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„Metaphors we kick by: a comparative study of metaphors in English and German in football discourse"

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a corpus-based investigation of metaphorical language us in English and German football commentaries. The theoretical framework which underlies the analysis is conceptual metaphor theory, as developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their seminal work *Metaphors we live by*. Following the main tents of conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor is defined as a set of correspondences between two conceptual domains. Within this framework, metaphor is assumed to be a relatively pervasive and frequent phenomenon of language and thought. This research project pursues two aims: Firstly, it investigates the degree to which metaphor is present in German and English football language. Secondly, it explores which source domains are exploited to structure the discourses of English and German football reporting. Therefore, a quantitative as well as qualitative analysis are conducted in order to investigate whether English and German football-related conceptual metaphors display any significant differences. While the findings of the quantitative analysis reveal that a total of 80 conceptual metaphors are identified in the entire corpus, the qualitative analysis shows that metaphorical linguistic expressions derive from a wide range of source domains, including war, physical fight, animal behavior, theater, visit/meeting, as well as home.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CMT	Conceptual metaphor theory
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association (English: International Federation of Association Football)
IFAB	The International Football Association Board
MBM	Minute-by-minute: refers to the written text genre of a live football commentary
MM	Macmillan English Dictionary Online accessed at http://www.macmillandic-tionary.com
MIP	Metaphor identification procedure

Conventions in the text

Metaphorical concepts, conceptual structures and domains are indicated by SMALL CAPITALS.

Metaphorical expressions are indicated by italics.

1   INTRODUCTION

If one believes the English football commentator who reported on the match between FC Bar-
celona and Athletic Bilbao that "Bilbao continue to *hunt in packs*" (MBM05), then studying the
language of football would mean studying animal behavior. Likewise, if one takes the description
of the German reporter literally that "Ospina *taucht ab*" (MBM01), then one does not necessarily
think about soccer[1] in the first place at all, but rather thinks about the activity in water, namely
diving. Further, if one believes that "PSG managed to survive once again" (MBM06), then one
might get the impression that the team Paris Saint-Germain just received first aid in order to
survive. However, these descriptions of events on the football pitch during a match of course,
have nothing to do with *surviving*, *hunting in packs*, nor *diving*. In fact, the use of such phrases
in football commentaries would not count as using literary language.

In light of such examples it can be seen that speakers of English and German make use of meta-
phors to describe the actions and proceedings on the pitch during a match. In the framework of
cognitive linguistics, metaphor is defined as understanding one idea, or conceptual domain, in
terms of another (Kövecses 2010: 4). Lakoff and Johnson (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff &
Johnson 2003; Lakoff 1993) initiated an influential theory called conceptual metaphor theory
(henceforth CMT) in which they propose that metaphorical language indicates an underlying
cross-domain mapping in which the knowledge of one domain is mapped onto the other do-
main. This can be seen in the examples illustrated above in which it seems that when *Bilbao hunt
in packs* that speakers of English use the domain of animal behavior to describe team behavior,
and when *Ospina dives*, his action is described using the domain *activity in water.* Similarly, when
Paris Saint-Germain manage to survive in a match, then the word *survive* is used to explain that
PSG was successful. Example (1a-c) further illustrates this phenomenon:

(1)   a.   Arsenal agiert *bissiger* in den Zweikämpfen (MBM01)

       b.   Meunier again dives into the attacker (MBM06)

       c.   PSG just look to survive in this match (MBM06)

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[1] It is important to note at this point that even though I come from an American English background and soccer would
in my case be the prescriptive term to describe the game which the *Merriam-Webster* online dictionary defines as "a
game played on a field between two teams of 11 players each with the object to propel a round ball into the oppo-
nent's goal by kicking or by hitting it with any part of the body except the hands and arms – called also *association
football*", I will use the British term *football* to refer to *association football*, i.e., *soccer*, not *American football* through-
out this paper. So, *soccer* and *football* will be used interchangeably for reasons of style and for the sake of conven-
ience.

In CMT, this understanding of one domain in terms of another is called conceptual metaphor, which has to be distinguished from linguistic metaphors, which are illustrated in examples (1a-c). Linguistic metaphors make manifest one particular conceptual metaphor. What this means is best explained by an example. Thus, the preceding expressions that have to do with animal behavior "Arsenal agiert *bissiger*" and "Bilbao continue to *hunt in packs*" are linguistic metaphorical expressions, whereas the corresponding conceptual metaphor that they make manifest is TEAMS ARE ANIMALS. Example (2a-b) shows another conceptual metaphor with the linguistic metaphors that are made manifest by it:

(2) A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A THEATER PERFORMANCE

    a.   Die *Generalprobe* gegen das abstiegsbedrohte Nancy brachte dem Keeper neue Erkenntnisse (MBM03)

    b.   Er wird mit einem perfekten Pass von Neymar *in Szene gesetzt* (MBM03)

Here, the events in football are explained by using terminology from the domain of theater. These ways (1a-c; 2a-b) of reporting on events in football would very likely be regarded as ordinary by most speakers of English and German. Metaphors like these are very common in football reporting and are a typical feature of the language used to talk and write about football. Linguistic studies have suggested that metaphorical language is a pervasive phenomenon in everyday language (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 3). This also holds true for the language used to talk and write about football (Beard 1998: 53; Bergh 2011; Chapanga 2004).

In many societies football has gained a central position in culture and carries a heavy symbolic significance in the lives of many people. According to Bergh and Ohlander (2012b: 11) soccer has gained *the-world's-most-popular-sport-status*. There is an undeniable popularity to soccer in all corners of the world. Bergh and Ohlander (2012b: 11) support this claim by providing figures taken from the so-called *Big Count*, a study carried out by FIFA in 2006, to estimate the number of people actively involved in football. The figures are stunning: there are 265 million footballers (female and male) worldwide, 270 million, if referees and officials are included, the number of clubs amounts to just over three hundred thousand and the number of teams makes up 1.7 million. To this number all those who are passively involved as spectators live in a stadium, via television or the web, as well as the ones who are involved as football reporters and commentators should be added. Unfortunately, no figures are available to determine the number of those passively participating in football. However, Goldblatt, (2007: x) once said: "[a]round half the planet watched the 2006 World Cup Final – three billion people have never done anything simultaneously before."

Taking these figures into consideration, a vast number of texts – written match analyses, reports and commentaries as well as spoken (live) commentaries – are produced every day to describe the events and processes that happen on the soccer field during a match. The written as well as spoken news coverage of football games must be in the thousands. Thus, the language used to comment on football, also referred to as *football language* (Bergh & Ohlander 2012b: 13), offers myriads of valuable topics for linguistic research. Schmidt (2008: 11) has put it aptly: "a vocabulary has been developed in many languages which abounds with synonyms, with fine-grained semantic distinctions and with subtle stylistic variation."

As illustrated at the outset of the introduction, many events in football are described by using metaphorical language. For instance, linguistic studies carried out by Bergh (2011), Chapanga (2004) and Nordin (2008) have suggested that central items in football terminology such as *shoot*, *attack* and *fire*, as well as the German expressions *Schuss*, *Verteidigung* and *Angriff* are metaphorically used expressions taken from the domain of warfare in order to describe the events on the football field. Football commentaries thus provide a rich resource to investigate metaphors in soccer discourse.

The main emphasis of the thesis lies on the corpus-linguistic exploration of metaphorical language patterns in written minute-by-minute (MBM) live commentaries in English and German. For one thing, I will investigate the degree to which metaphor is present in football language in English and German, and to another thing, it shall be explored which metaphors are used to shape the discourses of football. More specifically, the overall objective of this research study is to investigate which domains are exploited in order to describe the events on the football pitch. The analysis is guided by the following two research questions that will be answered in the empirical sections of this thesis: Firstly, *What metaphor types are used in English and German football commentary?* and secondly, *Is there a difference in terms of preferred metaphor in English and German?*

In pursuit of this aim, this thesis can roughly be divided into three parts: firstly, a theoretical introduction to the topic, secondly, the empirical study, and thirdly a discussion of the empirical findings. The first part, which includes sections 2, 3 and 4, provides the theoretical basis for this thesis. Section 2 outlines the theoretical framework that underlies the research and discussion in the following sections. First, an overview of traditional approaches to metaphor theory is provided, followed by an outline of recent developments in this field, introducing the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor theory in greater detail. Special attention will be devoted to the concepts that are of particular relevance for the analysis of metaphors in football discourse, such as those of conceptual metaphor, source domains and target domains. Section 3 is, for one thing

concerned with the phenomenon under investigation, that is the language of football, and for another thing, investigates the conceptualization of football in terms of warfare, as this has gained special attention in recent metaphor studies concerned with football discourse. Section 4 introduces the concept of metaphor identification in discourse, which constitutes the theoretical background to the analyses, and thereby prepares the metaphor analysis which is carried out in the empirical part of this thesis.

Section 5 and 6 constitute the empirical part of this thesis. Section 5 is a methodological section, it constitutes a description of the linguistic corpus that provides the basis for analysis. Further, it presents a comprehensive description of the procedure that is used for the identification and extraction of metaphors. Section 6 then reports the findings of the empirical study outlined in section 5. It is divided into a quantitative part, which is concerned with the frequency of metaphorically used expressions observed in the corpus, and a qualitative part, which reveals which metaphors are used in order to describe the processes on the football field.

Section 7 constitutes the final part of this thesis and is concerned with the discussion and interpretation of the findings obtained in sections 5 and 6. Section 7 is set out to bridge the gap between the theoretical considerations presented in sections 2 through 4 and their practical application in sections 5 and 6.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

In the introductory section of this thesis a very brief insight into Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual metaphor theory has been given. However, since the main goal of the thesis is to investigate the use of metaphor in football language in English and German, a much more detailed account of metaphor theory is necessary in order to lay the ground for the corpus-linguistic examination of metaphor conducted in this study. Therefore, this section of the thesis will first look at the general notion of metaphor and how the conception of this phenomenon has changed from classical and traditional approaches, which can be traced back to Aristotle, to the contemporary theory as introduced by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980. Further, for the purposes of the linguistic analysis in the present thesis it is essential to come up with a clear and precise definition of metaphor, as metaphors will then later serve as object of investigation and thus provide the basis of this study. Therefore, on the one hand, the aim of this section is to provide a diachronic perspective of the notion of metaphor, on the other hand it attempts to give clarification of central claims and ideas of the current framework of metaphor studies. Finally, an operational definition of metaphor will be developed, so as to provide a thorough basis for the subsequent linguistic analyses of this thesis.

2.1   Traditional approaches to metaphor theory

Lakoff (1993: 202) notes that the linguistic phenomenon of metaphors has been under scientific scrutiny since Aristotle and has traditionally been referred to as "instances of novel poetic language in which words […] are not used in their normal everyday sense." In traditional approaches, metaphor is thus seen as a rhetoric device in poetic language. This view holds that while literal language is regarded as the norm, metaphor is seen as fulfilling a merely ornamental and decorative function, a mechanism for filling lexical gaps in language (Deignan 2005: 2; Ma & Liu: 2008: 260-61). Thus, Lakoff (1993: 202) suggests that in the traditional view, metaphor was a property of language, not thought and was defined as a "novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of their normal conventional meaning to express a 'similar' concept."

From this, it can be derived that in the classical sense similarity is the basis of metaphor. This is best illustrated with the example "the *roses* on her cheeks", provided by Kövecses (2010: 78), who reveals four typical features of the most widely held traditional view of metaphor and summarizes them in the following way:

1. Metaphor is decorative or fancy speech. We use the word *roses* to talk about somebody's cheeks because we wish to create some special effect in the listener or reader (such as creating a pleasing image). We do not use the word *roses* as part of the process of conceptualizing and understanding one thing in terms of another.
2. Metaphor is a linguistic, and not a conceptual, phenomenon. Whatever the intended effect of purpose is, in metaphor we simply use one word or expression instead of another word or expression rather than one conceptual domain to comprehend another.
3. The basis for using the word *roses* to talk about somebody's cheeks is the similarity between the color of some roses (pink or red) and that of the color of a person's cheeks (also pink or some light red). This similarity makes it possible for speakers to use the word *rose* instead of, say, the phrase *the pink skin on her cheeks* for some special effect. The similarity between some roses and some kinds of skin exists in reality before anyone uses *roses* to talk about somebody's cheeks.
4. It is this preexisting kind of similarity between two things that constrain the possible metaphors speakers can employ for skins of some color. Given the color of this kind of skin on the cheeks, the rose is a good choice for a metaphor in a way in which many other things would not be; thus, for example, we could not talk metaphorically appropriately about the pinkish color on a person's cheeks by using the word *sky*, as in "the *sky* on her cheeks." The sky as we normally think of it (we take it to be blue) simply bears no resemblance to healthy pinkish skin on the cheeks. It is in this sense that in the traditional view certain preexisting similarities can determine or limit which linguistic expressions, rather than others, can be used to describe the world.

These features outlined by Kövecses (2010: 78) underlie the classical theories that are described by Cameron (2003: 13-18), who offers a more detailed account of how the concept of metaphor emerged and developed over the centuries. She traces back Aristotle's thinking on metaphor, as, according to her, his views are the source of what has developed ever since. As a philosopher and rhetorician, Aristotle ascribed two basic characteristics to metaphor: Firstly, metaphor is a feature of rhetoric or speech-making and combines "clarity, pleasantness and unfamiliarity". Thus, when properly used a metaphor creates meaning by combining the familiar with the unfamiliar, clarity is added by using familiar everyday language and pleasantness is taken to be charm that is inherent in this resemblance (Cameron 2003: 13). Secondly, it is used to give a thing a name that belongs to something else and when appropriately used, metaphor could fulfill a conceptual function to produce new understanding. The idea that has been put forward by Aristotle is that metaphor is a matter of semantics and pragmatics and that both, the language user and the recipient, contribute to the meaning and understanding of a metaphor owing to the discourse context and their knowledge of the world (Cameron 2003: 14). Aristotle therefore already recognized the cognitive function of metaphor which became the commonly-received notion of metaphor in the last decades. This fact, however, has largely been ignored by meta-

phor scholars in later centuries which reduces his theory to the substitution of one term by another (Cameron 2003: 13). Another contributing factor which led to the distortion of Aristotle's work is the range of the notion of metaphor. Aristotle's conception of what constitutes a metaphor was much broader than in theories that followed. Hence, metaphor was used to refer to any expression that was used instead of another, including domains that had not previously existed for which there could be no literal equivalent (Cameron 2003: 14). The cognitive approach to metaphor which has been suggested by Aristotle can be found in the basic tenets of the now prevailing cognitively informed metaphor theories, but has been chosen to be ignored by metaphor scholars in the early twentieth century.

The three most influential theories that came into existence in the twentieth century hold comparatively restricted views of metaphor and language in general, due to the rise of logical positivism in philosophy. Proponents of this movement postulated the importance of literal language use, even emphasizing its primacy and preference in use. Metaphor, was thus put into contrast to literal language, ascribing metaphor decorative or ornamental properties with the main function of adding poetic effect to rhetoric. This is a constraint of Aristotle's broad view of metaphor to a much narrower conception. What has briefly been outlined at the outset of this section falls into this category. Metaphor is seen as a figure of speech and is treated primarily as a linguistic phenomenon. The three theories that represent these ideas are the following and will be briefly outlined in turn: Substitution theory, Comparison theory and Interaction theory (Cameron 2003: 15).

According to Cameron (2003: 15) the Substitution theory is often claimed to be directly originated from Aristotelian theory, but, as suggested by Cameron, is actually a misrepresentation of it. The Substitution view of metaphor holds that metaphor is a renaming or substitution of an equivalent literal expression. Thus, in the example *the atmosphere is a blanket of gases* the word *atmosphere* is seen as a renaming or substitution of the term *blanket*. Here, not a mapping across conceptual domains is proposed, rather, it is reduced to the linking of concepts or entities (Cameron 2003: 15). This fact entails the misrepresentation of Aristotle's theory who included the conceptual level. Further, what this simplified view on metaphor theory proposes is that a metaphorical expression can easily be replaced by a literal equivalent without loss of meaning. Therefore, in the Substitution theory a metaphor fulfills the function of replacing or substituting of what otherwise could have been expressed equally well using literal language. This enhances that metaphor is decorative and ornamental and can be dispensed with (Cameron 2003: 16).

The same problem, namely that there should be a literal equivalent to every metaphor, is also inherent in the Comparison theory. Cameron (2003: 16) states that in the Comparison approach

"the literal equivalent to the metaphor is held to be a comparison, or a statement of similarity". Thus, in this view, a metaphor is seen as a reduced simile. For example, this means that the metaphor in Shakespeare's *Juliet is the sun* can be expanded into *Juliet is like the suns*, and the understanding of the meaning of the metaphor is based on finding similarities between *Juliet* and *the sun*.

The Interaction theory of metaphor has its origin in Black's (1962) work *Models and Metaphors*, in which he opposes the Substitution and the Comparison view that metaphor can be expressed in literal terms without loss of cognitive content. Instead, he suggested that "a mental process linking Topic [i.e. target] and Vehicle [i.e. source] generates new and irreducible meanings rather than activating pre-existing similarities." (Cameron 2003: 17). The key development which can be ascribed to the Interaction theory was that source and target are systems of ideas, knowledge and beliefs that interact. Therefore, to put it in Cameron's (2003: 17) words: "Black's work brought the cognitive role of metaphor back to centre stage after long periods when metaphor had been reduced to mere linguistic decoration." However, according to Cameron (2003: 17), Black's understanding of metaphor only included novel and strongly active metaphors, which are those often used in poetry and eloquent speech. This resulted in maintaining the conflation of linguistic metaphors and conceptual metaphors.

Black's work set the stage for Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) work *Metaphors We Live By*, which took metaphor study in a new direction. They postulated a clear distinction between linguistic and conceptual metaphors. At that point, it became obvious to many metaphor scholars that the view of metaphor as a purely decorative and poetic form of language or as a deviation of literal semantics could no longer be maintained.

In this outline, it was shown that in traditional approaches to metaphor the concept was regarded at the level of individual utterances, as being a property of words, and taken to be a mere linguistic feature and aesthetic phenomenon. Metaphor was seen as "an aberration or anomaly in that the meaning of an utterance is something other than the logical literal truth of that utterance." (Chapanga 2004: 64) In contemporary metaphor research the term *metaphor* has come to be used quite differently. In the following section, I will introduce cognitively-informed approaches to metaphor theory in more detail and will explain how the term *metaphor* has come to be used differently in the past 30 years.

2.2 Cognitive linguistic view of metaphor

One of the most important aspects that sets cognitively informed approaches to metaphor theory apart from the traditional views described above, is that metaphor plays a central role in

thought, and is indispensable to both thought and language (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 3). In their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 2003) introduce a cognitively informed approach to metaphor in which metaphor is seen as an important cognitive instrument which structures ways of thinking. They found that, opposing to what traditionally had been seen as a poetic device to add rhetorical flourish, is actually a matter of ordinary everyday language (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 3). Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 3) note that

> 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. The concepts that govern out thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 3)

This suggests that Lakoff and Johnson base their assumptions on the fact that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical and that then "the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor." (2003: 3) However, it goes without saying that our conceptual system is not something we are aware of. Evidence for the things we do every day, how we act and how we think can only come from language. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 3), the conceptual system we use in thinking and acting is the same we use for communication. Hence, looking at language can yield important evidence for what that system is like. Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 4) have found a way of showing what the metaphors are that structure how we perceive, how we think, and what we do. In order to demonstrate what it means for a concept to be metaphorical in nature and how such a concept actually structures thinking and everyday activity, they use the concept of ARGUMENT and the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR[2] for illustration.

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are *indefensible*.
He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
His criticisms were *right on target*.
I *demolished* his argument.
I've never *won* an argument with him.
You disagree? Okay, *shoot*!
If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.
He *shot down* all of my arguments.

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[2] Conceptual units, i.e. concepts and domains, are conventionally indicated by SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS in cognitive linguistics (cf. Herrmann 2013; Kövecses 2010). Therefore, conceptual metaphor, concepts and domains will equally be signaled in SMALL CAPITALS in this thesis.

Those expressions show that metaphor is reflected in everyday language. Further, what is also suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 4) is that we do not only talk about argument in terms of war, what is more, arguments are actually won or lost and the persons who are arguing are opponents. Positions are attacked and defended and ground is gained or lost. Strategies are used and planned. This exemplification shows that the things that are done in arguing are partially structured by the concept of war, however, not physically but verbally. Furthermore, it is pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 4) that even the structure of an argument, that is attack, defense, counterattack, etc. is reflected in the conceptualization of an argument in terms of warfare. This example shows what it means for a concept to be metaphorical and how it is understood what is done while arguing. From this the most basic view of metaphor can be derived, namely that in cognitive linguistics metaphor refers to the understanding of one thing in terms of another. Simply put, this means that in the example above, an argument is understood in terms of war. Therefore, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980; 2003) pioneering work is a departure from the idea that metaphor is a purely linguistic feature. Instead, the idea that metaphor is a property of thought gained center stage. This gave rise to the approach called *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (CMT) which is the approach taken in much current writings and studies on metaphor, and it underpins most of the discussion in this thesis.

To conclude, it can be said that Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 2003) have been able to give systematic linguistic evidence to substantiate the claim that metaphors are indeed a concept of thought. This has been illustrated with the example ARGUMENT IS WAR. Their work has had a remarkable influence on metaphor research that has been done since then. Gibbs (2011: 530) even puts forward the claim that CMT is the prevalent framework in the academic study of metaphor.

2.2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Above, it was shown that cognitive theory locates metaphor in conceptual structure and not in linguistic knowledge, therefore setting it strictly apart from traditional views of metaphor theories (Stöckl 2010: 194). Further, it was illustrated what it means for a concept to be metaphorical and for such a concept to structure ways of thinking and everyday activity. In this section CMT is discussed in more detail, as Lakoff (1993: 244) argues that "the contemporary theory of metaphor is revolutionary in many respects". This section of the thesis aims at trying to provide evidence for Lakoff's statement and is concerned with giving a comprehensive account of CMT, thus laying the theoretical foundation for the study that will be conducted in the empirical part of this thesis.

In the section above, it was hinted that within a cognitively informed approach to metaphor theory, metaphor is assumed to be a relatively frequent and pervasive phenomenon in everyday language. In the cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is defined as a set of correspondences, or a mapping, between two distinct conceptual domains, meaning that one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain and realized through a linguistic manifestation or metaphoric linguistic expression (Kövecses 2010: 4; 7). A convenient shorthand and simplified way of describing this view of metaphor is the following: conceptual domain A is conceptual domain B (Kövecses 2010: 4). This means that in the example given above ARGUMENT is understood in terms of WAR.

To further illustrate what it means for a concept to be metaphorical and to gain a better understanding of what it means that there is a *conceptual correspondence* of two domains, which is often also referred to as *mapping*, I would like to take up Lakoff and Johnson's examples of conceptual metaphor for illustration (Kövecses 2010: 6-7; Lakoff 1993: 206-208). For instance, let us look at a love relationship which could be described in the following way:

> Look *how far* we've *come*.
> We're *at a crossroads*.
> We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
> We can't *turn back* now.
> I don't think the relationship is *going anywhere*.
> *Where* are we?
> We're *stuck*.
> It's been a *long, bumpy road*.
> This relationship is a *dead-end street*.
> We're just *spinning our wheels*.
> Our marriage is *on the rocks*.
> We've gotten *off the track*.
> This relationship is *foundering*.

