde	bestimmten Rufen, Lauten, durch ein Lockmittel veranlassen, sich zu nähern	gut, angenehm erscheinen und äußerst anziehend auf ihn wirken			broader context'	activity	feature: abstract	+ change of meaning AR
24	komponieren			1	zu einem toll <b>komponierten</b> Weg	1. eine Komposition, Kompositionen schaffen (= Musik)	2. (bildungssprachlich) nach bestimmten Gesichtspunkten [kunstvoll] gestalten	D	1	verb + broader context'	arts	general	generalisation AR
25	wunderbar	1			mit Trauerlebnis und <b>wunderbarem</b> Naturschutzgebiet.	1. wie ein Wunder erscheinend	2a. (emotional) überaus schön, gut und deshalb Bewunderung, Entzücken o. Ä. hervorrufend	D	1	adjective + broader context'	religion	psychology/feelings	abstract resemblance
26	Rund-	1			Es ist ein <b>Rund</b> wanderweg, der an Stück in 10 Etappen ... erwandert werden kann	1. runde Form einer Sache; rund = im Kreis, rings	etwas das dort aufhört, wo es angefangen hat	D, o		compound noun	shape	abstract feature	abstract resemblance
27	zählen			1	<b>zählt</b> der Albsteig zu den Klassikern unter den Wanderwegen.	1. eine Zahlenfolge [im Geiste] hersagen	4b. zu etwas, zu einer bestimmten Kategorie gehören; rechnen	D	1	verb + preposition'	abstract activity	object feature: abstract	abstract resemblance
28	Klassiker			1	<b>zählt</b> der Albsteig zu den <b>Klassikern</b> unter den Wanderwegen.	1. Vertreter der Klassik	3. klassisches Werk; etwas, was klassisch geworden ist: klassisch = 4. herkömmlich, in bestimmter Weise traditionell festgelegt und so als Maßstab geltend	D	1	noun + broader context''	humanities	general	generalisation AR
29	Dach			1	Vom <b>Dach</b> der Schwäbischen Alb führt der Donaueglandweg in das Durchbruchstal	1. oberer Abschluss eines Hauses, eines Gebäudes, [...]	höchsten Stellen eines Berges/ einer Gebirgskette	D, o		compound noun	architecture	nature	abstract resemblance
30	zeigen			1	Durch die Höhen und Täler des Odenwalds <b>zeigt</b> der Nibelungensteig traumhafte Bilderbuchpanoramen,	1. mit dem Finger, Arm eine bestimmte Richtung angeben, ihn auf jemanden, etwas, auf die Stelle, an der sich jemand, etwas befindet, richten	3a. (gehoben) sehen lassen, zum Vorschein kommen lassen; sichtbar werden lassen	D	1	verb + subject'	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
31	Meer			1	<b>Felsenmeere</b>	1. sich weithin ausdehnende, das Festland umgebende	Felsenmeer: Substantiv, Neutrum - auf einem Bergrücken	D	1	compound noun	nature	nature	physical resemblance

						Wassermasse, die einen großen Teil der Erdoberfläche bedeckt	oder an einem Hang anzutreffende größere Zahl von Felsblöcken							
32	kurz		1			Trotz Zusicherung freien Geleits wurde er <b>kurz</b> nach seiner Ankunft gefangen genommen	1a. eine [vergleichsweise] geringe räumliche Ausdehnung, Länge in einer Richtung aufweisend	2a. eine [vergleichsweise] geringe zeitliche Ausdehnung, Dauer aufweisend	D	1	adverb + broader context'	space	time	modelling in space EC
33	entdecken				1	der geht mit dem Smartphone auf Spurensuche und <b>entdeckt</b> die Konzilszeit mit Hilfe einer App	2a. (etwas Verborgenes, Gesuchtes) finden, ausfindig machen	etwas kennenlernen, das neu für einen ist	D, o		verb + broader context'	object	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
34	krönen				1	Von der mehrfach zum Opernhaus des Jahres <b>gekrönt</b> Staatsoper	1. durch Aufsetzen der Krone in Amt und Würde eines Königs/einer Königin oder eines Kaisers/einer Kaiserin einsetzen	mit einem Titel/ Preis auszeichnen	D, o		verb + object'	human activity	object feature: abstract	abstract resemblance
35	treffen				1	Baden-Württemberg <b>trifft</b> stets den richtigen Ton!	1a. (mit einem Schlag, Stoss, Wurf, Schuss) jemanden, etwas erreichen und mit mehr oder weniger grosser Wucht berühren [und dabei verletzen, beschädigen]	5. (in Bezug auf etwas, wofür Kenntnisse oder ein sicherer Instinkt o. Ä. Nötig sind) [heraus]finden, erkennen, erraten	D	1	verb + object'	object	abstract concept	modelling in space AR
36	Ton				1	Baden-Württemberg trifft stets den richtigen <b>Ton</b> !	1a. vom Gehör wahrgenommene gleichmäßige Schwingung der Luft, die (im Unterschied zum Klang) keine Obertöne aufweist	den generellen Geschmack	D, o		noun + broader context''	arts	general	abstract resemblance
37	honorieren				1	[Staatsoper] 250.000 Besucher pro Saison honorieren das:	1a. ein Honorar o. Ä. für eine Leistung zahlen	2a. anerkennen, würdigen, belohnen, durch Gegenleistungen abgelden	D	1	verb + object'	material wealth/ value	abstract activity	abstract resemblance
38	stehen				1	das in der Tradition John Crankos stehende Stuttgarter Ballett	1a. sich in aufrechter Körperhaltung befinden; aufgerichtet sein, mit seinem Körpergewicht auf den Füßen ruhen	in einem Stil arbeiten	D, o		verb + broader context'	space	abstract concept	modelling in space AR
39	fest	1				Seit der Eröffnung 1998 ist es eine <b>feste</b> kulturelle Institution:	1. von harter, kompakter Beschaffenheit, nicht	6. ständig, geregelt, gleichbleibend,	D	1	adjective + broader	physical feature	abstract feature	abstract resemblance

						flüssig oder gasförmig	konstant			context'			
40	aufnehmen			1	Dabei <b>nimmt</b> das Wasser Mineralstoffe <b>auf</b> , wird gefiltert und gereinigt	1a. vom Boden zu sich heraufnehmen	7. in sich hineinnehmen und als chemischen Stoff verarbeiten	D	1	verb + subject'	physical activity	physical event	personification + change of meaning AR
41	rundum		1		In Wellness Stars zertifizierten Häusern können Gäste sich <b>rundum</b> wohlfühlen,	1. in der Runde, ringsum, im Umkreis, rundherum	vollkommen	D, o		adverb + broader context'	space	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
42	Herausforderung			1	die <b>Herausforderungen</b> des Alltags	1. Aufforderung zum Kampf	4. Anlass, tätig zu werden; Aufgabe, die einen fordert	D	1	compound noun	physical activity	general	generalisation EC
43	stärken			1	[...] können Gäste [...] ihre Lebensgeister für die Herausforderungen des Alltags <b>stärken</b>	1a. Stark machen; kräftigen; die Körperlichen Kräfte wiederherstellen	2. die Wirksamkeit von etwas verbessern, wirkungsvoller machen	D	1	verb + object'	physical activity	abstract activity	abstract resemblance
44	Siegel			1	Das <b>Siegel</b> Wellness Stars steht seit 2003/2004 für unabhängig geprüfte Qualität	1. Stempel zum Abdruck, Eindruck eines Zeichens in weiche Masse, zum Siegeln; Petschaft	Zertifikat	D, o		compound noun	object	abstract concept	reduction to important aspect
45	Urteil			1	, so das <b>Urteil</b> der Stiftung Warentest.	(Rechtssprache) (im Zivil- oder Strafprozess) richterliche Entscheidung, die einen Rechtsstreit in einer Instanz ganz oder teilweise abschließt	prüfende, kritische Beurteilung [durch einen Sachverständigen], abwägende Stellungnahme	D	1	noun + broader context''	abstract concept	general	generalisation AR
46	hoch	1			Neun dieser 53 Gütesiegel kamen in die <b>höchste</b> Qualitätsstufe	1. von beträchtlicher Höhe, Ausdehnung in vertikaler Richtung	2b. einen Wert im oberen Bereich einer [gedachten] Skala kennzeichnend	D	1	compound adjective	height	quality	experiential correlation
47	erfüllen			1	Diese Gütesiegel <b>erfüllen</b> nicht nur die hohen Ansprüche	1a. [sich ausbreitend einen Raum allmählich] ganz und gar [aus]füllen	3. einer Verpflichtung, Erwartung, Forderung o. Ä. ganz und gar nachkommen, völlig entsprechen	D	1	verb + object'	physical activity	object feature: abstract	modelling in space AR
48	lebhaft	1			Das Theater Freiburg genießt als Herzstück einer <b>lebhaften</b> Theater- und Kabarettzene einen ausgezeichneten Ruf.	1a. (in den Lebensäußerungen) voller Bewegung, Temperament erkennen lassend, lebendig	1b. Rege	D	1	adjective + broader context'	living being	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
49	Szene			1	Das Theater Freiburg genießt als Herzstück einer lebhaften Theater- und Kabarett <b>szen</b> e einen ausgezeichneten Ruf.	DWDS: 2. Schauplatz der Handlung eines Theaterstücks, Bühne	D: 4. charakteristischer Bereich für bestimmte	S, D	1	compound noun	arts	human activity	abstract resemblance

