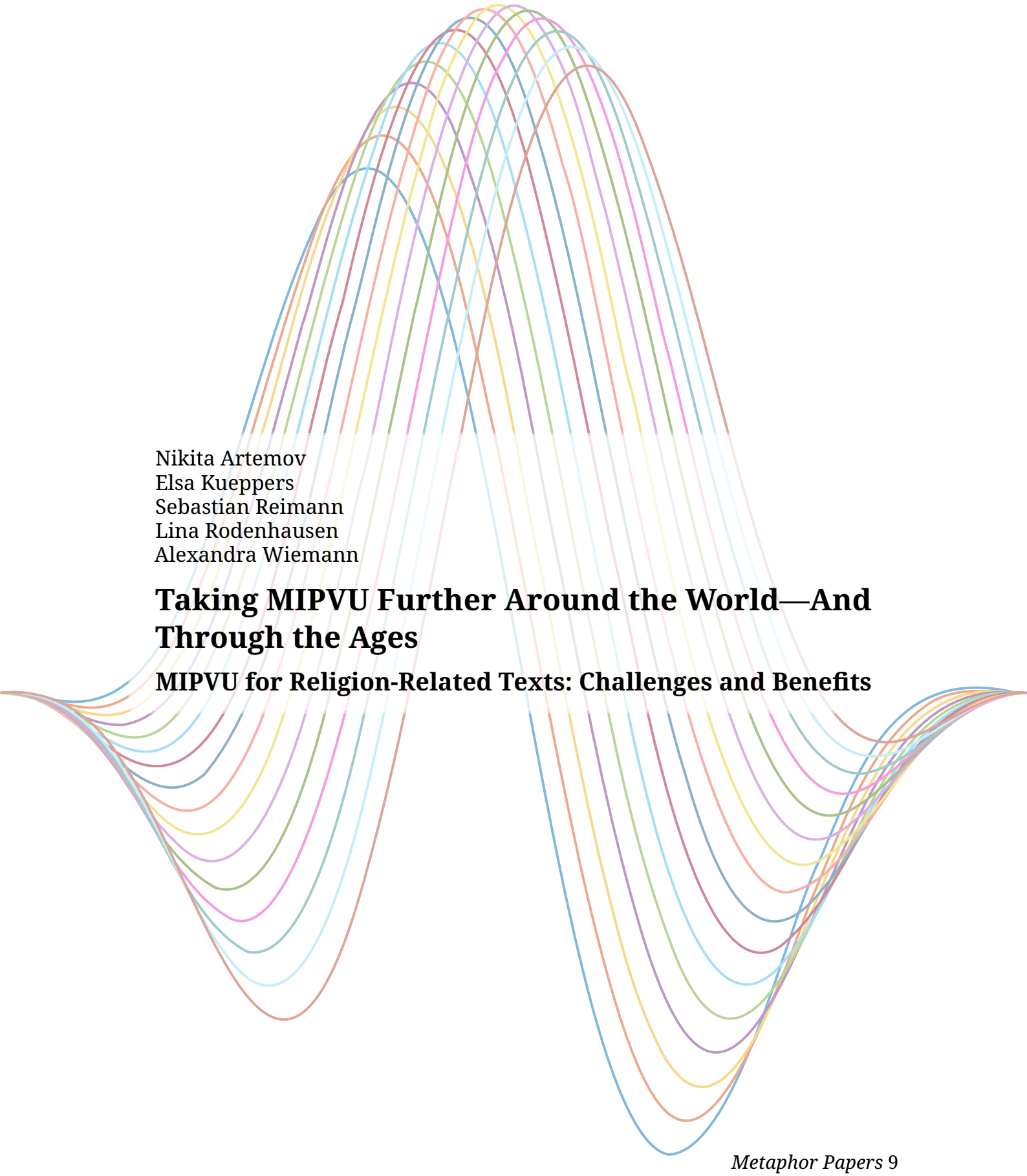

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Taking MIPVU Further Around the World—And Through the Ages

MIPVU for Religion-Related Texts: Challenges and Benefits

Metaphor Papers 9

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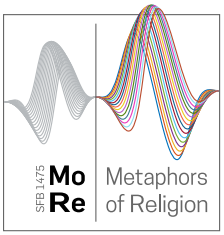

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MIPVU for Religion-Related Texts: Challenges and Benefits

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ABSTRACT MIPVU (Metaphor Identification Procedure VU Amsterdam) is a method for identifying linguistic metaphors in contemporary English, developed on the basis of newspaper and academic texts, oral conversations, and fiction. Subsequently, it has been successfully used to assess the frequency of metaphoric usage in non-English texts. Depending on the language in question and its characteristics, some of the MIPVU guidelines (especially those concerning lexical units and grammatical categories) have to be adapted to produce more reliable results. The present contribution summarizes the main steps of the procedure and reflects on its applicability to religious and religion-related texts (both historical and contemporary) analysed within the CRC 1475 "Metaphors of Religion." The examples include texts in Biblical Hebrew, Literary Sinitic of Korean provenance, Old and Middle High German, and English online-forum posts on religious topics. The authors discuss the challenges and benefits arising from applying MIPVU to their corpora and the possible ways of adjusting the MIPVU guidelines to their research goals.

KEYWORDS MIPVU, metaphor analysis, metaphor identification, historical metaphors

Doorstep

Digital annotation of metaphors is central to research within the Collaborative Research Center 1475 "Metaphors of Religion" aiming at the creation of a digital *Thesaurus of Religious Metaphors* (TRM) facilitating cross-cultural comparative research on religious [1]

metaphors. A focal point of the CRC's work during its first year (2022) was the development of a consistent annotation procedure to be used by scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds as well as its application within individual subprojects.

Discussion of various annotation examples within the CRC showed that disagreements could arise already at the very first stage of the metaphor analysis, i.e. during identification of metaphorically used (or metaphor-related) words. Such disagreements reveal the necessity to approach the issue of metaphor identification in a more systematic and conscious manner. [2]

For this reason, the authors of this paper, five early career researchers working in four different subprojects of the CRC, attended the course "Finding metaphors—The Pragglejaz experience" at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam Summer School which took place from 18 to 24 July 2022. The goal was both to become more familiar with MIPVU (Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) and to develop an awareness regarding the method's applicability to our text corpora and issues involved in metaphor identification. [3]

The present paper is based on a workshop with the same title organized by the authors in September 2022. Its aim is to present a broad outline of the MIPVU guidelines and to critically examine their applicability to metaphor analysis conducted within the CRC subprojects dealing with religious (or religion-related) metaphors in texts representing a wide range of languages, cultures, and historical epochs. [4]

The structure of this paper corresponds to this twofold goal. The introductory part gives an overview of MIPVU highlighting its main steps and addressing some possible issues. That section is intended for readers not yet familiar with the procedure. The main part consists of four essays reflecting on the applicability of MIPVU and its basic principles to the analysis of the Hebrew Bible (Nikita Artemov), self-portraying texts written in Literary Sinitic by Korean Confucians of the Chosŏn period (esp. 16th–early 19th c.) (Elsa Kueppers), Medieval German literature (Alexandra Wiemann), and in English and German religious online forums (Lina Rodenhausen, Sebastian Reimann). The concluding part offers a critical assessment of MIPVU making some general considerations with regard to limitations of the procedure and its applicability to religious discourses and ancient texts but also emphasizing the validity of its basic principles. [5]

We are surely not the first ones to critically reflect on MIPVU. *Metaphor Identification in Multiple Languages: MIPVU around the world* (Nacey et al. 2019), the volume whose subtitle the title of the present article alludes to, examines the possibility of applying MIPVU to a wide variety of languages, discusses common pitfalls and limitations of the procedure, and addresses some methodological issues, e.g. the validity of the similarity principle in identifying metaphorical usage (Nacey et al. 2019, 69–312, 41–68, 313–22). However, applying MIPVU to ancient and modern religious texts is an innovative undertaking confronting researchers with new challenges and opening up new vistas. [6]

Introduction to MIPVU

Benefits and Limitations

Before MIPVU is explained in detail and possible applications are presented, the initial intention of the procedure should be made clear, so that it can be understood why one would consider using MIPVU for their research and why it can be helpful in this specific project. Metaphor is of interest in various disciplines and studies but there has been a lack of interest in methodological aspects of metaphor identification which has become a matter of controversy (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 1–2). The creators of the procedure argue that "since metaphor identification is a form of categorization of phenomena that are 'out there' in reality, it belongs to the realm of scientific measurement" (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 2). Therefore, generally accepted standards of methodological quality are necessary. They acknowledge that many researchers in the humanities may not be as concerned with methodological issues of measurement, such as validity and reliability, and may be skeptical or dismissive of them. MIPVU aims to bridge the gap between traditions and to incorporate social-scientific methods into humanities research (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 2–3). [7]

The task of developing a method for identifying linguistic metaphors in natural discourse was initially taken up by the Pragglejaz group (2007). The metaphor researchers Lynne Cameron, Alan Cienki, Peter Crisp, Alice Deignan, Ray Gibbs, Joe Grady, Zoltán Kövecses, Graham Low, Elena Semino, and Gerard Steen developed the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). Through application in extensive empirical research, a more refined and extended version of MIP was developed, called MIPVU since the research was first conducted at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. MIP is the first explicit and systematic procedure for linguistic metaphor identification in language usage that has been tested for reliability. MIP and MIPVU have been adopted in many metaphor studies that have needed this kind of scientific measurement, and are now well known in the field of metaphor research. For comparative research on language across disciplines, tests against the same standards of quality are needed to provide converging evidence (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 4–5). [8]

To fully understand the aims and benefits of MIPVU, it is important to clarify what it is not designed to do. The procedure is intended solely for the identification of linguistic forms of metaphor and does not address the issue of underlying conceptual structures. It does not provide any results about which distinct conceptual domains are mapped onto each other. This limitation leads to a much higher agreement among analysts, since they usually have less difficulty agreeing on whether an expression is metaphorical or not than on the precise nature of the metaphorical concept. Additionally, the procedure allows researchers to avoid adhering to a particular cognitive-linguistic model of metaphor (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 8–9). [9]

The procedure only allows a binary decision of metaphorical or not-metaphorical, and cannot take into account gradual understandings of metaphors, distinguish between [10]

conventional and deliberate metaphors, such as novel or extended metaphors, or make a statement about concepts and domains involved. Like an interpretation of the metaphor, any identification of different types of metaphor should follow and be based on the identification of linguistic metaphors, especially if the analysis is part of comparative and quantitative research.

[11] It should also be noted that the procedure can never be error-free, and although it implements common standards, borderline cases exist. In such cases, group discussions are recommended to achieve high-quality results.

[12] Finally, it is important to be aware that the procedure was developed for and with modern English data. The researchers have annotated text from BNC-Baby, a sample of the British National Corpus which includes the registers news, conversation, fiction, and academic discourse. If MIPVU is to be applied to data from any other time period or language, adjustments will need to be made. Changes to the procedure may also be necessary or desirable depending on the specific research interest. As long as these changes are explicit and transparently documented, results of studies using adaptations of the procedure will remain comparable.

[13] MIPVU was developed for modern English, is designed to identify mostly conventional metaphors, and does not contribute to the interpretation of metaphors. While these aspects may suggest that the procedure is less relevant to the research of the CRC, we do encounter the issues that MIPVU was developed for. Any shortcomings are covered by other methods, and adjustments to the procedure can be made for the subproject-specific texts.

[14] Disagreements about metaphor identification have arisen among CRC researchers from the very beginning, and this is exactly what MIP was created to resolve. The CRC's annotation scheme for metaphor interpretation (Dipper and Elwert, forthcoming) relies on an initial identification of metaphor-related words. In order to analyze cross-domain mappings, it is essential to first identify linguistic metaphors in the text. The same is true for the identification of deliberate metaphors, which are of particular interest for the CRC research. Deliberate metaphors draw attention to their source domain as a distinct referent since they need to be interpreted by on-line cross-domain comparison. They are metaphors that are used *as* metaphors (G. Steen 2017). DMIP, the Deliberate Metaphor Identification Procedure, builds on the results of MIPVU as a first step (Reijnierse et al. 2018; G. Steen 2017).