In these example sentences, love is being conceptualized as a journey, with the implication that the relationship is not working out anymore and the two people involved are *at a crossroads* or *stuck*, that they have to *turn back*, or *go separate ways* and thus end the relationship altogether. Hence, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY manifests itself in the metaphorical linguistic expressions that are in italics in the examples above, like, *how far we've come*, *at a crossroads*, *go our separate ways*, *turn back*, *going anywhere*, etc. Specifically, this means that metaphorical linguistic expressions make manifest particular conceptual metaphors. While linguistic metaphor comes from the more concrete conceptual domain (i.e. domain B; in this case *journey*), conceptual metaphor comes from a fairly abstract and less-delineated conceptual domain (i.e.

domain A; in this case *love*). The corresponding conceptual domain that all the preceding expressions make manifest is LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Kövecses 2010: 4). Hence, in this conceptual metaphor the domain of LOVE is understood in terms of the domain JOURNEY.

The two domains (A and B) that are involved in conceptual metaphor have specific names. On the one hand, the more concrete conceptual domain from which we draw the metaphorical expressions, and in terms of which the more abstract domain is understood, is called *source domain*. In the previous example JOURNEY is the source domain. On the other hand, the more abstract and less delineated conceptual domain, which is understood in terms of the source domain, is called *target domain*. Thus, in the example, LOVE is the target domain. In order to understand the relationship between the two domains, we resort to a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target domain. In other words, the constituent conceptual elements of the source domain correspond to the constituent elements of the target domain. These conceptual correspondences are known as *mappings* (Kövecses 2010: 7). Lakoff (1993: 206-207) puts it in more technical terms:

> [M]etaphor can be understood as a mapping […] from a source domain (in this case, journeys) to a target domain (in this case, love). The mapping is tightly structured. There are ontological correspondences, according to which entities in the domain of love (e.g., the lovers, their common goals, their difficulties, the love relationship, etc.) correspond systematically to entities in the domain of a journey (the travelers, the vehicle, destinations, etc.).

From this can be generalized that conceptual metaphor typically has the form TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN, or alternatively, TARGET DOMAIN AS SOURCE DOMAIN. In the example at hand knowledge about journeys is mapped onto knowledge about love. According to Lakoff (1993: 207) this means that the general knowledge we have about journeys allows and helps us to reason about love.

To sum up the most important aspects of CMT, I would like to address the initial statement by Lakoff, given at beginning of this section, which emphasizes the revolutionary character of contemporary metaphor theory. It can be argued that the essence of metaphor in a cognitive linguistically informed framework "*is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.*" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 5, italics in original). So, unlike previous theories of metaphorical meaning, CMT puts forward that metaphor is not just an aspect of language, but is primarily considered a cognitive phenomenon, as being a fundamental part of human thought which helps make sense of abstract categories by borrowing structures from more concrete categories. Hence, CMT aims at finding a link between structures of thought and language (Nordin 2008: 114). According to Nordin (2008: 113) CMT is considered to be a part of holistic cognitive

semantics, "where cognitive processes in our minds are connected with the language being used." This argument follows the central tenet of CMT, namely that metaphor is primarily considered a matter of thought and not merely of language. Deignan (2005: 14) has puts it aptly:

> Conceptual metaphors function at the level of thought, below language, and they are rarely, if ever, used in speaking or writing. They could be seen as a way of describing the connection that exists between two groups of ideas in people's minds.

Thus, to put it simply, and following Deignan's (2005: 14) line of argument one could say that "metaphors structure thinking".

Deignan (2005: 15) develops this argument further, assuming that when metaphors structure our thinking that then, they also reflect knowledge patterns we have about the world, thus structuring our knowledge. Allbritton (1995: 45) observes the following:

> Metaphor has been shown to serve a number of important cognitive functions, including that of making new domains accessible through metaphorical "scaffolds" imported from better-known domains such as in the case of metaphors in science, and providing a coherent framework or schema for understanding such everyday topics as time, arguments and emotions.

From this two types of knowledge can be derived: firstly, a kind of specialized, more of an academic knowledge, which most likely is only accessible for a certain part of a society, and secondly, a more commonly shared, generalized knowledge, concerning every human being's experience. The field of information technology can be used to illustrate how metaphor may structure specialized knowledge. For example, when referring to information technology, the linguistic metaphors *web* and (*inter*)*net* are commonly used to realize the conceptual metaphor CONNECTED COMPUTERS ARE NODES IN A WEB. Laypeople may thus use their general knowledge about (spider) webs to conceptualize and understand the new domain of computers and internet. Therefore, according to Deignan (2005: 16), not only new vocabulary is acquired, but also a mental model of the target domain. In this case, the source domain WEB is transferred to build the mental image of the target domain which consists of strong connections between nodes and coverage of larger areas with fine connections.

The second kind of knowledge which has been suggested by Allbritton, namely that of everyday events, arises from talk about the course of human lives (Deignan 2005: 16). Therefore, people use phrases such as *to get a good start*, *being without direction*, and *go places* in order to refer to the concept of life, making manifest the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY as suggested by Kövecses (2010: 3). This metaphor helps us to tie together the events that are experienced in life into a comprehensible and logical framework. Thus, structuring the knowledge we have

about the concept of life using the tangible and well-known source domain JOURNEY (Deignan 2005: 16-17).

2.2.2   *Source domains and target domains*

In the previous section, it was shown that conceptual metaphors consist of a source domain and a target domain, as well as a set of mappings, i.e. a systematic set of correspondences, between them. Both terms have already been introduced and briefly described in the section before. This section, aims at further elaborating on the notion of source and target domains. Following this, the directionality of conceptual metaphors will be discussed, which is concerned with the question of reversibility of source and target domains.

It has already been established in the previous section that the concepts of LOVE can be described in terms of the concept JOURNEY. Thus, in the LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, the two people in love correspond to travelers (Look *how far* we've *come*), choices to crossroads (We're *at a crossroads*), and problems to impediments to travel (It's been a *long, bumpy road*). In the cognitively informed framework the source domains typically correspond to concrete, clearly delineated, simple, familiar, and physical experiences, such as physical objects, bodily phenomena, and so on. While target domains usually correspond to areas of experience that are relatively abstract, less-delineated, complex, and unfamiliar, such as time, emotion, life, death or love (Semino 2008: 6). This applies quite clearly to the LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, where the target domain (LOVE) is relatively more abstract, less delineated, and intangible than the source domain (JOURNEY). Thus, the JOURNEY source domain rests on the a very simple basis of the physical experience of moving from one place to another (Semino 2008: 6-7). It is highly likely that most people have made the experience of going on a journey. In the realm of CMT, it has been suggested that "such basic experiences have been captured in terms of simple, skeletal mental representations known as 'image schemas'." (Semino 2008: 7). In the example at hand, the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, relates to the PATH image schema, which, according to Semino (2008: 7) "is a minimal knowledge structure consisting of two different locations, a path between two locations, and a direction of movement from one location to the other." To put it simply, the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY is taken from basic experiential correspondences between the destination of the journey (source) and the goals of the relationship (target); choices about which way to go (source) and choices about what to do (target); and the obstacles encountered (source) and the difficulties experienced (target). This is thus the systematic set of correspondences that characterize the LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor.

Other frequently discussed conceptual metaphors in the current metaphor literature are ARGU-MENT IS WAR, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS and IDEAS ARE FOOD, as illustrated in the examples (3) a-e taken from Kövecses (2010: 3-7).

(3) a. Your claims are *indefensible*. (ARGUMENT IS WAR)

     b. He's never *let* anyone *get in his way*. (LIFE IS A JOURNEY)

     c. Is that the *foundation* for your theory? (THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS)

     d. I just can't *swallow* that claim. (IDEAS ARE FOOD)

     e. There are too many facts here for me *to digest* them all. (IDEAS ARE FOOD)

The conceptualization in (3a) for example rests upon the assumption that we speak of *defending* a position in an argument. In CMT, it is conceptualized as ARGUMENT IS WAR, whereas WAR functions as the source domain which structures our view of the conceptual target domain of ARGU-MENTATION. It is presumed that our conceptualization of arguments is comprised of attacks and defenses, positions and maneuverings, and victories and defeats (Steen 2007a: 49-50). Conceptual metaphors typically manifest themselves in a number of linguistic expressions. For the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, Kövecses (2010: 6) lists the following linguistics manifestations as examples (4) a-g:

(4) a. He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

     b. His criticisms were *right on target*.

     c. I *demolished* his argument.

     d. I've never *won* an argument with him.

     e. You disagree? Okay, *shoot*!

     f. If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe* you *out*.

     g. He *shot down* all of my arguments.

The LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor has already been introduced in the preceding section. Example (3b) provides further linguistic evidence for the existence of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Here, life is conceived of as a path leading to some destination of a journey which can be interrupted by another person. The experience expressed through the metaphor in example (3b) is that of making a choice about what to do in life and not letting anybody influence or distract that person. In example (3c) the expression *foundation* is taken from the domain of BUILDINGS to talk about the corresponding concept in the metaphorically defined domain THE-ORIES. This conceptualization rests on the assumption that the foundation of the structure of a building is the part which is below the ground and supports the rest of it (MM, entry *foundation*). This sense of *foundation* is mapped onto the metaphorically defined domain THEORY. Examples

(3d) and (3e) are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD and establish similarities between ideas and food. The linguistic metaphors in (3d) and (3e) suggest that both, ideas and food, can be swallowed and digested (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 147).

The conceptualizations of metaphor given in examples (3a-e) and (4a-g) are frequently found in the current metaphor literature, which, however, does not mean that let us say, LIFE for example is always understood in terms of journeys. The metaphorical reasoning of LIFE may also be understood by means of cross-domain mappings. For example, in addition to journeys, as shown in the example (3b), another frequently used source domain for LIFE is the concept of PLAY or SHOW. For further illustration, I would like to take up the example that was given right at the outset of this thesis. The famous lines from Shakespeare's play *As You Like It* can also be interpreted using conceptual metaphor.

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players.
> They have their exits and their entrances;
> And one man in his time plays many parts.
> (*As You Like It* 2.7)

Here, those four lines are used metaphorically in the sense that the stage is compared with the world and all the humans living on it. An underlying metaphorical structure may thus be identified in thought, it is a comparison between *life* and a *theater play*, in which people appear to be matched with the actors of a play, and where the different phases of a person's life, i.e. infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and so on, is compared with the short performances the actors have during a play. Therefore, life is conceptualized as a play or a show. The knowledge and experience that people have about the properties of a play is mapped onto the more abstract domain of LIFE. Hence, the conceptual domain from which we draw the metaphorical expression, i.e. the source domain, is the concept of (theater) PLAY, whereas the conceptual domain that is understood this way, i.e. the target domain, is the concept of LIFE, yielding the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A SHOW or LIFE IS A PLAY.

The closer view of how we come to understand abstract concepts such as life, love, and argument in more tangible ways leads us according to Kövecses (2010: 7) to two important generalizations that emerge from conceptual metaphors. Firstly, it has already been mentioned in this thesis that target domains typically correspond to a more abstract concept and source domains typically correspond to a more concrete or physical concept. This claim rests on the assumption that our experience with the physical world serves a logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains (Kövecses 2010: 7). It makes more sense to try to explain the less tangible concept in terms of a more concrete and physical concept. Secondly, Kövecses (2010:

7) suggests that this is the reason why in most cases of everyday metaphors the source and target domains are not reversible, meaning for example that a journey cannot be described in terms of love, but only the other way around. This is referred to as the principle of unidirectionality, meaning that it is typically the case that the metaphorical process goes from the more concrete to the more abstract but not the other way around.

2.2.3   The classification of metaphors

In the previous sections, it has been established that metaphor helps people structure their way of thinking as well as their knowledge about the world. The comprehension of one domain in terms of another is based on a set of mappings that exists between the two elements. So far, it was thus assumed that knowing a conceptual metaphor is knowing this set of mappings (Kövecses 2010: 33). The question that now arises is whether this applies to all conceptual metaphors in the same way? Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 2003) have recognized three separate kinds of metaphor which are commonly used. The task of this section is therefore to provide a description of the way in which metaphors can be classified.

Kövecses (2010: 37) points out that conceptual metaphors can be classified according to the cognitive functions they perform. This means that the mapping that exists between two domains provides the basis for the categorization of metaphors. Starting from this, three kinds of conceptual metaphors can be distinguished: structural, ontological, and orientational. They are now discussed in turn.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 14) structural metaphors are the ones "where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another." This means that the source domain is used to describe the target domain. The cognitive function that underlies this kind of metaphor is to enable users of a language to understand domain A by means of the structure of domain B (Kövecses 2010: 37). All conceptual metaphors that have been described so far can be classified into this category (e.g. ARGUMENT IS WAR, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, etc.). Another example for a structural metaphor is the conceptualization of time in terms of motion. Time can thus be understood in terms of physical objects, their locations and their motion. Example (5a-h) is taken from Kövecses (2010: 38) and provides an illustration of the linguistic representations of the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MOTION:

(5)   a.   The time will *come* when …

         b.   The time has long since *gone* when …

         c.   The time for action has *arrived*.

         d.   In the weeks *following* next Tuesday …

    e.   On the *preceding* day …

    f.   I'm looking *ahead* to Christmas.

    g.   Thanksgiving is *coming up* on us.

    h.   Time is *flying by*.

The mappings between the concepts TIME and MOTION provide a basic overall structure and help us understand the notion of time. This is what most structural metaphors do: they "provide this kind of structuring and understanding for their target concepts." (Kövecses 2010: 38)

The second kind of metaphors are referred to as ontological metaphors. They differ from structural metaphor in as much as they provide much less cognitive structuring for target concepts. Ontological metaphors serve to assign a new ontological status to general categories of abstract target concepts. This brings about new abstract concepts. What this means is that ontological metaphors allow us to view an event, activity, or emotion (i.e. our experiences) in terms of objects, substances, and containers, in general, without specifying what kind of object, substance or container is meant. The function of ontological metaphors is to structure abstract and vague concepts where there is very little or no structure recognizable (Kövecses 2010: 38). It is their job "to assign a basic status in terms of objects, substances, and the like to many of our experiences." (Kövecses 2010: 38). Kövecses (2010: 39) uses the following examples for illustration:

Source Domains   *Target Domains*

PHYSICAL OBJECT	$\Rightarrow$	NONPHYSICAL OR ABSTRACT ENTITIES (e.g., the mind)
	$\Rightarrow$	EVENTS (e.g., going to the race), ACTIONS (e.g., giving someone a call)
SUBSTANCE	$\Rightarrow$	ACTIVITIES (e.g., a lot of running in the game)
CONTAINER	$\Rightarrow$	UNDELINEATED PHYSICAL OBJECTS (e.g., a clearing in the forest)
	$\Rightarrow$	PHYSICAL AND NONPHYSICAL SURFACES (e.g., land areas, the visual field)
	$\Rightarrow$	STATES (e.g., in love)

The purpose of ontological metaphors is to give undelineated experiences a more delineated status. This means that ontological metaphor allows us to view experiences (events, activities, emotions, etc.) as an entity or substance. Thus, ontological metaphors allow language speakers to refer to, to quantify, or to identify aspects of the experience that has been made more delineated. Based on this assumption, we can for example conceive of fear as an object and conceptualize it as "our possession." This allows us to say things like *You have to overcome your fears*. This kind of metaphor, however, represents the one which is the least noticeable type of conceptual metaphor.

The last kind of conceptual metaphor that remains to be discussed are orientational metaphors. As the term already suggests, orientational metaphors "give a concept a spatial orientation"

(Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 14). One example for an orientational metaphor is HAPPY IS UP with the linguistic realizations of *I'm feeling up today*, *My spirits rose*, or *You're in high spirits* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 15). The conceptualization of the emotion *happy* in terms of the spatial orientation *up* rests, according to Lakoff & Johnson (2003: 14), on the basis of our physical and cultural experience. Therefore, when we come to think about a happy person in a positive emotional state, one immediately visualizes an erect posture. However, a dropping posture with slouched shoulders is associated with sadness and depression. The cognitive function ascribed to orientational metaphors by Kövesces (2010: 40) "is to make a set of target concepts coherent in our conceptual system." Kövecses (2010: 40) states that this is due to the fact that most metaphors that fulfil this function have to do with basic human spatial orientations, for example up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. Thus, in contrast to structural metaphors, this kind of mapping does not make use of a particular source domain to describe a target domain. They merely assign a spatial direction to the target domain.

So far, general notions of the current understanding of metaphor has been surveyed. However, for the purpose of the underlying study of this thesis, it is necessary to specify more exactly how the notion of metaphor will be understood throughout this thesis. The final part of this section is therefore devoted to devising a working definition of metaphor to clarify how metaphor is understood throughout this thesis. This will specifically be of relevance in the empirical part of this thesis.

2.3   Operational definition of metaphor

The aim of the previous sections was to develop a cognitive-linguistic view of metaphor as conceptual structure, which has been the starting point of theoretical and empirical innovation over the past three decades. In order to provide a thorough basis for the subsequent metaphor analyses undertaken in the empirical part of this thesis, it is the task of this section to establish an operational definition of metaphor and clearly delineate what will be counted as metaphor and what will not.

It has been established that within cognitively informed approaches to metaphor theory metaphor is defined as the juxtaposition of two conceptual domains which stand in relation to each other by means of some form of similarity (Steen 2007a: 66). Further, it was shown that conceptual metaphor manifests itself in linguistic expressions, also referred to as linguistic metaphor. Hence, the general notion of metaphor used as the underlying basis for this study is the one first developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in 1980 (4th edition published in 2003) in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By*. Therefore, in the present thesis, metaphor is understood

as a set of correspondences between two conceptual domains which is expressed in various linguistic forms in language.

However, when metaphor in language is understood as indirectly used expressions that have to be interpreted by means of a cross-domain mapping from a source to a target, one major problem that has been identified by Steen (2007a: 69), is "the acceptance of metaphorical relations between source and target domains for those metaphorical expressions which are highly conventionalized." This is particularly relevant in consideration of the given context of the thesis, to the extent that for people who show considerable interest in soccer coverage the degree of entrenchment of expressions such as *Manchester United are on fire*, or *Liverpool have their tails up* varies according to the individual language user. Schmid (2016: 21) has put it aptly:

> If entrenchment relates to the minds of individual speakers, it is, more or less by definition, subject to individual, speaker-related differences […]. Most of these are hard to grasp and control methodologically because their sources are hidden in the exposure and usage histories of individual speakers, which, in turn, are influenced not only by familiar social variables such as region, gender, education, training, and social roles […] but also by personal routines and experiences.

A general decision thus has to be made on what counts as a metaphor in football discourse and what does not. For the present thesis I will therefore adopt Herrmann's (2013: 52, italics in original) view of metaphor, who describes metaphor as a "relational phenomenon, which means that metaphor is *metaphorical to some language user*." Thus, as basis for the study, metaphor is understood as what I as language user tend to perceive as a deviation between basic use and contextual use of linguistic expressions and what domain (source and target domains) I would classify these into. Therefore, in this thesis, metaphors will be approached on the level of concepts. Only those instantiations of linguistic metaphors will be counted as metaphors which derive from conceptual structures and can be understood as a set of correspondences between two conceptual domains, i.e. a target domain and a source domain). Deignan (2005: 34) suggests the following general definition of metaphor which I will adopt for the purpose of this study:

> A metaphor is a word or expression that is used to talk about an entity or quality other than that referred to by its core, or most basic meaning. This non-core use expresses a perceived relationship with the core meaning of the word, and in many cases between two semantic fields.

This means that focus will be put on those linguistic expressions that are used nonliterally in the discourse. The expression in question thus activates a concept which cannot be literally applied to the referents in the world evoked by the text. In this thesis, the term metaphor in language will be used to refer to linguistic metaphors, meaning that they will be treated at the level of lexical units (i.e. words, phrasal verbs, compounds and phrases that act as single words), as it is

important to distinguish them from conceptual metaphors, those will be signaled in SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS throughout this thesis.

The present section has provided a thorough background of the theoretical framework in which the research project underlying this thesis takes place. First, an overview of the traditional approaches to metaphor theory and how the conception of this phenomenon has changes from the classical and traditional view to the contemporary notion of metaphor theory as first introduced by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980 has been given. In this section, I zoomed in on concepts that are of particular relevance for the analysis of metaphors, namely conceptual metaphor, source domains and target domains. Further, I moved from the general notion of metaphor towards an operation definition of metaphor, so as to lay the foundation of the metaphor identification that will be carried out in the empirical part of this thesis. In the following section I will have a closer look at the phenomenon under investigation, that is metaphors in football language.

3 METAPHORS WE KICK BY

The section offers an overview of the linguistic phenomenon that is relevant in my study, i.e. metaphors in the discourse of football. Therefore, first, an insight into the language of football will be provided, delineating main lines of research. Secondly, an outline of current studies dealing with conceptual metaphor in soccer discourse will be provided. From there, I will also develop my research questions.

3.1 The language of football

On 22 June 1986, Argentina played against England in the quarterfinal of the FIFA World Cup at the Azteca Stadium in Mexico City. In the 55th minute Argentina was in the lead 1-0. Then, Héctor Enrique passed the ball to Diego Maradona, who had also scored the first goal, inside his own half and then began his famous 60-yard-in-eleven-seconds-dash towards the English goal, passing three English players and making the score 2-0 to Argentina (Thiele 2010: 188). This goal has come to be known as *Goal of the Century* and is often associated with the live commentary by Uruguayan journalist and football reporter Víctor Hugo Morales, as for TV spectators and radio listeners Maradona's 11-second slalom and clinical finish was drowned by Morales' commentary:

> Maradona on the ball now. Two closing him down. Maradona rolls his foot over the ball and breaks away down the right, the genius of world football. He goes past a third, looks for Burruchaga. Maradona forever! Genius! Genius! Genius! He's still going… Gooooal! Sorry, I want to cry! Good God! Long live football! What a goal! A memorable run from Maradona. The greatest solo goal of all time. Cosmic Kite, which planet did you come from? (2016)[3]

Víctor Hugo Morales' words following Maradona's goal are often recited, even FIFA.com describes his comment as "a memorable piece of commentary [which] is a faithful account of those 11 seconds of footballing perfection." (Fifa.com 2016) This goal has earned Maradona the title *Fußballgott* and the reputation of being the best soccer player of all time. Likewise, this ecstatic, tawdry and epic piece of *poetry* has made commentator Víctor Hugo Morales a living legend. Thiele (2010: 188) has put it aptly: "Die Worte – oder soll man sagen: Verse? – von Morales gibt es im Museum für Zeitgenössische Kunst gedruckt zu kaufen. Neben Kunstdrucken von Picasso, Mondrian und van Gogh."

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[3] See for yourself at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2JASEUO59YM

This short historical account of a world-famous soccer commentary may show the significance of football language, the language used to refer to football specific processes. Sir Bobby Charlton, a former well-known soccer player who played for Manchester United, found the right words to capture the essence of the power of football language and its influence by the English language: "Football and English are the only truly global languages" (Thaler 2008: 391). Considering the omnipresence of football with perpetual presence in the media, present-day football undoubtedly brings about an enormous amount of "specialized language use" (Bergh & Ohlander 2012b: 282), which, in the light of its scope and quantity, duly justifies linguistic analysis and interest. Bergh and Ohlander (2012b: 281) argue that football language is the world's most widespread special language, where English plays a pivotal role. It is not only football players themselves and officials that contribute to the production of enormous quantities of football language, even more so, it is the media through their thorough and intensive coverage of the game: live commentaries, interviews and post-match discussions, news articles, minute-by-minute commentaries, written follow-ups and statements on internet blogs contribute to the universally understood and spoken football language (Bergh & Ohlander 2012b: 282).