						Aktivitäten							
50	Ruf			1	Das Theater Freiburg genießt als Herzstück einer lebhaften Theater- und Kabarettzene einen ausgezeichneten <b>Ruf</b> .	1. laute, kurze Äußerung, mit der jemand einen andern über eine [weite] Entfernung erreichen will	5. Beurteilung, die jemand, etwas von der Allgemeinheit erfährt; Meinung, die die Allgemeinheit von jemandem, etwas hat	D	1	noun + broader context"	physical activity	abstract concept	experiential correlation
51	Begleiter			1	Als idealer <b>Begleiter</b> wird Weißwein serviert	1. jemand, der jemanden, etwas begleitet	O etwas, das mit etwas anderem kombiniert wird	D, o		noun + broader context"	person	food & gastronomy	personification + change of meaning AR
52	Punkt			1	als Ausgangspunkt für Tagesausflüge in den Schwarzwald.	1. kleiner [kreisrunder] Fleck, Tupfen	2a. Stelle, [geografischer] Ort	D	1	compound noun	shape	place	experiential correlation
53	Netz			1	ist an das öffentliche Verkehrsnetz angebunden	1a. Gebilde aus geknüpften Fäden, Schnüren o. Ä., deren Verknüpfungen meist rautenförmige Maschen bilden	2a. System von netzartig verzweigten, dem Verkehr dienenden Linien oder Anlagen	D	1	compound noun	object	transport	abstract resemblance
54	anbinden			1	ist an das öffentliche Verkehrsnetz <b>angebunden</b>	1. mit einer Leine, Schnur o. Ä. an etwas befestigen, festmachen	3. (Verkehrswesen) einen Ort, Bereich, einen Verkehrsweg o. Ä. mit anderen verbinden; eine Verkehrsverbindung herstellen	D	1	verb + broader context'	physical activity	object feature: abstract	abstract resemblance
55	Gleitzeit			1	"Ich zeige dir <b>Gleitzeit</b> auf Bayerisch." [said by ski-champion, with a photo showing him on skis]	1. (bei gleitender Arbeitszeit) Zeitspanne außerhalb der Fixzeit, in der der Arbeitnehmer Arbeitsbeginn bzw. -ende frei wählen kann	Zeit, um mit den Langlaufskiern durch die Landschaft zu gleiten	D, o		noun + broader context"	economy	sports	Inverse metaphor Pun AR
56	Urgestein			1	Alfons Dorner ist ein <b>Urgestein</b> des Wintersports	1. Gestein [vulkanischen Ursprungs], das ungefähr in seiner ursprünglichen Form erhalten ist	Person, die schon sehr lange in etwas tätig ist	D, o		noun + broader context"	geography	person	abstract resemblance
57	niederlassen			1	Vor 55 Jahren <b>lässt</b> er sich in Reit im Winkl <b>nieder</b> .	2. sich setzen	3. sich irgendwo ansiedeln, [mit einem Geschäft o. Ä.] ansässig werden; sich etablieren	D	1	verb + broader context'	physical activity	physical activity	abstract resemblance
58	Ausstieg			1	Nach seiner Laufbahn bei der Bayerischen Polizei und <b>Ausstieg</b> aus dem aktiven Leistungssport	1a. das Heraussteigen aus etwas	2c. das Aussteigen. (Jargon) (meist ziemlich abrupt) seinen Beruf, seine	D	1	noun + broader context"	physical activity	abstract concept	modelling in space AR

							gesellschaftlichen Bindungen o. Ä. aufgeben (um von allen Zwängen frei zu sein)						
59	Pionier			1	Denn Alfons Dorner leistet auch hier <b>Pionier</b> arbeit.	1. (Militär) Soldat der Pioniertruppen	2. (bildungssprachlich) jemand, der auf einem bestimmten Gebiet bahnbrechend ist; Wegbereiter	D	1	compound noun	military	general	generalisation AR
60	beheimatet	1			Seit 1653 in München beheimatet, trägt die Bayerische Staatsoper [...] zum Ruf Münchens als internationale Kulturstadt maßgeblich bei	seine Heimat habend, zu Hause seiend ; Heimat = Land, Landesteil oder Ort, in dem man [geboren und] aufgewachsen ist oder sich durch ständigen Aufenthalt zu Hause fühlt (oft als gefühlsbetonter Ausdruck enger Verbundenheit gegenüber einer bestimmten Gegend)	seine Heimat habend, zu Hause seiend; Heimat = Ursprungs-, Herkunftsland eines Tiers, einer Pflanze, eines Erzeugnisses, einer Technik o. Ä.	D	1	adjective + broader context'	person	institution	personification + change of meaning AR
61	fressen			1	des Wassers, welches sich in tausenden von Jahren seinen Weg durch die Felsen gefressen [...] hinterlassen hat.	1a. (von Tieren) feste Nahrung zu sich nehmen	2d. kontinuierlich zerstörend in etwas hinein-, durch etwas hindurchdringen	D	1	verb + subject'	animal	object	personification + change of meaning AR
62	hinterlassen			1	des Wassers, welches sich in tausenden von Jahren seinen Weg durch die Felsen <b>gefressen</b> und imposante Schluchten hinterlassen <b>hat</b> .	1a. nach dem Tode zurücklassen	3. durch vorausgehende Anwesenheit, Einwirkung verursachen, hervorrufen; als Wirkung zurücklassen	D	1	verb + subject'	human activity	physical activity	personification + change of meaning AR
63	Erbe			1	die zum UNESCO Welterbe zählende Wieskirche	1a. Vermögen, das jemand bei seinem Tod hinterlässt und das in den Besitz einer gesetzlich dazu berechtigten Person oder Institution übergeht	Welterbe = Gesamtheit der in einer Liste der UNESCO geführten, besonders erhaltenswerten Kultur- und Naturdenkmäler der Welt	D	1	compound noun	material wealth/ value	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
64	Paradies			1	machen das Zugspitzland zu einem wahren Urlaubsparadies.	1a. (Religion) (nach dem Alten Testament) als eine Art schöner Garten mit	Urlaubsparadies = 1. idealer Urlaubsort	D	1	compound noun	religion	place	abstract resemblance

						üppigem Pflanzenwuchs und friedlicher Tierwelt gedachte Stätte des Friedens, des Glücks und der Ruhe, die den ersten Menschen von Gott als Lebensbereich gegeben wurde; Garten Eden								
65	rund		1			Rund 400 km umfasst das gut ausgeschilderte Wanderwegenetz	2. rings, im Kreise	1. (von etwas Gezähltem, Gemessenem) ungefähr, etwa	1	1	adverb + broader context'	physical feature	abstract feature	abstract resemblance
66	umfassen				1	Rund 400 km <b>umfasst</b> das gut ausgeschilderte Wanderwegenetz	1. mit Händen oder Armen umschließen	3a. haben, bestehen aus	D	1	verb + subject'	physical activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
67	Genuss				1	Während <b>Genuss</b> radler im Loisachtal die prachtvolle Landschaft genießen,	1. das Genießen = 1. von einer Speise, einem Getränk etwas zu sich nehmen	1. das Genießen = mit Freude, Genuss, Wohlbehagen auf sich wirken lassen	D	1	compound noun	food & gastronomy	general	experiential correlation
68	Seele				1	Die romantische <b>Seele</b> Bayerns	1. Gesamtheit dessen, was das Fühlen, Empfinden, Denken eines Menschen ausmacht; Psyche	Charakterisiert den Ort Füssen als Sinnbild der Vorliebe der Bayern fürs Romantische	D, o		noun + broader context''	person	place	personification + change of meaning AR
69	Zusammentreffen				1	Das <b>Zusammentreffen</b> mehrerer als „Qualitätsweg Wanderbares Deutschland“ zertifizierter Fernwanderwege [...]bildet [...] "Drehkreuz des Wanderns"	1. Begegnung, Treffen	die überschneidung	D, o		noun + broader context''	person	object	personification + change of meaning AR
70	bilden				1	Kammweg, [...], <b>bildet</b> gemeinsam mit dem traditionsreichen Rennsteig ein in ganz Deutschland einzigartiges „Drehkreuz des Wanderns“.	1a. [in bestimmter Weise] formend hervorbringen, machen	4a. [durch Form, Gestalt, Anordnung, Organisation] darstellen, ausmachen	D	1	verb + subject'	physical activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
71	reich	1				bildet gemeinsam mit dem traditions <b>reichen</b> Rennsteig ein in ganz Deutschland einzigartiges „Drehkreuz des Wanderns“	1. viel Geld und materielle Güter besitzend, Überfluss daran habend	2b. durch eine Fülle von etwas gekennzeichnet	D	1	compound adjective	material wealth/ value	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
72	Drehkreuz				1	Kammweg, [...], bildet gemeinsam mit dem traditionsreichen Rennsteig ein in ganz Deutschland	1. Vorrichtung an einem Durchgang, deren kreuzförmig angeordnete Arme gedreht werden	O: Verkehrsknotenpunkt für Wanderer	D, o		compound noun	transport	place	abstract resemblance