[15] MIVPU is useful not only for producing comparable research across disciplines, but also for providing individual researchers with a systematic and consistent approach to metaphor research, rather than relying solely on intuition. Even if the CRC's subprojects are too different to establish comparable standards, the application of MIPVU to a single language or text can already improve the quality of metaphor identification within that specific study and increase the comprehensibility and transparency of the results.

Basic Procedure

The basis of the procedure is the theoretical conceptualization of metaphor as a cross-domain mapping. Steen et al. define metaphor as follows: "The use of a conceptual domain as a source to understand and talk about another conceptual domain which functions as a target is the true basis for metaphor in the study of usage" (2010, 11). Such a cross-domain mapping is present "[w]henever two concepts are compared and they can be constructed, in context, as somehow belonging to two distinct and contrasted domains" (2010, 14). Linguistically, this can be expressed by means of indirect or direct word use. Cross-domain mapping by indirect language use, so called "indirect metaphors," is what also other narrower definitions of metaphor would cover. So-called "direct metaphors" are sometimes conceptualized as similes by others but they concern the same process of cross-domain mapping. Based on these premises the following set of guidelines can be outlined (2010, 25–26): [16]

1. Find metaphor-related words (MRWs) by examining the text on a word-by-word basis. [17]
2. When a word is used indirectly and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW).
3. When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct).
4. When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit).
5. When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (MFlag).
6. When a word is a new-formation coined, examine the distinct words that are its independent parts according to steps 2 through 5.[1]

The concrete realization of the points 1, 2, and 3 (and 5) will be described in the remainder of this introduction. We will not cover point 4, since we see no need to discuss it any further in this paper. The same goes for point 6, which gives instructions on how to deal with new lexical units, which is quite language-dependent. [18]

Point 1—Deciding about words: Lexical units

MIPVU works as a word-by-word analysis, meaning it has to be decided for each word if [19]

1 An example of this would be "honey-hunting." Theoretically, this word should be one lexical unit but since the term is unknown to the dictionary, it is analyzed as two distinct lexical units (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 31, 41).

it is metaphor-related. To do this, it must be clear what counts as a word. The text must therefore be broken down into words, or more precisely into lexical units, according to explicit rules. You can only be consistent in your identification of metaphors if you make the same decisions about lexical units every time, which is especially necessary for quantitative analysis. MIPVU provides very detailed instructions on lexical unit delineation for modern English (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 26–32). Regardless of the language it is always important to have a strategy or set of rules for identifying lexical units in a consistent way within a project.

Point 2—Indirect use potentially explained by cross-domain mapping

MIPVU provides a multi-step procedure for identification of indirect metaphors in discourse (for the following section, consult G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 32–38 for details). First, the analyst should read the entire text to establish a general understanding of its topic and determine the lexical units of which it consists (see Point 1 above). The analysis of individual lexical units (Point 2) includes the following steps: One has to (1) identify the contextual meaning of each lexical unit, (2) check whether it has a more basic contemporary meaning, (3) whether there is sufficient contrast between the contextual meaning and the basic meaning, and (4) whether they are related by way of similarity (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 33; cf. Pragglejaz Group 2007, 3 [point 3 (a)–(c)]). If these questions (3–4) are answered positively, the lexical unit is to be tagged as (potentially) metaphorical.[2] [20]

Admittedly, the following sequence of individual analysis steps is logical rather than chronological. As the aspects covered by these "steps" are intrinsically linked to each other, it is neither possible nor advantageous to isolate the individual steps from each other. [21]

As the main goal of MIPVU is reliability of the procedure, the analysts are not to rely on their intuition. For modern English the Macmillan Dictionary (the online version of the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Users*) was chosen as the standard source to identify contextual and basic meaning of a lexical unit. In cases of doubt (see Step 3 below), the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*[3] can be used for a second opinion (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 776). Quotes of English dictionary entries in this paper are taken from the Macmillan Dictionary website. However, on 30th June 2023, after we finished writing this paper, this online dictionary was closed and the website can no longer be accessed. There is not yet an official recommendation for an alternative standardized procedure. For now, we suggest to rely on the Longman Dictionary which had already been recommended as the alternative source. [22]

2 "The idea is to find expressions in language that are potentially metaphorical in cognition, which is meant to suggest that it is in principle possible to connect them to research on psychological processes and their products" (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 9).

3 https://www.ldoceonline.com/

Step 1: Identify the contextual meaning of the lexical unit.

First, the contextual meaning of the lexical unit has to be established (i.e., its meaning in the context of the respective utterance). The usage may be either novel or conventional. If the lexical unit is used in a conventional way, the contextual meaning should be registered by dictionaries. Thus, in the sentence "Mesopotamia is known for its rich cultural and political history," the adjective *rich* is used in a sense that matches its meaning 7 in the Macmillan Dictionary ('interesting, with a lot of different qualities, experiences, or events'). If the usage is comparatively (or completely) novel or very specific (i.e. in case of specialized terminology), however, it may not be listed in the dictionary. [23]

If the textual or situational context of an utterance is not sufficiently known, it may be difficult or impossible to define the contextual meaning with any degree of certainty. This may well be the case when the lexical units under consideration are part of unfinished utterances, recorded oral conversations, isolated citations, or small or poorly preserved textual fragments. [24]

Step 2: Check if there is a more basic meaning of the lexical unit. If there is, establish its identity.

The next analysis step is to inquire whether a more basic meaning of the lexical unit can be identified. According to MIPVU, such meaning should exist in contemporary usage; obsolete meanings are generally not considered. MIPVU defines a more basic meaning (note the indefinite article and the comparative!) as "a more concrete, specific, and human-oriented sense" (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 35).[4] More basic meanings are always conventional but not necessarily more frequent. While they tend to be historically older, however, MIPVU, sticking to synchronic analysis, drops it from the list of criteria.[5] [25]

Thus, a more basic meaning of the adjective *rich* in comparison to the contextual meaning cited above is 'owing a lot of money, property, or valuable possessions' (meaning 1 in Macmillan). However, several other meanings meet the above-mentioned criteria of being "more basic" as well, e.g. 'containing a lot of things such as butter, eggs, or cream that make your stomach feel full very quickly' (meaning 3) and 'containing a lot [26]

4 MIP has a similar list of criteria: "more concrete," "related to bodily action," "more precise," and "historically older" (Pragglejaz Group 2007, 3).

5 This decision is not entirely without problems. If we compare two meanings of the verb 'eliminate' in contemporary English, "to get rid of something that is not wanted or needed" (meaning 1 in Macmillan) and "to murder someone who is considered to be a problem" (meaning 4), one would have to admit that the second meaning is both "more concrete, specific" and "more human-oriented." Besides, the two meanings are certainly connected in some way (one may argue whether by contiguity or similarity). However, it might seem counterintuitive to regard 'murder' as a more basic meaning. Indeed, judging by the references provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, this meaning is historically younger. Apparently, it is a specification of the sense 'to get rid of' (cf. OED online [www.oed.com], s. v. 'eliminate' 3a). Thus, in this particular case, the historical criterion helps to clarify the question about a (more) basic meaning. In difficult cases like this one, MIPVU explicitly advises to consult the *OED* "to deepen your understanding of the word" (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 38).

of substances that are good for growing plants' (meaning 4). In order to decide which of these meanings should be taken as more basic for the purpose of analysis, one has to compare the meanings and consider the relations between them (see Step 4 below). It should be noted that a conclusive decision on the matter is not always easy (or even possible) to make, especially in case of polysemous verbs with a wide range of meanings (cf. the verb *to serve* as an example in Nacey et al. 2019, 48).

[27] The MIPVU guidelines stress that a more basic sense of a lexeme must be present within the same grammatical category (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 35–36). This means that, for example, the meanings of the verb *to dog* are not to be compared with the noun *dog*.[6] This is a reasonable principle necessary to formalize the procedure, but it also has some caveats. Thus, if one follows it in a rigid way, one has to mark the verb *to squirrel* as non-metaphorical since it has only one meaning, although most English speakers would probably associate the actions described by the verb with a typical behavior of the animal *squirrel*, and thus perceive it as metaphorical (Pragglejaz Group 2007, 27–28).[7] The MIPVU guidelines go so far as to state that, "as a rule," transitive meanings of a verb cannot be compared to its intransitive meanings; the same applies to countable and uncountable usages of a noun and to using the same verb as an auxiliary or a full verb (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 36; cf., by contrast, Pragglejaz Group 2007, 28). Only few exceptions are allowed. The strict grammatical principle forbidding comparisons between word forms belonging to different parts of speech may be difficult to retain when MIPVU is adapted to other, especially non-European languages (cf. Semino 2019, 316–17).

Step 3: Determine whether the more basic meaning of the lexical unit is sufficiently distinct from the contextual meaning.

[28] After a more basic meaning has been identified, MIPVU requires that this more basic meaning is sufficiently distinct from the contextual meaning. More precisely, two meanings can be considered sufficiently distinct if each of them has a sense description with a separate number (i.e., is treated as a separate meaning by the dictionary) within the respective grammatical category. If one meaning is only a subsense of the other numbered sense description, then they are not considered distinct enough (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 37) to constitute a metaphor-related word. The downside of this approach is that it requires the availability of a dictionary where the entries are structured in the same or in a similar fashion as in *Macmillan*.

[29] To illustrate the determination of sufficient distinctness according to MIPVU, in fig. 1, the *Macmillan* entry for *tree*, the meanings 1 and 2 would be considered sufficiently distinct. The two meanings shown in fig. 2, the entry for *rough*, on the other hand, do not fulfill these criteria, because they are only subsenses of the same sense description.

6 MIP adopts a different approach in this respect (see Pragglejaz Group 2007, 16, 27–28).

7 It is even more difficult to apply this principle in a rigid way to languages where lexico-grammatical homonymy is much more widespread than in English, e.g. to Semitic languages (in which most nouns and adjectives are derived from verbal roots).