The term *special language* has already been mentioned earlier. According to Bergh and Ohlander (Bergh & Ohlander 2012b; Bergh & Ohlander 2012a) "special languages are obviously used to talk and write about special subjects, whether, of an abstruse nature, like theoretical physics, or of a more readily accessible, down-to-earth kind, like football." Hence, in the context of football, all those people around the world who are involved in football in one way or another, on or off the pitch, contribute to the global phenomenon of football language, its original variety being football English, according to Bergh and Ohlander (2012a: 14).

Given the fact that the cradle of the modern variety of Association Football as we know it today, originated in England around 150 years ago and the uncontested fact that, at present, English is the lingua franca of the world (Crystal 2003), it does not come as a surprise that the lexis of football commentary is heavily influenced by English. Hence, football as a global phenomenon, although originating in England, is disseminating its English terminology to languages all over the globe (Bergh & Ohlander 2012b: 282-283). Bergh and Ohlander (2012b: 283) note in this context that "English football language cannot be treated as just any variety of football language; rather, it is the variety that has, as it were, set the pattern for the others."

Bergh and Ohlander (2012a: 15-16; 2012b: 282) have highlighted how special football language may be analyzed. They state that football language is a fusion of general-language items (e.g. win) and football-specific items (e.g. *free kick*). This means that one cannot talk or write about football processes without using general-language items such as *goal*, *player*, *team*, *win* or *lose*,

nor is it possible to leave out technical football terms like *free kick*, *offside* or *corner*. This distinction may sound quite straightforward, but it is not: it is extremely difficult to distinguish between words belonging to the general language and words making up special football terms and drawing a clear line between the two.

Further evidence for the fact that football language is dependent on general-language items and football-specific items is that technical football terms and phrases are also adopted as metaphorical expressions in general-language contexts, with no connection to football (Bergh & Ohlander 2012a: 16). As an example Bergh and Ohlander (2012a: 16) draw attention to the expression *to score an own goal* which can be found in the Oxford Dictionary Online. One example sentence to illustrate the meaning of the phrase is the following: "Government scores own goal by assisting organized crime in London". This demonstrates quite clearly that clear-cut categorization in this respect is not possible and that the boundaries between football language and general language are fuzzy at best. Bergh and Ohlander (2012a: 35) note that "[n]owhere, perhaps, is this more apparent than with regard to metaphorical expressions, an aspect of football language meriting special attention." Examples of metaphors such as *Real Madrid fired their heavy artillery* are part of the assortment of metaphors that are used in football commentary. Here, as quite aptly put by Bergh and Ohlander (2012a: 36),

> general-language vocabulary provides the basis for much of the lexical backbone of football language, in the form of metaphorical expressions capturing the competitive framework of the game, expressions that are so indispensable to football – everywhere and in all languages – that we have almost stopped looking on them as metaphors.

Bergh and Ohlander (Bergh & Ohlander 2012b) are not the only authors who bring up the importance of metaphors in football commentary. Carmeli (2001: 64) makes reference to Azar (1972), who highlights the abundant use of metaphors and borrowings from other semantic fields in sports journalism in general. Azar (1972 as quoted in Carmeli, 2001, p. 64) supports the claim that metaphor is used for the purpose of capturing the readers' attention and thus proclaims its own identity. Carmeli (2001: 64) refers to the same idea when he states that "[s]ports writing more evidently mediates and constructs reality for its readers." Metaphorical language use in football commentary brings the reader closer to the actual events on the pitch. I would like to bring this argument in line with CMT's overall objective that conventionalized metaphorical language use is a ubiquitous phenomenon and plays a systematic role not only in structuring language but also in shaping reality, "emphasizing the role of mundane (bodily and cultural) experience as capital sources of metaphorical meaning." (Herrmann 2013: 29) Bergh and

Ohlander (2012a: 15) also note how football has gained center stage as part of contemporary entertainment and culture:

> The broad interface between football as sport and football as entertainment or popular culture will naturally leave its mark on our perception of football language as a special language, e.g. in terms of the vocabulary used when communicating about various aspects of the game.

Thus, football language goes beyond technical football terms such as *free kicks*, *corner kicks* and *offside*, it includes chanting, fans and hooligans, it is the language that is anchored in the *Laws of the Game* that lays out the rules defining the game, it is the language used on the pitch and off the pitch, in the media and beyond, or, as Bergh and Ohlander (2012a: 15) put it, "a special and public language rolled into one. Speakers of football language literally run into millions, not to say billions, from active players to armchair fans watching the game on TV or online."

3.2   Is soccer war?

In his essay "The Sporting Spirit", George Orwell (1945) argues that "[s]erious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting." Further-more, he states that "international sporting contests lead to orgies of hatred" and puts forward the claim that "[a]t the international level sport is frankly mimic warfare." Orwell's assertions seem to recognize the parallel between two conceptual domains in our mind, namely those of war and sport. While this cross-domain mapping between war and sport surely has interesting implications in various disciplines and cultural contexts, its most noticeable impact can probably be seen in the field of football, which is often conceived of in terms of the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR. This conceptualization of football is also what lends this section the title *Is soccer war?* The primary purpose of this section is to give an overview of current research on meta-phorical language use in soccer discourse that can be found in the relevant literature. Therefore, firstly, the conceptualization of soccer in terms of war is explored. I hereby wish to give evidence for the prevailing opinion in much of the current metaphor studies that examine metaphor use in soccer discourse that football is indeed conceptualized in conflict-related ways. Secondly, I wish to investigate other, non-violent, source domains that are exploited for conceptualizing the target domain football.

It has already been mentioned earlier in this thesis that metaphor is a prevalently used phenom-enon in soccer media coverage in both, written post-match commentaries and live TV reporting. Studies have suggested that metaphor is one of the most distinctive features of football lan-guage (cf. Baldauf 1997; Beard 1998; Burkhardt 2006; Chapanga 2004; Gunell 2009;

Lewandowski 2012; Nordin 2008; Vierkant 2008). Burkhard (2006: 9), who compiled a dictionary of soccer language in German called *Wörterbuch der Fußballsprache*, made the following remark on metaphorical language use in football discourse in the introductory section of the dictionary: "Die wichtigsten Prinzipien, nach denen ein Großteil der fußballsprachlichen Wörter und Wendungen gebildet ist und weiterhin gebildet wird, sind Metapher, Metonymie und die vereinfachende Abstraktion." Metaphors are used to explain and comment on the events on the field. For example, the following metaphorical expressions can be found in football commentaries: *keep their hopes of survival alive*, *Ronaldo attacked the near post to arrive first and bury his header*, *Real Madrid struck twice*, *firing a free-kick into the bottom corner of the net*, or *a 3-2 aggregate victory*. Likewise, in German soccer commentaries, phrases like *er sprengt die Mauer*, *er attackiert Ronaldo*, *der HSV erkämpf einen Sieg gegen Bayern Leverkusen*, *in einem kampfbetonten Spiel hat sich Bayern München durchgesetzt*, *wir packen alles aus was wir kämpferisch in unserem Rucksack haben*, or *das Duell habe ich heute grandios verloren* can be found to describe the processes on the pitch. All those examples are linguistic instantiations of the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR.

Since most research that has been done in this field is based on CMT, analysis of football metaphors mostly focuses on conceptual metaphor and the identification and analysis of common source and target domains. Summarizing the findings of the studies that apply CMT in metaphor research on soccer language, the most extensively used conceptual metaphor is FOOTBALL IS WAR, or following Lewandowski's (2012: 80) line of argument: "One of the most distinctive features of soccer language (and of sports language in general) is the prevalence of war metaphor." Bergh and Ohlander (2012a: 36) put it briefly and succinctly by saying that "there is the all-pervasive 'master metaphor': 'Football is war'." Burkhardt (2006: 9; emphasis in original) makes a similar point and justifies his statement by giving examples from German:

> Weil in den Ballsportarten jeweils zwei Parteien um Sieg oder Niederlage ringen, ist zur Beschreibung der Spiele vor allem das Bild vom Krieg oder Kampf in besonderer Weise geeignet, das vielen inzwischen gängigen Bezeichnungen zugrunde liegt. Wo werden die Gegner *attackiert* und der Ball *geschossen*. Der *Bomber der Nation* kann eine *Granate* ins obere linke Eck *abfeuern* oder einen Kopfball*torpedo* machen. Man kann dem Gegner *ins offene Messer laufen*, wenn man auf dessen Kontertaktik hereinfällt, *mit offenem Visier kämpfen* und das Spiel so zu *einer offenen Feldschlacht* werden lassen, in deren Verlauf Gegner *niedergemetzelt* werden und an deren Ende der *Besiegte geschlagen* vom Platz geht.

This suggests that WAR is an important source domain, lending structure from a concrete domain, i.e. war, and simplifying the more complex matter FOOTBALL. It allows us to make associations between activities in two different conceptual domains, i.e. war and soccer. This rests on the assumption that both soccer and war are highly competitive where normally a clear winner

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and loser can be determined. Strategic thinking, team work, glory of winning and shame of defeat are also characteristics of the two domains. A football game is often referred to as a *battle*, in which the players are *soldiers*, who *go down with an injury* when they are hurt and attempting to score a goal is referred to as *shooting* (Bergh 2011: 84-85; Chapanga 2004: 66-67). Bergh uses examples from British newspapers to demonstrate the undeniable link between war and football and notes that "our understanding of the game nowadays even depends on it." (Bergh 2011: 84) The following examples (6a-d) are taken from Bergh (2011: 84-85) for illustration:

(6)   a.   Liverpool *beat* Arsenal after titanic *battle*.
      b.   Former *captain* David Beckham named in England *squad*.
      c.   Wenger awaits United's *heavy artillery*.
      d.   Evans to become first *casualty* of Manchester City revolution.

The italicized words and phrases suggests that the game itself can be seen as a battle, whose participants (captains and squads) try to defeat each other through beating and using weapons (heavy artillery) to achieve certain consequences, i.e. casualties, perhaps even a revolution. Furthermore, Burkhardt (2006: 11) has pointed to the use of warlike metaphors in German when it comes to tactical behavior of players as in *mit offenem Visir kämpfen*, for example, referring to a player who is adopting an offensive style of play.

However, the Polish linguist Lewandowski (2012) took a different approach to metaphor research in football discourse, probably in response to the widely debated soccer-war analogy. Besides having argued that war metaphors are indeed a dominant phenomenon in soccer reporting, Lewandowski (2012: 80) suggests that football is not only war, arguing that some metaphors draw a less aggressive image of the world's most popular sport. He states that "football can also be perceived as an esthetically pleasing field of human activity." (Lewandowski 2012: 80) In his study, Lewandowski (2012) arrives at a number of non-violent source domains that are exploited for conceptualizing the target domain soccer. Lewandowski's (2012) findings of the study are illustrated in the following examples (7a-j):

(7)   a.   A SOCCER MATCH IS A THEATER PERFORMANCE: […] and the winger would dearly love for the game to be a **dress rehearsal** for the final in eight months' time. (Lewandowski 2012: 82, emphasis in original)

      b.   A SOCCER MATCH IS A TEST: Far from their best – in fact, a pale shadow of the side that brushed aside Portugal – they [the Germans] **gave us a lesson** in the most important quality. Winning when you are playing badly. (Lewandowski 2012: 84, emphasis in original)

      c.   A SOCCER MATCH IS FOOD: The return matches in the Champions League Round of Sixteen on Tuesday night were a veritable **feast for the eyes**. (Lewandowski 2012: 85, emphasis in original)

d.   FOOTBALLING SUPERIORITY IS ROYAL POWER: Celtic striker Georgios Samaras has dismissed Rangers as an inferior footballing side who don't deserve to **dethrone the reigning** SPL champions. (Lewandowski 2012: 86, emphasis in original)

e.   A SOCCER TEAM IS A MACHINE: That 2-1 defeat was of little importance though, and at the quarter-final stage, the Mexicans began **firing on all cylinders** again. (Lewandowski 2012: 87, emphasis in original)

f.   A SOCCER TEAM IS A BUILDING: Of further encouragement to Arsenal, Guardiola must **re-build** his central defence as suspensions deprive him of Gerard Piqué and Carles Puyol. (Lewandowski 2012: 88, emphasis in original)

g.   AN OUTSTANDING SOCCER PERFORMANCE IS A WORK OF ART: Fabregas conjures **work of art** to deny outclassed Liverpool. (Lewandowski 2012: 88, emphasis in original)

h.   AN OUTSTANDING SOCCER PERFORMANCE IS MAGIC: Portsmouth have admitted they had to five **sorcerer** Harry Redknapp's old job to his **apprentice** Tony Adams. (Lewandowski 2012: 89, emphasis in original)

i.   A SOCCER MATCH IS A JOURNEY / VOYAGE: After 120 minutes Ghana and one billion Africans thought they had reached the **promised land**. (Lewandowski 2012: 90, emphasis in original)

j.   THE WINNING TEAM IS AHEAD; THE LOSING TEAM IS BEHIND: The Netherlands came **from behind** to break Brazilian hearts and take a huge step towards a third FIFA World Cup final appearance. (Lewandowski 2012: 92, emphasis in original)

The linguistic metaphors in examples (7a-j), which are highlighted in bold, are instantiations of a particular conceptual metaphor which are given in small capital letters. Lewandowski's (2012) study thus provides ample evidence that football can not only be structured in terms of warfare but that the conceptualization of soccer in terms of non-violent domains is indeed possible.

This summary of research associated with the conceptualization of football in terms of war as well as Lewandowski's account of other source domains that are used to conceptualize football, has motivated the following specific research questions that will be answered in the empirical chapter of this theses:

RQ1   What metaphors are typically used in English and German football commentaries, i.e. which source domains can be identified?

RQ2   Is there a difference in terms of preferred metaphors in English and German?

In the present as well as the previous section, I have introduced the general theme, the theoretical framework, and the general research questions of this thesis. The general introduction was followed by a description of the theoretical background on traditional and current metaphor research. Subsequently, the main topic of this thesis was introduced and put into perspective: a general overview of the language of football was followed by an outline of current metaphor studies, shedding light on the predominant FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor in soccer commentaries. From this, I have positioned my research and developed specific research question

that will be answered in the empirical section of this thesis. In the following section, I will introduce the metaphor identification procedure as introduced by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) in full technical detail.

4 METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION IN DISCOURSE

As the title suggests, this section will be devoted to the presentation of metaphor identification in discourse. The first part of this section introduces the basic distinction between two different approaches that can be applied in the identification of metaphor in discourse, that is the deductive and inductive method. Secondly, although CMT is probably the prevalent approach to metaphor research and is highly respected and renowned within cognitive linguistics, it has nevertheless been under critical scrutiny. The second part of this section is therefore set out to outline the difficulty of identifying metaphors in discourse and the challenges that are faced in cognitive approaches to metaphor identification. Subsequently, an overview will be given of the linguistic metaphor identification and analysis as proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), as this procedure will be applied in the present study in order to identify metaphorically used language in written minute-by-minute live commentaries.

4.1 Deductive vs. inductive approaches to metaphor identification

For an accurate account of the methodology that will be used in this study, it is important to make a differentiation between two approaches that can be applied when using corpora to research metaphor in discourse. This concerns the direction of identification, which may be either leaning towards a deductive, or so called top-down approach, or an inductive, also referred to as bottom-up approach. It has been mentioned that the inductive and the deductive method differ in terms of the direction of investigation in corpus studies. Specifically, this means that the deductive approach adopts a more hypothesis-driven strategy, while the inductive method exhibits a more open-ended approach, seeking to identify patterns and regularities on the basis of specific observations (Herrmann 2013: 72-73).

When applying the deductive approach to finding metaphor in discourse using corpora, the underlying research question that one could strive to answer in this context may be the following: *Which are the linguistic instances of FOOTBALL IS WAR in minute-by-minute live commentaries?* (cf. Herrmann 2013: 72). Here, the range of linguistic manifestations of the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR is examined. Hence, this method relies on initially established hypotheses, which are then tested and verified using corpora. When it comes to the inductive (or bottom-up) identification, the research question that could underlie the research project could be the following: *Which linguistic features are metaphorically used in minute-by-minute live commentaries?* (cf. Herrmann 2013: 73).

In cognitive linguistics, the predominant approach to identifying metaphor is the deductive one (Steen 2007a: 27). Steen (2007a: 27) illustrates this claim with a fitting example from the famous British move *Mary Poppins*, where Mary and the two children in her care are paying a visit to Bert and his Uncle Albert, who is brimming over with mirth, which makes him hover in the air in the living room while he is singing the song *I Love to Laugh*. Every time he has a new fit of laughter he rises a little more. When they all join in Uncle Albert's laughter, they too soar into the air towards the ceiling. When they wonder how to get back down again, Uncle Albert tells them to think of something sad.

Steen's (2007a: 27) description of this scene is justified by the claim that

> [n]o cognitive linguist can view this scene without being reminded of the conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP. All of the visual images in the scene are instantiations of parts of this conceptual metaphor, and it is hard to avoid watching the scene without bringing this knowledge to bear.

The scene from *Mary Poppins* adds even more linguistic material for investigation when Uncle Albert tells Bert, who has joined him in the air, to "pull up a chair" so that they can sit down. This example thus suggests that in cognitive linguistics, scholars tend to work deductively to identify metaphor in language. The existence of conceptual structures guides the search for linguistic manifestations of metaphor in language, "based on the (*a priori*) assumption of rather large-scale mappings between conceptual domains that are expressed by various conventional and novel metaphorical expressions." (Herrmann 2013: 73). Steen (2007a: 27) puts forward the claim that "[f]or many cognitive linguists, it has become second nature to see concrete manifestations of conceptual metaphors everywhere." Which, in the case of *Mary Poppins* may hold true. However, in many other cases, this observation about how a particular conceptual metaphor can lead the researcher to reliable descriptions of linguistic or cognitive metaphors in discourse, may be less obvious (Steen 2007a: 27).

Hence, in a deductive approach to metaphor identification the existence of predetermined conceptual metaphors is assumed and empirically tested. This type of research goes from conceptual structure to linguistic form in which

> casual relations are formulated between the conceptual structure of metaphor in usage and grammar […] on the one hand and the linguistic expression of metaphor on the other […]. This relation is a reflection of the fundamental cognitive-linguistic idea that metaphor in language is derived from metaphor in thought (Steen 2007a: 31).

In contrast to the deductive approach, an inductive procedure involves a manual annotation of metaphorically used expressions, which, as already mentioned above, restricts corpus size for

practical reasons. According to Steen (2007a: 34) the main contrast between inductive and deductive methods of identifying metaphor in language and thought is the fact that

> inductive methods do not assume the validity or effect of conceptual metaphors. Instead, the inductive approach proceeds on a case by case basis, or even in terms of groups of cases, and decides for each case or group what can be inferred about their conceptual structure. If patterns are observed across cases, then tentative generalizations may be postulated, but as a rule these do not go as far as including entire systems of conceptual mappings between source domains and target domains or their conceptual variants in other models of metaphor.

As far as the inductive approach is concerned, the direction of investigation is from linguistic form through to meaning in order to develop valid generalizations about language meaning and use. This procedure involves looking for regularities and patterns. Deignan (2005: 92) suggests that "corpus analysis of semantic issues such as metaphor must be bottom-up rather than top-down."

4.2   Kudos, challenges and criticism

In spite of CMT's great success over the past three decades, it has had to take numerous criticism both from scholars within and outside cognitive-linguistic metaphor studies. It has been criticized for two main reasons: Firstly, the issue of methodology and secondly, the issue of the direction of analysis. In the following, these points will be discussed in turn (Kövecses 2008: 168).

One general issue in doing research on metaphors is the fact that there are no established procedures in metaphor identification, meaning that there is every chance that if a number of people look at the same text, they would most likely select different metaphors (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, pp. 1-2). According to the Pragglejaz Group (2007: 1-2) there is no reliable statistical agreement among researchers about what constitutes a metaphoric word or phrase. The primary difficulty with metaphor studies, as identified by the Pragglejaz Group (2007: 1-2), is that "scholars often do not provide criteria in their empirical investigations for specifying what is, and what is not, metaphorical". There is also an ongoing debate among researchers about the lack of agreed criteria and an explicit methodology for the identification and analysis of metaphor in language in CMT (Herrmann 2013: 27). The Pragglejaz Group (2007) has pointed to the need for a clear distinction between what constitutes a metaphor, and what does not, in metaphor research.

Furthermore, it is criticized that researchers in CMT mostly work with intuitively and unsystematically found linguistic metaphors as the basis for finding conceptual metaphors. That is to say, researchers in CMT base their assumptions on data which they extracted from their own mental

lexicons or data found in dictionaries and thesauri. From this, they arrive at and suggest conceptual metaphors. The charge is that their evidence is based on artificially constructed rather than real live data, as can be found in corpora for example (Kövecses 2008: 168-169).

However, attempts have been made to overcome this difficulty. Herrmann (2013: 51) noted that "recent metaphor studies have highlighted that relying overly on intuition hampers the identification of metaphor as an intersubjectively observable 'fact of the world'". With the introduction of the metaphor identification procedure (henceforth MIP) the Pragglejaz Group have tried to establish a systematic methodology in identifying metaphor in language. In the subsequent section it will be presented what attempts have been made in order to control the influence of subjectivity on decisions about what counts as a metaphor and what not, if the overall aim in metaphor research is to produce observable and objective evidence on what is and what is not metaphorical language. Therefore, the metaphor identification procedure as proposed by a research group called the Pragglejaz Group will be presented in section 4.2.

The second point of criticism is closely related to the previous one and centers around the direction of analysis, meaning, the issue whether a top-down or bottom-up approach to metaphor identification should be applied (Kövecses 2008: 170). According to Kövecses (2008: 170), within a cognitive linguistic framework, linguistic metaphors have traditionally been identified in a deductive way. This is due to the fact that researchers within CMT postulate conceptual metaphors based on a rather small number of decontextualized examples, i.e. linguistic metaphors. From this they examine the internal structure of conceptual metaphor, meaning, they set up mappings and entailments. What has been under critical scrutiny here is the fact that the identification of metaphor merely involves locating suitable metaphors (Low & Todd 2010: 224). Herrmann (2013: 73) notes that the deductive way has been criticized for being imprecise in mainly two ways. Firstly, the top-down approach to metaphor identification has a strong intuitive basis. This concerns the summation of linguistic evidence as manifestation of a particular conceptual metaphor, as well as the fact that many examples are invented rather than taken from natural, real-life discourse. The second, and probably the most important concern regarding the deductive approach, is the fact that it is prone to overlook unexpected linguistic metaphors, since it tries to test whether a certain conceptual metaphor can be identified and verified in discourse. This is the case because the deductive approach does not include an open-ended exploration of other types and forms of metaphor.