					einzigartiges „ <b>Drehkreuz</b> des Wanderns“.	müssen und nur jeweils einer Person das Passieren gestatten 2. Verkehrsknotenpunkt für Luftfahrzeuge; Luftfahrt-drehkreuz							
73	Brot			1	War früher die Arbeit als Flößer auf den Wasserwegen bis Amsterdam ein „hartes <b>Brot</b> “,	1a. aus Mehl, Wasser, Salz und Sauerteig oder Hefe durch Backen hergestellte Backware, die als Grundnahrungsmittel gilt	2. Lebensunterhalt	D	1	noun + broader context''	food & gastronomy	economy	reduction to important aspect
74	kommen			1	dass vorwiegend Produkte aus der Region auf den Wirtshaustisch <b>kommen</b> .	1a. sich auf ein Ziel hin bewegen [und dorthin gelangen]; anlangen, eintreffen	3. gebracht werden	D	1	verb + subject'	moving thing/ creature	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
75	wild	1			werden an diesen drei Abenden Klausen und "Bärbele" mit <b>wildem</b> Schellengeläut [...] herumtoben	1. nicht domestiziert; nicht kultiviert, nicht durch Züchtung verändert; wild lebend; wild wachsend	2b. unzivilisiert, nicht gesittet	D	1	adjective + noun	nature	human activity	abstract resemblance
76	Sensation			1	Er nutzte Dampfkraft und industriell gefertigte Trägerkonstruktionen: bautechnisch eine <b>Sensation</b>	2. Empfindung	1. unerwartetes, außergewöhnliches, aufsehenerregendes Ereignis (und die Nachricht darüber)	S	1	noun + broader context''	medicine	abstract concept	experiential correlation
77	stark		1		Im Krieg wurde das Museum <b>stark</b> zerstört	1a. viel Kraft besitzend, über genügend Kräfte verfügend;	7a. sehr ausgeprägt; in hohem Maße vorhanden, wirkend; von großem Ausmaß; sehr intensiv; sehr kräftig	D	1	adverb + broader context'	physical feature	abstract feature	experiential correlation
78	Sanierung			1	zehn Jahre dauerten der anschließende Wiederaufbau und die <b>Sanierung</b> durch den renommierten Architekten	1. (Fachsprache) Behandlung [bestimmter Körperstellen], durch die ein Krankheitsherd beseitigt oder ein Krankheitserreger abgetötet wird	2. Instandsetzung; modernisierende Umgestaltung durch Renovierung oder Abriss alter Gebäude sowie durch Neubau	D	1	noun + broader context''	medicine	architecture	personification + change of meaning AR
79	Galerie			1	Alte National <b>galerie</b>	1. langer, schmaler Gang	3. mit Kunstschätzen reichlich ausgestatteter Saal [übertragen] Kunstsammlung	S	1	compound noun	place	institution	physical resemblance
80	erheben			1	Wie ein antiker Tempel <b>erhebt</b>	2a. aus dem Liegen,	2c. hervorragen	D	1	verb +	physical	object	personification

					sich die Alte Nationalgalerie mit ihrer Treppenanlage über die Museumsinsel.	Sitzen oder Hocken hochkommen; aufstehen				subject'	activity	feature: physical	+ change of meaning AR
81	Einblick			1	<b>Einblicke</b> in den Untergrund Berlins	Blick in etw. Hinein	übertragen Einsicht in etw., Eindruck von etw.	S	1	noun + broader context''	physical activity	abstract event	experiential correlation
82	Bunker			1	In einem ehemaligen <b>Bunker</b> im U-Bahnhof Gesundbrunnen kann man auf vier Etagen alles über die verschiedensten Tunnel und unterirdischen Gänge Berlins erfahren:	1. großer Behälter zur Aufnahme von Massengütern (z. B. Kohle, Erz, Getreide)	2b [unterirdisch angelegter] Schutzraum für die Zivilbevölkerung im Krieg; Luftschutzbunker	D	1	noun + broader context''	object	person	physical resemblance
83	blind	1			die Bunkeranlagen in Berlins Untergrund, Bombenfunde und Munitionsbergung aber auch über Berlins Rohrpostsystem, Brauereien und <b>Blinde</b> Tunnel	1a. keine Sehkraft, kein Sehvermögen besitzend;	4a. nicht vollständig durchgeführt; nur angedeutet, vorgetäuscht O: kein Licht am anderen Ende einlassend	D	1	adjective + broader context'	person	object	experiential correlation
84	Kern			1	In Steinmauern eingefasst bilden rund 26 Hektar des ehemaligen Flugfeldes das Naturschutzgebiet, den <b>Kern</b> des Parks	1a. fester innerer Teil einer Frucht; [hartschaliger] Samen [in] einer Frucht	6a. wichtigster, zentraler Teil [als Basis, Ausgangspunkt für Erweiterung, weitere Entwicklung]; Zentrum	D	1	compound noun	plant	place	abstract resemblance
85	Einwanderer			1	etwa über „botanische <b>Einwanderer</b> “ wie die russische Hundskamille.	1. jemand, der in ein Land einwandert oder eingewandert ist; Immigrant	Pflanze, die ursprünglich aus einem anderen Land kommt	D, o		adjective + noun	person	plant	abstract resemblance
86	Grund			1	was ein <b>Grund</b> für die Festsetzung als Naturschutzgebiet war.	1a. Erdboden als Untergrund; Erdoberfläche, Boden	5. Umstand, Tatbestand o. Ä., durch den sich jemand bewegt fühlt, etwas Bestimmtes zu tun, oder der ein Ereignis oder einen anderen Tatbestand erklärt; Motiv, Beweggrund	D	1	noun + broader context''	object	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
87	gruppieren			1	Um das Naturschutzgebiet <b>gruppieren</b> sich die etwa 30 „Stadtkammern“	2. sich in bestimmter Weise formieren; sich in einer bestimmten Ordnung als Gruppe aufstellen, hinsetzen, lagern	in bestimmter Weise angeordnet sein	D, o		verb + subject'	human activity	object feature: physical	physical resemblance

88	Adresse			1	schönsten und exklusivsten Shopping- <b>Adressen</b> in Berlin.	1a. Angabe von jemandes Namen und Wohnung, Anschrift; Abkürzung: Adr.	Ort, Stelle, wo ein bestimmtes Produkt oder eine Dienstleistung angeboten wird	D, o		compound noun	abstract concept	place	specification AR
89	Bermuda-Dreieck			1	das <b>Bermuda-Dreieck</b> für Shopping-Victims.	Seegebiet südwestlich der Bermudainseln, in dem sich auf oft nur unbefriedigend geklärte Weise Schiffs- und Flugzeugunglücke häufen	Gebiet in dem Personen oder Dinge für gewisse Zeit oder ganz verschwinden	D, o		noun + broader context''	place	general	generalisation AR
90	Ketten			1	zahlreiche Boutiquen und Designerläden aber auch internationale Trend- <b>Ketten</b> wie American Apparell und Urban Outfitters.	1a. Reihe aus beweglich ineinandergefügten oder mit Gelenken verbundenen [Metall]gliedern	2d. Gesamtheit von gleichartigen und unter gleichem Namen geführten Betrieben, die sich an verschiedenen Orten befinden, aber zu demselben Unternehmen gehören	D	1	compound noun	object	economy	abstract resemblance
91	Auszeit			1	<b>Auszeit</b> buchen	1. Pause, Spielunterbrechung, die einer Mannschaft zusteht	Pause [von Alltag und Arbeit]	D, o		noun + broader context''	sports	general	generalisation AR
92	kommen			1	Der Winter <b>kommt</b> .	1a. sich auf ein Ziel hin bewegen [und dorthin gelangen]; anlangen, eintreffen	11. [langsam herankommend] eintreten, sich ereignen	D	1	verb + broader context'	space	time	modelling in space AR
93	kurz	1			Ein <b>Kurzurlaub</b> für die Sinne	1a. eine [vergleichsweise] geringe räumliche Ausdehnung, Länge in einer Richtung aufweisend	2a. eine [vergleichsweise] geringe zeitliche Ausdehnung, Dauer aufweisend	D	1	compound noun	space	time	modelling in space EC
94	Raum			1	buchbar im Reisezeitraum 01.11.-23.12.2015 und 03.01.-31.03.2016	3. in Länge, Breite und Höhe fest eingegrenzte Ausdehnung	Zeitraum: mehr oder weniger ausgedehnter, vom Wechsel der Ereignisse und Eindrücke, vom Verlauf der Geschehnisse erfüllter Teil der Zeit; Zeitabschnitt	D	1	compound noun	space	time	modelling in space AR
95	Welt			1	Erlebnis <b>welten</b> Brandenburgs	1. Erde, Lebensraum des Menschen	4. in sich geschlossener	D	1	compound noun	place	culture/ cultural	specification AR