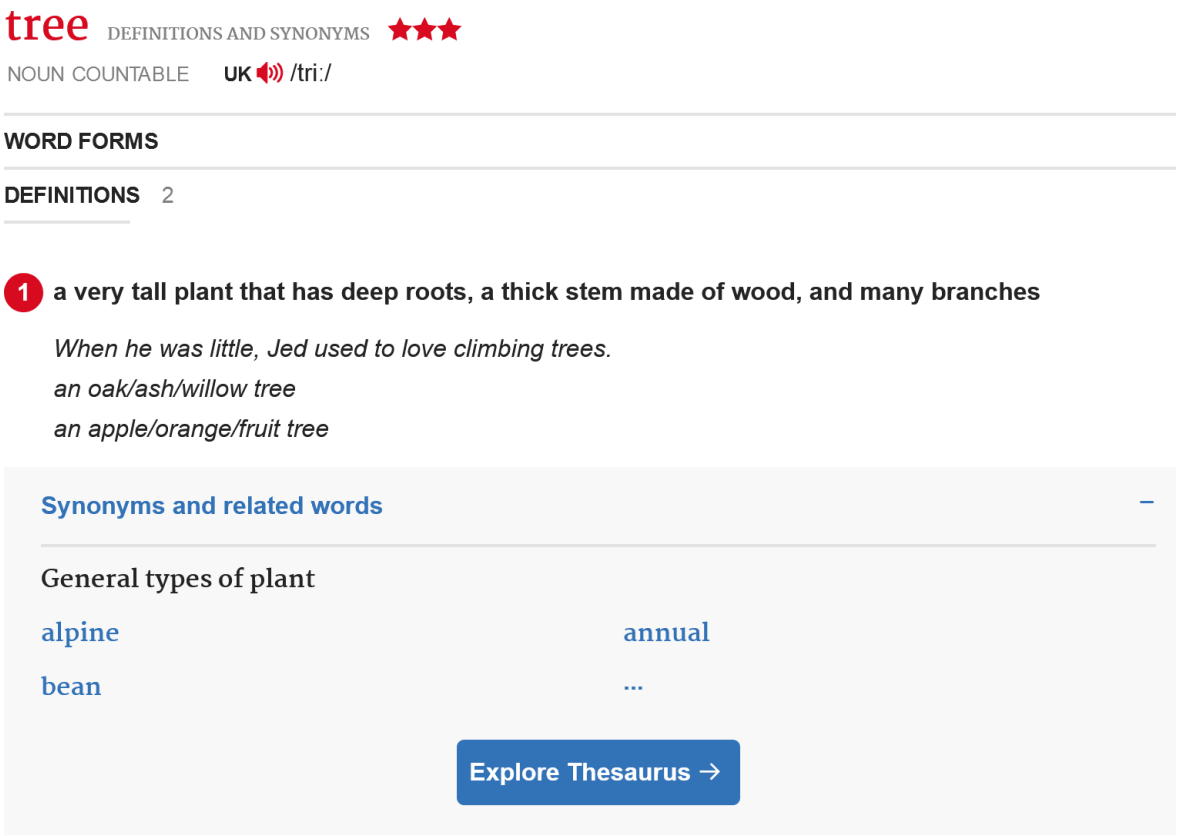


Figure 1 *Macmillan* entry for *tree*

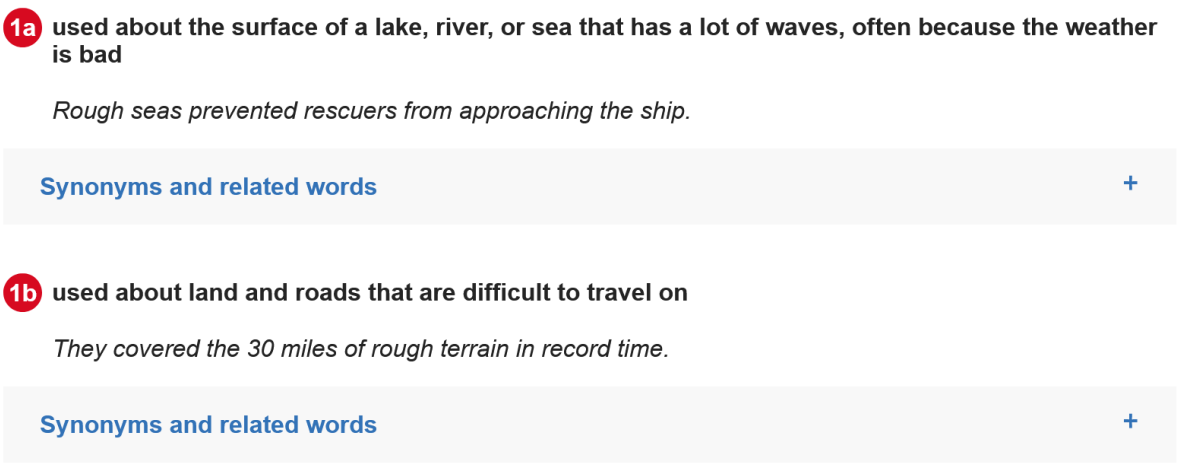


Figure 2 *Macmillan* entry for *rough*

Step 4: Examine whether the contextual meaning of the lexical unit can be related to the more basic meaning by some form of similarity.

After finding sufficiently distinct basic and contextual meanings for a lexical unit, the final step is to check whether the different meanings are related by similarity. Different meanings can also be related in ways other than metaphorically, such as metonymically (Nacey et al. 2019, 51). Distinguishing between metaphor and metonymy is particularly difficult, as the following example illustrates. [30]

> You have saved my *soul.* (Nacey et al. 2019, 51) [31]

In the *Macmillan* Dictionary, *soul* has five sense descriptions: [32]

1. mind/spirit of person [33]
2. person
3. strong feeling/emotion
4. something's special qualities
5. soul music

The first two meanings are relevant here because they both refer to a person. The first is undoubtedly more basic than the second because it is more specific. And precisely because the first meaning refers to a specific part, the metonymic use as *pars pro toto* is obvious. The two meanings are clearly related, but the nature of the relationship is one of contiguity rather than similarity. "We view the person via the soul (metonymy) whereby the soul stands for the person, rather than viewing the person as the soul (metaphor)" (Nacey et al. 2019, 52). The soul is representative of the whole person, which is *pars pro toto*. [34]

Contiguity is a relation between lexemes belonging to the same semantic domain, as opposed to similarity with two lexemes belonging to different semantic domains. Since contiguity does not allow for cross-domain mapping, metonymy seems to be categorically different from metaphor. However, some scholars (see e.g. Barcelona 2003; Radden 2003) argue that metaphor and metonymy cannot always be separated, and that metonymy even underlies metaphor. [35]

Point 3—Direct use potentially explained by cross-domain mapping

Point 3 of the basic procedure instructs that a word should be marked as direct metaphor "when [it] is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text" (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 24). This operationalization encompasses a variety of expressions and figures of speech, including similes, idioms, and aptronyms. Despite their diversity, as direct metaphors these share a commonality in their "direct" use of language, meaning there is no contrast between the contextual and a potential more basic meaning of metaphor-related words, as is the case with indirect metaphors. [36]

In the sentence "Mr. Smith was quiet as a mouse," for instance, a comparison is [37]

drawn between human and animal behavior, creating a cross-domain mapping. The referent "mouse" can be identified as topically incongruous with the rest of the text, because Mr. Smith is most likely human. To determine whether "mouse" is a MRW, MIPVU requires determining the contextual and basic meaning of the word. In this case, "mouse" is to be understood in its basic sense, "a small furry animal with a long tail" which means it cannot be a metaphor-related word of the indirect type. To identify whether it is a direct metaphor, MIPVU finally calls for determining "whether the comparison can be understood as an indirect form of discourse about the local or main referent or topic of the text" (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 37). In the example, the comparison of Mr. Smith to a mouse can be understood as indirect discourse about Mr. Smith and his behavior through association with various qualities of a mouse.

The process for identifying direct metaphor using MIPVU includes four concrete steps. [38]
First, the local referents (i.e., the lexical units in question) must be identified. Second, it must be determined whether the incongruous lexical units are to be understood within the framework of a comparison. Third, it must be tested whether the comparison is nonliteral, and whether it is cross-domain. Fourth, it must be determined whether the comparison can be understood as an indirect form of discourse about the local or main referent or topic of the text. According to Steen et al., in this last step, it should be possible to create "a provisional sketch of a mapping between the incongruous material functioning as source domain [...] and elements from the co-text functioning as target domain" (2010, 37). If these tests yield positive results, the lexical units in questions are marked as direct metaphor (MRW, direct).

Direct metaphor often, but not always, involves "metaphor flags," metaphor-related [39]
words to be tagged as "MFlag." These are language-specific means of signaling the metaphoric use of language, such as lexical items like *like*, *as*, *as if*, or *resemble* in English. A language may also have grammaticalized structures that function as metaphor flags, such as *-(nu)n tos* ('appear as if') in Middle Korean. It is important to note, however, that the presence of these structures does not always indicate direct metaphor. In some cases they may express literal comparisons, such as in the sentence "Lisa is as tall as Theo," where no cross-domain mapping is involved and the utterance is non-metaphoric.

Whether the target of the mapping is stated explicitly, as seen in the mouse example, [40]
is not a determining factor for directness. As the following example shows, the target of direct metaphors can be implicit:[8]

> Lily excelled in the 3rd graders' math competition. The apple$^{\text{MRW(direct)}}$ doesn't$^{\text{MRW(direct)}}$ fall$^{\text{MRW(direct)}}$ far$^{\text{MRW(direct)}}$ from$^{\text{MRW(direct)}}$ the tree$^{\text{MRW(direct)}}$. [41]

8 The same is true for indirect metaphors. Consider, for example, the sentence "That snake$^{\text{MRW(indirect)}}$ lied to me." Since the contextual meaning of *snake* (a specific person) and its more basic meaning (a long limbless reptile) are distinct, yet understandable via similarity, *snake* is an indirect metaphor. The target, i.e. the person, is not stated explicitly.

The analogy that Lily is, in some way, comparable to the apple, is not signaled through a metaphor flag either.[9] Those who are familiar with the idiom will recognize the mapping between parents and offspring on the level of the target domain, and plants producing fruit on the level of the source domain. Lily's mathematical genius must therefore be associated with the intellectual capacity of her parents, which means the metaphorical use of the idiom constitutes an indirect form of discourse about the local referent. [42]

In practice, direct metaphor can prove difficult to identify and annotate for a number of reasons. One is the fact that the metaphor-relatedness of a lexical unit cannot be established based on a contrast between contextual and more basic meaning. This means that every lexical unit that lacks such semantic contrast could potentially be part of a direct metaphoric expression and must therefore be examined for any topical incongruity and an underlying conceptual mapping. While metaphor flags are useful since they indicate potential direct metaphor, they are neither necessary nor sufficient for identifying it. [43]

Another issue lies in the scope and potential overlap of source and target domains. Identifying which lexical units are to be coded as metaphor-related can be difficult, particularly in complex sentences. MIPVU advises annotating "all individual words that add semantic content to the simile" (Kaal and Dorst 2012, 59), but this can be a challenging task. [44]

> Ms. Spring reminded$^{\text{MFlag}}$ me of$^{\text{MFlag}}$ a sad$^{\text{MRW(direct)}}$ little$^{\text{MRW(direct)}}$ girl$^{\text{MRW(direct)}}$ in front$^{?}$ of her$^{?}$ prematurely$^{?}$ extinguished$^{?}$ birthday cake$^{?}$, bereaved$^{?}$ of her$^{?}$ wish$^{?}$. [45]

The ambiguous syntax of the sentence above makes it unclear whether "in front of her prematurely extinguished birthday cake" and "bereaved of her wish" refer to the situation on the level of the target domain (Ms. Spring's sad birthday) or to the source domain (a sad little girl's birthday). In such cases, Kaal and Dorst (2012) recommend considering factors such as syntax, topical incongruity based on context, and, if applicable, punctuation to decide whether a lexical unit is to be coded as MRW(direct) or not. [46]

Some cultural references can escape metaphor identification if the chosen dictionary only registers them with the metaphorical sense. [47]

> West Nile virus in Central Europe—Pandora's box is wide open! (Popescu, Florescu, and Ruta 2020) [48]

The expression *Pandora's box* is explained in the *Macmillan* Dictionary as "something that could cause a lot of problems if you do it, use it, or say it," without any reference to its origin in Greek mythology. Following *Macmillan* would thus render the expression not metaphor-related if taken as a single lexical unit. In such cases, in order to capture the metaphoricity in analysis, annotators may have to deviate from the existing protocol and directly engage in the decision-making process. Deviations from the MIPVU guidelines [49]

9 Although it may be argued that the formulaic nature of the idiom functions as a flag, but this poses the question of how to annotate such a flag.

should be kept to a minimum and explicitly and systematically formulated, with reasons for deviations clearly stated. Adaptations to the procedure are often necessary to meet the particular needs of one's material and object language.