The inductive method for identifying metaphor in discourse has also come under fierce criticism. What has been mostly criticized here is the lack of clearly defined criteria for defining and identifying metaphor. However, these criteria should not be too restricted and specified openly, as

otherwise, there is a risk of producing invalid evidence. Herrmann (2013: 74) puts forward the claim that "[i]f the aim is to produce intersubjectively observable evidence, then the influence of subjectivity on decisions about what counts as a metaphor and what not needs to be controlled as much as possible." In the following section I will present the attempts that have been made in order to overcome this issue.

4.3   The Pragglejaz procedure for finding metaphorically used words

The Pragglejaz Group[4] is an international group of metaphor researchers who joined forces and started the *metaphor identification procedure* (MIP) in 2007. According to them, it is a precise method for identifying metaphorically used words and phrases in discourse (Steen 2007b: 11-12). The main objective of the Pragglejaz method was to develop an instrument for metaphor identification in discourse "that is both reliable as indicated by statistical tests and valid in that it attempts to make explicit how it makes use of current empirical research in cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis, psycholinguistics, and applied linguistics." (Steen 2007b: 12) As the theoretical framework for this project a cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor with a broad view of discourse analysis was chosen, as well as Lakoff and Johnson's view of metaphor as a cross-domain mapping was adopted (Steen 2007b: 12). Further, in contrast to other approaches to identify metaphor in discourse, the MIP does not start from considering a "preconceived set of conceptual metaphors from which to base further identification of metaphorically used words." (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 33). With these considerations as a starting point, the Pragglejaz Group attempted to formulate a precise procedure for metaphor identification in natural discourse. After several tentative versions that were applied, tested and revised the final version of a four-step procedure was published in 2007.

The procedure is the following:

1. Read the entire text-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse.
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

    (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be

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[4] The name Pragglejaz is formed by the initials of the first names of the ten members of the group: Peter Crisp, Ray Gibbs, Alan Cienki, Gerard Steen, Graham Low, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joseph Grady, Alice Deignan and Zoltán Kövecses (cf. Semino 2008: 11; Steen 2007b: 11-12)

- More concrete [what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste];
- Relate to bodily action;
- More precise (as opposed to vague);
- Historically older;

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

Exactly how the procedure is applied in practice will first be illustrated with an example discussed in the literature (Group 2007: 3-13). The example sentence was taken from a newspaper article from *The Independent* titled "Sonia Gandhi stakes claim for top job with denunciation of Vajpayee".

/ For / years / , Sonia Gandhi / has / struggled / to / convince / Indians / that / she / is / fit / to / wear / the / mantle / of / the / political / dynasty / into / which / she / married / , let alone / to / become / premier / .

For

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, the preposition "for" indicates temporal duration, that is, it introduces a noun phrase (*years*) that indicates the period of time spanned by the action/process referred to by the main verb phrase in the sentence (*has struggled*).

(b) *basic meaning:* The preposition "for" can be used to introduce the beneficiary or recipient of an action, often involving the transfer of a physical entity from one person to another (e.g., *I've brought a cup of tea for you*). This could be regarded as the basic meaning of the preposition. This is the first sense of "for" in the contemporary dictionary used […].

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrast with the basic meaning. However, we have not found a way in which the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No*.*

years

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "year" indicates a long period of time encompassing several calendar years. The use of "years" emphasizes the length of the relevant period of time, rather than demarcating it with any precision.

(b) *basic meaning:* The most basic meaning of *year* is the cynical period of time in which the earth completes a full revolution around the sun, consisting of 365 or 366 (although the precise number of days is not necessarily part of the basic meaning).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is very closely related to the basic meaning and does not significantly contrast with it.

Metaphorically used? No.

Sonia Ghandi [sic]

(a) *contextual meaning:* The proper name refers to a specific, uniquely identifiable individual in a particular historical and geographical context.
(b) *basic meaning:* The proper name does not have a more basic meaning.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

has

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "has" is the operator in the verb phrase "has struggled," where it signals agreement with the singular grammatical subject "Sonia Ghandi," [sic] and expresses an aspectual meaning, that is, it indicates that the relevant action/process started in the past and has not yet been completed.
(b) *basic meaning:* As an auxiliary verb, *to have* does not have a more basic meaning. As a lexical verb, *to have* has the more basic meaning of possession (prototypically involving physical objects).
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* If we consider *to have* as an auxiliary verb, the contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning. If we consider the lexeme *to have* as a whole, the contextual meaning contrasts with a more basic meaning. However, we have not found a way in which the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

struggled

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "struggled" indicates effort, difficulty and lack of success in achieving a goal, namely changing other people's negative views and attitudes.
(b) *basic meaning:* The basic meaning of the verb *to struggle* is to use one's physical strength against someone or something, as in *She picked up the child, but he struggled and kicked*. The evidence cited in the etymological dictionary consulted, the Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles, also suggests that this meaning is historically prior (p. 2,157).
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be understood by comparison with it: We can understand abstract effort, difficulty, opposition and conflict in terms of physical effort, difficulty, opposition and conflict.

Metaphorically used? Yes.

to

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "to" has the purely grammatical function of signaling the infinitive form of the verb. Hence, it has a very abstract and schematic "meaning."

(b) *basic meaning:* As an infinitive marker, *to* does not have a more basic meaning. As a preposition, *to* has the more basic meaning of introducing the end point or destination of movement in physical space, as in *There are daily flights to Boston.*

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* If we consider *to* as an infinitive marker, the contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning. If we consider the lexeme *to* as a whole, the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic, spatial meaning of the preposition *to*. However, we have not found a way in which the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No

convince

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "convince" means to persuade a large number of people to change their views about Sonia Ghandi's [sic] suitability as a political leader.

(b) *basic meaning:* The verb *convince* does not have a different, more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

Indians

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "Indians" refers to the inhabitants of contemporary India, and particularly those who have the right to vote in elections.

(b) *basic meaning:* The basic meaning of *Indians* is all inhabitants of India.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning does not significantly contrast with the basic meaning, and, in any case, is not understood by comparison with the more general meaning

Metaphorically used? No.

that

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "that" has the purely grammatical function of signaling grammatical subordination: it introduces the direct object-complement of the verb *to convince*. Hence, it has a very abstract and schematic meaning.

(b) *basic meaning:* As a complementizer-subordinating conjunction, *that* does not have a more basic meaning. If we consider the lexeme *that* as a whole, the demonstrative pronoun-determiner *that* has the basic physical meaning of indicating that a particular referent can be identified as being spatially distant from the speaker (or deictic center) in the situation evoked by the text, as in *Give me that hammer.*

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* If we consider *that* as a complementiser-subordinating conjunction, the contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning. If we consider the lexeme *that* as a whole, the contextual meaning contrasts with a more basic meaning. However, we have not found a way in which the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No

she

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "she" indicates a female referent who is uniquely identifiable in the situation evoked by the text.
(b) *basic meaning:* The pronoun *she* does not have a more basic meaning.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

is

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "is" introduces a (possible or hypothetical) property of a particular referent in the text world: Sonia Ghandi [sic].
(b) *basic meaning:* As a copular-linking verb, *to be* as a whole, the verb also has the meaning of indicating existence. However, this meaning is rather formal in contemporary English, and cannot easily be regarded as the basic meaning of the verb.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

fit

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "fit" indicates suitability to play a particular (public) role. It therefore refers to personal qualities such as leadership, integrity, talent, independence, and so on.
(b) *basic meaning:* The adjective *fit* has a different meaning to do with being healthy and physically strong, as in *Running around after the children keeps me fit*. We note that the "suitability" meaning is historically older than the "healthy" meaning; the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles (SOEDHP) gives the "Suitability" meaning as from medieval English and used in Shakespeare, whereas the earliest record of the sport meaning is 1869. However, we decided that the "healthy" meaning can be considered as more basic [...] because it refers to what is directly physically experienced.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrast with the basic meaning and can be understood by comparison with it: We can understand abstract suitability in terms of physical heath and strength.

Metaphorically used? Yes.

to

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "to" has the purely grammatical function of signaling the infinitive form of the verb. Hence, it has a very abstract and schematic "meaning."

(b) *basic meaning:* As an infinitive marker, *to* does not have a more basic meaning. As a preposition, *to* has the more basic meaning of introducing the end point or destination of movement in physical space, as in *There are daily flights to Boston*.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* If we consider *to* as an infinitive marker, the contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning. If we consider the lexeme *to* as a whole, the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic, spatial meaning of the preposition *to*. However, we have not found away in which the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No

wear

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, the idiomatic expression "wear the mantle" means to have a leading role within a family whose members have recently occupied positions of high office in a particular democratic system. The contextual meaning of "wear" is have or bear, and the contextual meaning of "mantle" is the familial responsibility.

(b) *basic meaning:* The basic meaning of *wear* in *wear the mantle* is defined as the first sense of the word in the Macmillan dictionary as follows: "to have something on your body as clothing, decoration or protection" (p. 1,622). The SOEDHP indicates that this meaning is also historically prior (p. 1,274).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be understood by comparison with it: We can understand the process of following family members in having a prominent political role in terms of physically wearing the item of clothing that symbolizes royal power.

Metaphorically used? Yes.

the

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "the" has the grammatical function of indicating definite reference.

(b) *basic meaning:* The definite article *the* does not have a more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

mantle

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "mantle" refers to the role that the Ghandi [sic] family has played in the political leadership of India.

(b) *basic meaning:* The basic meaning of *mantle* is an old-fashioned piece of clothing now usually only worn by people in power, such as monarchs, as a symbol of their position.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be understood by comparison with it: We can understand the role of political leadership that someone may take on in a democracy after other members of their family in terms of the garment that is traditionally worn by a monarch.

Metaphorically used? Yes.

of

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, the preposition "of" has the abstract, grammatical meaning of indicating a relationship between two entities in the situation evoked by the text.

(b) *basic meaning:* The preposition *of* does not have a more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

the

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "the" has the grammatical function of indicating definite reference: It indicates that the referent of the noun phrase of which it is part is uniquely identifiable in the situation evoked by the text; in this case, this is the Ghandi [sic] family as a major player in recent Indian politics.

(b) *basic meaning:* The definite article *the* does not have a more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

political

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "political" indicates the property of being related to politics, and particularly power, influence, and government in India.

(b) *basic meaning:* The adjective does not have a different, more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

dynasty

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "dynasty" refers to the Ghandi [sic] family, and specifically to the fact that various members of the family successively played an important role in Indian politics, and ruled the country for considerable periods of time.

(b) *basic meaning:* It can be argued that *dynasty* has the more basic meaning of a royal family in a monarchic system, where power is inherited from one generation to the next.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning, and can be understood by comparison with it: We can understand the way in which different members of a family successively acquire power in a democracy in terms of the way in which successive members of a royal family inherit the throne within a monarchic system.

Metaphorically used? Yes

into

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, the preposition "into" introduces a family group that Sonia Ghandi [sic] has become a member of via marriage.

(b) *basic meaning:* The preposition *into* has the more basic meaning of introducing a container or bounded area that is entered via physical movement, as in *She got into her car and drove away*.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning, and can be understood by comparison with it: We can understand social-kinship groups as containers, and the process of becoming a member of a group as entering a container or a space.

Metaphorically used? Yes.

which

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "which" functions as a relative pronoun and has the abstract, grammatical function of referring back to the referent of the head of the noun phrase within which the relative clause s embedded, "dynasty."

(b) *basic meaning:* As a relative pronoun, *which* does not have a different, more basic meaning. If we consider the lexeme *which* as a whole, the pronoun-determiner also has an interrogative meaning, which may be regarded as more basic.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* If we consider *which* as a relative pronoun, the contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning. If we consider the lexeme *which* as a whole, the pronoun-determiner has a more basic, interrogative meaning. However, we have not found a way in which the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No

she

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "she" indicates a female referent who is uniquely identifiable in the situation evoked by the text.

(b) *basic meaning:* The pronoun *she* does not have a more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

married

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "married" refers to the process whereby Sonia Maino became Rajiv Ghandi's [sic] spouse, and thereby a member of their family.

(b) *basic meaning:* The verb *marry* does not have a different, more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

let alone

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "let alone" introduces a hypothetical scenario in which Sonia Ghandi [sic] becomes Prime Minister of India, that is presented as even less likely to happen than the previously mentioned hypothetical scenario in which Sonia Ghandi [sic] is fit to take on the political inheritance of other members of the Ghandi [sic] family.

(b) *basic meaning:* As a single lexical unit, *let alone* does not have a different, more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

to

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "to" has the purely grammatical function of signaling the infinitive form of the verb. Hence, it has a very abstract and schematic "meaning".

(b) *basic meaning:* As an infinitive marker, *to* does not have a more basic meaning. As a preposition, *to* has the more basic meaning of introducing the end point of destination of movement in physical space, as in *There are daily flights to Boston.*

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* If we consider *to* as an infinitive marker, the contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning. If we consider the lexeme *to* as a whole, the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic, spatial meaning of the preposition *to*. However, we have not found a way in which the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

become

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "become" refers to a process of change whereby Sonia Ghandi [sic] acquires a particular, political, [sic] role.

(b) *basic meaning:* It can be argued that *become* has a more basic meaning to do with starting to have different properties, as in *People are becoming increasingly angry about the delay*, but we do not regard this meaning as substantially different from the contextual meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No.

premier

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, "premier" refers to the position of Prime Minister of India, that is, leader of the government.

(b) *basic meaning:* The noun *premier* does not have a different, more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Metaphorically used? No

In the following, the MIP will be applied to one sentence, describing it in exemplary fashion. Therefore, one live commentary of one football game was selected out of which one specifically selected example will be analyzed according to the procedure described above. The text is a commentary of a football match, namely West Bromwich Albion vs. Hull City at The Hawthorns football stadium in West Bromwich, England held on January 2, 2017. The procedure will be carried out as suggested by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). At step 1, a reading of the text reveals that it is a live commentary of the football game in question, revealing and describing the most important events that happened during the football match, giving the reader an apt illustration of the game.

At step 2, the lexical units in the sentence are identified in the following way, using slashes in order to indicate the boundaries between lexical units:

Hull / just / give / us / a / reminder / that / they're / not / dead / and / buried / as yet /.

Step 3 is concerned with considering each lexical unit in turn as suggested for each of the three parts of step 3 (3a-c) in the procedure outlined above. More specifically, this means that for each identified lexical unit (a) the contextual meaning, (b) the basic meaning and (c) the contextual meaning is put in contrast with the basic meaning. For determining the current basic meaning of a lexical unit, the *Macmillan Online Dictionary* (2017) is consulted.

Hull

(d) *contextual meaning:* The proper name refers to a professional football club in Hull, England.
(e) *basic meaning:* The proper name does not have a more basic meaning.
(f) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is thus not used metaphorically.

just

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, *just* functions as an adverb, meaning "not better, worse, more important etc than what you are mentioning" (MM, entry *just*, accessed 25 April 2017).
(b) *basic meaning:* As an adverb, *just* does not have a different basic meaning.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is thus not used metaphorically.

give

(d) *contextual meaning:* In the given context *give* functions as a transitive verb meaning "to show or communicate information" (MM, entry *give*, accessed 25 April 2017).
(e) *basic meaning:* There is no other basic meaning of *give*.
(f) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

us

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, *us* is used as the object form of *we.*
(b) *basic meaning:* The pronoun *us* does not have a more basic meaning.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

a

(a) *contextual meaning: A* is used as an indefinite article, followed by the singular countable noun *reminder*.
(b) *basic meaning:* The article *a* does not have a more basic meaning.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

reminder

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, the noun *reminder* refers to the following success-ful action of a player of Hull: "Snodgrass sends in a good corner that Davies gets his head to". It serves as a reminder that they are still active in the game.
(b) *basic meaning:* The basic meaning of *reminder* refers to a thing that serves to remind. The noun *reminder* thus does not have a more basic meaning in the given context.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

that

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, *that* functions as a conjunction connecting two clauses.
(b) *basic meaning:* The conjunction *that* does not have a more basic meaning.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

they

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, *they* refers to the soccer players of the football club Hull City.
(b) *basic meaning:* According to the Macmillan online dictionary the basic meaning of *they* is "used for referring to a group of people or things that have already been mentioned or that are already known about" (MM, entry *they*, accessed 26 April 2017).
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning does not differ from the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

are

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, the third person plural of the verb *to be* functions as a copular-linking verb and indicates that the players of Hull City are still actively in-volved in the game.
(b) *basic meaning:* The copular verb *to be* functions as an indicator of existence and is used for giving information about someone or something (MM, entry *to be*, accessed 26 April 2017).
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

not

(a) *contextual meaning:* In the given context, the adverb *not* is used for making the expression *dead and buried* negative.

(b) *basic meaning:* The adverb *not* does not have a more basic meaning than in this context.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning does not differ from the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

dead

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, the negation of *dead* is used to indicate that the players of Hull are still actively involved in the game.

(b) *basic meaning:* The most basic sense of the adjective *dead* refers to someone who is no longer alive. The negation of *dead* thus indicates that someone is still alive.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning, and can be understood by comparison with it: We can understand active and successful participation in the game as being alive.

It is used metaphorically.

and

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, *and* fulfills the function of connecting two words together

(b) *basic meaning:* The conjunction *and* does not have a more basic meaning.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

buried

(a) *contextual meaning:* In this context, the negation of *bury* indicates that the players of Hull are still actively and successfully participating in the game.

(b) *basic meaning:* The verb *bury* is often used in passive voice. It's basic meaning refers to someone's dead body that is put in the ground during a funeral ceremony (MM, entry *bury*, accessed 26 April 2017).

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning, and can be understood by comparison with it: We can understand active and successful participation in the game as not being buried.

It is used metaphorically.

as yet

(a) *contextual meaning:* In the given context the phrase *as yet* is "used to talk about something that has not happened or been done up to now" (MM, entry *as yet*, accessed 25 April 2017).
(b) *basic meaning:* The phrase *as yet* does not have a more basic meaning.
(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

It is not used metaphorically.

This analysis yields the result that two out of the thirteen lexical units in this single sentence were judged as being used metaphorically. This explication of the MIP is not only intended to illustrate how the procedure works but also aims at demonstrating decisions researchers must make in judging if a word is used metaphorically in discourse or not. This depends on the decision upon a word's (or lexical unit's) basic meaning and its deviation from the contextual meaning. There is of course a high probability that people might make different decisions on what should be judged as metaphorical in a certain context. As far as the identification of metaphorical language in discourse is concerned, the degree of conventionality, that is, how deeply entrenched a metaphor is in everyday language use, is equally determining. The reason is that familiar concepts are deeply entrenched in our memory and that their activation does not require cognitive effort but has become a highly automated routine. This process, however, varies of course from person to person and is dependent on the person's culture, personality as well as interests. Hence, metaphors come to be entrenched and their activation automated depending on the extent that they have been used before. According to Langacker (1987: 59), there is a

> continuous scale of entrenchment in cognitive organization. Every use of a structure has a positive impact on its degree of entrenchment, whereas extended period of disuse have a negative impact. With repeated use, a novel structure becomes progressively entrenched, to the point of becoming a unit; moreover, units are variably entrenched depending on the frequency of their occurrence.

Entrenchment is thus fostered by repetition. In current metaphor studies, well established and deeply entrenched metaphors are referred to as *conventional* metaphors (Kövecses 2010: 33-34). In metaphor identification thus the degree of conventionality of metaphor plays an important part, more specifically, that is, "how deeply entrenched a metaphor is in everyday use by ordinary people for everyday purposes." (Kövecses 2010: 33) Therefore, people familiar with the language used in football commentaries may not come to the same conclusion as regards metaphorically used words in the example above. From this can be derived that the degree of conventionality determines whether speakers identify expressions as being metaphorical or not.

This is a widely discussed debate among metaphor scholars and this is where the purpose of the MIP comes in. The Pragglejaz Group (2007: 13) note that the MIP's great achievement is that it enables researchers to exactly locate their disagreement as to why, or why not a lexical unit is viewed as conveying metaphorical meaning in context. This has been made possible by the description of an explicit set of steps by the Pragglejaz Group.

Further, this explication of MIP as applied to one example sentence is also intended to show that the MIP identifies metaphors on a linguistic, rather than on a conceptual level. The intentions of the Pragglejaz Group for developing MIP was not to start out with already preconceived stets of conceptual metaphors. They note that "the purpose of MIP is to provide a procedure that starts from the actual discourse, and inductively builds the case for why a particular word was used metaphorically in context." This is important to note, considering that this thesis is located within a cognitively informed framework and takes CMT as its basis. Therefore, in the analysis undertaken in this study a further step will be necessary. This step will involve determining which conceptual metaphor underlies the metaphorical linguistic expression identified in discourse.

I would like to take up the analysis of the example sentence taken from the football commentary, *Hull give us a reminder that they are not dead and buried as yet*. The application of MIP yields the result that the words *dead* and *buried* are judged as being used metaphorically in the given context. When looking at the example in its context it becomes clear what *dead* and *buried* refer to:

> Not a whole lot happening out on the pitch at the moment as West Brom look to have the three points in the bag. They can end the matchday as high as seventh if Everton fail to win. Hull just give us a reminder that they're not dead and buried as yet. Snodgrass sends in a good corner that Davies gets his head to at the near post, but the keeper makes a fine save to preserve his side's advantage.

The corner that the player Snodgrass from Hull City sent in is described by the commentator as a reminder that the players from Hull City are not dead and buried yet. The analysis shows that *not dead and buried* refers to the entity of the football players from Hull who are doing their best to keep up the game with a good performance, i.e. a good corner. It is clear that the concepts DEATH and BEING BURIED cannot be literally applied to the entity referred to by FOOTBALL PLAYERS DEMONSTRATING A GOOD PERFORMANCE. Their good performance suggests that they are not dead and buried yet, meaning that they are still alive, that is surviving. Hence, the underlying cross-domain mapping that can be identified here is the conceptualization of success in terms of surviving, yielding the conceptual metaphor SUCCESS IS SURVIVING.

To sum up, the task of this section was to introduce the notion of metaphor identification in discourse as this provides the basis for the data collection for the research project underlying this thesis. I have thus illustrated the two different directions of analysis that can be taken when identifying metaphors in discourse, that is the inductive and the deductive method. It was shown that the direction of analysis largely depends on what the analysts seeks to investigate. In this thesis, a mixed approach will be used to identify metaphors in discourse, that is both, the inductive and the deductive procedure will be applied in the undertaking of identifying metaphors in football discourse. This was followed by an account of the problems and challenges that metaphor identification and analysis poses within the cognitive paradigm. The fist problem that has been identified directly follows from the direction of analysis. The second problem is mainly attributed to the fact that metaphor identification in general lacks a systematic methodological foundation. Further, this section introduced the attempt that has been made to overcome those methodological problems and have thus provided a comprehensive description of the metaphor identification procedure as proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), as this will procedure will be applied to identify metaphor in football discourse in the research project underlying this thesis.

5   DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The task of the present and the following sections is to describe the research project underlying my thesis. While section 6 and 7 will focus on the presentation and discussion of the findings of the study, the section at hand constitutes an outline of the project itself, that is the way it is conducted and the kind of data that it involves. Specifically, I will give an overview of the material that is used as basis of my analysis, which thus makes up the corpus from which the data is collected. In addition, challenges and limitations that are faced when designing and compiling a corpus on one's own are addressed. Further, in the methodology section it will be explained how the data is obtained. This involves a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the data. While the quantitative analysis will measure the distribution of metaphor across English and German written minute-by-minute live commentaries, the task of the qualitative analysis on the one hand is to identify instances of the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR, and on the other hand determine other source domains which help to conceptualize the description of events on the soccer field. Finally, the limitations that are inherent in the research design and the problems that were encountered during the research project will be addressed.