							[Lebens]bereich; Sphäre					event	
96	stehen			1	<b>stehen</b> spannende Geschichten auf dem Programm	1a. sich in aufrechter Körperhaltung befinden; aufgerichtet sein, mit seinem Körpergewicht auf den Füßen ruhen	9. an einer bestimmten Stelle in schriftlicher oder gedruckter Form vorhanden sein	D	1	verb + broader context'	physical activity	object feature: abstract	modelling in space AR
97	Ensemble			1	die UNESCO-Welterbestätten Potsdams und das Schlösser <b>ensemble</b> Rheinsbergs	1. zusammengehörende, aufeinander abgestimmte Gruppe von Schauspielern, Tänzern, Sängern oder Orchestermusikern mit festem Engagement	3. (bildungssprachlich) [planvoll, wirkungsvoll gruppierte] Gesamtheit	D	1	compound noun	arts	general	generalisation AR
98	Wiege			1	oder die <b>Wiege</b> der Mark entdecken.	1. in der Form einem Kasten ähnliches Bettchen für Säuglinge	Entstehungsort	D, o		noun + broader context''	object	place	abstract resemblance
99	herrschen			1	Im November des vergangenen Jahres <b>herrschte</b> noch einmal Kalter Krieg auf der Glienicker Brücke.	1. Macht haben, Gewalt ausüben; regieren	2. in einer bestimmten, auffallenden Weise [allgemein] verbreitet, [fortdauernd] vorhanden, deutlich fühlbar sein	D	1	verb + subject'	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
100	drehen			1	In Jüterbog könnte jederzeit sofort ein Mittelalterfilm gedreht werden.	1a. im Kreis [teilweise] um seine Achse bewegen	3. (von Filmen o. Ä.) herstellen, machen	D	1	verb + object'	physical activity	arts	reduction to important aspect

### B.3. 100 examples from the metaphor analysis registers: Spanish sample corpus

As described in the methodology section (chapter 5), the register contained more information. However, due to spatial limitations, only the most relevant information has been included in this table.

Abbreviations: aj = adjective    av= adverb    Src = source    C?= Conventionalised? (1 = yes)    E = Etymonline    AR = abstract resemblance  
EC = experiential correlation

Abbreviations for sources of definitions: O = our own definition    R = Diccionario de la Real Academia Española

	Metaphor vehicle	Grammatical category				Context	Basic word sense	Word sense in context	Src	C?	Locus of semantic tension	Source Domain	Target Domain	Mapping scheme
		aj	av	n	v									
1	vértice			1		<b>Vértice</b> entre Europa y África y punto de encuentro del Océano Atlántico y el Mar Mediterráneo, ha sido codiciada a lo largo de los siglos por numerosas culturas [...].	1. m. Geom. Punto en que concurren los dos lados de un ángulo.	Punto en el que concurren dos continentes, punto de contacto	R, o		noun + broader context	geometry/ maths	geography	physical resemblance
2	punto			1		Vértice entre Europa y África y <b>punto</b> de encuentro del Océano Atlántico y el Mar Mediterráneo, ha sido codiciada a lo largo de los siglos por numerosas culturas [...].	1. m. Señal de dimensiones pequeñas, ordinariamente circular, que, por contraste de color o de relieve, es perceptible en una superficie.	15. m. Sitio, lugar.	R	1	compound noun	shape	place	experiential correlation
3	largo	1				ha sido codiciado a lo <b>largo</b> de los siglos por numerosas culturas	1. Que tiene longitud	7. Dicho de un período de tiempo: Subjetivamente prolongado. A lo largo de: durante	R	1	adjective + broader context	space	time	modelling in space AR
4	historia			1		desde que la historia es historia y aún mucho antes.	1. f. Narración y exposición de los acontecimientos pasados y dignos de memoria, sean públicos o privados.	4. f. Conjunto de los sucesos o hechos políticos, sociales, económicos, culturales, etc., de un pueblo o de una nación.	R	1	noun + broader context	arts	humanities	abstract resemblance

5	representar			1	El territorio andaluz <b>representa</b> el 17,3 % de España	1. tr. Hacer presente algo con palabras o figuras que la imaginación retiene.	ser, ocupar espacio	R, o		verb + broader context	abstract activity	object feature: physical	abstract resemblance
6	superior	1			El territorio andaluz representa el 17,3 % de España, con 87.268 km <sup>2</sup> de superficie y de extensión <b>superior</b> a países como Bélgica, Holanda, Dinamarca, Austria o Suiza.	1. adj. Dicho de una cosa: Que está más alta y en lugar preeminente respecto de otra.	2. adj. Que es más que algo o alguien en cualidad o cantidad.	R	1	adjective + broader context	height	size	experiential correlation
7	ir			1	La diversidad de paisajes <b>va</b> desde el cálido valle del Guadalquivir, a las frondosas sierras de media montaña	1. intr. Moverse de un lugar hacia otro apartado de la persona que habla.	extenderse	R	1	verb + subject	moving thing/ creature	abstract concept	modelling in space AR
8	Fuente			1	El río de Andalucía, el Guadalquivir, es <b>fuentes</b> de vida en su cruce transversal del territorio andaluz.	1. f. Manantial de agua que brota de la tierra.	7. f. Principio, fundamento u origen de algo.	R	1	compound noun	object	abstract concept	generalisation AR
9	albergar			1	El litoral andaluz, con sus casi 900 kms de longitud, <b>alberga</b> gran número de poblaciones y playas	1. tr. Dar albergue u hospedaje a alguien.	4. tr. Encerrar o contener algo.	R	1	verb + object	human activity	physical feature	personification + change of meaning AR
10	visitor			1	alberga gran número de poblaciones y playas que son la delicia de cuantos las <b>visitan</b> .	1. tr. Ir a ver a alguien en el lugar en que se halla.	2. tr. Ir a algún lugar, especialmente para conocerlo.	R	1	verb + object	person	place	personification + change of meaning AR
11	Puente			1	Andalucía es <b>puente</b> de unión entre dos continentes, África y Europa,	Construcción de piedra, ladrillo, madera, hierro, hormigón, etc., que se construye y forma sobre los ríos, fosos y otros sitios, para poder pasarlos.	conexión, elemento unificador y mediador	R, o		compound noun	object	abstract feature	abstract resemblance
12	union			1	Andalucía es puente de <b>unión</b> entre dos continentes, África y Europa,	2. f. Correspondencia y conformidad de una cosa con otra, en el sitio o composición.	3. f. Conformidad y concordia de los ánimos, voluntades o dictámenes.	R	1	noun + broader context	object	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
13	marcar			1	El límite norte está <b>marcado</b> por Sierra Morena	1. tr. Señalar con signos distintivos.	9. tr. Dividir espacios realmente, con hitos o señales de cualquier clase, o	R	1	verb + broader context	physical activity	physical feature	abstract resemblance

						dividirlos mentalmente.							
14	separar			1	El límite norte está marcado por Sierra Morena que <b>separa</b> la meseta castellana al norte y la depresión del Guadalquivir al sur.	1. Establecer distancia, o aumentarla, entre algo o alguien y una persona, animal, lugar o cosa que se toman como punto de referencia.	1. Establecer distancia, o aumentarla, entre algo o alguien y una persona, animal, lugar o cosa que se toman como punto de referencia.	R		verb + subject	physical activity	object feature: physical	personification + basic meaning
15	amparar			1	El vinagre de Jerez <b>amparado</b> por su propia Denominación de Origen se produce en el triángulo formado por Jerez de la Frontera, Sanlúcar de Barrameda y el Puerto de Santa María.	1. tr. Favorecer, proteger.	1. tr. Favorecer, proteger.	R		verb + broader context	human activity	humanities	personification + basic meaning
16	envejecimiento			1	Este vinagre está elaborado a partir de los vinos procedentes de las uvas del Marco y pueden ser de dos tipos según el <b>envejecimiento</b> que tengan:	1. m. Acción y efecto de envejecer o envejecerse.	por envejecimiento se entiende un lapso de tiempo relativo al almacenamiento en madera (Wikipedia sobre vinos)	R, o		noun + broader context	living being	chemistry	specification AR
17	regular			1	La Denominación de Origen que <b>regula</b> a las pasas de Málaga	2. tr. Ajustar, reglar o poner en orden algo	4. tr. Determinar las reglas o normas a que debe ajustarse alguien o algo.	R	1	verb + subject	physical activity	abstract activity	abstract resemblance
18	venir			1	La Denominación de Origen [...] le <b>viene</b> por sus características específicas de tamaño y el exquisito sabor, muy dulce y singular, de la variedad de la que proceden.	3. Dicho de una persona o de una cosa: Llegar a donde está quien habla.	12. Dicho de una cosa: Traer origen, proceder o tener dependencia de otra en lo físico o en lo moral.	R	1	verb + broader context	moving thing/ creature	abstract feature	personification + change of meaning AR
19	proceder			1	La Denominación de Origen [...] le viene por sus características específicas de tamaño y el exquisito sabor, muy dulce y singular,	Venir, haber salido de cierto lugar.	Dicho de una cosa: Obtenerse, nacer u originarse de otra, física o moralmente.	R	1	verb + broader context	physical activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR

					de la variedad de la que <b>proceden</b> .								
20	aptitude			1	Esta variedad tiene una triple <b>aptitud</b> : para vinificación, uva de mesa y pasificación.	1. f. Capacidad para operar competentemente en una determinada actividad.	2. f. Cualidad que hace que un objeto sea apto, adecuado o acomodado para cierto fin.	R	1	noun + broader context	human feature	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
21	comprender			1	zona que <b>comprende</b> los términos municipales de Manilva, Casares y Estepona.	1. tr. Abrazar, ceñir o rodear por todas partes algo.	2. tr. Contener o incluir en sí algo. U. t. c. prnl.	R	1	verb + broader context	physical activity	object feature: physical	abstract resemblance
22	poseer			1	Andalucía <b>posee</b> una tradición milenaria en el cultivo de la vid	1. tr. Dicho de una persona: Tener en su poder algo.	tener como característica	R, o		verb + object	object	abstract concept	reification AR
23	grande	1			vinos de <b>gran</b> prestigio y fama en todo el mundo	1. adj. Que supera en tamaño, <del>importancia, dotes, intensidad, etc.</del> , a lo común y regular.	1. adj. Que supera en <del>tamaño</del> , importancia, dotes, intensidad, etc., a lo común y regular.	R	1	adjective + noun	size	abstract feature	reification EC
24	impregnar			1	La repostería, <b>impregnada</b> de su herencia árabe, ofrece productos únicos	1. tr. Penetrar las partículas de un cuerpo en las de otro, fijándose por afinidades mecánicas o fisicoquímicas.	3. tr. Influir profundamente en algo o en alguien.	R	1	verb + broader context	physical feature	abstract feature	abstract resemblance
25	ofrecer			1	La repostería, impregnada de su herencia árabe, <b>ofrece</b> productos únicos	1. tr. Comprometerse a dar, hacer o decir algo.	4. tr. Presentar, manifestar, implicar.	R	1	verb + broader context	human activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
26	único	1			ofrece productos <b>únicos</b> , como las Tortas Chiclaneras, los alfajores y dulces navideños de Medina	1. adj. Solo y sin otro de su especie.	2. adj. singular (   extraordinario, excelente).	R	1	adjective + broader context	quantity	quality	experiential correlation
27	endulzar			1	Cada localidad le <b>endulzará</b> el paladar en sus rutas por la geografía gaditana.	1. tr. Hacer dulce algo.	1. tr. Hacer dulce algo.	R		verb + subject	physical activity	place	personification + basic meaning
28	cabecera	1			Córdoba, capital de la España musulmana, es <b>cabecera</b> de un territorio situado en el centro de la geografía andaluza	Parte más adelantada de un grupo de personas o cosas en movimiento.	12. f. Capital o población principal de un territorio o distrito.	R	1	adjective + broader context	space	quality	experiential correlation

29	remansar			1	El Guadalquivir, que se <b>remansa</b> en curso medio	1. tr. Hacer que algo se apacigüe o aquiete. Sus palabras remansaron la discusión.	2. tr. prnl. Dicho de la corriente de un líquido: Aquietarse o hacerse más lenta.	R	1	verb + subject	living being	nature	abstract resemblance
30	fertilizar			1	El Guadalquivir, [...], atraviesa su provincia de este a oeste y <b>fertiliza</b> una amplia vega	1. tr. Hacer que la tierra sea fértil o más fértil.	1. tr. Hacer que la tierra sea fértil o más fértil.	R		verb + subject	human activity	geography	personification + basic meaning
31	encrespar			1	Hacia el norte, la Campiña se <b>encrespa</b> y alcanza las últimas cimas de Sierra Morena	1. tr. Ensortijar, rizar algo, especialmente el cabello.	el terreno se levanta de manera irregular	R, o		verb + broader context	physical activity	physical feature	physical resemblance
32	alcanzar			1	Hacia el norte, la Campiña se encrespa y <b>alcanza</b> las últimas cimas de Sierra Morena	1. tr. Llegar a juntarse con alguien o algo que va delante.	12. intr. Llegar hasta cierto punto o término.	R	1	verb + object	physical activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
33	volver			1	Las temperaturas se <b>vuelven</b> más suaves	1. tr. Dar vuelta o vueltas a algo.	7. tr. Hacer que se mude o trueque alguien o algo de un estado o aspecto en otro. U. m. c. prnl.	R	1	verb + broader context	space	physical feature	modelling in space AR
34	suave	1			Las temperaturas se vuelven más <b>suaves</b>	1. adj. Liso y blando al tacto, sin tosquedad ni aspereza.	agradable, moderado	R, o		adjective + broader context	physical feature	abstract feature	experiential correlation
35	acogedor	1			disfrutar de la naturaleza, de una <b>acogedora</b> chimenea,	1. que sirve de refugio o albergue a alguien.	2. adj. Dicho de un sitio: Agradable por su ambientación, comodidad, tranquilidad, etc.	R	1	adjective + broader context	physical experience	abstract experience	experiential correlation
36	encrucijada			1	Aragón es una <b>encrucijada</b> mágica que te sorprenderá con su riqueza y variedad. Porque es naturaleza, es cultura y es sabor para todos los gustos.	1. f. Lugar en donde se cruzan dos o más calles o caminos.	mezcla de distintas cosas [significado sugerido por contexto, aunque de hecho en Aragón se cruzán autopistas y antiguas rutas de comerciantes]	R, o		noun + broader context	place	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
37	mágico	1			Aragón es una encrucijada <b>mágica</b> que te sorprenderá	1. adj. Perteneciente o relativo a la magia.	que cautiva	R, o		adjective + broader context	hypothetical experience	abstract experience	experiential correlation
38	riqueza			1	Aragón [...] te sorprenderá con su	1. f. Abundancia de bienes y cosas preciosas.	3. f. Abundancia relativa de cualquier	R	1	adjective + noun	material wealth/	quality	'generalisation AR

					riqueza y variedad		cosa.			value			
39	ser			1	Aragón [...]. Porque es naturaleza, es cultura y es sabor para todos los gustos.	1. copulat. U. para afirmar del sujeto lo que significa el atributo.	tiene mucho de, ofrece	R, o		verb + broader context	physical event	physical feature	reduction to important aspect
40	cercano	1			Y Aragón es también gente acogedora, noble y <b>cercana</b> ,	1. adj. Próximo, inmediato.	amable	R, o		adjective + broader context	physical feature	abstract experience	experiential correlation
41	reino			1	que hará que te sientas en casa, en tu propio <b>reino</b> .	1. m. Estado cuya organización política es una monarquía.	estado de libertad, de pocas limitaciones	R, o		adjective + noun	hypothetical experience	abstract experience	experiential correlation
42	mezcla			1	Si algo caracteriza a Aragón es su situación estratégica y ser tierra de paso y de <b>mezcla</b> de culturas.	1. f. Acción y efecto de mezclar o mezclarse. = 1. tr. Juntar, unir, incorporar algo con otra cosa, confundiéndolos.	1. f. Acción y efecto de mezclar o mezclarse. = 1. tr. Juntar, unir, incorporar algo con otra cosa, confundiéndolos.	R		compound noun	object	abstract concept	reification AR
43	ver			1	todo el Pirineo y las sierras ibéricas <b>han visto</b> florecer iniciativas privadas	1. tr. Percibir con los ojos algo mediante la acción de la luz.	14. tr. Dicho de un lugar: Ser escenario de un acontecimiento.	R	1	verb + subject	physical activity	place	personification + change of meaning AR
44	florecer			1	todo el Pirineo y las sierras ibéricas han visto <b>florecer</b> iniciativas privadas	1. intr. Echar flor.	2. intr. Dicho de una persona o de una cosa, incluso abstracta, como la justicia, las ciencias, etc.: Prosperar, crecer en riqueza o reputación.	R	1	verb + object	plant	economy	abstract resemblance
45	spectacular	1			Todo ello en lugares <b>espectaculares</b> de nuestras sierras y montañas	1. adj. Que tiene caracteres propios de espectáculo público. Espectáculo = 1. m. Función o diversión pública celebrada en un teatro, en un circo o en cualquier otro edificio o lugar en que se congrega la gente para presenciarla.	2. adj. Aparatoso u ostentoso.	R	1	adjective + broader context	human activity	object feature: abstract	experiential correlation
46	raqueta			1	senderismo, esquí telemark, <b>raquetas</b> de nieve, esquí de montaña e incluso mushing, o trineos con perros.	1. f. Instrumento formado por un mango y una superficie oval, generalmente un bastidor con una red de cuerdas tensadas, que se emplea para gopear la pelota o el volante en juegos como el tenis, el bádminton, el pimpón, etc.	5. f. Objeto similar a una raqueta, que se pone en los pies para andar por la nieve	R	1	compound noun	sports	object	physical resemblance