In Search of a More Basic Meaning: Two Biblical Metaphors and a Case for Not Relying (Too Much) on Dictionaries

Nikita Artemov[10]

A major problem concerning metaphor identification and analysis in ancient languages is the fragmentary character of the text corpora. The possibility that some meanings of polysemic words which existed in actual usage (either throughout the history of a language or at least at some point in its history) are not attested in extant texts and thus are irretrievably lost to us is to be considered on a general basis. What we know about ancient languages is (and will always remain) "the tip of the iceberg." Especially in the case of the so-called *hapax legomena* (words that are attested only once in the corpus of texts representing a language), one has to assess their semantics through comparison with words derived from the same root in related languages. As far as Biblical Hebrew is concerned, Akkadian, Arabic, and Aramaic languages (as well as Mishnaic Hebrew) often help to establish the contextual and/or basic meaning. [50]

There is another problem, however, which concerns not the languages themselves but their lexicographic description. Many historical dictionaries do not differentiate between non-metaphoric and metaphoric meanings consistently. This is the reason why researchers who identify and analyze metaphors in ancient texts are well advised to consider and compare concrete use instances in the extant textual passages featuring the lexeme in question rather than simply to check the sense descriptions provided by dictionaries when identifying a more basic meaning. Of course, the criteria for the identification of a more basic meaning remain the same as they were formulated by MIP and MIPVU, i.e., it must be a more concrete, specific, and more human-oriented or body-related meaning. [51]

In the following, we will take a closer look at three Biblical metaphors to see how these principles (i.e., giving linguistic and textual material cited by the dictionaries priority over their sense descriptions, and taking into account etymologically related words) work for Biblical texts written in Hebrew. [52]

Creation in the womb (Psalm 139:16)

The first example is a passage from Psalm 139. In this psalm, the speaker addresses God both as his omniscient and omnipresent creator and his ever-present counterpart who is always close to him and has intimate knowledge of "all his ways" (including his secret thoughts, vv. 2-3). According to the English Standard Version, v. 16 reads: [53]

10 Subproject B03: "Metaphors of the Self: On the Connection between Self-Constitution and Religion in the Hebrew Bible," https://sfb1475.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/en/subprojects/sfb1475b03/.

> *Psalm 139:16* Your eyes saw my unformed substance (*golmî* [גלמי]); [54]
> in your book were written, every one of them, the days that were formed for me, when as yet there was none of them.

The New International Version uses "my unformed body" instead of "my unformed substance." The King James Version translates *golmî* with "my substance, yet being unperfect." The German versions go different ways, too. The Elberfelder Bibel translates the first sentence (v. 16aα) with "meine Urform (*golmî*) sahen deine Augen," the Zürcher Bibel "noch bevor ich geboren war, sahen mich deine Augen"; the revised Einheitsübersetzung renders the Hebrew *golmî* by the clause "als ich noch gestaltlos war."[11] [55]

All these translations have, however, one thing in common: they all render the Hebrew noun גלם *gōlem* (with the possessive suffix of the 1st person singular *golmî*) at the beginning of the verse with expressions that are non-metaphorical and contain no metaphor-related words (MRWs). [56]

If we look at the Hebrew original, however, we will see that it contains a vivid and bold (and certainly deliberate!) metaphor. [57]

It is quite clear from the context that *golmî* refers to a human embryo; God's eyes saw the supplicant, as he still was in the darkness of his mother's womb, unseen by people (this is explicitly stated in the previous verses, cf. Psalm 139:12–15, esp. vv. 13 and 15). It is also clear that God's "seeing" the psalmist's "unformed substance" (tantamount, as v. 16b suggests, to "foreseeing" the length and probably even the history of his life) is closely related to the creation process in the course of which his embryo was formed—metaphorically described as being intricately "woven/wrought together" by God in verses 13b and 15b. [58]

Thus, 'embryo' must be the contextual meaning of *gōlem*. But what is its basic meaning? Psalm 139:16 is the only passage in the whole Hebrew Bible where the noun *gōlem* is used. Thus, it is a *hapax legomenon*. In such cases, only etymology can help, and it does, indeed, provide a clue. The *Hebrew und Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* by Ludwig Köhler and Walter Baumgartner mentions the following etymologically related words in Semitic languages: Jewish Aramaic *gōlmā* 'formless mass,' 'unfinished vessel' ('formlose Masse,' 'unfertiges Gefäss') and Syriac *galmā* 'untilled ground' ('unkultivierter Boden') (2004, 186 s. v. גֹּלֶם). [59]

Especially the Jewish Aramaic word for 'formless (clay) mass' and 'unfinished vessel' (*gōlmā*) provides a meaning which is both sufficiently distinct from 'embryo' and can be related to it by way of similarity. More than that: taken together, the basic meaning 'unfinished vessel' and the contextual meaning 'embryo' are to be associated with a conceptual metaphor common in the Hebrew Bible describing the divine creator as a potter and comparing the process of creation to pottery making. Thus, the Hebrew [60]

11 Here and in the following, the English translations of the Bible are quoted according to https://www.biblegateway.com/, the German ones according to https://www.bibleserver.com/. The Hebrew original text follows Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS), which the basis of the online editions provided by https://www.stepbible.org/ and https://www.tanakhml.org/.

verb *yāṣar* (יצר) 'to form/shape,' 'to create' commonly used as a creation term[12] meant originally 'to form (*as a potter*)' with reference to ceramic manufacturing.[13]

The mapping is transparent: As a potter takes a lump of clay and works it gradually into a nice jar or pot, God creates a human being from a formless embryo in a gradual and continuous process. This is a beautiful metaphor, both explaining an enigmatic natural process through comparison with a mundane human activity and elaborating on the conceptual metaphor and entrenched frame CREATION IS POTTERY MAKING. [61]

Importantly, the lexical definitions found in dictionaries are of no help if one tries to identify a more basic meaning in this particular case (HALOT's double definition 'formless thing,' 'embryo' conflates the contextual and basic meaning). As in the case of other *hapax legomena*, consulting the etymology is the only way to determine the basic meaning. However, by doing that, we are transcending the boundaries of the language in question (and breaking the MIPVU rules in a most conspicuous manner!). [62]

Bleeding Heart (Lamentations 1:22)

The second example is taken from the first chapter of the Book of Lamentations, stylized as a lament of the personified city of Jerusalem (Jerusalem is portrayed as a woman, since the Hebrew word for 'city' is feminine—the personification CITY IS A WOMAN is common in the Old Testament, especially in prophetic texts, going back, in terms of history of religion, to the trope of a mourning city goddess in Sumerian city laments, see Wischnowski 2006). Its concluding words portray Jerusalem's despair with two short, parallel hemistiches: [63]

> *Lamentations 1:22b* My groans are many, and my heart is ill (*wĕ libbî dawwāi* [ולבי דוי]). [64]

Most English translations follow the King James Version's reading "my heart is faint," but most German translations have "mein Herz ist krank" ("my heart is ill"), since *dawwāi* דוי is translated as 'krank' in the dictionaries; Luther Bible's "mein Herz ist betrübt" is a contextual translation; the New English Translation has "my heart is sick with sorrow." [65]

If we follow the definition given by the dictionaries of the Biblical Hebrew, the English phrase "my heart is ill" is a literal translation of the Hebrew phrase (both Gesenius and Köhler/Baumgartner render the Hebrew adjective דוי with 'krank'). Both its metaphorical quality and the conceptual mapping are clear: the source domain is physical illness, the target domain is sorrow/distress/anguish. The same conceptual metaphor underlies the English expressions "my heart aches" and "sick at heart." An Akkadian expression [66]

12 E.g. in Genesis 2:7.8.19; Isaiah 43:1.7.10.21; 44:2.21.24; 45:7.11.18; Jeremiah 1:5; 10:16; 33:2; Amos 4:13; Psalm 33:15; 94:9; 95:5.

13 The (substantivated) participle *yôṣēr* means 'potter' in Jeremiah 18:2–6; the idiomatic phrase *kĕlî (hay)yôṣēr* means 'pottery,' 'ceramic ware' (2 Sam 17:28; Ps 2:9; Jer 19:11). The metaphor CREATION IS POTTERY MAKING is "revitalized" in Isaiah 29:16; 45:9; 64:8 and alluded to in Lamentations 4:2 and Jeremiah 18:1–11. Based on the Akkadian cognate verb *eṣēru* that has an extremely wide range of meanings, ThWAT (*Theologisches Wörterbuch für Altes Testament*) defines the basic meaning of the Semitic verbal root *yṣr* as 'to form/shape' in a broad sense. However, it also notes that "the handicraft activity most commonly referred to by the (Hebrew) root *jṣr* is pottery making" (Otzen 1982, 832).

literally meaning “one’s heart is ill” (*libbašu imraṣ*) refers, depending on the context, to anger, sadness, concern, or unhappiness. Perhaps, we are dealing with a universal conceptual metaphor here.

[67] However, if we look at the use of the adjective דוי (*dawwāi*) and of the Hebrew root דוה (*dawâ*) and its other derivatives more closely, two interesting details attract attention.

[68] The adjective דוי (*dawwāi*), i.e. this particular word form, is only attested in contexts where emotional state is described, and the noun ‘heart’ לב (*lēḇ*) / לבב (*lēḇāḇ*) is always the subject of the sentence, which may suggest that all the three passages where it occurs are intertextually connected—however, the same phrase occurs in a letter by a military officer from Lachish dating from the beginning of the sixth century (Lasater 2021, 378–79), so it was probably a stock phrase.

[69] Applying the MIPVU principles of synchronic analysis in a strict way (i.e. taking into consideration only the occurrences in the extant corpus of Hebrew texts), we would have to identify the meaning ‘sorrowful’ or ‘depressed’ as both the contextual *and* the basic meaning (regardless of the definition provided by the dictionaries)—since no other meaning is attested for the Hebrew adjective *dawwāi* which is never used in a non-metaphorical sense in Old Testament texts.[14]

[70] But there is another, even more important caveat. A synonymous adjective of the same root, דוה (*dāwê*, fem. *dāwâ*) appears twice in a very similar context in the Book of Lamentations (Lam 1:13; 5:17) referring to the grief of the personified city of Jerusalem or its people and their desolate state. However, the very same adjective is used in the Book of Leviticus with reference to menstruating women who become ritually unclean because of their periods (Lev 15:33; 20:18). The cognate verb דוה (**dawâ*) occurs in only one passage in Leviticus (12:2), where it means ‘to menstruate.’[15]

[71] Since both adjectives, *dawwāi* and *dāwê*, are not just derived from the same root but also appear in identical contexts (cf. Lam 1:22 and Lam 5:17), one is tempted to assume that they were, essentially, lexical variants with a roughly identical range of meaning.

[72] To summarize, the Hebrew root דוה (< Semitic **dwī*)[16] refers either to a grieving heart or to a menstruating woman (or, rarely, to a sick feeling in the stomach) but never means ‘to be sick/ill’ in a general sense of the word,[17] even though this meaning seems to be attested in other Semitic languages (along with ‘to be sad/distressed’). It is not easy to decide which of the two meanings is historically older. However, if we, following MIPVU, choose a synchronic approach to language, we can dismiss the question.

14 A general problem that significantly limits the possibilities of synchronic analysis with regard to ancient languages is that the bulk of linguistic material pertaining to them (including all oral communication as well as most written texts) is irretrievably lost to us. Thus, it is possible and even probable that the Hebrew adjective *dawwāi* was used in a more basic sense in everyday language, but no texts that would record such use are transmitted.

15 A closely related adjective *דוי (*děwai) with the meaning ‘sick’ (in the sense of ‘sick’ meaning 1 in *Macmillan*) is found in Job 6:7.

16 Etymologically related are the Arabic *dawan* ‘illness’ and *dawija* ‘miserable,’ Ethiopic *dawaja* ‘to be ill,’ Ugaritic *dw* ‘ill’ and *dwj* ‘to be ill,’ Syriac *dᵉwī*/*wā* ‘to be weak’ and *dwj* ‘misery,’ ‘distress,’ Jewish Aramaic *dāwōnâ* ‘anguish,’ ‘grief’ (Köhler et al. 2004, 207 s. v. דוה and דָּוַי; Gesenius and Meyer 2013, 244 s. v.)דוה). According to Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD), the cognate verb in Akkadian, *damû*, means ‘to suffer from convulsions’ (Gelb 2004, 80, s. v. *damû*).