5.1   Compiling a corpus

The aim of the present and the subsequent section is to describe the empirical basis of the research project, a bilingual corpus of football live commentaries, and explain the method of analysis as well as the general architecture of the resource.

In order to conduct quantitative and qualitative analyses two subcorpora, in English and German respectively, were constructed, drawing on written live commentaries of football matches found on the internet. The decision to merely opt for written online resources as basis of analysis is for practical reasons only. It goes of course without saying that a written media corpus is far more easily produced than compiling a corpus of spoken live broadcasting which would involve a transcription of live TV commentary. Therefore, for reasons of practicality and convenience the data set that will be analyzed in this study is restricted to pre-existing written sources only, as transcribing live TV commentaries would go far beyond the constraints of this thesis.

5.1.1   The challenges of corpus design

Unfortunately, I have not been able to find an already existing corpus that is suitable for the purpose of this study. Therefore, I have opted for the possibility of designing my own corpus

from resources available on the internet to create my own linguistic tool that meets the requirements for analyzing metaphorical language use in football discourse. Most certainly, it goes without saying that the compilation of a corpus is a time-consuming matter.

The first factor that needs to be taken into consideration concerns the size of the corpus. One would assume that a bigger corpus may be considered to be better in the sense that it is more representative than a one. However, the question of corpus size is a controversial issue. To put it in Reppen's (2010: 31-32) words: "The question of corpus size is a difficult one. There is not a specific number of words that answers this question. Corpus size is certainly not a case of one size fits all." It is very much dependent on the purpose it is supposed to fulfill. Reppen (2010: 32) argues that corpus research that is undertaken so as to capture all possible senses of a particular word, as in building a dictionary, then the corpus has to comprise tens or hundreds of millions of words. However, depending on the research questions underlying the study, it is also possible to get a lot of useful data out of a comparatively small corpus. Especially when exploring high frequency items. At this point I would like to put forward the claim that metaphor in football discourse is indeed considered to be a high frequency item with a high density of occurrences in match reports and written live commentaries. Therefore, the size of the corpus for the underlying research project will be kept to a minimum.

I have also been constrained by more practical considerations, namely by the fact that the manual annotation of a corpus is indeed a time-consuming undertaking, as the application of a bottom-up approach (i.e. the inductive procedure[5]), which will be applied in the quantitative analysis of the data, requires a manual annotation of metaphors (Herrmann 2013: 74). Consequently, this restricts corpus size for practical reasons, to make metaphor identification, classification and annotation a manageable task.

5.1.2   The material

The material for the study consists of written football live commentaries which are published on the web. Such a live commentary is also referred to as play-by-play, or minute-by-minute commentary[6] and is published on the internet while the match occurs. To put it in a nutshell, it is a detailed and sequential account of every phase of the match, as it happens (Pérez-Sabater & Peña-Martínez 2008: 243). It can either be a spoken description of the sports competition on radio or television, or a written account found in newspapers, in online versions of newspapers

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[5] This notion will be outlined in greater detail in section 5.2.1 of this thesis.

[6] In German, such a minute-by-minute live commentary is referred to as *Live ticker*.

(e.g. BBC Sport, Guardian Sport) or specific websites for sports coverage (e.g. *www.sport.de*, *www.sportsmole.co.uk*). The data for the research project underlying this thesis only consists of written minute-by-minute commentaries published live on the internet, drawn specifically from electronic portals for sports coverage.

It has been noted by Bergh (2011: 86) that with regard to the material itself, written minute-by-minute live commentaries provide an interesting text type for analysis which exhibits its own characteristics. According to Bergh (2011: 86) this text type has only recently developed, only made possible by new computer technologies and an increasing media industry. Consequently, Bergh (2011: 86) conceives of written minute-by-minute match reports as:

- a written genre,
- informal and speech-based,
- produced in real time,
- semi-interactive,
- published on the web,
- a hybrid of oral commentary on radio/TV and written reports in newspapers.

For the purpose of this study two subcorpora are compiled: while one consists of German minute-by-minute (written) live commentaries, the other subcorpus is composed of English written live reports of the same soccer games as the ones in German. Specifically, this means that the texts describe three different matches in both languages. Table 1 below shows the matches covered by the investigation. I opted for commentaries in English and German that describe the same soccer games for reasons of comparability. The homogeneity of the corpus facilitates the comparison of the findings of the study. Both subcorpora consist of three minute-by-minute analyses, English and German respectively, amounting to a total of six texts in the entire corpus. The word count in Table 1 below shows that the entire corpus comprises a total of 12,538 valid units of analysis, i.e. words. While 6,306 words make up the German subcorpus, the English subcorpus amounts to a total of 6,232 words.

Teams	Tournament	Date	Language	Word count
Barcelona vs Athletic Bilbao (3-0)	La Liga	February 4, 2017	English	2,175
Barcelona vs Paris Saint-Germain (6-1)	Champions League	March 8, 2017	English	2,680
Arsenal vs Manchester City (2-2)	Premier League	April 2, 2017	English	1,377
Barcelona vs Athletic Bilbao (3-0)	La Liga	February 4, 2017	German	2,257
Barcelona vs Paris Saint-Germain (6-1)	Champions League	March 8, 2017	German	2,685
Arsenal vs Manchester City	Premier League	April 2, 2017	German	1,364
Total number of words				**12,538**

Table 1 Minute-by-minute match reports investigated in the study

5.2 Methods of analysis

The task of the present section is to add metaphor to the profile of football minute-by-minute live commentaries and examine which place metaphor occupies in this genre. The research project underlying this thesis is divided into two parts, a quantitative and a qualitative one. While the quantitative analysis will inquire how metaphor is distributed across the two subcorpora, the quantitative analysis examines which metaphors are typically used in football live commentaries. In the following, I will briefly outline the way the two types of analysis are carried out, and also take into account the kinds of research questions each one intended to answer. To draw a comprehensive picture of the methodological approach underlying this study, I will first describe the direction of analysis that is taken in both parts, that is whether a deductive or inductive method is applied in order to identify metaphors in football discourse. Secondly, I will give a detailed description of how the metaphor identification is carried out in order to obtain my data. Lastly, an overview will be given on the design of the qualitative and qualitative analysis.

5.2.1 Direction of analysis

Before turning to the identification and description of the individual steps that are necessary to find metaphors in discourse, it is important, to decide upon the direction of analysis, which has already been reviewed in section 4.1 of this thesis. Here, it will be determined which of the two approaches underlies which research question.

One implication that emerges from what has been discussed in the theory section on deductive versus inductive approaches to metaphor identification is that it is a matter of the analyst's goal which method is to be preferred. Hence, the direction of the metaphor identification method

largely depends on the research question underlying the study. With the research questions in mind that have been formulated in section 3.2, the outline in section 4.1 has the following implications for the linguistic analysis: in the research project underlying this thesis a mixed approach is used. On the one hand, since the prevalence of the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR in minute-by-minute live commentaries is postulated in this thesis, the adoption of a deductive approach to finding instantiations of linguistic metaphors that make manifest the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor is applied. Thus, the question that underlies the deductive method to finding metaphor in soccer discourse is the following: *To what extent is football conceptualized in terms of war in current football commentaries in English and German?* Specifically, this means that the linguistic data which the corpus offers is sifted through in order to find systematic connections between the two conceptual domains of football and war. With this question, I am seeking to test whether the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR can be verified in the given context and describe it in a quantitative and qualitative manner, so as to provide evidence for the distribution of the phenomenon between the two subcorpora.

Further, given the cognitively-informed nature of the framework underlying this thesis, I will try to answer the question, which other conceptualizations are used to describe the events on the soccer field. However, this poses a considerably bigger challenge than just locating linguistic manifestations of the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR. It has already been established in this thesis that the identification of conceptual mappings in CMT poses methodological problems. This concerns in particular the relation between a metaphorically used linguistic expression and conceptual metaphor. In order to be able to find instantiations of other source domains that describe the underlying conceptual structure of a linguistic metaphor, the units of analysis first need to be identified. This is done by the application of the inductive approach. As already mentioned at the outset of this section, specific and clear criteria are needed for defining and identifying metaphor in language, which have to be specified openly in order to be able to produce valid evidence (Herrmann 2013: 74). The data are therefore collected by application of the MIP. According to Herrmann (2013: 75)

> MIP provides an operational way of identifying metaphors in actual usage, independently of domain of discourse. One of this great advantages is that it allows researchers to remain agnostic towards potentially problematic assumptions about underlying conceptual structures and questions about language processing while being largely compatible with conceptual metaphor theory.

Thus, it is important to remember that MIP is only concerned with finding linguistic forms of metaphor, but not its conceptual structure. However, this thesis follows a narrower definition of metaphor, only counting those instances that underlie a conceptual structure and exhibit a

target and a source domain. Metaphor identification in this thesis does therefore not restrict itself to MIP, but involves the identification of the underlying conceptual structure that makes manifest the linguistic expressions. If a target and a source domain can be ascribed to a given linguistic metaphor, it is categorized as conceptual metaphor and is used as valid data. How exactly this is done will be explained in the subsequent section.

5.2.2   Metaphor identification

This section is set out to explain in greater detail how the data for the subsequent analyses conducted in the research project is obtained from the corpus. To arrive at a valid data set that is suitable for further investigation, several steps are necessary. In the following, those will be outlined and explained in meticulous detail.

In opposition to common practice in cognitive linguistics, in the first step, the linguistic forms of metaphor, but not its conceptual structures are identified. This is the consequence of applying MIP for finding metaphorically used expressions. It is important to note that because conceptual metaphor is made manifest in speech, linguistic metaphor gains considerable significance. The identification of the underlying cross-domain mappings of two different concepts is a task for a later stage in this analysis.

In order to limit the analysis to a manageable task, a modification of the MIP is necessary. The rationale of the Pragglejaz Group's procedure is that it is applied to every lexical unit of a given text. For instance, in step 3a of the MIP it is suggested that the meaning in context for each lexical unit in the text should be established. Likewise, step 3b involves determining whether each lexical unit has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. However, applying this procedure to a corpus of slightly over 12,500 words would go far beyond the scope of this study. Thus, to minimize the time for data collection, the general decision has been made to only apply the MIP to the lexical units of the text that are indirect or incongruous in context. Cameron (2003: 59) states that

> [a] necessary condition for linguistic metaphor is the presence in the discourse of a focus term or Vehicle [equivalent to source domain, i.e. the actual figurative expression], a word or phrase that is clearly anomalous or incongruous against the surrounding discourse.

This suggests that when semantic transfer from one sense of the linguistic unit to the other seems possible by some form of comparison or similarity, the expression can be marked as being metaphorical. A further indicator for metaphorical meaning is when the indirectly used expression can be integrated into another context which resolves the incongruity (Charteris-Black 2004: 21; Steen 2007b: 17). For example, *Messi is a machine* at first seems odd if taken at face

value because clearly Messi is a human being and not an inanimate object. However, once typical feature of a machine, like working tirelessly and efficiently are considered and integrated, the incongruity is resolved. In the first step of metaphor identification I will rely on Steen's (2007b: 17) basic idea that "metaphor is a form of indirect meaning that is based on correspondence or similarity."

This has the following implication concerning metaphor identification in this study: the basic as well as the contextual meaning of a lexical unit are only established for those cases where an indirect or incongruous use of a word can be identified at a close reading of the text. Those instances of lexical units, where the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be understood by comparison with it, are then marked as metaphorical. So as to determine a word's most basic meaning, I follow the Pragglejz Group's procedure, who use dictionary entries as basic meaning. As the basic meaning of a word those dictionary entries are used which are the most concrete, human-oriented and specific (Steen 2007b: 12). In this study, the Macmillan online dictionary is consulted for determining basic meanings in English and the online version of the Duden is used for the German texts. In order to create a coherent dataset with a consistent structure, the linguistic metaphors are then entered into an Excel spreadsheet.

To show what the first step of the metaphor identification looks like in practice I would like to use the following example (8) taken from a German live commentary for illustration:

(8)   Am 30. Spieltag der Premier League kommt es zum *Kampf* der *Schwergewichte* zwischen dem FC Arsenal und Manchester City. (MBM01)

The application of the MIP reveals that there are 17 valid lexical units of analysis in this sentence. *FC Arsenal* and *Manchester City* are proper names for two renowned soccer clubs and are treated as one lexical unit respectively. A close reading of the excerpt reveals that two words are seen as potentially metaphorical as they are anomalous in this context: *Kampf* and *Schwergewichte*. Determining the contextual meaning of the noun *Kampf* shows that it refers to the upcoming soccer match between FC Arsenal and Manchester City. However, the consultation of the Duden shows that the noun *Kampf* has a more basic meaning of "größere militärische Auseinandersetzung feindlicher Truppen". The two senses are distinct but they can be related by similarity: when two rivalling football clubs are playing against each other they are competing in order to win. This can be compared with a military conflict where enemy troops are fighting against each other in order to win. Also, both meanings can be described as having the same goal, that is to win. Similarly, football teams are compared to boxers from the same weight classes. *Schwergewichte* in this context refers to the fact that both teams that are equally skilled in

their footballing performance. Meaning that both teams are made up of extremely good and highly skilled football players and therefore have equal chances of winning or losing the game. However, the basic meaning designates "zweitschwerste Körpergewichtsklasse". The idea is taken from sports such as boxing and wrestling in which the competitors are put into so called weight classes to match competitors against others of their own size and weight. The German weight class *Schwergewicht* refers to *heavyweight* in English. Again, there is a contrast between the physical ("zweitschwerste Körpergewichtsklasse") and the abstract (two equally skilled teams) meanings of the words which can be understood by comparison.

This analysis demonstrates which steps are necessary to get valid instances of linguistic metaphors that can be included in the data. Example (8) shows the process how the words *Kampf* and *Schwergewichte* were marked as metaphorical and thus were added into the database.

While the first step deals with identifying linguistic metaphors, the subsequent step is concerned with determining the conceptual structure of the two domains and the cross-domain mapping that underlies the conceptual metaphor. I herewith agree with Steen (2009: 200), who states that "[o]nce linguistic expressions of metaphor have been identified in discourse, they still need to be related to the corresponding conceptual structures." Steen (2007b: 16-19; 2009: 197-226) has therefore emphasized the need to go beyond what has been suggested by the Pragglejaz Group in order to get from the linguistic expressions of metaphor in discourse to the presumed underlying conceptual structures. To put it in Steen's (2007b: 16) words: "[f]inding metaphor in discourse is not just a matter of identifying metaphorically used words but also of identifying their related conceptual structures." Hence, Steen (2007b: 16-19; 2009: 197-226) has catered for the needs and developed a five-step framework for addressing this issue. The systematic procedure to get from linguistic metaphor to conceptual metaphor includes the following five steps:

1. Find the metaphorical focus
2. Find the metaphorical proposition
3. Find the metaphorical comparison
4. Find the metaphorical analogy
5. Find the metaphorical mapping

In the following, the basic mechanisms of this five-step procedure are illustrated with the following example (9), which is taken from the English subcorpus:

(9)   This is *a collector's item* - a right-footed shot from Monreal. The ball fell invitingly to him on the edge of the area but he fired high over the crossbar. (MBM04)

The aim is to demonstrate the methodological approach that is taken to get from the linguistic metaphor in discourse to the underlying cross-domain mapping in conceptual structure.

Step 1 of the five-step procedure involves the identification of metaphor-related words. This identification happens on a linguistic level. How this can be done was shown above by means of the application of the MIP. However, what is important to clarify at this point, is that according to Steen (2009: 202) "metaphor-related words are defined as those words which indicate the source domain of a metaphor." This implies that by Steen's definition, the linguistic metaphor triggers the context of a specific situation or frame which in turn is the source domain. The focus, in this case, is actually one phrase, "a collector's item".

Step 2 of the procedure merits special attention here because it makes explicit one of the main tenets of CMT, namely that metaphor is not just a matter of language, but, even more importantly, of thought. This should be made clear by the transformation of the linguistic expressions into conceptual structures in the form of a series of propositions (Steen 2009: 208). In more simple terms, this means that this step involves establishing the proposition of the clause, which takes place on a conceptual level.

In example (9) the general proposition of the clause that can be identified is *The right-footed shot is a collector's item*. From this the following can be derived: The metaphor *a collector's item* refers to the shot by the football player Monreal. The propositional content of the first clause *this is a collector's item* is that of a shot being a like a precious object. Hence, the first clause introduces the domain PRECIOUS OBJECT using the linguistic metaphor *collector's item* to refer to it. The second clause, *a right-footed shot from Monreal*, introduces the domain EVENT IN FOOTBALL, that is, a shot, by means of exophoric reference .[7]

According to Steen (2007b: 18; 2009: 213) the aim of step 3 is to transform the single proposition with concepts from two distinct domains in an open comparison. Therefore, a strict separation of the two domains is required, which has been done in step 2. In example (9) there is a similarity between the right-footed shot$_{(Target)}$ and a collector's item$_{(Sourse)}$. The similarity has to be projected from the collector's item onto the shot. Such a statement of similarity can only be possible if there is a certain correspondence between the two, that is, there must be an inherent similar-

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[7] As an aside it may be noted at this point that due to the fact that a MBM live commentary is a special text type that is produced as the football match occurs with the purpose of giving a detailed and sequential description of the match to the intended audience, in text production the relationship of *this* to *a right-footed shot* is that of an exophoric reference as it refers to the event in the football game. The deictic reference here is pointing to an extra linguistic event in the game.

ity between the two. As mentioned above, the two separate concepts that are involved in ex-ample (9) are PRECIOUS OBJECT and EVENT IN FOOTBALL. Moreover, the comparison is said to be open "because not all concepts involved in the envisaged alignment and mapping between the two domains are expressed in the language of the text." (2009: 213).

The task of step 4 is the identification of analogy (Steen 2007b: 18). According to Steen (2009: 215), there are two complementary analytical processes involved in this step. For one thing, "[f]inding the appropriate values for the source domain may be seen as a matter of vehicle in-terpretation", for another thing "finding the appropriate values for the target domain concerns tenor or topic interpretation." (Steen 2009: 215). While the latter has to do with the analysis of the utterance in the discourse in context, the former, depends on the analyst's knowledge about the world and is guided by general considerations of meaning. Hence, the analyst searches through his or her conceptual representation of source and target domain and looks for some-thing that can make an analogy between those two concepts possible. The question to be an-swered in step 4 is dependent on what has been one in step 3: Since we have proposed in step 3 that there must be a similarity between a collector's item and the right-footed shot (as evi-denced by the linguistic expression identified in step one), what then is similar between them? What makes an analogy possible? Steen (2007b: 18) writes that this "step also happens to be the least constrained of all the steps". Hence, the analyst rummages through his or her store of knowledge on the source domain and tries to see what might fit the target domain. Since, in this case, the source "a collector's item" is marked as being non-identifiable, so 'any collector's item', the assumption is that it must be a feature that is particularly salient for this group of items (as is indeed the case in most metaphors). A likely source domain value might be 'special' or 'worth keeping'. The analogy then is *This right-footed shot is like a collector's item*, as both are special and worth keeping.

The next and final step of the five-step procedure is concerned with the identification of the underlying cross-domain mapping of the conceptual metaphor. To put it in Steen's (2009: 217) own words: "[t]he function of step 5 is to spell out the aligned and corresponding concepts which are implied by the analogical structure produced by step 4." Steen (2007b: 19) notes that "[s]tep 5 can also add further correspondences which have remained in the background of the analogy until now." This means that other, possibly less salient elements of what one knows of the source domain can now be added. "Implicit elements", as Steen (2007b: 19) calls them, can also be projected, for instance that collector's items are something that people take out and look at,

that collector's meet and trade in them can also become part of the analogy. In the future, football fans will revisit this special moment, talk about this event and trade stories of having seen it.

With step 5, the description of the whole process that underlies the identification of the conceptual structure of a cross-domain mapping which is realized by a metaphor in discourse has been brought to a conclusion. This delineation of the five-step procedure tries to elucidate the various aspects that are involved when we talk about conceptual metaphors such as FOOTBALL IS WAR, TIME IS A CONTAINER, THE LOSING TEAM IS BEHIND, or A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A THEATER PERFORMANCE. In the case of example (9) the conceptual metaphor EVENTS IN FOOTBALL ARE OBJECTS can be identified.

Even though the five-step method suggested by Steen (1999; 2007b; 2009) offers researchers a reliable tool for determining conceptual metaphor, the task of identifying conceptual metaphors as part of this study is nonetheless a challenging one. This is due to the fact that I wish to capture all metaphors as part of the symbolic structure of the text. In order to accomplish this goal in the best way possible, the two subcorpora are analyzed several times, which involves a very critical and close reading of the texts.

In the following, I would like to give a brief overview of how the dataset is constructed and set up and what parameters of analysis it involves. Also, labels and categories are provided to make the individual steps of the analysis as comprehensible and transparent as possible. First, the whole corpus is manually annotated for instances of linguistic metaphors, by the application of the MIP on relevant expressions. This manual selection of all those linguistic expressions that qualify as linguistic metaphors, occupied most of the time devoted to the research process. Secondly, the identified linguistic expressions (i.e. usually the whole utterance) as well as the corresponding focus term (i.e. the lexical unit that is metaphorically used within an utterance) are manually extracted from the corpus and added to the database. For this purpose, the spreadsheet Excel, which allows for the organization, analysis and storage of data in tabular form, is used. While, the utterance containing the linguistic metaphor is labeled as *Linguistic expression* in the dataset, the metaphorically used expression that is relevant for the analysis is labeled as *Focus*. Then, the five-step method is applied in order to determine the underlying source and the target domains as well as basis of the conceptual structure of the cross-domain mapping which is realized by the linguistic metaphor. Those instances that were then added to the data are assigned the following labels: source domain, target domain, conceptual metaphor, and type of metaphor. This step is necessary so as to ensure a positive metaphoricity. If, however, this

step fails to determine a positive metaphoricity, meaning that no underlying cross-domain mapping can be determined, then it does not qualify as conceptual metaphor in my understanding of the term and is excluded from the data.

For example, in the first annotation of the corpus that is carried out, also instances of pars pro toto are included. In German, a commonly used pars pro toto is *das Leder*, which refers to the ball. Here, part of the object, that is the leather the ball is made out of, represents its entirety and is referred to as such in context. This is illustrated in examples (10a-c):

(10) a. Stones kommt aus sechs Metern zum Kopfball und setzt das Leder zwei Meter links vorbei (MBM01)

     b. die Katalanen lassen das Leder in den eigenen Reihen kreisen (MBM02)

     c. Aus zehn Metern wuchtet er das Leder knapp am linken Pfosten vorbei (MBM02)

Therefore, a total of ten instantiations of *Leder* referring to the ball are removed from the dataset.

Further, in order to keep the corpus linguistic analysis and the retrieval of the relevant data, as well as the presentation and discussion of the results a manageable task, the general decision has been made to also exclude metonymy from the data. Even though, the phenomenon of metonymy, just as metaphor, can be analyzed on a conceptual level in terms of a cross-domain mapping of the conceptual structure (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 2003; Stefanowitsch 2006). To exclude the notion of metonymy from the data, is, however, a purely practical decision, as I believe, including it, would unduly stretch the scope of this thesis. Therefore, instances as shown in (11a-d) are removed from the data, even though they were included after the first annotation of the corpus.