47	mayor	1			para disfrutar con <b>mayor</b> seguridad	1. adj. Que excede a algo en cantidad <del>o</del> <del>calidad</del>	1. adj. Que excede a algo en <del>cantidad</del> <del>o</del> <del>calidad</del>	R	1	adjective + noun	quantity	quality	experiential correlation
48	disfrutar			1	Aragón <b>disfruta</b> de una variedad de paisajes sorprendente	1. tr. Percibir o gozar los productos y utilidades de algo.	tener la ventaja de tener	R, o		verb + subject	human activity	physical feature	personification + change of meaning AR
49	proporcionar			1	el Prepirineo es una sucesión visual de parajes espectaculares que nos <b>proporciona</b> una grata experiencia.	1. tr. Disponer y ordenar algo con la debida correspondencia en sus partes.	3. tr. Poner a disposición de alguien lo que necesita o le conviene. (o: ser la causa de algo)	R	1	verb + subject	human activity	physical feature	personification + change of meaning AR
50	parque			1	<b>Parque</b> Natural de la Sierra y Cañones de Guara	2. m. Espacio cercado, con vegetación, destinado a recreo o caza, generalmente inmediato a un palacio o a una población.	3. m. Espacio natural, legalmente protegido que, por su belleza, o por la singularidad de su fauna y flora, posee valor ecológico y cultural.	R	1	compound noun	nature	nature	specification PR
51	albergar			1	Este espacio recibe su nombre de la sierra más importante que <b>alberga</b> , la Sierra de Guara	1. tr. Dar albergue u hospedaje a alguien.	4. tr. Encerrar o contener algo.	R	1	verb + subject	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
52	viajar			1	En Dinópolis Teruel, podrás <b>viajar</b> hasta el Big Bang	1. intr. Trasladarse de un lugar a otro, generalmente distante, por cualquier medio de locomoción.	desplazarse en el tiempo	R, o		verb + broader context	space	time	modelling in space AR
53	surgir			1	y <b>surgieron</b> las primeras formas de vida	1. intr. Dicho del agua: Surtir, brotar hacia arriba.	2. intr. Aparecer o manifestarse, brotar.	R	1	verb + broader context	space	time	modelling in space AR
54	forma			1	podrás [...] comprobar cómo se formó nuestro planeta y surgieron las primeras <b>formas</b> de vida	1. f. Configuración externa de algo.	organismo vivo	R, o	1	compound noun	shape	living being	specification AR
55	extinción			1	y te asombrarás con el increíble mundo en el que vivieron los dinosaurios hasta su <b>extinción</b> .	1. f. Acción y efecto de extinguir o extinguirse. = 1. tr. Hacer que cese el fuego o la luz.	1. f. Acción y efecto de extinguir o extinguirse. = 2. tr. Hacer que cesen o se acaben del todo ciertas cosas que desaparecen gradualmente.	R	1	noun + broader context	physical activity	physical event	abstract resemblance
56	recorrer			1	<b>Recorrerás</b> en barca los últimos 65	1. tr. Atravesar un espacio o lugar en toda su extensión o longitud.	atravesar un espacio de tiempo	R, o		verb + object	space	time	modelling in space AR

					millones de años								
57	llegada			1	desde la desaparición de los dinosaurios hasta la <b>llegada</b> del Homo Sapiens.	1. f. Acción y efecto de llegar a un sitio. Llegar = Alcanzar el fin o término de un desplazamiento.	principio de la existencia	R, o		verb + broader context	space	time	modelling in space AR
58	atrapar			1	y quedarás <b>atrapado</b> por millones de sensaciones en el cine 3D	1. tr. Coger a quien huye o va de prisa.	impresionar	R, o		verb + broader context	physical experience	abstract experience	experiential correlation
59	emplear			1	De la sencillez de los materiales <b>empleados</b> en su construcción, los artesanos mudéjares supieron extraer bellas creaciones	1. tr. Ocupar a alguien, encargándole un negocio, comisión o puesto.	4. tr. Gastar, consumir.	R	1	verb + object	person	object	personification + change of meaning AR
60	extraer			1	De la sencillez de los materiales empleados en su construcción, los artesanos mudéjares supieron <b>extraer</b> bellas creaciones	1. tr. sacar (   poner algo fuera de donde estaba).	o: crear algo a partir de algo	R,o		verb + object	object	abstract concept	reification AR
61	porte			1	varias casas de porte aristocrático	3. m. Presencia o aspecto de una persona.	Presencia o aspecto de un objeto	R, o		noun + broader context	human feature	object feature: physical	abstract resemblance
62	encanto			1	más que <b>encanto</b> tienen un enorme poder de seducción	Acción y efecto de someter a poderes mágicos.	2. m. Cualidad o conjunto de cualidades que hacen que una persona o cosa sea muy atractiva o agradable.	R	1	noun + broader context	hypothetical experience	abstract experience	physical resemblance
63	seducción			1	más que encanto tienen un enorme poder de <b>seducción</b>	1. Acción de seducir = 1. tr. Persuadir a alguien con argucias o halagos para algo, frecuentemente malo.	3. tr. Embargar o cautivar el ánimo a alguien.	R	1	compound noun	human activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
64	sabor			1	el pueblo conserva todo el <b>sabor</b> medieval que le dan sus seis magníficas iglesias	1. m. Sensación que ciertos cuerpos producen en el órgano del gusto.	ambiente	R, o		adjective + noun	physical experience	abstract experience	abstract resemblance
65	dar			1	el pueblo conserva todo el sabor medieval que le <b>dan</b> sus seis magníficas	1. tr. donar.	23. tr. Causar, ocasionar, mover	R	1	verb + preposition +	physical activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR

					iglesias								
66	descubrir			1	Cantabria- <b>Descúbrela</b>	2. tr. Destapar lo que está tapado o cubierto.	5. tr. Venir en conocimiento de algo que se ignoraba.	R	1	verb + object	physical activity	abstract activity	abstract resemblance
67	dotación			1	es una zona muy turística, [...], con abundantes <b>dotaciones</b> hosteleras y	1. f. Acción y efecto de dotar. = 1. tr. Constituir dote a la mujer que va a contraer matrimonio o a profesar en alguna orden religiosa.	6. tr. Equipar, proveer a una cosa de algo que la mejora.	R	1	adjective + noun	human activity	object feature: physical	generalisation AR
68	animado	1			dotaciones hosteleras y largos paseos muy <b>animados</b> los fines de semana	1. adj. Dotado de alma.	3. adj. Dicho de un lugar: concurrido.	R	1	adjective + broader context	abstract feature	physical feature	personification + change of meaning AR
69	conservar			1	La zona <b>conserva</b> un gran atractivo paisajístico, marcado por el encuentro entre el mar y los acantilados.	1. tr. Mantener o cuidar de la permanencia o integridad de algo o de alguien	1. tr. Mantener o cuidar de la permanencia o integridad de algo o de alguien	R		verb + subject	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + basic meaning AR
70	experimentar			1	Los valles del Asón, Soba y Ruesga [...] <b>están experimentando</b> un comedido auge	1. tr. Probar y examinar prácticamente la virtud y propiedades de algo.	3. tr. Dicho de una cosa: Recibir una modificación, cambio o mudanza.	R	1	verb + subject	physical activity	abstract experience	abstract resemblance
71	implantación			1	comedido auge debido a la <b>implantación</b> del turismo rural	1. f. Acción y efecto de implantar = 1. tr. Plantar, encajar, injertar.	2. tr. Establecer y poner en ejecución nuevas doctrinas, instituciones, prácticas o costumbres	R	1	noun + broader context	plant	economy	abstract resemblance
72	reserva			1	La <b>Reserva</b> Natural de las Marismas de Santoña [...] es un santuario de la naturaleza.	1. f. Guarda o custodia que se hace de algo, o prevención de ello para que sirva a su tiempo	10. f. Espacio natural regulado legalmente para la conservación de especies botánicas y zoológicas	R	1	compound noun	object	nature	specification AR
73	santuario			1	La Reserva Natural de las Marismas de Santoña [...] es un <b>santuario</b> de la naturaleza.	1. m. Templo en que se venera la imagen o reliquia de un santo de especial devoción.	lugar que por su belleza e importancia ecológica merece veneración	R, o		compound noun	religion	nature	abstract resemblance
74	seguir			1	En el interior, <b>siguiendo</b> el curso del río Miera, se encuentra Liérganes, una villa con	1. tr. Ir después o detrás de alguien.	transcurrir paralelo a o coincidir con	R, o		verb + object	moving thing/ creature	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR

					preciosos rincones								
75	precioso	1			En el interior, siguiendo el curso del río Miera, se encuentra Liérganes, una villa con <b>preciosos</b> rincones	2. adj. De mucho valor o de elevado coste.	1. adj. Excelente, exquisito, primoroso y digno de estimación y aprecio.	R	1	adjective + noun	material wealth/ value	quality	experiential correlation
76	contar			1	<b>Cuenta</b> con diversas casas nobles	1. tr. Numerar o computar las cosas considerándolas como unidades homogéneas.	10. intr. Tener, disponer de una cualidad o de cierto número de personas o cosas.	R	1	verb + preposition +	abstract activity	object feature: physical	abstract resemblance
77	dar			1	Cuenta con diversas casas nobles que [...] <b>dan</b> una buena muestra de la arquitectura civil montañesa.	1. tr. donar.	o: son	R, o		verb + preposition +	physical activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
78	joya			1	cabe destacar la iglesia de Santa María del Puerto (siglo XIV) en Santoña, y la de Santa María en Bareyo, pequeña <b>joya</b> del románico montañés.	1. f. Adorno de oro, plata o platino, con perlas o piedras preciosas o sin ellas, usado especialmente por las mujeres.	4. f. Cosa o persona ponderada, de mucha valía.	R	1	noun + broader context	material wealth/ value	quality	abstract resemblance
79	foco			1	influencias de Flandes -pintura- y de Las Indias -marfiles filipinos, [...]-, así como de los <b>focos</b> productores castellanos	1. m. Lámpara eléctrica de luz muy potente concentrada en una dirección.	2. m. Lugar real o imaginario en que está como reconcentrado algo con toda su fuerza y eficacia, y desde el cual se propaga o ejerce influencia.	R	1	adjective + noun	object	place	abstract resemblance
80	época			1	así como de los focos productores castellanos, Burgos y Valladolid principalmente, en la <b>época</b> barroca	1. f. Fecha de un suceso desde el cual se empiezan a contar los años (astronomía)	2. f. Período de tiempo que se distingue por los hechos históricos en él acaecidos y por sus formas de vida.	R	1	adjective + noun	science	humanities	abstract resemblance
81	amparo			1	siendo el primer museo diocesano de España, al <b>amparo</b> de la normativa del Concilio Vaticano II.	1. m. Acción y efecto de amparar o ampararse. = 1. tr. Favorecer, proteger.	1. m. Acción y efecto de amparar o ampararse. = 1. tr. Favorecer, proteger.	R		noun + broader context	person	time	personification + basic meaning