17 The only possible exception is Psalm 41:4.

Furthermore, if we adopt the perspective that more concrete and body-related meanings (and, one might add, the meanings referring to everyday experience, physical existence, and sensual perception) are the 'more basic' ones, we will have to identify דוה (*dāwê*) 'menstruating,' 'bleeding (during monthly periods)' as a more basic meaning. [73]

Now, if we compare both usages of adjectives derived from the verbal root דוה in the Hebrew Bible, 'one's heart is *ill*/grieving' and 'a woman is *ill*/menstruating,' we may detect a point of similarity much more concrete than the general idea of pain and diminishing vitality (which would be the case if we, following the dictionaries, took 'ill' in the sense of unspecified medical condition to be the basic meaning of *dawwāi*). This further and more specific point of similarity is the association with blood and bleeding.[18] [74]

The bodily aspect of heart as an organ responsible for blood circulation might be the reason why *dawwāi* is never used (either literally or metaphorically) with other bodily organs. A "bleeding heart" is, of course, a metaphor that is singularly appropriate for description of a conquered city whose inhabitants were either captured or slaughtered in its midst (the Hebrew *lēḇ* 'heart' means also 'centre'). Apart from the idea of bleeding, pain, weakness, impurity, isolation, and a downcast state are further semantic aspects that seem to constitute the conceptual mapping, forming a set of recurrent motifs in Lady Jerusalem's lament (Lam 1:1–22). [75]

Importantly, the image of Jerusalem as a menstruating woman is not restricted to Lam 1:13.22 and the metaphorical connotations of the adjectives derived from the root **dwī* (*dāwâ* in v. 13 and *dawwāi* in v. 22) but is also evoked by the noun *niddâ* (נדה) 'menstruation,' 'abomination,' 'impurity' in Lam 1:17 and by the homophonous hapax *nîdâ* (נידה) 'scorn' (?) in Lam 1:8 (Frevel 2017, 109–10). The wording of these passages suggests that, on the conceptual level, menstruation was strongly associated not only with physical and mental pain but also with ritual impurity, shame, separation and disconnection from family and society, and (temporary) loss of social status. An important conceptual background for understanding the metaphor are cultic prescriptions concerning the ritual uncleanness of menstruating women and of bereaved relatives during the mourning period (Lev 15:19–30; Num 19), demonstrating that the condition of both groups was regarded as similar and conceptualized in similar terms. The close association between painful menstruation and 'transgressions' or 'sins' (*pešāʾîm*, cf. Lam 1:13f.22) can be explained by the fact that the violation of religious laws was another common cause for ritual impurity. [76]

The rich metaphoric interplay constituting the meaning of Lady Jerusalem's final utterance in Lamentations 1:22b can only be discerned if one assumes that the source domain 'menstruation' is mapped onto the target domain 'mourning' or 'grief (caused by bereavement and exile)' and that the picture of a metaphorically bleeding, destroyed city is looming behind the figure of the lamenting Lady Jerusalem. [77]

Thus, we are probably dealing with an intense and content-rich metaphor here, which [78]

18 Strictly speaking, we are dealing with semantic connotations produced by metonymic shifts ('heart' > 'heartbeat' > 'blood circulation' > 'bleeding'; 'wound' > 'bleeding' + 'pain'; 'losing blood' > 'feeling weak'; 'menstruating' > 'being/feeling weak and depressed' + 'feeling pain'), combined with the synecdoche HEART FOR PERSON.

we would have never been able to identify if we followed the MIPVU guidelines in a strict way, since only analyzing the Hebrew adjectives דוי (*dawwāi*) and דוה (*dāwê*) together treating them as variants of one and the same lexeme discloses the metaphoricity. Especially in cases where rare lexemes are involved, considering all the derivatives may well be a reasonable solution, at least for Biblical Hebrew.

Besides, the identification of the precise contextual and basic meaning would not be possible, in this particular case, just on the basis of entries in the dictionaries, since they define the meaning of דוי (*dawwāi*) as 'ill/sick' without mentioning that it can only refer to the subject 'heart' and is never used in a non-metaphoric way. [79]

Death as Return (Genesis 35:29)

My last example serves to demonstrate that principles on which the MIPVU guidelines are based can and should be applied to the analysis of metaphors in Biblical texts. [80]

The cycles of stories about the patriarchs Abraham, Isaak and Jacob in the Book of Genesis end with a note on their death and burial attributed to the Priestly source. All the three passages (Gen 25:8; 35:29; 49:33) use the same stereotype and somewhat enigmatic formula commonly translated into English "he died and was gathered to his people."[19] [81]

> *Genesis 35:29* And Isaac breathed his last, and he died and was gathered to his people (*wayāmot wayēʾāsēp ʾel ʿammāw* [וימת ויאסף אל־עמיו]), old and full of days. And his sons Esau and Jacob buried him. [82]

The contextual meaning of the phrase "he was gathered to his people" (*wayēʾāsēp ʾel ʿammāw*) seems to refer to something that follows death but precedes burial. Even if the sequel of actions expressed by the imperfect verb forms with *wāw consecutive* in this sentence ("… *and* he died *and* he was gathered to his … *and* they buried him") is partly interpreted as logical rather than temporal, the process described as "*being gathered* to one's people" must still be something closely associated with, but not identical to either death or burial. It has long been proposed that this "something" is transition to the world of the dead conceptualized as a place where one is reunited with their deceased relatives. Against this background, the contextual meaning of the form of the Hebrew verb *ʾāsap̄* (אסף) (appearing in its passive/reflexive Niphal stem), traditionally rendered with '(he) was gathered (to)' in the passages in question, could be provisionally defined as '(he) departed/went to' or 'was reunited with.' [83]

But what is the basic meaning of the verb *ʾāsap̄* (אסף) Niphal and the verbal phrase *wayēʾāsēp ʾel ʿammāw*? The translation "(and) he was gathered to his people" prompted many scholars to suggest that the original meaning of the expression referred to the custom of secondary burial (practiced in Palestine since time immemorial), i.e. to the removal of skeletal remains and their transfer into the ossuary or the bone repository in the family grave at some time after the initial burial (Meyers 1970, 15). It should be [84]

19 The same phrase is used with reference to the death of Ismael in the Book of Genesis (Gen 25:17), as well as with reference to Moses and Aaron in Yahweh's speeches in Numbers and Deuteronomy (Num 27:13; Deut 32:50; cf. Num 20:26).

stressed that this meaning is not present in any Biblical passages using the phrase.[20] To explain the semantic shift from secondary burial to transition to the afterlife, one would have to assume a series of metonymies, as a result of which mortal remains came to stand for the deceased person and their 'gathering' into the family ossuary came to be associated with the reunion of the dead with the ancestral spirits. As no traces of the original meaning can be found in Biblical texts, the expression represents, according to this interpretation, a "dead metonymy."

However, the relationship between the contextual and basic meaning of the Hebrew [85]
verb *ʾāsap̄* in the expression *wayēʾāsep̄ ʾel ʿammāw* appears in a new light if one follows the rule according to which transitive and intransitive verb usage should be considered separately when identifying a more basic meaning. Whereas the verb *ʾāsap̄* usually has a transitive meaning 'to gather (people, animals, or plants)', 'to gather in (fruits, hay, harvest)' in its basic stem (Qal), the Niphal stem (the form the verb has in the expression *wayēʾāsep̄ ʾel ʿammāw*) can express reflexive ('to gather themselves') or passive ('to be brought in') but also intransitive meanings ('to withdraw', 'to retreat', 'to return to').[21] In the only passage where the Niphal stem of *ʾāsap̄* is used with reference to a single human subject in a non-figurative context in combination with the same preposition *ʾel*, it has the sense 'to return / go back to (a tent camp)' (Numbers 11:30). If one takes this use as a more basic meaning of *ʾāsap̄* Niphal, the relationship to the contextual meaning it has in Genesis 25:8.17; 35:29; 49:29.33 can be established easily. The expression can now be translated as "he returned to his kin/ancestors"[22] and can be associated with the conceptual metaphors DEATH IS GOING HOME (cf. the German euphemistic expression *heimgehen*) as well as with TRANSITION IS MOVING TO ANOTHER PLACE and DISAPPEARING IS GOING BACK TO ORIGINAL PLACE.

Conclusion

Summarizing, one could say that it does not seem reasonable to keep to the MIPVU guide- [86]
lines in a dogmatic way when you are working with Biblical texts. The analysis benefits from applying its basic principles in a flexible way, approaching each case individually. Whereas in some cases, it seems reasonable or even unavoidable to treat morphophonological variants of the same lexeme, identical lexemes in closely related Semitic languages or in different historical stages of the same language, or even derivatives from the same triconsonantal root as the same "lexical unit", in other cases, following particular MIPVU guidelines, e.g. concerning the comparison of intransitive and transitive meanings of the same verb, may help to identify the basic meaning in a more reliable manner.

20 According to the Biblical narrative, Abraham was the first member of his kin who came to Palestine to settle there. The only person who was buried in his family grave before him was his wife Sarah (Gen 23:19).
21 Num 11:30; 2 Sam 17:13; Jer 47:6.
22 On the meaning of the noun *ʿam* (עם) in this context, see Artemov (2014, 31).

Navigating Multi-Level Metaphoricity in Literary Sinitic

Elsa Kueppers[23]

This section presents an approach to adapt MIPVU for Literary Sinitic texts of premodern Korean origin. This approach was developed within subproject B02, which examines the use of metaphorical language in the context of self-transformative experience in ego-documents from premodern Korea (late fifteenth to early nineteenth century) by authors associated with Confucianism. [87]

MIPVU was originally developed for contemporary English data, and adapting it to a different language entails addressing two primary concerns that have already been pointed out by Semino (2019, 315): devising a strategy for delineating lexical units that serve as the basic unit of analysis, and selecting and utilizing appropriate tools to assist in decision-making related to determining meanings and part of speech (POS), as well as the semantic relationship between meanings. As MIPVU aims to produce objective and reproducible results in metaphor identification, it externalizes the decision-making process involved in these steps as much as possible by relying on existing POS information, sense descriptions, and entry structures provided by corpus-based dictionaries. In attempting to adapt MIPVU to Literary Sinitic and address these points, one is not only faced with the challenge of finding appropriate tools for Literary Sinitic, but also with theoretical conflicts with some of the fundamental assumptions about the mental structure of the lexicon and language processing that MIPVU makes. Semino (2019, 317) warns of this in her reflections on MIPVU across languages. The conflict arises from the fact that MIPVU takes a contemporary language user's understanding of word meaning as authoritative in determining a more basic meaning. While this is likely to pose a problem for metaphor identification in any premodern language due to the scarcity of corpus-based historical dictionaries, it further complicates an adaptation of MIPVU for Literary Sinitic in the Korean context, because this was a written language typologically unrelated to Korean. It is therefore questionable to equate the language processing taking place with its users to that of contemporary English speakers. Another point for debate is the graphic form of sinographic writing (i.e., the writing system using Chinese characters, hereafter referred to as sinographs). At first glance, these aspects seem to render MIPVU's working assumptions about and practical guidelines for basic meaning unsuitable, if not inapplicable. [88]

The purpose of this essay is to present the current state of my considerations of these complex theoretical issues. Some of these are related to topics that have been the subject of long debates in sinology and Korean studies and require extensive explanation of the underlying issues. After this, the current approach for adapting MIPVU to the subproject's needs and its application in practice are presented. [89]

At this point it must be noted that the adaptation of MIPVU for Chinese introduced by [90]

23 Subproject B02: "Beyond Self-Cultivation: Moments of Transcendence in Ego-Documents of Korean Confucian Provenance," https://sfb1475.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/en/subprojects/sfb1475b02/.