(11) a. Im Hinspiel *überraschte Barcelona* mit einer erstaunlich schwachen Leistung (MBM03)

     b. *Paris tat sich* lange *schwer*, schonte allerdings auch einige Stars für das Rückspiel (MBM03)

     c. but he is now laughing and joking *with the Barcelona bench* so all seems well (MBM05)

     d. Barcelona have scored four or more goals (MBM06)

In summary, a small number of different structures have to be excluded from the data. For one thing, because their analysis is outside the scope of this investigation (i.e. instances of metonymy and pars pro toto), or, for another thing, the analysis in terms of the underlying cross-domain mapping does not yield any results, even though at first glance a conceptual metaphor is presupposed. Moreover, it is important to note at this point that the metaphors identified in this research project are all specifically related to football. There are no metaphors included in the

data that are commonly used in everyday speech or writing, unless of course, they are related to the match that is reported on. Finally, the valid data that has been extracted from the corpus that now constitutes the basis for the analysis exhibits instances of linguistic expressions as well as the corresponding conceptual metaphors that they make manifest.

5.2.3 The categorization of conceptual metaphors

The final decision that has to be made prior the analysis itself is how the conceptual metaphors are classified according the cognitive functions that they perform. For this purpose, three general kinds of conceptual metaphor have been distinguished and described in the theoretical part: structural, ontological, and orientational. This section exemplifies how the conceptual metaphors in the data are categorized by giving examples of each of the three types.

Structural metaphors are, according to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 61), the most salient type of metaphor. This claim can be substantiated by a search query to extract all structural metaphors from the two subcorpora. The results of the query show that also in my data structural metaphor exhibit largest number of conceptual metaphor.

Structural metaphors require us to transfer one basic domain of experience to another basic domain. The cognitive function of it is to understand target A by means of the structure of source B. One Example that is extracted from corpus for this kind of metaphor is the following:

(12)   es kommt zum *Kampf* der Schwergewichte (MBM01)

In (12) the structural metaphor A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A BATTLE, manifested in the linguistic metaphor *es kommt zum Kampf* is examined. Here, we reframe the football match between two teams in terms of a fight or battle between a group of people. A football match evolves when our experience with battle is imposed on the experience of a football match. Our experience of the physical world and our knowledge about it allows us to structure the domain FOOTBALL MATCH by means of the domain BATTLE because we conceive of football matches that way. This means that because we know the structure of a battle, that is the course of action it entails, it allows us to impose the characteristics of a battle (enemies facing each other in a physical conflict or fight; winning or losing) onto the elements of a football match (two teams facing each other as opponents; winning or losing). Even though the football players are of course not engaged in an actual physical fight, which is according to the Macmillan online dictionary its most basic meaning, many of the events on the football pitch reflect the structured concept of BATTLE. Thus, our understanding of a football match is ordered in terms of the A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A BATTLE conceptual metaphor when we hear utterances like the following (13a-c):

(13) a. both sides *battle* for possession (MBM05)

      b. It continues to be an intriguing *battle* (MBM04)

      c. after winning a *battle* with a defender by the penalty spot (MBM04)

Similarly, the conceptualization of football in terms of a battle is shown in example (13b), where the whole football match is conceptualized in terms of battle. However, examples (13a) and (13c) exhibit a slightly different mapping of the concept of battle. In (13c) it is not transferred onto the whole football match as in (10) and (11b), rather it is used to conceptualize a one on one situation, where only two players are involved, and not the whole team. However, what holds true for (11) can also be ascribed to (13b). The structure of a one on one situation, which involves direct individual competition against an opposing player, can be compared to the structure of a football match: they follow the same goal, that is, possession of the ball and scoring a goal. However, the decision has been made to also treat instances such as (13c) as the conceptual metaphor A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A BATTLE. (13a) also differs in terms of which part of the notion of football the concept of BATTLE is ascribed to. In examples (11) and (13b) the football match is conceptualized by the concept of battle. Example (13c) conceptualizes the encounter between two players in a one on one situation as a battle, and in (13a) the domain BATTLE is transferred to the encounter between two teams. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A BATTLE is treated in a way that it can be extended to different levels. However, the issue on what level this transfer of features of domain A onto football can happen, will be shown in the discussion of the qualitative analysis.

The second category into which Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 25) subdivide the encompassing category of conceptual metaphor are ontological metaphors. The task of ontological metaphors is to conceptualize experiences in terms of physical objects, substances, and containers but without specifying what these physical objects, substances and containers are (Kövecses 2010: 38). This means that, when it comes to the categorization of intangible, vague, or abstract concepts, such as feelings, experiences, activities, and ideas, they fall into the category of ontological metaphors. The classification of metaphors into this category has proven to be a remarkably difficult task. This is due to the fact that they are particularly abstract nature. The difference between the concrete and abstract characteristic of a statement is not always easy to locate (Nordin 2008: 115). Also, expressions exhibiting an experience, feelings, or ideas, are not always noticed as being metaphorical. The reason for this, according to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 27), is that they serve a very limited range of purposes. Ascribing a container, substance, or physical object to an undelineated concept, allows us to refer to them, to quantify them, or identify aspects. This list of purposes being by no means exhaustive of course.

In order to fulfill the task of ascribing categories to metaphors in an orderly and systematic fashion, first, the relevant literature on metaphor research in football discourse is consulted, so as to get a basic idea which instances of ontological metaphors have been identified by metaphor scholars with reference to football. A total of four conceptual metaphors of this category can be found in two different articles: Gunell (2009: 10) identifies the following three: FOOTBALL IS A SUBSTANCE with "football flowed beautifully" and "bring European football back" as linguistic manifestations of it. Here, the activity of football is conceptualized in terms of a substance. This goes in line with Lakoff and Johnson's (2003: 30) claim that activities are conceptualized metaphorically as substances. The second ontological metaphor identified by Gunell (2009: 10) FOOTBALL IS AN ENTITY is shown in "football just is not fair", "football at its best" and "the improbable nature of the football". Here, the abstract, culture-specific notion of football is made concrete through metaphors, that is, football is treated as an entity. The third metaphor is VICTORY IS A SUBSTANCE manifested in "bolt the back door and safeguard victory". Gunell (2009: 10) notes that by viewing victory as a substance the concept VICTORY can be wrapped up and sealed. However, here, I disagree with Gunell in so far as in my view the conceptualization of something that can be wrapped up and sealed is more likely in terms of an object, rather than a substance. I would therefore suggest the ontological metaphor VICTORY IS AN OBJECT instead. Moreover, research has been done in this area by Nordin (2008: 117-119), who found the following instances of the metaphor IDEAS ARE OBJECTS/SUBSTANCES in his data: "who looks for alternatives in the middle", "Bruchteile von Sekunden" and "Bayern loses some width". In these instantiations of IDEAS ARE OBJECTS an entity status is projected upon a mental phenomenon. (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 214) This means that you can only look for something that is an object ("who *looks for alternatives* in the middle"); similarly, you can only lose objects ("Bayern loses some width"), and only an object can break into pieces ("Bruchteile von Sekunden"), meaning that if the time unit *seconds* is not conceptualized in terms of an object, then, it could not fall apart into pieces.

With these examples of ontological metaphors in mind, another detailed corpus analysis is undertaken. This time, special attention is given to the localization of ontological metaphors. This analysis indeed yields more results. For instance, the conceptual metaphor underlying the linguistic metaphor in example (9) "This is a collector's item" given above, falls under the category of ontological metaphors. In this example, we conceive of an event in football, in this particular case the event referred to is a shot, as a precious object. The conceptual metaphor that can be derived here is EVENTS IN FOOTBALL ARE OBJECTS. Preciousness is ascribed to the event (a shot) and the audience gains agency as the situation is conceptualized as an object that can be taken home

and be stored together with other memorabilia. Hence, the view that EVENTS IN FOOTBALL ARE OB-JECTS is a projection of entity status (object) upon the event (shot) via an ontological metaphor.

Another example for an ontological metaphor found in the corpus that merits special attention here is shown in example (14):

(14)   Das Spiel nimmt sich gerade eine kleine Auszeit (MBM01)

The conceptual metaphor given in (14) is AN EVENT IS A HUMAN, consisting of the target domain FOOTBALL, that is the event as such, to which the source domain HUMAN is mapped onto. This example gains special attention here because in this case something nonhuman is seen as human. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 33) and Kövecses (2010: 39) metaphors, where a physical object is conceptualized in terms of a person, is one of the most obvious ontological metaphors and are referred to as personification. Meaning that personification is conceived of as a form of ontological metaphor (Kövecses 2010: 39). In (14) the semantic feature [+HUMAN] is added to the football event ("das Spiel"), since only people can take time out ("eine Auszeit nehmen").

Similarly, the conceptual metaphor A MINUTE IS A LIVING BEING in example (15) is a projection of human characteristics upon the time unit minutes. Here, the gerund *opening* modifies the time unit minutes and encodes a verbal action that can only be performed by a [+ANIMATE] entity and is thus counted as an instance of personification.

(15)   We have not seen an awful lot from PSG in *the opening 17 minutes* of this match (MBM06)

Moreover, example (15) also merits special attention here because it cannot only be assigned to the category of ontological metaphors, but can also be classified into the third type of conceptual metaphors which still remains to be discussed, namely orientational metaphors.

As already outlined in the theory section, orientational metaphors organize concepts by assigning them a spatial orientation. They allow us to structure abstract concepts with human spatial concepts which emerge from our everyday interaction with the physical environment and rely on our everyday bodily functioning. Such spatial orientations include UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK, IN-OUT, NEAT-FAR, etc. In example (15) the concept of time is conceived of as a container. Thus, the source domain CONTAINER is used to delineate the target domain TIME. From this the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CONTAINER can be derived. It is obvious that the TIME IS A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor is not specifically football related. Nevertheless, the notion of time merits special attention here because it plays an essential role in football as such (Brandt 2015: 45-46). For instance, Law 07 of the official FIFA football rules is solely dedicated to the duration of the match

(de.fifa.com 2016: 29; fifa.com 2016/17: 61-62). Further, Levin (2008) has observed the significance of time in football. In his study on high-frequency phrases in football reporting he (2008: 152) notes that "phrases related to football time were found to be mostly metaphoric in nature". In example (15) "*in* the opening 17 minutes" the preposition *in* gives spatial orientation to the concept of TIME by conceptualizing it as a container. The events happening during a specific period of time are correlated with bounded time spans, which makes them CONTAINER OBJECTS (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 59), which for example, can be entered (16a), conceived of as having an inside (16b), or can be seen as something we can step into (16c):

(16) a. we *enter* the final 30 minutes here (MBM05)

 b. Barcelona lead on the night *inside* three minutes (MBM06)

 c. We are *into* the second of five additional minutes here (MBM06)

Other examples of orientational metaphors that are extracted from the corpus are LOW QUALITY IS DOWN (17a-b). In these cases, loss of quality in footballing performance is conceptualized as dropping deeper and going down.

(17) a. He can't be happy with the way in which his side have *dropped deeper* and are neglecting their usual passing game. (MBM04)

 b. The quality of the game *has gone down* a notch. (MBM04)

Further, another orientational metaphor found in the data, is the conceptualization of the losing team as being behind (18a) or down (18b):

(18) a. THE LOSING TEAM IS BEHIND: The visitors are very unfortunate to be *behind* at this stage (MBM05)

 b. THE LOSING TEAM IS DOWN: PSG have managed to keep the score *down* to 1-0 (MBM06)

This is in line with the claim that positive-negative evaluation is usually conceptualized in terms of the spatial orientation up-down (Kövecses 2010: 40), meaning that the concept UP is projected upon positive emotions and experiences, whereas DOWN or BEHIND are mapped onto negative emotions and experiences.

5.2.4   Quantitative analysis

Before being able to describe and analyze instances of metaphorical language use in soccer commentaries in a qualitative manner, the first task is to quantify the amount of metaphorical language units. The quantitative analysis done as part of this study essentially measures and compares the relative frequency of differences in metaphor use in English and German written live commentaries. Therefore, the distribution of metaphor across German and English soccer minute-by-minute reports are examined.

The main goal of the quantitative analysis is to determine whether written live commentaries in English or German exhibit the higher frequency of metaphorical language use. The quantitative analysis is thus motivated by the general question *How is metaphor distributed across the two subcorpora?* Within this general research interest further, more concrete questions can be defined. Therefore, the quantitative analysis is guided by the following research question: *To what extent is football conceptualized in terms of war in current football commentaries in English and German?* Findings on the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor will hence be interpreted relative to other source domains that are found in minute-by-minute analyses in both languages.

With these research questions in mind, the search for data requires two major steps: first, the data is searched for instantiations of the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor. In order to gain insight into how many instances of linguistic metaphors make manifest the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR, a token frequency analysis of all the metaphorical expressions relating to the source domain WAR is undertaken. Since the underlying research question seeks to test in which language the war metaphor is more salient, this analysis is carried out three times, first, on the entire corpus, and then on the two subcorpora individually. In a second step, a certain search query is used to extract all other source domains that occur in the data. For this purpose, the filter mechanism provided by Excel is used to extract all conceptual metaphors as well as their corresponding linguistic metaphors. The results of those search queries are then entered into a separate spreadsheet in Excel to facilitate the counting process as well as to obtain a good overview of the data.

Finally, it is important to mention that the corpus is too small to make reliable inferences about the distribution of metaphors beyond the sample analyzed in the study. All conclusions on the basis of the quantitative analysis here, are purely descriptive in nature. This means that descriptive statistics[8] is used to describe the basic features of the data in the study by providing simple summaries about the sample and about the observations that are made. Moreover, the findings will be presented graphically using tables and figures.

5.2.5 Qualitative analysis

While the quantitative part of the research aims at describing the data in a descriptive way, showing main differences between the two subcorpora using numbers and frequencies, the qualitative analysis is guided by a different aim. The task of the quantitative analysis is to find

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[8] It is important to distinguish descriptive statistics from inferential statistics, which aims at reaching conclusions that extend beyond the immediate data alone. Due to the small corpus size underlying this study, no inferences from the sample data to the population can be drawn.

answers to the following general research question: *What metaphor types are used in English and German football commentaries?*

In order to achieve this aim, a token frequency analysis of linguistic expressions belonging to a particular conceptual metaphor is undertaken. This method is set out to measure metaphorical salience. With this procedure, the ten most frequently used conceptual metaphors shall be identified. What follows next is that the conceptual metaphors that lead the rank in quantitative terms will be presented in greater detail. This is done by providing examples that are extracted from the corpus. Further, the number of occurrences of linguistic metaphors manifesting a particular conceptual mapping that are found in the entire corpus as well as in the two subcorpora is provided. This shall determine whether English and German exhibit similarities or differences with regards to the use of a particular source domain. This analysis sheds light on the salience of the conceptual metaphor in question in both languages and shall provide information about what discourses shape the notion of football.

5.2.6   Problems and limitations

Before turning to the presentation of results, there are some aspects regarding problems and limitations that I would like to address here. The limitations that the study is subjected to follow, on the one hand, directly from the fact that the corpus has been compiled by myself and that the data is extracted manually from the corpus, and on the other hand, other limitations pertain to problems that I encountered in the research process.

The constraint that is inherent to the corpus design relates to the size of the corpus and is probably the one that can be assumed to have the largest effect on the quantitative analysis of the study. The most far-reaching consequence of compiling my own corpus as well as manually annotating the corpus is that it drastically limits the potential size of the corpus mainly for practical reasons. It goes without saying that all three, the compilation of the corpus, the manual annotation, as well as the manual extraction of linguistic expressions manifesting conceptual mappings are indeed an immensely time consuming matter. As far as corpus compilation is concerned, not only deciding which text types to include in the corpus, but also finding texts in both languages that are of approximately the same length and report on the same football games, were a difficult and time consuming tasks.

Furthermore, there is another limitation that pertains to corpus size. As already mentioned above, the conclusions that are drawn from the quantitative analysis only allow me to describe the most salient features of the data without making generalizations about which concepts are used to describe the events on the football field during a match. However, the main reason for

deciding to compile my own corpus for the study was a fairly simple one: There exist, as of yet, no annotated corpora of football commentaries, or match reports that would have suited my purposes.

A complex issue that emerges during the process of annotating the corpus and extracting metaphors from it (albeit not unexpectedly), concerns the fact that the identification and analysis of linguistic and conceptual metaphors has a strong intuitive basis (Kövecses 2011: 24). It is a problematic and difficult task in as much as the outcome is highly affected by decisions taken by the analyst. Stefanowitsch puts it aptly:

> In virtually all studies of metaphor, whether corpus-based or not, metaphors are identified and categorized based on more-or-less explicit commonsensical intuitions of the part of the researcher [...]. This strategy may be unproblematic for very clear-cut-cases, but an exhaustive annotation [...] will confront the researcher with many cases that are not clear cut.

However, by applying two empirically tested explicit procedures, the MIP and the five-step method by Steen, measures have been taken to counteract this methodological issue in the best possible way. Nevertheless, it turns out that the analyst's commonsensical intuition on what counts as a metaphor and what does not cannot be completely disregarded. The fact that researchers have to rely on intuition when identifying linguistic expressions manifesting conceptual mappings is mainly due to one simple reason, namely, "that conceptual mappings are not linked to particular linguistic forms" (Stefanowitsch 2006: 1-2).

Another problem that directly stands in connection with the previous one is the fact that it is most likely that not all relevant data is retrieved from the corpus, meaning that it may potentially be the case that not all conceptual metaphors have been identified as such. A possible solution to the problems that concern the role of subjectivity and that of exhaustiveness, is to test the identification procedure of metaphors with intra-rater and inter-rater reliability measures. In the former, the procedure is carried out again by the analyst him or herself, the latter is concerned with another person carrying out the procedure. Intra-rater reliability tests provide information about how much consensus there is among raters when they have analyzed their materials independently of each other. In this case inter-rater reliability could ensure that potentially all metaphors are identified and extracted from the corpus. However, the scope of this thesis only allows testing the procedure with intra-rater reliability measures, rather than with both.

Another issue I encountered in the research process pertains to the fact that a mixed approach to metaphor identification, that is bottom-up and top-down, is applied in the underlying study. The postulation of the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor, which is identified by means of the

top-down procedure, has far-reaching implications for the complexity and extent of the estab-lished mapping. That is to say, a top-down approach is mostly concerned with identifying more general and global conceptual metaphors as for example FOOTBALL IS WAR it is. To put it in Kövecses's (2011: 29) own words: "In such an approach, what is in the center of attention is […] the conceptual metaphor itself as a higher-level cognitive structure." However, when it comes to identifying metaphors by means of the bottom-up approach, the mappings exhibit a more complex and fine-grained structure. According to Kövecses (2011: 28) the bottom-up approach allows the researcher to analyze the metaphorical expressions for their detailed semantic, struc-tural and pragmatic behavior in concrete contexts of use. For example, the metaphorical expres-sion *verbuchen* in a German football context means to achieve success in a game, or, colloquially, "to chalk something up" (MM, entry *chalk something up*, accessed 1 June 2017). For instance, the conceptual metaphor that is made manifest by the linguistic expression *verbuchen* in Ger-man football commentary is GOALS ARE MONEY IN AN ACCOUNT. Here, it is not easy to identify a global and encompassing conceptual metaphor that is easily retrievable and naturally accounts for this meaning (Kövecses 2011: 29). Kövecses (2011: 30) points out that "we cannot […] claim that there is a global conceptual metaphor behind, or underlying, each and every metaphorical ex-pression."

Hence, for methodological reasons, no global conceptual metaphors were established for those metaphors that were identified by application of the bottom-up approach (i.e. all conceptual metaphors except FOOTBALL IS WAR), as Kövecses (2011: 30) claims that "conceptual metaphor theory is not exhausted by setting up global conceptual metaphors". Kövecses (2011: 30) further suggests that when applying a top-down approach "[w]hat we need to do in addition is to see which elements of the source correspond to which elements of the target domain", hence ex-amining the internal structure of these metaphors (i.e. mappings, entailments, etc.). My decision not to establish more complex and fine-grained mappings in case of the FOOTBALL IS WAR meta-phor (as for example FOOTBALL PLAYERS ARE SOLDIERS), is motivated by the current literature that examines metaphors in football a context, as the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor is postu-lated by a number of researchers (Beard 1998; Bergh 2011; Carmeli 2001; Chapanga 2004; Char-teris-Black 2004; Gunell 2009; Nordin 2008; Vierkant 2008).

One issue that remains to be addressed concerning the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor, is as to why metaphorical expressions like *battle*, *duel, punch* or *Luftduell* are not conceptualized as war metaphors, but rather, own conceptual metaphors are established, such as A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A BATTLE, or FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT. The reason therefore is that a modern conception of war is assumed in which modern weapons (e.g. tanks, firearms), as opposed to swords are

used in military conflict. It is therefore assumed that tanks, firearms, machineguns, interceptor aircrafts and bombs constitute modern warfare, rather than a battle of encounter where individual people fight and duel each other with swords and muskets.

6 PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

The task of this section is to present the findings of my analysis, which will be presented in two steps: First, I will outline the results of the quantitative part of my research, and present the total number of conceptual metaphors extracted from the corpus. The data presented here consists of frequency counts of linguistic expressions manifesting conceptual mappings related to non-metaphorical language use. Then, I will compare the frequency of metaphorical language use across the English and German subcorpora. Finally, the token frequency of linguistic expressions belonging to the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor is presented, which counts all occurrences of linguistic expressions that belong to the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor. The second step is concerned with the qualitative analysis of my data. Here, I will take a closer look at those conceptual metaphors that are most salient apart from the conceptualization of football in terms of war. By applying the token frequency analysis those conceptual metaphors will be identified that have a major impact in shaping the discourse of football.

6.1.1 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative study shows that out of the total of 12,538 words that make up the entire corpus, 301 instances of linguistic expressions manifesting conceptual mappings are identified. As can be seen from Figure 1, the English subcorpus, which amounts to 6,232 number of words, exhibits a total number of 161 instances of linguistic metaphor. While the German subcorpus contains some more words than the English one, namely 6,306, the number of metaphorically used expressions is slightly lower, amounting to 140. This means that in total about 2.4% of the words from the entire corpus are used metaphorically, whereas roughly 2.6% linguistic metaphors manifesting conceptual mappings are found in the English subcorpus and 2.2% occur in the German subcorpus. That is to say, Figure 1 shows that the percentage of metaphorically used expressions in the two subcorpora do not diverge significantly in the presented data.
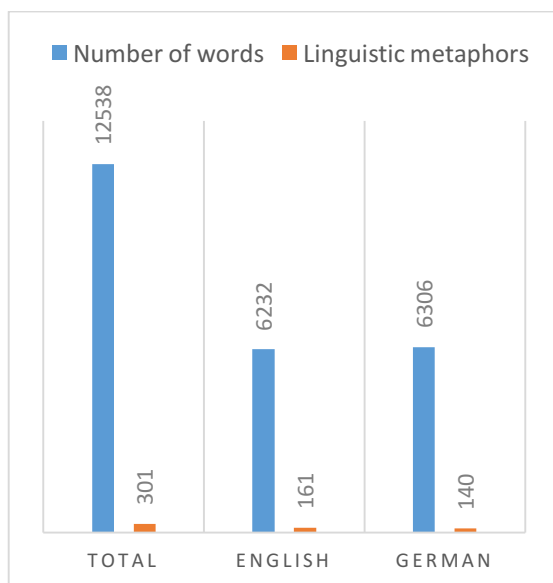
Figure 1 Total frequency of words in the corpus in comparison to linguistic metaphors

These figures reflect the overall distribution of linguistic metaphors manifesting conceptual mappings, that is, on the one hand, in the entire corpus and on the other hand, in a direct comparison of the German and English subcorpus. However, when looking at the different metaphor categories separately, a somewhat different picture emerges. Thus, while the general distribution of metaphors across the two subcorpora does not diverge significantly, the results of the individual categories exhibit a different distribution.