82	incluir			1	La entrada de adulto <b>incluye</b> audioguía	1. tr. Poner algo o a alguien dentro de una cosa o de un conjunto, o dentro de sus límites.	2. tr. Dicho de una cosa: Contener a otra, o llevarla implícita.	R	1	verb + subject	object	abstract activity	personification + change of meaning AR
83	guía			1	La entrada de adulto <b>incluye audioguía</b>	25. m. y f. Persona autorizada para enseñar a los forasteros las cosas notables de una ciudad, o para acompañar a los visitantes de un museo y darles información sobre los objetos expuestos.	o: aparato que reproduce información sobre un museo o lugar de interés turístico	R, o	1	compound noun	person	technology	abstract resemblance
84	proyección			1	La entrada de adulto <b>incluye audioguía</b> (según disponibilidad o puede reservarse) y <b>proyección</b> de un audiovisual de 12 minutos	1. f. Acción y efecto de proyectar = 1. tr. Lanzar, dirigir hacia delante o a distancia	2. f. Imagen que por medio de un foco luminoso se fija temporalmente sobre una superficie plana.	R	1	noun + broader context	object	technology	reification AR
85	pantalla			1	proyección de un audiovisual de 12 minutos en <b>pantalla</b> panorámica.	7. f. Lámina, barrera u obstáculo que cubre o protege de un agente indeseado.	3. f. Superficie sobre la que se proyectan las imágenes del cinematógrafo u otro aparato de proyecciones.	R	1	adjective + noun	object	technology	abstract resemblance
86	panorámico	1			proyección de un audiovisual de 12 minutos en pantalla <b>panorámica</b> .	1. adj. Perteneciente o relativo al panorama.	2. adj. Que permite contemplar, estudiar o exponer una cuestión en su conjunto.	R	1	adjective + noun	nature	technology	physical resemblance
87	abarcar			1	visten sus armaduras tradicionales <b>abarcando</b> desde las de tipo romano a las del siglo XVI.	1. tr. Ceñir algo con los brazos o con la mano.	2. tr. Rodear, contener o comprender algo. [en este caso estilos de armaduras]	R	1	verb + broader context	physical activity	object feature: abstract	personification + change of meaning AR
88	celebrar			1	esta danza es llamada "Caracola" y se <b>celebra</b> el Domingo de Resurrección	1. tr. Ensalzar públicamente a un ser sagrado o un hecho solemne, religioso o profano, dedicando uno o más días a su recuerdo	2. Realizar un acto formal con las solemnidades que este requiere	R	1	verb + object	religion	arts	abstract resemblance
89	acompañar			1	Es el día en que los dulces tradicionales - flores, rosquillos, barquillos y roscapiña- <b>acompañan</b> el desayuno.	1. tr. Estar o ir en compañía de otra y otras personas.	Estar o ir en compañía de otra y otras cosas.	R, o		verb + subject	human activity	physical event	personification + change of meaning
90	perder			1	Ciudad Real capital. Moderna y con	1. tr. Dejar de tener, o no hallar aquello que poseía, sea por culpa o	1. tr. Dejar de tener, o no hallar aquello	R, o		verb + object	object	abstract concept	reification AR

					mucho encanto, no <b>pierde</b> su esencia manchega.	descuido del poseedor, sea por contingencia o desgracia	que poseía, sea por culpa o descuido del poseedor, sea por contingencia o desgracia						
91	esencia			1	Ciudad Real capital. Moderna y con mucho encanto, no pierde su <b>esencia</b> manchega.	3. extracto líquido concentrado de una sustancia generalmente aromática	1. f. Aquello que constituye la naturaleza de las cosas, lo permanente e inevitable de ellas	R	1	noun + broader context	object	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
92	arraigado	1			Participa en fiestas de <b>arraigada</b> tradición	1. que posee bienes raíces	larga, antigua	R, o		adjective + broader context	plant	abstract concept	abstract resemblance
93	poderoso	1			Lejanos horizontes, cielos inmensos, cascadas <b>poderosas</b> , palacios de gran señorío	1. adj. Que tiene poder	3. Grande, excelente, o magnífico en su línea	R	1	adjective + broader context	human feature	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
94	compañero			1	Será tu <b>compañera</b> de viaje una amplia extensión abrazada por dos sierras, [...], que compiten en belleza y verdor en un recorrido cargado de experiencias.	1. m. y f. Persona que se acompaña con otra para algún fin; aquí el fin sería un viaje	fondo constante en el viaje	R, o		noun + broader context	person	place	personification + change of meaning AR
95	abrazar			1	Será tu <b>compañera</b> de viaje una amplia extensión <b>abrazada</b> por dos sierras, [...], que compiten en belleza y verdor en un recorrido cargado de experiencias.	1. tr. Ceñir con los brazos	3. rodear, ceñir	R	1	verb + broader context	physical activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning PR
96	competir			1	una amplia extensión abrazada por dos sierras, de Alcaraz y del Segura, que <b>compiten</b> en belleza y verdor	1. Dicho de dos o más personas: Contender entre sí, aspirando unas y otras con empeño a una misma cosa	2. Dicho de una cosa: Iguar a otra análoga, en la perfección o en las propiedades	R	1	verb + subject	human activity	object feature: physical	personification + change of meaning AR
97	cautivador	1			Y hallarás pueblos de una belleza <b>cautivadora</b> .	1. adj. Que cautiva = Aprisionar al enemigo en la guerra, privándole de libertad.	Que cautiva = 3. tr. Ejercer irresistible influencia en el ánimo de alguien por medio de atractivo	R	1	adjective + broader context	person	abstract concept	personification + change of meaning AR

						físico o moral							
98	rumor			1	donde el <b>rumor</b> de los arroyos suena en todos los rincones.	1. m. Voz que corre entre el público	3. Ruido vago, sordo y continuado	R	1	noun + broader context	human activity	physical event	physical resemblance
99	paraíso			1	Hallarás <b>paraísos</b> como el del nacimiento del Río Mundo	1. m. En el Antiguo Testamento, jardín de delicias donde Dios colocó a Adán y Eva	4. m. Sitio o lugar muy ameno	R	1	noun + broader context	hypothetical experience	quality	abstract resemblance
100	nacimiento			1	Hallarás paraísos como el del <b>nacimiento</b> del Río Mundo	1. m. Acto de nacer. = 1. intr. Dicho de un ser vivo: Salir del vientre materno, del huevo o de la semilla.	5. m. Lugar o sitio donde tiene alguien o algo su origen o principio	R	1	compound noun	animal	place	personification + change of meaning AR

## Appendix C: Metaphor frequencies by source and target domain

### *C.1. Metaphor frequencies by source and target domain in absolute number*

	Source domain area			Target domain área		
<b>Mapped feature</b>	English	German	Spanish	English	German	Spanish
abstract activity	1	27	45	43	75	75
abstract concept		5	13	125	185	107
abstract event			1	19	21	40
abstract experience	1	3	1	25	21	35
abstract feature	10	25	8	86	159	129
physical activity				68	138	83
physical event	138	228	253	18	12	30
physical experience	60	9	38	18	5	30
physical feature	9	11	12	3	3	
human activity	104	101	55	13	12	42
human feature				135	179	192
hypothetical experience						
object feature: abstract	117	85	100	30	23	5
object feature: physical	91	171	177	21	2	4
<b>Ontological metaphors</b>	66	16	36	1		1
person	54	19	11	3	3	5
animal	28	30	18			2
living being	32	19	26			
moving thing/ creature				4		3
non-moving thing/ creature	187	128	164	103	29	50
object	39	23	21	185	118	122
place	7	8	44	16	19	50
nature	5	13	9	1	2	4
plant				16	11	19
culture/ cultural event			1	12	12	30
institution		1	4	49	24	43
time	20	2	5	69	101	27
general	15	5	41			
<b>Primary metaphors</b>						
height	34	13	24			
intensity				2		2
life/ death					3	
material wealth/ value	39	86	41	3	1	

quality		1	1	70	21	93
quantity		1	19	17	5	34
shape	12	33	19			
size	25	1	39		3	2
space	52	43	51	1	1	3
<b>Topical areas</b>						
agriculture	7		20		4	
architecture	21	21	11	4	9	6
arts	51	35	33	60	22	10
economy	4	5	2	23	8	23
food & gastronomy	11	25	1	12	9	15
geography	4	11	4	11	1	21
geometry/ maths	47	29	25			
humanities	8	9	5	2	5	34
language	3	1				1
medicine		5	2	2		
military	24	4	3	2	1	
psychology/ feelings	2	3	16		6	5
religion				3	4	
natural science	5	11	16			2
sports		8	2	17	4	14
technology	4	3	1	55	11	26
transport	21	3	3	11	8	2
Total	1358	1280	1421	1358	1280	1421

## C.2. Metaphor frequencies by source and target domains in percentages

The percentages represent the share within a language.