Wang et al. (2019) cannot be adopted for Literary Sinitic, because the languages differ considerably in terms of grammar, lexicon, and general use.

Literary Sinitic in the Korean Context

Literary Sinitic is a written language that follows the "lexical and syntactic norms [of Chinese] established in the late 1st millennium BCE" and that "remained essentially unchanged for two thousand years" (Handel 2019, 34). Literary Sinitic became the standard medium of written communication across a large geographic area, including Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, despite the regional languages being unrelated to Chinese. In Korea (where it is known as 漢文 *hanmun,* 'Han writing'), Literary Sinitic was the predominant written language for official and literary purposes until the early twentieth century.[24] [91]

Literary Sinitic is written using sinographs, which by its users "were viewed as having conventional and fixed core properties: basic form, basic pronunciations, and basic meanings" (Handel 2019, 51).[25] In Korea, the originally Chinese pronunciation of sinographs was borrowed undergoing assimilation to the Korean phonology, and the outcome of this process were standardized Korean pronunciations. Korean literati proficient in Literary Sinitic studied sinographic writing and Literary Sinitic grammar from a young age. The grammar of Literary Sinitic, an isolating language with SVO (subject-verb-object) structure is entirely different from that of Korean, an agglutinative language with SOV structure. As a result of social, literary, and linguistic practices, Korean literati were able to understand, read aloud, and produce texts in Literary Sinitic, but used their native language Korean for everyday oral communication.[26] Adding to the complexity of this linguistic and inscriptional situation are the diverse writing practices that involved the Korean alphabet, which phonetically reflected the spoken language, and the systematic use of (partially modified) sinographs to vernacularize a text. The latter provided means of syntactically structuring a text and representing Korean grammatical and lexical morphemes. Writing practices were also influenced by Chinese vernacular Sinitic (Park 2020, 124). The specificity of inscriptional practice in any given text is related to factors such as genre and the circumstances of its production and intended reception. [92]

The following sentence in Literary Sinitic and its literal contemporary Korean translation illustrate the differences between the two languages. A comparison of the morphological glosses reveals the structural difference between the languages. [93]

24 Literary Sinitic kept its predominance even after the Korean alphabet, still used today under the name *han'gŭl*, was introduced.

25 Sinographs are still conceptualized this way in Korea: a sinograph is referred to by its "basic meaning" in Korean, followed by its Korean pronunciation. For the graph 天, e.g.: "하늘 천 *hanŭl ch'ŏn*" ('sky *ch'ŏn*').

26 In China, too, where Literary Sinitic was continually used for (formal) written communication, it differed considerably from spoken dialects by the time. As a consequence, Koreans and Chinese—despite their different languages—were able to communicate in writing using Literary Sinitic, a practice known as "brush talk" (筆談 *p'ildam*) (Kin and King 2021, 100; Li, Aoyama, and Wong 2022).

Lit. Sinitic	知止之地位。其在聞道之後耶。[27]
Phon. gloss	*chi chi chi chi-wi, ki chae mun to chi hu ya*
Morph. gloss	know stop DEP position DEM located hear way DEP after Q[28]
Korean	그칠 줄을 아는 지위는 도를 들은 뒤에 있는가?
Phon. gloss	*kŭch'i-l chur-ŭl a-nŭn chiwi-nŭn to-rŭl tŭr-ŭn twi-e in-nŭn'ga?*
Morph. gloss	stop-ADN method-ACC know-ADN position-TOP way-ACC hear-ADN after-LOC exist-Q
Translation	'The position of knowing where/when to stop, is it after hearing about the Way?'

The Sinitic lexemes 地位 (*chiwi*, 'position') and 道 (*to*, 'way'; referring to the *Dao*) remain unchanged in the Korean translation. This shows how the spread of sinographic writing had accelerated the borrowing of Chinese morphemes into the Korean language. Sino-Korean monosyllabic morphemes were and still are highly productive in Korean word formation. The phonological gloss for Literary Sinitic shows that the Korean pronunciation (*chi*) of the first four sinographs is identical. While it was possible to read texts aloud in Literary Sinitic, the density of homophones, as seen in this example, "would have made Literary Sinitic spoken aloud nearly impossible to understand without the visual disambiguation provided by the morphographic script" (Handel 2019, 82). Reading it aloud without alteration would have been appropriate only in ritualistic, performative settings, as Handel (2019, 83) argues. All other settings would have required the use of glossing techniques that allowed Korean speakers to read Literary Sinitic texts in the vernacular.[29] [94]

Sinographs and Semantic Change

One issue with trying to adapt MIPVU to Literary Sinitic is that sinographs have an extremely wide semantic range. Rather than having just one "proper" meaning, a single graph can represent multiple meanings depending on the context, often crossing POS categories. [95]

Character dictionaries are of limited help in understanding the relationship between individual senses, as they often conflate more basic senses with their extensions. For example, the sinograph 起 (*ki*, 'rise') is registered in the Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese (hereafter DCMC) with five numbered senses, ten sub-senses, and many additional senses that appear to be polysemous extensions. To give just a few examples, these include concrete concepts such as 'stand up,' abstract concepts such as 'conjecture,' specialized concepts such as 'recalling of an official in mourning [96]

27 Yi Hang 李恒 (1499–1576). "Tap Kim Paksa Inhu sŏ 答金博士麟厚書 [Reply to Scholar Kim Inhu's Letter]." *Ilchae chip* 一齋集. Digitized at ITKC.

28 The abbreviations used in this essay are ACC—accusative, ADN—adnominal, DEM—demonstrative, DEP—dependence marker, LOC—locative, TOP—topic, and Q—interrogative.

29 For more on glossing techniques, refer to Handel (2019) and Park (2020).

to resume his post,' and a grammatical function, namely the inchoative aspect.[30] How these different senses are related may not be obvious at first glance. The wide semantic range of sinographs is the result of three mechanisms of semantic change and grammaticalization, as described by Xing (2015) for the Chinese language: metaphoricalization, metonymization, and semantic reanalysis.

The meanings of a single sinograph can be related by metonymy or metaphor in cases [97] where a newer sense is related to an older one by either contiguity or similarity. However, determining the exact nature of this relationship can prove challenging. For example, in the case of 起 (*ki*, 'rise'), the sense of 'heal' can be understood either by similarity (the concept of improving health is compared to upward movement, in line with the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP) or by contiguity (standing up represents being in good health), making the relationship either metaphorical or metonymic. Another sense of 起, 'originate,' is metaphorically related to 'stand up' if the analogy lies in the departure from a starting point—applying both to the concept of origin and to a person standing up from a seated position. On the other hand, the sense of 'embark on a journey' seems to be metonymically related to 'rise' as the first action involved in walking. A result of the metaphoricalization mechanism (Xing 2015) in semantic change is that the majority of the senses of a sinograph constitute what MIPVU categorizes as indirect metaphor. The mechanism of "semantic reanalysis" occurs when language users rely on the syntactic position and surrounding morphemes of a given morpheme/graph to interpret its meaning. In this process, the morpheme/graph may take on a new syntagmatic function different from its original one (Xing 2015, 713). For this reason, sinographs appear fluid in terms of POS: For example, 起 (*ki*, 'rise') has nominal, attributive, verbal, and grammatical senses, and as a verb can be either intransitive or transitive ('rise' versus 'raise'). The mechanisms of semantic change highlight the complex and nuanced nature of the semantic relationships between the different senses represented by individual sinographs.

The wide semantic range of sinographs and the preservation of multiple meanings [98] over time are closely related to sinographic writing. By maintaining an immutable written form, sinographs ensure the preservation of multiple senses. Over the centuries, sinographs have been written without major changes in form. As a result, a sinograph is always identifiable, whether the context is conventional or novel (e.g., in a new compound). In contrast, in languages with alphabetic writing systems, orthographic conventions can obscure the etymology of morphemes over time. For example, the German adjectival suffix *-lich* and *Leiche* 'corpse' both derive from Middle High German *līch*, 'body,' but this connection is no longer perceived by German speakers. In Korean, the etymology of the vernacular *talgyal* ('egg'), a contraction of the earlier *ta(l)k-ŭi al* (chicken-GEN egg), may easily be missed. In contrast, the etymology of Sino-Korean *kyeran* 鷄卵 ('egg') is obvious if the sinographs ('chicken' and 'egg') are provided (or

30 Different contextual meanings and syntagmatic functions of 起 (*ki*, 'rise') can be seen in sentences such as 項莊拔劍起舞 ('Xiang Zhuang drew his sword and began to dance.'), 風起則波動 ('When the wind rises, the waves move'), 心裏想起 ('recalling it in the heart'), and 凈催起 ('Feeling cold, I hastened to get up.').

even just known). This is because the word etymology remains transparent due to the morphographic nature of sinographic writing, a phenomenon explained by Xing (2015), who claims that "at the morphological level, all Chinese characters have one immutable written form beyond which it simply cannot be reduced" (716). This consistency and transparency also implies that when a morpheme/graph develops a new meaning, that new meaning is added to the set of pre-existing meanings—which remain in use—rather than gradually replacing them (2015, 714), as is common in other languages.[31] This "accretive process," as Xing calls it, again caused by the immutable form of sinographic writing, results in the wide semantic range that individual sinographs have acquired over time.

The Metaphoric Potentiality of Sinographic Writing[32]

Some sinographs may have pictographic and iconic origins, but they do not function as [99]
such in the writing system (Boltz 2006, 48). In terms of graphic composition, sinographs can be divided into three categories according to Handel (2019, 49): unit graphs, semantic-semantic compound graphs, and phonetic-semantic compound graphs. Unit graphs are indivisible graphic units, most of which derive from earlier pictograms or iconic representations (2019, 49), such as 人 (*in*, 'person'). Semantic-semantic compound graphs combine two graphic elements with different semantics to form a new graph whose meaning is related to the combined semantics of its individual components. For example, 人 (*in*, 'person') and 木 (*mok*, 'tree') are combined into 休 (*hyu*, 'rest'). Phonetic-semantic compound graphs combine graphic elements that contribute both semantically and phonetically by lending either their semantic or phonetic property. For example, 沐 (*mok*, 'wash oneself'), combines the semantic 氵 (*su*, 'water') and the phonetic 木 (*mok*, 'tree'). However, in phonetic-semantic compound graphs, the phonetic component is usually not entirely meaningless. Taking 莎 (*sa*, 'sedges') as an example, we observe that the semantic component ⁺⁺ (*ch'o*, 'grass') combines with the phono-semantic component 沙 (*sa*, 'sand'), the latter being semantically relevant because 'sand' is conceptually related to 'sedges' as the type of soil on which the latter grows. The composition of the sinograph 莎 thus conveniently indicates the morpheme's pronunciation and integrates not one, but two semantic components indicating its meaning. This is not to say, of course, that it pictorially represents its associated meaning.

Recent empirical cognitive linguistic research has sought to understand how the [100]
graphic composition of sinographic writing relates to cognition. It has been shown that the graphic components of sinographs function as processing units in writing (Lau 2020).

31 For example, the English word *gay* has almost lost its older meaning of 'joyous' and acquired the meaning of 'homosexual.'

32 As a caveat, since the hypothesis proposed here is potentially controversial, I will emphasize that the current argumentation does not constitute a return to, nor does it advocate a revival of debunked theories, often based on folk linguistic speculations, that view sinographic writing as a visual representation of things or concepts and "romanticize[s] it for its aesthetics" (Roetz 2006, 18; my own translation), such as Fenollosa ([1918] 2020). Rather, the present argumentation developed from a close analysis of semantics and a consideration of cognitive linguistic evidence. It should also be noted that the present essay is part of a work in progress.