Category	Total number of metaphors	Number of German metaphors	Number of English metaphors
Structural metaphors	181	101	80
Orientational metaphors	69	18	51
Ontological metaphors	51	21	30

Table 2 Distribution of metaphors across the three different metaphor types

As can be seen from Table 2, structural metaphors lead the rank order in comparison to the other two categories. While the German subcorpus exhibits 101 occurrences of structural metaphors, in the English subcorpus 80 instances are found. The fact that structural metaphors make up the highest number among the three categories is not at all a surprising result. Assumptions from theory have suggested that structural metaphors are among the most extensively used metaphors. However, an interesting finding is the relatively high number of ontological metaphors that are found in the corpus, amounting to 51 occurrences in the entire corpus, since the theory suggests that ontological metaphors often are not noticed as being metaphorical at all (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 27). One possible reason accounting for a rather high density of on-

tological metaphor in the data may be the fact that ontological metaphors can be further elaborated (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 27). What this means is best explained with an example. The ontological metaphor A FOOTBALL TEAM IS AN OBJECT may be elaborated to A FOOTBALL TEAM IS A MACHINE as in "They are starting to build a head of steam" (MBM04). The data exhibits quite a number of underlying cross-domain mappings between the domains FOOTBALL and PHYSICAL OBJECT. Also, the description of time in football is mostly expressed via metaphors, in which time is conceptualized as a physical object as in "HALF TIME: Arsenal 1-2 Manchester City" (MBM04). Here, the concept OBJECT is profiled onto TIME, thus making it possible to talk about half-time and full-time.

So far, mostly findings concerning linguistic metaphors have been presented. Now, I would like to give an overview of the results concerning the corresponding conceptual metaphors that the metaphorical linguistic expressions make manifest. The analysis of the 301 linguistic expressions that were extracted from the corpus has shown that a considerable number of underlying cross-domain mappings have been identified, making manifest a total of 80 conceptual metaphors. Table 3 is an extract from the analyzed data, showing one example of a linguistic expression in the right-hand column and their corresponding conceptual metaphors printed in bold type to the left. For instance, Table 3 shows by way of example which linguistic metaphor is made manifest in A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A PERFORMANCE conceptual metaphor. This is illustrated in example (19a). Further, example (19b) shows which linguistic metaphor is made manifest by the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS MAGIC.

(19) a. Sensational from Neymar as the Brazilian *dances* into the Bilbao box (MBM05)

   b. You just get the feeling that the visitors need to score during this impressive *spell* (MBM05)

football is a dance performance	Sensational from Neymar as the Brazilian dances into the Bilbao box
football is a physical fight	Arsenal agiert bissiger in den Zweikämpfen
football is an entity	High-tempo football
football is like a boat	Der Schuss aus 14 Metern segelt klar links vorbei.
football is magic	You just get the feeling that the visitors need to score during this impressive spell
football is surgery	but clinical finishing from the home side has been the difference here
football is war	Das ist allerdings weder Flanke noch Schuss
a football match is a theater performance	Der beweist Übersicht und setzt Aguero rechts in Szene
a football match is a battle	es kommt zum Kampf der Schwergewichte
a football match is a music performance	Messi probiert es mit einem Solo
a football match is a visit	In den letzten Minuten kommt offensiv kaum noch etwas von den Gästen
a football match is a container	Giroud is struggling to get into the game
a football match is a journey	Ozil just had half a chance after the ball arrived at his feet
a football match is like a meal	Es gibt drei Minuten Nachschlag

a football match is like holy mass	Die Messe scheint gelesen
a football match is liquid	plätschert vor sich her
the quarterfinal is a building	Mit dem historischen Erfolg zieht Barcelona ins Viertelfinale ein
a football field is like water	doch Ospina taucht ab und lenkt den wuchtigen Schuss zur Seite
the football field is one's home	as Luis Suarez heads home
the penalty area is a container	zieht von links in die Box ein
the goal is a container	Der Ball verfehlt den Kasten
the goal is a safety structure	direkt ins Gehäuse zu zirkeln
football teams are machines	They are starting to build a head of steam
football teams are animals	Arsenal agiert bissiger in den Zweikämpfen
football teams are ensembles	gilt trotzdem als Sprachrohr von Trainer Unai Emery und als Leiter des Mittelfeld-Ensembles
football teams are heavyweight	es kommt zum Kampf der Schwergewichte
football teams are liquid	Barcelona continue to flood numbers forward in search of a second goal on the night
football players are mythical creatures	The Spanish giants are heading into the quarter-finals in quite incredible fashion
football players are forces of nature	dafür darf Paco Alcácer im Sturmzentrum agieren
football players are obstacles	wo De Marcos wegrutscht und Neymar dadurch freie Fahrt hat
football players are prison guards	Paris schafft es zunehmend, sich zu befreien
football players are buildings	Fernandinho schickt Sterling steil in die Gasse
football players are equipment	they are coming up against a very strong PSG outfit
football players are fisherman	Meunier fischt das Leder noch raus
football players are objects	before feeding a low cross into Neymar
football players are farmers	senst den City-Kapitän um
football players are machines	jedoch ohne Zug zum Tor
being substituted means going down	Welbeck muss runter
positions are buildings	Mathieu breaks into a forward position
scoring a goal is pouring a drink	können wir ihnen sechs einschenken
scoring a goal is carpentry	wo Cavani die Kugel humorlos unter die Latte nagelt
scoring a goal is physical fight	Garcia hits one from distance
events in football are precious objects	This is a collector's item
events in football are objects	Bilbao continue to play good stuff in the final third of the field
events in football are human	Das Spiel nimmt sich gerade eine kleine Auszeit
advantage is an object	and take the lead.
attempts to score a goal are objects	The champions are full of it at the moment as they go searching for their second of the afternoon
attempts to score a goal means doing carpentry	The Belgian's first-time effort from 20 yards hit the woodwork
tackling is a wrestling match	Rakitić geht in den Ringkampf mit Verratti
defense is a wall	und trifft nur die Mauer
defeat is a valley	stützte die tapferen Pariser ins Tal der Tränen
defeat is like standing in the rain	Neymar lässt De Marcos auf dem linken Flügel im Regen stehen
losing means getting a tooth pulled	zog den Basken endgültig den Zahn
the losing team is behind	After twice being behind
the losing team is down	find themselves 1-0 down following Alcacer's first league goal for Barcelona
the winning team is above	City have also lost ground on two of the three teams above them
opponent is heavy	Athletic Bilbao ist der erwartet schwere Gegner
low quality is down	He can't be happy with the way in which his side have dropped deeper and are neglecting their usual passing game.

failing is like a medical condition	und die Abwehr um Gerard Piqué wurde von den temporeichen Spielzügen der Pariser schwindelig gespielt
victory is a bookchapter	Mit einem Weiterkommen gegen Barcelona würde das Projekt ein weiteres erfolgreiches Kapitel hinzubekommen
footballing superiority is royal power	It has been a professional second-half performance from the reigning champions
success is surviving	PSG are just about surviving at the moment
the ball is a liquid substance	City are taking their time in spraying the ball about
causing motion of ball is driving	who was able to drive the ball into the bottom corner
control of a ball means physical contact to it	and Sane latches onto it
get possession of ball means conquering	Walcott erobert den Ball
goals are money in an account	In der ersten Hälfte waren die Basken das bessere Team und hatten einige Hochkaräter zu verbuchen,
high quality is a fruit	De Bruyne plays a peach of a pass through the middle
high quality is gold	Der Kroate erzielte im Hinspiel den goldenen Treffer zum 1:0-Sieg seines Teams
high quality is olympic	Das olympische Tor gelingt allerdings nicht
a period of time is an entity	Den Gästen gehörte die Anfangsphase mit dem Führungstreffer durch Sané
a minute is a living being	The half-time whistle goes at the Emirates Stadium and City lead after a fine opening 45 minutes
time is a container	In den letzten Minuten kommt offensiv kaum noch etwas von den Gästen.
time is a path	und hatten über weite Strecken der Partie große Probleme
time is a physical object	HALF TIME: Arsenal 1-2 Manchester City
influence is like branding	dem Spiel seiner Mannschaft seinen Stempel aufzudrücken
atmosphere is like a force of nature	Das Camp Nou muss einer Druckwelle gleichen
emotions are like boiling water	Die Emotionen kochen schon früh hoch
ruthlessness is low temperature	Der Argentinier vollendet aus acht Metern halbrechter Position ins lange Eck. Eiskalt
name is human	Navas goes into the book

Table 3 Extract from the data showing linguistic expressions manifesting conceptual metaphors

Furthermore, the quantitative study shows that the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor leads the rank order of linguistic metaphors in quantitative terms. The results show that the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR has the highest proportion of metaphorical linguistic expressions with 68 instances (i.e. metaphoric tokens) pertaining to it. The data reported here is the result of a token frequency analysis (cf. Kövecses et al. 2015: 345). For this purpose, all occurrences of linguistic expressions that belong to the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor are counted. Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor across the German and English subcorpus. While 21 out of the 68 (i.e 31%) instances of linguistic expressions manifesting the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual mapping are found in the English subcorpus, the remaining 47 (i.e. 69%) instances that can be related to the WAR source domain are found in the German subcorpus.
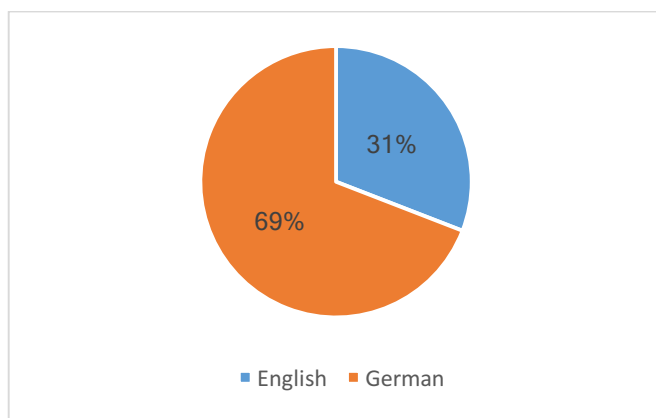
Figure 2 Distribution of FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor across the two subcorpora

As these results in Figure 2 indicate, there is a considerable difference between the conceptualization of football in terms of war between the two subcorpora. The occurrences of the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor in the German subcorpus make up considerably more than half of the total number of war metaphors, amounting to 69%.
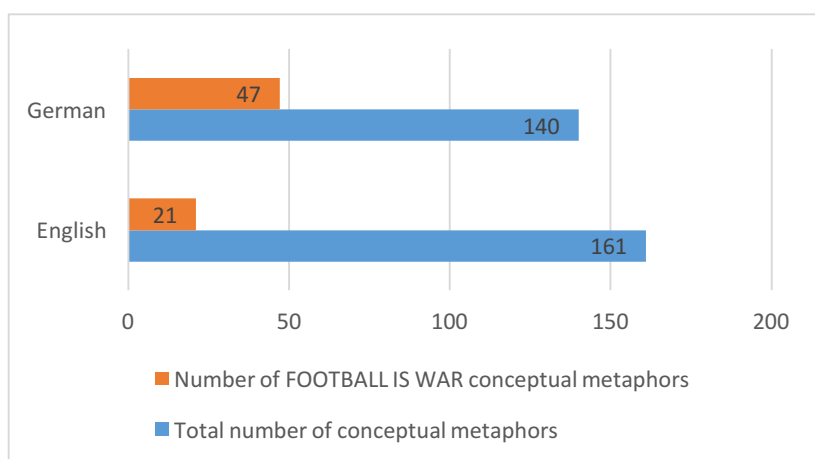

Figure 3 Frequency of FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor relative to the total number of conceptual metaphors across the two subcorpora

When looking at Figure 3, which depicts the frequency of the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor relative to the total number of conceptual metaphors in the German and English subcorpus, a somewhat different picture emerges. While the German subcorpus exhibits a smaller number of conceptual metaphors in general, the conceptualization of football in terms of warfare seems to be a very salient feature of German soccer language, making up more than one third of the total number of conceptual metaphors (i.e. 33.6%). This indicates a rather high density of such a conceptualization of football. However, given the total number of 161 instances of linguistic expressions in the English subcorpus, the material turned out to contain 21 metaphorical expressions which can be classified as relating to the conceptual source domain of war, corresponding to 13%.

Moreover, relying on the type-token distinction, it is calculated how many different types of these 68 metaphoric tokens identified in the whole corpus are motivated by the source domain WAR. That is to say, the type frequency of linguistic expressions belonging to the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor is determined (cf. Kövecses et al. 2015: 345). Overall, the 68 linguistic expressions identified in the whole corpus realize 20 metaphoric types (for example, different semantic realizations of the lexeme *shoot* can be subsumed under a single metaphoric type; this includes conversions and morphological derivations from one and the same morphological head). As shown in Table 4, more instances of metaphoric types and tokens are found in the German subcorpus. Out of the 47 metaphoric tokens that are found in the German subcorpus, 14 different metaphoric types are motivated by the source domain WAR, while in the English subcorpus the number of types is considerably lower, amounting to 6 metaphoric types out of the 21 metaphoric tokens. Altogether, these metaphoric types show a metaphoric type-token ratio (mTTR) of about 0.29.[9] All in all, it can be said that in German the most frequently used conceptual mapping is between the domains FOOTBALL and WAR

	Whole Corpus	German	English
Metaphoric types	20	14	6
Metaphoric tokens	68	47	21
mTTR	0.29	0.30	0.29

Table 4 Results of the type-token analysis of the FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor

What can be seen from the figures above is a representation of how the conceptualization of football in terms of war is distributed across the two subcorpora. However, the quantitative analysis also addresses the question what metaphor types are used in English and German MBM live commentaries. Figure 4 below shows a comparison of the most frequently used metaphors in English and German. For this analysis only those conceptual metaphors are included which are made manifest by five or more instantiations of linguistic metaphors. Both subcorpora exhibit a total number of 6 conceptual metaphors which can be said are most frequently used. There is however one significant difference in terms of which conceptual metaphor is used most frequently. Contrary to my expectation, the war metaphor does not constitute the most frequent metaphors in both languages. In the English subcorpus FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT as well as FOOTBALL IS WAR make up the largest share of the most frequently used metaphors, both making up 23%. This is closely followed by the TIME IS A CONTAINER metaphor and THE FOOTBALL FIELD IS ONE'S HOME, amounting to 18% and 17% respectively. In contrast, with respect to the most fre-

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[9] The mTTR is calculated as follows: number of types/number of tokens

quently used metaphors the German subcorpus exhibits indeed about 50% war metaphors. Similar to the English subcorpus the TIME IS A CONTAINER and THE FOOTBALL FIELD IS ONE'S HOME metaphor take second and third place respectively in the rank of the most frequently used metaphors. The conceptual metaphors that make up the smallest share in the German subcorpus are THE GOAL IS A CONTAINER, A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A VISIT, and A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A THEATER PERFORMANCE, amounting to 8% each. However, in the English subcorpus the conceptual metaphor which is less frequently used is the FOOTBALL TEAMS ARE ANIMALS conceptual metaphor, corresponding to 6%. Furthermore, this metaphor is not represented among the six most frequently used metaphors in German.
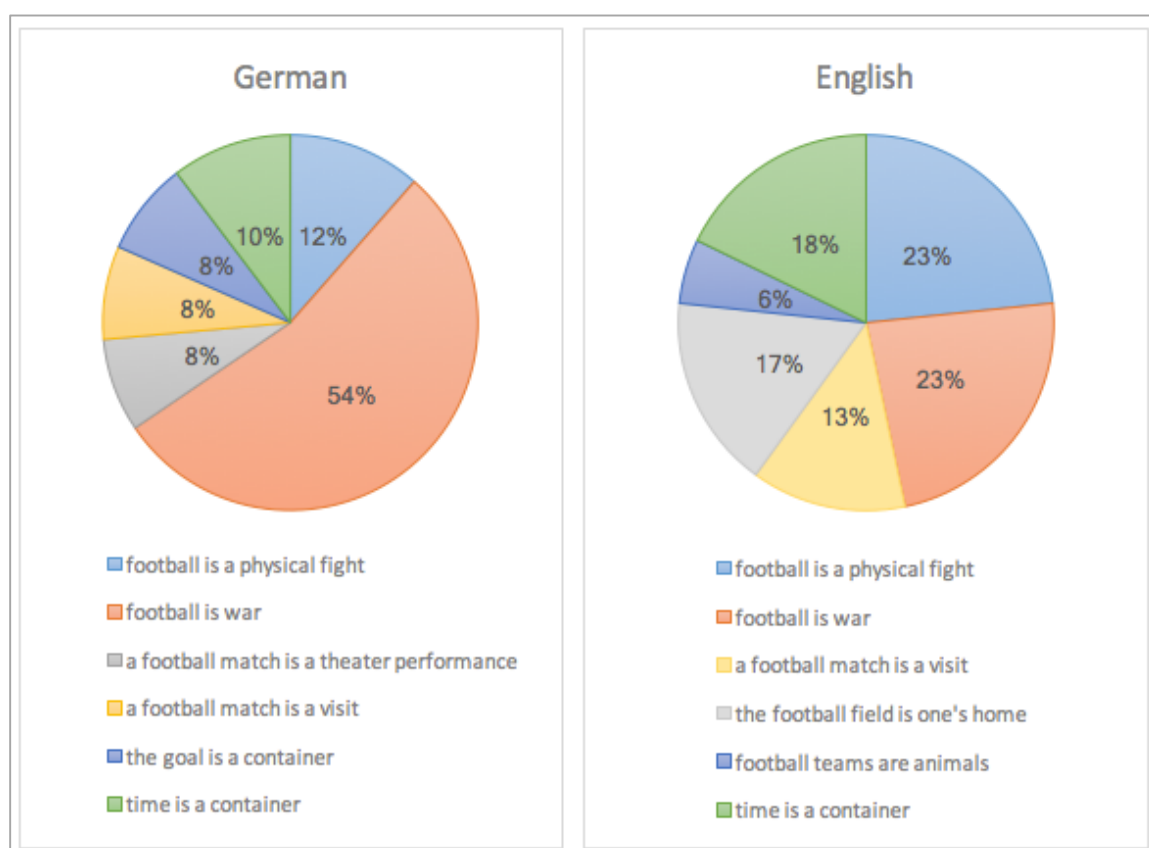
Figure 4 Comparison of most frequently used metaphors in English and German

6.1.2   Qualitative analysis

What follows from the quantitative analysis provided in the previous section is that the discourses that shape soccer come from a significant number of other conceptual domains. The analysis has yielded 80 underlying cross-domain mappings that play a major role in the conceptualization of football. In the following, I will try to identify the most salient conceptual metaphors (out of the total of 80 conceptual metaphors) that contribute to shaping the discourse of football.

In order to be able to determine which other conceptual metaphors, apart from FOOTBALL IS WAR, are the most frequent in shaping the discourse of football, the token frequency analysis is applied to other conceptual metaphors that are presumed to manifest the most metaphoric expressions. That is to say, a high token frequency of linguistic expressions belonging to a particular conceptual metaphor is taken to be an indicator of the metaphorical salience of the conceptual metaphor in question. Table 5 shows the results of the metaphoric token analysis, revealing the ten most frequent conceptual metaphors found in the entire corpus. Since there is a significant drop in frequency from the fifth ranked metaphor onwards, only the first five conceptual metaphors (i.e. FOOTBALL IS WAR, FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT, TIME IS A CONTAINER, A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A VISIT, and THE FOOTBALL FIELD IS ONE'S HOME) will be presented in more detail.

Conceptual metaphor	Number of metaphoric tokens
FOOTBALL IS WAR	68
FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT	31
TIME IS A CONTAINER	25
A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A VISIT	22
THE FOOTBALL FIELD IS ONE'S HOME	15
THE GOAL IS A CONTAINER	7
FOOTBALL TEAMS ARE ANIMALS	7
A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A THEATER PERFORMANCE	7
A FOOTBALL FIELD IS LIQUID	5
TIME IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT	5

Table 5 Overview of the most salient conceptual metaphors found in the corpus

In the following, I will present sample sentences that have been extracted from the corpus exhibiting metaphorical expressions (which will be printed in italics) manifesting the first five conceptual mappings shown in Table 5. Each conceptual metaphor is presented in turn, given in the same order as shown in the table above. From this it shall be determined whether the two languages in question exhibit similarities or differences in terms of the kinds of source domains that are exploited.

FOOTBALL IS WAR

(20)   a.   Der Abpraller landet bei Ivan Rakitić, der die Pille aber in den Abendhimmel von Les Corts *ballert*. (MBM02)

        b.   Der *Schuss* aus 14 Metern segelt klar links vorbei (MBM01)

        c.   Der *Angreifer* ist längst nicht mehr so aktiv (MBM02)

        d.   Die *Gefahr* ist vorbei (MBM03)

        e.   Das Team von Luis Enrique hat nun *Blut geleckt* (MBM02)

        f.   Barcelona are always dangerous on the *counter-attack* (MBM05)

        g.   Just one goal for the visitors could *kill* this tie (MBM06)

<blockquote>

h. Sanchez receives the ball on the edge of the area and his only thought is to *shoot*. (MBM04)

i. *Defeat* for Barcelona this afternoon (MBM05)

j. but he *fired* high over the crossbar (MBM04)

</blockquote>

It has already been shown in the quantitative analysis that the source domain war is more salient in German than in English. Hence, the data suggests that football is extensively conceptualized in terms of ideas and images that are related to warfare and violence. The metaphoric expressions given in example (20a-j) are words and phrases taken from the domain of war, which include *shooting*, *defending*, *firing*, *blood*, *threat* or *danger*, *attack* and *defense*, only to name a few. While the verbs *fire*, *shoot* and *strike* are highly common terms usually associated with warfare which express the interaction between a player and the ball, expressions like *bullet* and *shot* are used in football reporting to refer to a ball flying through the air at great speed. It is thus relatively easy to reconstruct the underlying cross-domain mapping between war and football on the basis of what we know about the notion of war. The FOOTBALL IS WAR conceptual metaphor will not be described in greater detail here, as section 7 will provide a thorough discussion of the phenomenon in question.

The conceptual metaphor that ranks second in terms of usage frequency is FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT. Some of the linguistic metaphors that make manifest the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT are illustrated in examples (21a-g).

FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT

<blockquote>

(21) a. Arsenal agiert bissiger in den *Zweikämpfen* (MBM01)

b. Otamendi legt den Ball nach einem langen *Schlag* völlig unbedrängt für Özil auf (MBM01)

c. Navas fordert im *Duell* mit Monreal ein Handspiel im Sechzehner (MBM01)

d. Der Stürmer geht im *Luftduell* mit Iraizoz zu Boden (MBM02)

e. Ospina is able to dive to his right to *punch* clear (MBM04)

f. We have not seen too much from Aduriz since the *striker* entered the field (MBM05)

g. as Neymar *beats* his full-back on the left before delivering a low cross into Alcacer (MBM05)

</blockquote>

As can be seen from Table 4, the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT is made manifest by 31 instances of linguistic metaphors in the entire corpus. The English subcorpus features 21 metaphorical expressions from the source domain PHYSICAL FIGHT, whereas in the German subcorpus only 10 occurrences are found. Example (21a-g) illustrates the metaphoric expressions that make manifest the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT, which include *strike*, *beat*, *hit*, *duel* and *punch.* The analogies that can be drawn between the domains of FOOTBALL

and PHYSICAL FIGHT rest on the assumption that football is a competitive game which often involves events in which players are engaged in physical contact. For example, situations may occur in which players directly or indirectly have physical contact with an opponent. The events depicted in examples (21a, c, d, e and g) all refer to one-on-one situations in which one player exclusively encounters one single opponent with the objective to get possession of the ball. While the domain of PHYSICAL FIGHT is also exploited to describe a pass in the German subcorpus, as illustrated in example (21b), the English noun *striker* in (21f) refers to the position which is assigned to a player and whose role it is to score most goals on behalf of their team.

The cross-domain mapping that ranks third with regards to salience is between the source domain TIME and the target domain CONTAINER. Due to the high frequency of use, the TIME IS A CONTAINER metaphor can justifiably be included in the analysis of football-related metaphors. Therefore, even though the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CONTAINER is not exclusive to football, it is nevertheless discussed in greater detail in at this point. The conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CONTAINER occurs 25 times in the entire corpus, whereas 9 instances are found in the German subcorpus and 16 in the English.

TIME IS A CONTAINER

(22) a. Schon *in der 3. Minute* traf Raúl García nur den Pfosten (MBM02)

      b. *In den letzten Minuten* kommt offensiv kaum noch etwas von den Gästen. (MBM01)

      c. Der Zauberfloh wird nach seiner wohl schwächsten Leistung *in diesem Jahr* ausgewechselt (MBM02)

      d. Possession for Barcelona as we *enter the first of three additional minutes* here (MBM05)

      e. Barcelona lead on the night *inside three minutes* (MBM06)

      f. we *enter the final 30 minutes* here (MBM05)

Examples (22a-f) illustrate the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CONTAINER. Time expressions like *in the nth minute*, as given in examples (22a) and (22b) are based on the cross-domain mapping of the source domain CONTAINER onto the target domain TIME. Here, the abstract notion of time is conceptualized as having a physical dimension in the shape of a container which can be entered as in (22d) and (22f), or where one can stay inside, as illustrated in (22a, b, c, and e). This phenomenon is best explained by comparison to the non-metaphorical use of the preposition *in*, as for instance exemplified in the sentence *Tom is in the kitchen*. It can be said that a kitchen is really a room (which resembles the concept container) which can be entered using a door, in which one can stay inside and leave it again. In football reporting this concept is mapped onto the impalpable concept of time. Therefore, in all the above sentences (22a-f) periods of time are compared to containers that can also be entered and in which one can stay in. This can be best

seen in examples (22d) and (22f) which are taken from the English subcorpus. In both sentences, even the verb *enter* is used to do this claim justice. However, this conceptualization of time does cannot only be applied to minutes. Likewise, as can be seen in example (22c), it is quite a common phenomenon in football reporting to also draw analogies between the time concept YEAR and the source domain container. However, turning to the present data, the analysis of both subcorpora shows that the phrase *in the nth minute* is the most frequently used expression to specify time in football.

Finally, the conceptual metaphor that ranks fourth as far as salience is concerned, is the conceptual mapping between source domain VISIT/MEETING and the target domain FOOTBALL MATCH. Some of the linguistic metaphors that make manifest the conceptual metaphor A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A VISIT are presented in example (23a-f). The conceptual metaphor in question occurs in both subcorpora with a total of 22 linguistic metaphors, whereas 14 are counted in the English subcorpus and only 7 in the German one.

A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A VISIT

(23)   a.   Nach Ballbesitz steht es 58 zu 42 für die *Hausherren* (MBM02)

       b.   *Den Gästen gehörte* die Anfangsphase mit dem Führungstreffer durch Sané. (MBM01)

       c.   A high ball was not cleared by *the visitors* and Luis Suarez was on hand to flick his header past the isolated Trapp (MBM06)

       d.   An away goal for the *visitors* tonight would leave Barcelona needing to score six times without reply (MBM06)

       e.   but one piece of brilliance from Neymar and Alcacer sees the *hosts* lead (MBM05)

       f.   Bei den *Gastgebern* kommt Mascherano für den überforderten Piqué auf den Platz (MBM02)

Examples (23a-f) illustrate that a football match is frequently conceptualized as a meeting or a visit. The data indicates that the team that plays at its home stadium is referred to as *Hausherren* (23a) in German live commentaries. Likewise, the term *host* is used to refer to the team that plays at the home stadium. This expression is quite commonly used in both languages and is illustrated in examples (23e) and (23f). They are the teams that receive *guests* and *visitors* as exemplified in (23b), (23c) and (23d).

What directly follows from the conceptualization of a football match as a visit in which guests and hosts play a central role, is the separation of the football pitch into two separate sides, which are allocated to each team. As shown in example (24) below, the team that hosts the football match at their home stadium also plays on the side of the field which is referred to as their *home*. What the conceptual metaphor THE FOOTBALL FIELD IS ONE'S HOME suggests, is that the team hosting

the game plays on the side of the pitch which is conceptualized as their home. The mapping of the concept HOME onto the football field, thus, makes expressions like example (24) possible. This understanding involves a set of mappings between the constituent elements of the source domain HOME and those of the target domain FOOTBALL FIELD. The football field is the permanent residence for a team (the home side) and the individual players in the team have different positions and functions on the pitch.

THE FOOTBALL FIELD IS ONE'S HOME

(24)   Luis Suarez heads *home* (MBM06)

To sum up, according to the data presented here, the source domains which are exploited to the highest degree by football reports in order to describe the discourses that shape the notion of football, are WAR, PHYSICAL FIGHT, CONTAINER, VISIT/MEETING, HOME, ANIMALS, THEATER PERFORMANCE, LIQUID, and PHYSICAL OBJECT.

7 DISCUSSION

The main objective of the present study was to determine which discourses shape the notion of football, specifically this means, which source domains are exploited in order to describe the events that occur during a football match. The findings that were presented throughout the last section were mainly confined to concrete numbers and practical examples. This section now seeks to link back the results of the empirical study to the aims presented at the outset of this thesis. Overall the outcome of the study is ambivalent to some extent but in the end, it has to be said that the data rather suggests that football is not necessarily conceptualized in terms of war, even though it was hypothesized that the war metaphor may be the prevailing conceptual metaphor in the corpus.

That can be seen from the quantitative analysis alone. As can be seen from Figure 4 above, which is an illustration of the six most frequently used conceptual metaphors in both subcorpora, only about 20% of the metaphors found in the English commentary were actually war metaphors. Now one could say that the second group that is as large, the physical fight might be part of a war metaphor but there were good reasons for excluding them from the group. Action such as physically beating someone, punching someone or dueling them are not part of what constitutes a typical element of modern warfare. In fact, the label football is war was assigned in a rather generous manner. Phrases such as *er hat Blut geleckt*, *etwas sorgt für Gefahr*, or *killing something* might be typical for situation in war but could be assigned to the realms of animal life or other human experiences.

On some level of course there is a certain kind of parallel between a conceptualization of war and that of a football match. The ongoing competition can be seen as war, the individual matches are battle, the teams are two armies confronting each other and the individual moves in the game can be linked to actions in a combat situation. In this sense one could argue that as Kövecses (2010: 37) puts it "the source domain provides a relatively rich knowledge structure for the target concept." There are however, two consideration that mitigate the conceptual analogy. For one thing, there is quantitative data that rather lends itself to the interpretation that the actual linguistic realizations are not necessarily instantiations of cross-domain mapping. For another, the notion of what a metaphor typically does in discourse, that is, making abstract concepts concrete or unfamiliar ones familiar is questionable in this context. Both will be discussed subsequent paragraphs (Gibbs 2008; Steen 2007a).

If one looks closely at the actual linguistic examples that make up the set of metaphors subsumed under the heading FOOTBALL IS WAR, one can immediately see that it is only a certain set

of linguistic items that can be found there. Table 4 in the previous section summarizes the type-token ratio, showing that the almost 50 German phrases that suggest a mapping of war onto football are realized by only 14 different metaphoric types, and English only has 6 different phrases which are repeatedly used to make up the total set of 21 war metaphors. In terms of the structure of war being used to conceptualize the structure of football, metaphors are also only used for the moves in the game. None of the higher level structures, like, the match or the competition, were referred to as through war metaphors in the corpus. Moreover, many of these terms are used so frequently in any conversation on football, such as *shot* and the German equivalent *Schuss*, or *Abwehr* and the English equivalent *defender*, that the question arises whether these have not conventionalized to such extent that the form-meaning-pairing between the linguistic realization and the action or position in football is at the forefront of our mind.

Steen (2007b: 10) argues that "[c]onventionalization of metaphor does not mean that it cannot be distinguished from equally conventional non-metaphorical language." He uses the sentence *Sam is a gorilla* to illustrate his point. To an extent this is a point well-made. The link to a shot in football and a gunshot is in all likelihood still there, just as any two homonyms that have a certain semantic parallel are always activated when one is used. The question is, however, whether that necessarily constitutes a mapping from the term that historically came first onto the other one. This is especially true for football terminology which differs crucially from Steen's example of the gorilla. While the person assigning gorilla-like qualities to Sam, has many other options of doing so, terms such as *shot* and *defense* are simple the signifiers that signify the representation of the action in football. If we go with the Pragglejaz Group's approach of looking up basic meanings of words in dictionaries in order to identify metaphors, then we will find that many of these terms are suggested as the football specific terms for such actions. This is not true for Steen's use of *gorilla*; and Steen does concede that

> [m]etaphor may […] be conventionalized to the degree that it becomes part of the language code, at least as this is reflected in cultural repositories such as dictionaries and grammars. Indeed, the conventional nature of linguistic metaphor has been one of the main points of cognitive linguistic research on the phenomenon, and numerous examples have been provided which show that metaphor is part and parcel of our language system and its use. (Steen 2007b: 10)

Because of this, when children acquire a language, the word which they learn for this kind of passing a ball to another person is shooting. When they start playing in a team they will frequently hear the terms offence and defense and shooting in the context of football. Thus, they will probably acquire this form-meaning pairing. Speakers of German and British English are in the fortunate situation of not having experienced a war in their homelands in the last 60 years,

but passing a ball around is a practice that children in these countries share and in fact practice at a very early age already. This fact makes it very likely that this form-meaning-pairing is in fact acquired before war movies or similar external references can establish the meaning of these words as used in the context of war.

The second mitigating factor carries more weight even, because it addresses the very definition of what a metaphor is in cognitive theory. Since, as has been established, current native speakers of English and German to a large extent have not physically experienced war themselves, the question arises whether football can be seen as the abstract concept which gets more accessible and understandable by mapping the concept of war onto it. As Deignan (2005: 45) suggests, "the interpretation of the abstract topic is dependent on knowledge of the vehicle." Arguably the knowledge that people in central European countries have of what it actually means to experience a war is rather limited. Semino (2008: 6) also points out that "source domains typically correspond to concrete, simple, familiar, physical and well-delineated experiences, such as motion, bodily phenomenon, physical objects and so on." Speakers in the UK, in Austria and in Germany are probably very familiar with football and in fact have physical, bodily experiences of shooting a ball and being hit by a shot, while very few of them have ever felt the impact of a bullet. Therefore, war simply does not suggest itself as a source domain as defined in CMT.

If the data was overwhelmingly made up by terminology related to war, then one might have to reexamine such a consideration. However, at least in the context of the study it is not. What was found is the notion of a fight between two parties and the idea of a competition. This notion accounts for most of the orientational metaphors in the dataset. The physical orientations up and forward frequently stand in for success, whereas *down* and *behind* are used for describing that a team seems to be losing. The same holds true for the notion of time in the context of football. Time also features prominently in the set of metaphors that frequently come up in MBM live commentaries. It is the target domain in the comparatively large number of ontological metaphors found in the corpus; the corresponding source domain is the one that is commonly found in that context, namely container. What these three sets of metaphors suggest is that there is a physical competition between two groups in which one will come out on top, i.e. win, and that this is a competition that is very much under the influence of time. Time and success are abstract and the concrete source domains help us to understand those less tangible notions in a fairly conventional manner.

Since the overall aim of this study was to explore which source domains are exploited in order to shape the discourse of football reporting, it is of particular interest to determine which conceptual fields are in the background of the mind when talking about football. Since this thesis

also seeks to determine which metaphors except the war metaphor are used in football commentary, it would seem that this could also lead to less conventionalized metaphors than the conceptualization of football in terms of war. In this respect, those metaphorical alignments that are realized in many different types of linguistic metaphors that each have a low token frequency are of interest. For instance, the physical prowess of the winning team is conceptualized in terms of the strength of an animal, as shown in example (25a-c), or force of nature, as illustrated in (26a-b), in a much more creative manner, than when commentators use terms from the war domain.

(25) a.   as Bilbao continue to *hunt in packs* (MBM05)

b.   Längst haben Klubs wie München oder eben Barcelona die *Fühler* nach ihm *ausgestreckt* (MBM03)

c.   und *lauert* auf Konter (MBM03)

(26) a.   Barcelona continue to *flood* numbers forward in search of a second goal on the night (MBM06)

b.   dafür darf Paco Alcácer im *Sturmzentrum* agieren (MBM02)

In such moments of fast commentary, the source domains that the speaker seems to choose when creatively describing the events on the field are taken from a variety of different conceptual domains. There is evidence in the corpus of the notion of cooperation within a team being conceptualized with other source domains than war. Rather than choosing from terms that would draw a parallel to an army the speakers that produced the texts in the corpus of the study chose musical or theater groups as the appropriate parallel, talking about *ensembles*, *jemanden in Szene setzen*, and a team's *Generalprobe*.

The notion of cooperation even extends to both teams as a unit. While three of the English and one of the German metaphors referring to events in the game suggest that the entire match is understood in terms of a battle, 14 of the English and 7 of the German metaphors describing the match actually construe it in terms of a visit or invitation. There is a host and a visiting side and even in their *Drangphase* the visiting side is called *Gäste*, as can be seen in example (27).

(27)   Paco Alcácer traf inmitten einer Drangphase der *Gäste* zum 1:0 (MBM02)

This is also connected to the metaphor THE FOOTBALL FIELD IS ONE'S HOME discussed in the previous section.

So in summary, it can be said that while a lot of terminology that historically comes from the domain of war and probably activates the conceptual notions of war in the minds of speakers and listeners, it is difficult to say to what extent this kind of cross-domain mapping is actually an instance of a speaker drawing on a source domain to delineate an undelineated concept. The

token ratio for these terms may be high but if anything, these are highly conventionalized metaphors. Other domains such as the world of animals, natural forces, and visits are also drawn upon by speakers to comment on the events on the football field. Their high type frequencies suggest that speakers drew them spontaneously making manifest conceptual metaphors that are not linked to the world of warfare. This is in line with theoretical consideration of metaphor theory itself that suggests that embodied physical experiences are more viable source domains than unfamiliar ones. Since the speakers and listeners in the discourse on football in Austria, Germany and the UK are likely to have had more physical experiences of football matches than combat situations it makes sense that war is not the preferred source domain. The notion of combat is still there but more in the form of metaphor referring to general physical fights.

8 CONCLUSION

The preceding seven sections of this thesis have brought into focus the complex nature of metaphor in football discourse. This thesis was set out with the overall objective to investigate the various metaphors that shape the discourse of football reporting. With the corpus-linguistic study underlying this thesis two main research questions were sought to be answered: Firstly, the degree to which metaphor is present in football language in English and German was determined. The second task of the investigation was to show from which source domains the metaphorical linguistic expressions derive and hence shape the discourse of football. In consequence of the prevailing opinion that football is predominantly conceptualized in terms of war in much of the current metaphor studies that examine metaphorical language use in football discourse, it was hypothesized that the conceptual metaphor FOOTBALL IS WAR may also constitute the vast majority of metaphors found in the corpus.

In order to achieve these aims, a corpus-linguistic study was conducted consisting of a quantitative as well as a qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis was set out to examine which metaphor types are used in English and German football commentaries. The findings of the investigation showed that metaphorical linguistic expressions derive from a wide variety of source domains. In total 80 individual conceptual metaphors were found. In both subcorpora, that is the English and German respectively, slight differences in terms of which metaphors are used most frequently were identified. While in German out of the six most frequently used conceptual metaphors the one ranking highest was indeed FOOTBALL IS WAR, the English data suggests that football is not necessarily conceptualized in by means of war. In the English subcorpus the metaphors FOOTBALL IS WAR and FOOTBALL IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT occur in equal proportions, making up roughly 20%. The other metaphoric expressions that lead the rank in frequency derive from the source domains ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, THEATER PERFORMANCE, VISIT, HOME AND PHYSICAL FIGHT. The results of the quantitative analysis also showed that another important concept which takes up a significant part in football reporting is the notion of time. References to periods of time are almost exclusively described by using metaphorical language. Linguistic expressions that refer to time periods in football commentaries make manifest the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CONTAINER, in which time is conceptualized as having the physical dimension of a container.

The qualitative analysis built upon the quantitative analysis and was set out provide linguistic evidence for the conceptual metaphors that were identified in the quantitative analysis. Therefore, instances of linguistic metaphors were extracted from the corpus and described by means of the cross-domain mapping between the two conceptual domains that makes manifest the

most frequent conceptual metaphors. This should illustrate that metaphors are a fundamental concept by which football reporters conceptualized the world of football.

In sum, the main findings of the study suggest that even though the war metaphor ranks highest in quantitative terms in the German subcorpus and makes up about 20% in the English subcorpus, there is a vast number of other conceptual domains that lend themselves to shape the reality of football reporting. Thus, suggesting that football can be conceptualized in terms of a number of other domains than warfare. One of the most obvious findings that emerge from this study is that metaphors in general play a central role in the construction of reality in football reporting and are a pervasive phenomenon that structure our thinking and knowledge about the world. Conceptual metaphors are used to describe all levels of football, namely the match as such (e.g. A FOOTBALL MATCH IS A THEATER PERFORMANCE), the football players (e.g. FOOTBALL PLAYERS ARE MYTHICAL CREATURES), single events in a game (e.g. EVENTS IN FOOTBALL ARE OBJECTS), the quality of the game (e.g. LOW QUALITY IS DOWN), as well as winning and losing the game (e.g. LOSING MEANS GETTING A TOOTH PULLED). The fact that a large number of metaphors were identified in the study is also in line with one of the main tenets of CMT, namely that metaphors are a pervasive phenomenon in everyday language and thought which help us to structure our thinking and knowledge and make sense of the world (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 3).

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Appendix 1: German Abstract

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit präsentiert eine vergleichende korpusbasierte Untersuchung von Metaphern in Fußball-Livetickern der deutschen und englischen Berichterstattung. Die Arbeit setzt sich zum Ziel anhand von Metaphern lexikalische Felder von Ausdrücken, die in der sogenannten *Fußballsprache* gebräuchlich sind, zu identifizieren um einen Überblick darüber zu erlangen, welche Diskurse das Konzept Fußball prägen. Den theoretischen Rahmen dieser Arbeit bildet die konzeptuelle Metapherntheorie, welche von Lakoff und Johnson 1980 in ihrem einflussreichen Werk *Metaphors we live by* ins Leben gerufen wurde. Nach der kognitiven Metapherntheorie besteht die Hauptfunktion einer Metapher darin, abstrakte und komplexe Zusammenhänge fassbar zu machen. Die Analyse von Metaphern in dieser Arbeit wird anhand von qualitativen und quantitativen Methoden durchgeführt. Die quantitative Analyse zeigt, dass 80 verschiedene konzeptuelle Metaphern im Korpus vorliegen, während die qualitative Analyse ergibt, dass Metaphern, welche von Fußball-Reportern verwendet werden um die Geschehnisse auf dem Fußballfeld zu beschreiben, aus einer Vielzahl an lexikalischen Feldern entnommen werden. Die am häufigsten verwendeten lexikalischen Bereiche, die den Fußballdiskurs prägen, sind die folgenden: Krieg, physischer Konflikt, Tierverhalten, Theater sowie das Konzept eines Besuches.

Appendix 2: Personal motivation: where the idea for this thesis came from

My interest in soccer comes to most of my friends and family, even to myself, as a huge surprise. It is important to note at this point that despite the widespread admiration and hype that exists worldwide around soccer, it is easy to criticize it. I call myself as an opponent of football politics. The list of arguments that I can come up with against football is extremely long: I highly criticize the myth and romanticism that surround famous players, who serve as role models for a vast number of (young) people and children around the world; I wholeheartedly agree with Thaler (2008: 391) who's arguments against football are targeted against soccer politics in general, in particular the arrogance and ignorance among presidents, manager and commentators; materialism and commercialization; glorification in the media; bribery and corruption; hooliganism and chauvinism; exploitation for political goals; players as intellectual and rhetorical anti-heroes. And my skepticism and criticism has just been reinforced by the publication of Football Leaks, revealing wage and contract information about famous football players.

Most ideas, however, do not just come out of thin air. The general idea to investigate metaphorical expressions in football discourse came to me in 2014, when the last quadrennial FIFA World Cup for men's national football teams took place in Brazil. During that time, I was, as an assistant, part of the organization team of the workshop entitled "Outside the clause: form and function of Extra-clausal constituents" that took place at the University of Vienna at the Department of English on July 5, 2014. On this particular day, the football matches that took place in Brazil determined the teams that would then move into the semifinal of the world championship. So, after the workshop, not just members of the organization committee but also participants of the workshop got together to watch the quarter-final. To pass the time during the half-time break one of us, unfortunately I do not recall who exactly, showed a short video entitled "Fußballfloskeln wörtlich genommen" that was produced for a children's program called "Die Sendung mit der Maus" aired on WDR, a German public-broadcasting institution. The video can be accessed from http://www1.wdr.de/kinder/video-fussballfloskeln-woertlich-genommen-100.html as well as from YouTube. *Die Mauer dirigieren* or *den Ball unter die Latte nageln*, are well established German phrases even well-known football commentators and match reporters use to describe the processes that happen on the field during a football match, as illustrated in example (28a-b):

(28)   a.   Grabowski dirigiert die Mauer der Eintracht, die der MSV jedoch mit einem kurz ausgeführten Freistoß umgeht.

        b.   Martin Hoßmang wollte es dann wohl zu schön oder genau machen und den Ball unter die Latte nageln, doch er traf die Latte, von wo der Ball vor die Torlinie fiel und wieder ins Feld sprang.

The video in question shows what happens when such phrases are taken literally and the outcome, I must admit, is extremely entertaining. In fact, it amused me greatly and this is where the idea of doing research on metaphors in football discourse for my second and presumably last diploma thesis originates. Furthermore, it forges a link between the two subjects I am studying to become a teacher, i.e. Physical Education and English.

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