Mapped feature	Source domain área			Target domain área		
	English [%]	German [%]	Spanish [%]	English [%]	German [%]	Spanish [%]
abstract activity	0.07	2.11	3.17	3.17	5.86	5.28
abstract concept	0.00	0.39	0.91	9.20	14.45	7.53
abstract event	0.00	0.00	0.07	1.40	1.64	2.81
abstract experience	0.07	0.23	0.07	1.84	1.64	2.46
abstract feature	0.74	1.95	0.56	6.33	12.42	9.08
physical activity	10.16	17.81	17.80	1.33	0.94	2.11
physical event	4.42	0.70	2.67	1.33	0.39	2.11
physical experience	0.66	0.86	0.84	0.22	0.23	0.00
physical feature	7.66	7.89	3.87	0.96	0.94	2.96
human activity	6.70	13.36	12.46	1.55	0.16	0.28
human feature	4.86	1.25	2.53	0.07	0.00	0.07
hypothetical experience	1.10	0.39	2.89	0.00	0.00	0.00
object feature: abstract	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.01	10.78	5.84
object feature: physical	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.94	13.98	13.51
<b>Ontological metaphors</b>						
person	8.62	6.64	7.04	2.21	1.80	0.35
animal	3.98	1.48	0.77	0.22	0.23	0.35
living being	2.06	2.34	1.27	0.00	0.00	0.14
moving thing/ creature	2.36	1.48	1.83	0.00	0.00	0.00
non-moving thing/ creature	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.29	0.00	0.21
object	13.77	10.00	11.54	7.58	2.27	3.52
place	2.87	1.80	1.48	13.62	9.22	8.59
nature	0.52	0.63	3.10	1.18	1.48	3.52
plant	0.37	1.02	0.63	0.07	0.16	0.28
culture/ cultural event	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.18	0.86	1.34
institution	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.88	0.94	2.11
time	0.00	0.08	0.28	3.61	1.88	3.03
general	1.47	0.16	0.35	5.08	7.89	1.90
<b>Primary metaphors</b>						
height	1.99	1.02	1.69	0.00	0.00	0.00
intensity	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.15	0.00	0.14
life/ death	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.23	0.00
material wealth/ value	2.87	6.72	2.89	0.22	0.08	0.00
quality	0.00	0.08	0.07	5.15	1.64	6.54
quantity	0.00	0.08	1.34	1.25	0.39	2.39

shape	0.88	2.58	1.34	0.00	0.00	0.00
size	1.84	0.08	2.74	0.00	0.23	0.14
space	4.34	3.36	3.59	0.07	0.08	0.21
<b>Topical áreas</b>						
agricultura	0.52	0.00	1.41	0.00	0.31	0.00
architecture	1.55	1.64	0.77	0.29	0.70	0.42
arts	3.76	2.73	2.32	4.42	1.72	0.70
economy	0.29	0.39	0.14	1.69	0.63	1.62
food & gastronomy	0.81	1.95	0.07	0.88	0.70	1.06
geography	0.29	0.86	0.28	0.81	0.08	1.48
geometry/ maths	3.46	2.27	1.76	0.00	0.00	0.00
humanities	0.59	0.70	0.35	0.15	0.39	2.39
language	0.22	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07
medicine	0.00	0.39	0.14	0.15	0.00	0.00
military	1.77	0.31	0.21	0.15	0.08	0.00
psychology/ feelings	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.22	0.31	0.00
religión	0.37	0.86	1.13	0.00	0.00	0.14
natural science	0.15	0.23	1.13	0.00	0.47	0.35
sports	0.00	0.63	0.14	1.25	0.31	0.99
technology	0.29	0.23	0.07	4.05	0.86	1.83
transport	1.55	0.23	0.21	0.81	0.63	0.14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

**C.3. Metaphor frequencies by source and target domain in metaphor vehicles/ 10.000 lexical units**

	Source domain área			Target domain área		
	English/ 10,000 LU	German/ 10,000 LU	Spanish/ 10,000 LU	English/ 10,000 LU	German/ 10,000 LU	Spanish/ 10,000 LU
<b>Mapped feature</b>						
abstract activity	1	22	<b>49</b>	39	60	<b>81</b>
abstract concept		4	<b>14</b>	112	148	<b>115</b>
abstract evento			<b>1</b>	17	17	<b>43</b>
abstract experience	1	2	<b>1</b>	22	17	<b>38</b>
abstract feature	9	20	<b>9</b>	77	127	<b>139</b>
object feature: abstract				61	110	<b>90</b>
physical activity	124	182	<b>273</b>	16	10	<b>32</b>
physical evento	54	7	<b>41</b>	16	4	<b>32</b>
physical experience	8	9	<b>13</b>	3	2	
physical feature	93	81	<b>59</b>	12	10	<b>45</b>
object feature: physical				121	143	<b>207</b>
Ontological metaphors						
person	105	68	<b>108</b>	27	18	<b>5</b>
human activity	82	137	<b>191</b>	19	2	<b>4</b>
human feature	59	13	<b>39</b>	1		<b>1</b>
animal	48	15	<b>12</b>	3	2	<b>5</b>
living being	25	24	<b>19</b>			<b>2</b>
moving thing/ creature	29	15	<b>28</b>			
non-moving thing/ creature				4		<b>3</b>
object	168	102	<b>177</b>	92	23	<b>54</b>
place	35	18	<b>23</b>	166	94	<b>132</b>
nature	6	6	<b>47</b>	14	15	<b>54</b>
plant	4	10	<b>10</b>	1	2	<b>4</b>
culture/ cultural event				14	9	<b>21</b>
institution			<b>1</b>	11	10	<b>32</b>
time		1	<b>4</b>	44	19	<b>46</b>
general	18	2	<b>5</b>	62	81	<b>29</b>
hypothetical experience	13	4	<b>44</b>			
Primary metaphors						
height	30	10	<b>26</b>			
intensity				2		<b>2</b>
life/ death					2	
material wealth/ value	35	69	<b>44</b>	3	1	
quality		1	<b>1</b>	63	17	<b>100</b>

quantity		1	<b>21</b>	15	4	<b>37</b>
shape	11	26	<b>21</b>			
size	22	1	<b>42</b>		2	<b>2</b>
space	47	34	<b>55</b>	1	1	<b>3</b>
Topical áreas						
agricultura	6		<b>22</b>		3	
architecture	19	17	<b>12</b>	4	7	<b>6</b>
arts	46	28	<b>36</b>	54	18	<b>11</b>
economy	4	4	<b>2</b>	21	6	<b>25</b>
food & gastronomy	10	20	<b>1</b>	11	7	<b>16</b>
geography	4	9	<b>4</b>	10	1	<b>23</b>
geometry/ maths	42	23	<b>27</b>			
humanities	7	7	<b>5</b>	2	4	<b>37</b>
language	3	1				<b>1</b>
medicine		4	<b>2</b>	2		
military	22	3	<b>3</b>	2	1	
natural science	2	2	<b>17</b>		5	<b>5</b>
psychology/ feelings				3	3	
religión	4	9	<b>17</b>			<b>2</b>
sports		6	<b>2</b>	15	3	<b>15</b>
technology	4	2	<b>1</b>	49	9	<b>28</b>
transport	19	2	<b>3</b>	10	6	<b>2</b>
Total	1217	1023	<b>1533</b>	1217	1023	<b>1533</b>

### Appendix D: Most frequent source-target domain pairings

MV = metaphor vehicles

English	MV	German	MV	Spanish	MV
person - place	65	physical feature - abstract feature	81	physical activity - object feature: physical	75
object - abstract concept	58	human activity - object feature: physical	72	person - place	69
human activity - object feature: physical	53	human activity - object feature: abstract	68	physical activity - abstract activity	61
physical feature - abstract feature	51	material wealth/ value - abstract concept	61	human activity - object feature: physical	48
geometry/ maths - place	44	physical activity - abstract activity	55	object - abstract concept	44
physical event - object!	42	physical activity - object feature: physical	53	human activity - object feature: abstract	38
physical activity - abstract activity	41	person - place	47	physical feature - abstract feature	34
human feature - object feature: abstract	39	object - abstract concept	45	nature - nature	29
physical activity - object feature: physical	34	physical activity - object feature: abstract	36	space - time	28
space - time	33	shape - abstract feature	22	physical activity - abstract feature	22
height - quality	23	food & gastronomy - general	22	arts - humanities	21
animal - place	19	space - time	20	human feature - object feature: physical	20
human feature - object feature: physical	18	abstract feature - abstract feature	20	abstract activity - object feature: physical	19
arts - general	17	space - abstract concept	19	geometry/ maths - institution	19
object - technology	17	arts - general	19	physical activity - abstract event	18
object - arts	17	geometry/ maths - place	17	quantity - quality	17
human activity - object feature: abstract	16	abstract activity - object feature: abstract	15	hypothetical experience - quality	17
person - object!	16	object - person	13	height - quality	17
material wealth/ value - general	16	physical activity - abstract concept	13	size - abstract feature	17
animal - object!	15	living being - place	12	physical activity - object feature: abstract	16