Consistent with this is the finding that expert-level recognition of sinographs requires part-based processing in addition to holistic processing skills (Tso et al. 2021); in other words, readers must be able to switch between isolating and identifying components, on the one hand, and perceiving and understanding stimuli as an integrated whole (as in face recognition), on the other. In terms of semantic and phonological processing, the graphic components of individual sinographs have been shown to influence readers' subsequent phonological and semantic processing, regardless of the function of the respective components within the sinograph (Dang et al. 2019). Especially this last insight—i.e. the activation of the semantics of a sinograph's components—suggests that readers may be aware, perhaps unconsciously, of metonymic or metaphorical relationships at the graphic level. Such potential relationships can be conveyed at the level of composition of individual sinographs: For example, the phonetic-semantic compound graph 患 (*hwan*, 'suffer') combines 心 (*sim*, 'heart') and 串 (*kwan*, 'pierce'). Given the cognitive linguistic evidence, it is reasonable to assume that language users are aware of the metaphoricity inherent in the graphic composition, which appears to represent suffering through comparison to a pierced heart, or the result thereof.[33] Although the analogical structure may seem similar to English *heartbreak*, the crucial difference is that the metaphoricity of the Sinitic morpheme *hwan* ('suffer') rests entirely on the graphic composition of the integrated sinograph that represents it: The analogy does not exist outside of writing; it is not linked to the semantic or phonetic value of the morpheme per se, but is instead generated and maintained by the sinograph.[34] Since not only the associated meaning of the integrated sinograph is activated during reading, but also the semantics of its graphic components, it can be hypothesized that language users are aware of the analogy entailed in 患 (*hwan,* 'suffer'). And since sinographs were perceived as fixed units of form, pronunciation, and meaning, it suggests itself that the meaning of the sinograph could be conceptualized in conjunction with potential semantic relationships on the graphic level of the corresponding sinograph.

To give an example, in a poem entitled "Contemplating the Ocean,"[35] only about thirty [101]
percent of the sinographs with a water component (i.e., 水 or 氵), which together make up about a third of the text, denote the ocean, while more than half of them denote vastness.[36] By integrating a "water" component at the level of graphic composition, these sinographs directly reflect the target of what they characterize as vast, namely the ocean. From a thematic perspective, the poem contemplates the force and unchanging permanence of the sea, which follow from its vastness. Thus, it can be observed that, whether by the author's design or by chance, the level of sinographic writing establishes

33 Note that the heart graph (心) is commonly found in sinographs related to cognitive or emotional capacities.

34 At this point it is crucial to remember that for premodern Korean users of sinographic writing, the text, when read aloud, did not constitute a phonetic string that could be understood in and of itself without aids or prior memorization of its meaning (see explanations above).

35 Kim Hoyŏnjae 金浩然齋 (1681–1772). "*Kwanhae* 觀海 [Contemplating the Ocean]", as contained in Min (2005, 137).

36 These include 濶 (*hwal*, 'broad, wide, spacious') and its variant 闊 (*hwal*, 'broad, wide, spacious, distant'), 滄 (*ch'ang*, 'cold, vast, blue, the ocean), 茫 (*mang*, 'far, distant, vast, unclear'), 浩 (*ho*, 'great, vast, wide'), 蕩 (*t'ang*, 'pond, waver, unrestrained, unstirred, wash clean, immense, vast'), 淼 (*myo*, 'wide, broad, vast'), and 深 (*sim*, 'deep, extreme, unfathomable').

a link between vastness and water, and this link in turn informs the poem's theme, resulting in a fusion, or "blending" of vastness and water. Again, it is crucial to remember that this connection is based solely on the level of sinographic writing. This is evident when comparing the original with an English translation. In translation, the interplay of theme and written form is inevitably diluted by the absence of sinographs. For example, consider the verses "浩浩蕩蕩地上存 / 淼淼茫茫天外活 [Vast and boundless, enduring on the earth / Vast and endless, thriving beyond the sky]". The written form of "vast and boundless" and "vast and endless" establishes a connection with what they characterize, i.e., rivers and ocean—perhaps most strikingly through 淼 (*myo,* 'vast') whose graphic composition is a triplication of 水 (*su*, 'water'). In English, however, the verses are dehydrated, as any "water" in the sinographs is lost in translation.

What does all this mean for the identification and analysis of metaphors in Literary Sinitic texts? It has been shown that the written form of sinographs carries a "surplus of meaning" (Kwan 2017; Castaño 2023) that goes beyond the sole meaning of the represented morphemes. It follows, first, that sinographs could have been (and still can be) consciously selected for their graphic components or their entire composition in order to add additional meaning to a text in a playful or subliminal way.[37] A comprehensive adaptation of MIPVU would therefore have to take this aspect into account and provide guidelines for the identification of such metaphors. Unfortunately, this complex point is beyond the scope of this essay. [102]

Tied to the written form, the surplus of meaning is absent in spoken language. Nevertheless, sinographs were generally perceived by language users as immutable units consisting of graphic form, semantic value, and phonetic form. Given this fact, I secondly hypothesize that the surplus of meaning contained in sinographic writing could potentially be linked to how these language users conceptualized various entities or phenomena. This is particularly relevant for the identification and analysis of metaphors within subproject B02 and the overarching framework of the CRC, which share theoretical assumptions with Conceptual Metaphor Theory developed by Lakoff and Johnson ([1980] 2003). The semantic surplus generated by sinographs can also be seen as an indicator of the dynamics of what Hans Blumenberg ([1960] 2010, 69) calls the "background metaphorics" (*Hintergrundmetaphorik*) of a text. In his words, "it is not just language that thinks ahead of us and 'backs us up', as it were, in our view of the world; we are determined even more compellingly by the supply of images available for selection and the images we select, which 'channel' what can offer itself for experience in the first place" ([1960] 2010, 63). Background metaphorics thus encompass "all the processes of transferring ideas that 'preside at the background of thinking,' which can be hermeneutically developed through individual metaphors in the text or through the structure of the [103]

37 A close analysis of the earliest iteration (453–221 BC) of the songs of the "Zhōu Nán" and "Shào Nán" showed that "a layer of meaning was regularly added through careful execution of the writing, including the binomes, and that this was an important means of visually expressing" (Meyer and Schwartz 2022, 15) the content of the texts. Although the manuscripts examined are from an earlier period and a different conceptual community than that studied in subproject B02, this analysis confirms the outlined potential of sinographic writing and provides numerous examples of its application.

text" (Huss 2019, 89; my own translation). In Literary Sinitic texts, sinographic writing may reveal such background metaphorics and bring them closer to the foreground. It is also conceivable that the visibility of their presence influences other metaphorical processes, such as the deliberate use and creation of new metaphors.

To sum up these preliminary considerations, Literary Sinitic was the main language [104] used by Korean literati to produce and consume literature. As a written language, it was structurally different from Korean, the language of oral communication and thought. Literary Sinitic depends on its graphic representation in the form of sinographic writing for its meaning to be understood, which is due to its mostly monomorphemic nature combined with a high density of homophones among these morphemes. Sinographs, in turn, have a wide semantic range due to the mechanisms of semantic change on the one hand, and their immutable written form on the other. The latter aspect is responsible for the fact that individual morphemes remain identifiable regardless of context. It also leads to opaque word etymology, and to graphs retaining their older meanings even as they acquire new ones. At the graphic level, sinographic writing involves a "surplus of meaning" that extends beyond the morphemes represented, as each sinograph combines graphic elements that in turn carry a distinct semantic (and phonetic) value. This surplus of meaning is relevant to the identification and analysis of metaphors because of its potential impact on language users' conceptualizations, as outlined within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson [1980] 2003). Furthermore, this surplus of meaning has implications for the underlying "background metaphorics" (Blumenberg [1960] 2010) of a text, which could also be consciously modified by the targeted selection of particular sinographs on the basis of their graphic composition. Consequently, the graphic level of sinographic writing is a phenomenon that cannot be ignored when studying the role of metaphor in meaning-making and religion-related language, and demands further research into its role in and potential influence on the use and creation of metaphors.

Adapting MIPVU to the Demands of Subproject B02

As with other languages, a MIPVU adaptation for Korean texts in Literary Sinitic requires [105] strategies for delineating lexical units, for determining contextual meanings and checking for more basic ones, and for deciding whether two senses are sufficiently distinct to constitute metaphor. In addition to that, an ideal adaptation for the B02 project would offer guidelines for how to expose "background metaphorics" insinuated by the surplus of meaning that may come as a side product of sinographic writing.

An adaptation of MIPVU for Literary Sinitic is complicated by the unavailability [106] of resources required by MIPVU that would match the socio- and historico-linguistic context of our sample, such as linguistically annotated corpora, computational tools, and corpus-based dictionaries. To compensate for this deficiency, it was necessary in the subproject's approach to MIPVU to broaden the range of selected resources for metaphor identification. These resources include dictionaries with polymorphemic entries, like

the *CJKV-E Dictionary of Confucian, Daoist, and Intellectual Historical Terms*,[38] the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (DDB)*,[39] *ZDIC/Handian*,[40] and Sino-Korean dictionaries.[41] It also encompasses historical character-based dictionaries such as the *Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese (DCMC)*.[42] Furthermore, the approach incorporates online text corpora, such as *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan* [Complete Collection of Korean Literary Works],[43] *CTEXT*,[44] and others.[45] Additionally, tools like the *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae (TLS)*[46] and the open-source parser and dictionary retrieval software DDB Access[47] are employed. This combination of dictionaries, online text databases, and specialized tools is necessary for a comprehensive analysis that meets the requirements of the linguistic framework set by the premodern Korean text sample in Literary Sinitic.

1. Segmentation into Lexical Units

The challenge of adapting MIPVU for Literary Sinitic begins with handling lexical units in a consistent way, as called for by the MIPVU guidelines. There is no word spacing in Literary Sinitic, and punctuation is used sparingly to roughly segment propositional [107]

38 *CJKV-E*: A dictionary of sinographs and compound lexemes, titles, names etc. from the Sinitic cultural sphere based on Confucian and Daoist classics, Neo-Confucian texts, and other historical and philosophical sources (Muller 2019). Accessible via http://www.buddhism-dict.net/dealt.

39 *DDB*: A dictionary of "terms, texts, temples, schools, persons, etc. found in Buddhist canonical sources" (Muller 2019, 145). Accessible via http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/.

40 *ZDIC/Handian*: A comprehensive online dictionary of Chinese that includes specialized historical terms, metaphors, and idioms with detailed descriptions of meanings and citations from primary sources. Sinograph entries contain descriptions from the Kangxi Dictionary (1716) and the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (121 CE), useful for tracing historical meanings. Accessible via www.zdic.net.

41 These encompass Korean sinographic dictionaries, e.g., *Naver hancha sajŏn* (composed of entries for sinographs as used in Korea with sense descriptions and their occurrence in Sino-Korean compounds; accessible via https://hanja.dict.naver.com), as well as contemporary Korean dictionaries, utilized to verify whether what is a suspected compound is lexicalized in Korean (e.g., *Naver kugŏ sajŏn*; accessible via https://ko.dict.naver.com).

42 *DCMC*: This dictionary covers the meanings of sinographs from the period of ca. 491 BCE–907 CE in China. All listed senses are thus older than potentially divergent contextual senses in our data, which makes the sense descriptions in DCMC a valuable tool to identify basic meanings. Furthermore, the entry structure is arranged "in a manner that may suggest a certain development of meanings or understandable progression from a basic sense to various derived meanings" (Kroll 2017).

43 A searchable text database of Korean literary anthologies written in Literary Sinitic, partly with translations in contemporary Korean. It allows complex queries for sinographs, words, and phrases. Accessible via https://db.itkc.or.kr.

44 *CTEXT*: A database of over thirty thousand premodern Chinese primary sources, partly translated into English, including the classics, histories, and philosophical texts. Allowing queries for sinographs, words, and phrases, it is utilized for manual concordance analysis and identification of literary allusions. Accessible via https://ctext.org.

45 E.g., *SAT Daizōkyō Text Database* (repository of the most extensive corpus of the Chinese Buddhist canon) to check whether a word has Buddhist origin or connotation, relevant for determining contextual meaning. Accessible via http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/.

46 *TLS*: A database under development that combines a corpus of partly translated Literary Sinitic texts with comprehensive lexical and grammatical information on lexemes. It "attempts to explicitly derive all the meanings of a word directly or indirectly from its basic meaning(s)," constructing labelled taxonomic trees of words and their derived meanings within synonym groups. TLS also develops a system of syntactic categories as well as rhetorical devices. Accessible via https://hxwd.org.

47 This "parse and lookup" software integrates the dictionaries *CJKV-E* and *DDB*. It allows the user to input a complete text which is parsed based on the dictionaries' word lists, and links the segments to corresponding dictionary entries. Another tool by the same developer (Jean Soulat), *Chinese Bulk Parser*, processes multiple text files to produce segmented texts based on the same parsing mechanism. Both tools are available via<https://smarthanzi.net/ddbaccess/.

units rather than sentences. Due to the mostly monomorphemic lexical structure of Literary Sinitic, a straightforward approach for segmentation would be to treat each sinograph as a lexical unit. However, this approach falls short of registering the meanings of lexicalized polymorphemic words. For example, in the following sentence, the bimorphemic lexemes 方寸 (*pangch'on* 'square inch') and 靈臺 (*yŏngdae* 'spiritual terrace') can be understood in their basic meanings and, at the same time, as their conventionalized metaphorical extensions, 'heart'. The text plays with this ambiguity in its argumentation that the essence of all things is the same and can be found within the heart:

> 以方寸爲乾坤。靈臺爲宅舍。[…] 吾與竹合而爲一。[48] [108]
> 'By taking a square inch/the heart as the universe and the Spiritual Tower/the heart as my abode […], I will become one with the bamboo.'

> 方寸 *pangch'on* [109]
> Contextual meaning: heart
> Basic meaning: a square inch
> Distinctness: yes
> Similarity: yes (small partition of the body or of an area at large, respectively)

> 靈臺 *yŏngdae* [110]
> Contextual meaning: heart
> Basic meaning: 'Spiritual Tower' (which can be a metonym for the imperial palace)
> Distinctness: yes
> Similarity: yes (the heart is the seat of the spirit as a palace is to a ruler)[49]

If each sinograph was treated as a single lexical unit, the identification of 方寸 (*pangch'on*) and 靈臺 (*yŏngdae*) as metaphor-related words would be missed. However, in certain contexts, breaking down compounds at the morpheme level is necessary to identify background metaphorics. For instance, treating the polymorphemic compound 凌厲 *nŭngnyŏ* ('ferociousness') as a single lexical unit obscures the historically older meaning 'thick ice' of the first morpheme 凌 *nŭng*—insinuated by its semantic component 冫/氷 (*ping*, 'ice'). Given that in the preceding context, ocean spray is metaphorized as 雪花 (*sŏlhwa*, 'snowflake') and 氷雹 (*pingbak*, 'icy hail'), the lexical choice of 凌厲 *nŭngnyŏ* ('ferociousness') may be motivated by the semantic surplus of this first morpheme. This [111]

48 Sŏng Munjun 成文濬 (1559–1626). "Chugudang ki 竹雨堂記 [Record of Bamboo Rain Hall]." *Ch'angnang chip* 滄浪集, vol. 4. Digitized at ITKC.

49 This analogy is present in Zhuangzi, where the mind is described as a kind of fortress with a guardian to ward off evil. In the following translation by James Legge, 靈臺 (*yŏngdae*) is rendered "tower of intelligence": "[The evils] will not be sufficient to confound the established (virtue of the character), or be admitted into the Tower of Intelligence. That Tower has its Guardian, who acts unconsciously, and whose care will not be effective, if there be any conscious purpose in it. [不足以滑成，不可內於靈臺。靈臺者有持，而不知其所持，而不可持者也。]" (accessible via Chinese Text Project). This is not to say that the same analogy must be at work in the Korean essay; it merely supports the annotator's decision that 'heart' and 'spiritual tower' can be understood via similarity. A comprehensive analysis of the analogical structure of the metaphor in the Korean essay must of course take into account the context of the text. This analysis is conducted at a later stage separately from the identification of metaphors.

hypothesis is supported by the recurrence of this pattern in a series of parallel sentences within the same text that analogize skillful literary composition to natural phenomena.[50]

This example demonstrates the complexity of multilayer semantics in Literary Sinitic, [112]
and how their identification is determined by lexical unit segmentation, which is further complicated by ambiguous syntagmatic relations. Due to this and the lack of suitable computational-linguistic tools, lexical units have to be determined on an intuitive basis with the help of dictionaries that register polymorphematic words. In contested cases, i.e., if the string in question is not registered in the dictionaries and it is unclear whether it should be treated as a single lexical unit or not, queries in in a database of Korean literary works in Literary Sinitic (*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan)* help to determine whether the string of sinographs was commonly used in the Korean context at that time and should constitute a lexical unit. Queries in databases of Chinese classics and other Literary Sinitic texts can be performed to investigate if the string might be an allusion to another text or a specialized or historical term that is not (yet) registered in the dictionaries.

Overall, it should be noted that the research focus of subproject B02 does not require [113]
the identification of all metaphor-related words in the material, as it does not aim at quantitative analysis. Therefore, only metaphors in selected passages (i.e., those describing and/or reflecting transformative experiences) need to be identified, which makes a manual segmentation into lexical units more feasible.

2. Determining Meanings

Given the wide semantic range of sinographs it is often difficult to determine the exact [114]
contextual meaning of a lexical unit, let alone to decide which of the available senses is "more basic." For almost every contextual meaning of a monomorphemic unit, i.e. sinograph, a more basic meaning can be found. If the guidelines are strictly followed, this produces a mass of metaphor-related words that are simply based on lexicalized indirect metaphors. Since this level of conventionalized metaphoricity is not relevant to the research focus of the subproject, these cases are excluded from the annotation.

In certain contexts, a lexeme may be understood simultaneously in a basic sense or in [115]
a metaphorical sense, as with 超然 (*ch'oyŏn;* meanings discussed below) in the following sentence, which describes a transformative experience:

> 超然高詣。與造物者同遊於混沌鴻濛之域。[51] [116]
> "In a state of transcendence / leaping over, [I] reached high; and alongside the Creative Force [I] journeyed to the realm of Vast Mist and Turbid Waters."

In the context of transformative or religious experience, it is precisely the metaphorical [117]
nature of a lexeme that makes it difficult to determine *the* contextual meaning. This is because these metaphors express abstract concepts from the domains of emotion,

50 The mentioned text is: Yi Sanhae 李山海 (1539–1609). "Mangyangjŏng ki 望洋亭記 [Record of Ocean View Pavilion]." *Agye yugo*, vol. 3. Digitized at ITKC.

51 Yi Sanhae 李山海 (1539–1609). "Ŭngam ki 鷹巖記 [Record of Hawk Rock]." *Agye yugo* 鵝溪遺藁, vol. 3. Digitized at ITKC.

cognition, metaphysics, and the like, that, although metaphorical, sometimes cannot be reformulated in "direct" language, as MIPVU would require—metaphors step in where concrete language reaches its limits. The difficulty of determining the exact contextual meaning is compounded by dictionary entries that conflate basic meanings with their extensions. *CJKV-E* registers 超然 (*ch'oyŏn*) with the senses 'transcend' and 'detached,' as well as 'far and high,' among others. To dissect these senses and understand the relationship between them, it is necessary to examine the lexeme at the level of morphology and even consider the graphic composition of its sinographs.[52]

Consulting *DCMC*, we find that the basic meaning of 超 *ch'o* is probably 'leap over,' of [118]
which 'transcend, esp. in sense of world-escaping' is listed as an extension. This latter sense seems to match the contextual meaning in the above example. Graphically, the sinograph 超 *ch'o* has the semantic component 走 (*chu*, 'run') to its left. Taking graphic composition as an indicator of historically older meaning, which seems appropriate given the accretive nature of semantic change in Literary Sinitic, supports the identification of 'leap over' as the basic meaning for 超 *ch'o.* This also fits well with MIPVU's criteria for basic meaning as "concrete, specific, and human-oriented" (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 35). After dissecting the various senses of the sinograph and identifying a basic meaning with its extension(s), the sense 'transcend' of 超然 *ch'oyŏn* fits the context of the transformative experience. Taking this as the contextual meaning, the word can be coded as MRW(indirect) based on the following analysis:

> 超然 *ch'oyŏn* [119]
> Contextual meaning: in a state of transcendence
> Basic meaning: leaping over
> Distinctness: yes
> Similarity: yes (exceeding the limits of ordinary human experience is likened to stepping over something)[53]

However, as noted above, 超然 could also be understood literally in its more basic [120]
sense 'leaping over' given its immediate context. This is because the adjacent phrase 高詣 *ko chi*, 'reach high,' just like the basic meaning of 超 *ch'o* ('leap over'), expresses directed movement. The entire phrase 超然高詣 *ch'oyŏn ko chi* can thus be understood as "reaching high in a manner of leaping over." If we understand the sentence this way, the meaning of 超然 *ch'oyŏn* ('in a manner of leaping over') in context *is* the most basic meaning. In this analysis 超然 *ch'oyŏn* is therefore not an indirect metaphor. However, the context does suggest a domain switch, rendering the entire sentence a direct metaphor: The narrator does not *literally* leap over something, reach up high and embark on a celestial journey, but his "reaching high and leaping over" (as well as his travels alongside the Creative Force) instead can be understood as referring to a

52 This example will also show that at the time of investigating contextual meanings, it can be necessary to reconsider the delineation of lexical units.

53 This notably coincides with the metaphor contained in English *transcend*, deriving from Latin *transcendere* ('to climb over,' 'to go beyond').

spiritual, emotional, or sensory state or transformation. The direct metaphor thus pivots at the topical incongruity between the domain of momentary subjective experience on the one hand, and physical ascent and travel on the other.

It has been shown that for a single passage, multiple analyses may be permissible and justifiable, resulting in different types of metaphor according to MIPVU; a phenomenon that arises from the ambiguities at different levels (i.e., segmentation of lexical units and determination of meanings) that have been discussed above. The decisions involved in resolving such ambiguities is left to the annotator; MIPVU only provides the terminology and the procedure to document the decisions. [121]

3. Determining Distinctness

In the initial analysis of the lexeme 超然 *ch'oyŏn* as an indirect metaphor, the contextual meaning 'transcend' was deemed distinct enough from the basic sense 'leap over' to qualify as metaphor. Coincidentally, this decision was supported by the entry structure in DCMC that lists 'transcend' as an extension of 'surpass,' which the ordering of senses suggests developed from 'leap over.' In most cases, however, the structure of dictionary entries unfortunately cannot be taken as a decisive factor in determining distinctness, contrary to what the MIPVU guidelines advise. This is because in all available dictionaries, entry structures are either unsystematic, inconsistent, or, if they do attempt to represent semantic developments, based on speculation. This is a consequence of the accretive nature of semantic change in Literary Sinitic producing a multitude of different meanings with relationships (semantic or other) that are difficult, often impossible, to disentangle. Therefore, instead of giving authority to the structure of dictionary entries, the B02 approach to MIPVU determines distinctness between meanings in a way similar to how the MIPVU guidelines handle the identification of direct metaphor, i.e., by determining whether two different domains are involved. For example, 渡 (*to*) with a contextual sense of 'hand over' is considered sufficiently distinct from the more basic meaning 'cross a river,' because the former belongs to the domain of social interactions, while the latter belongs to the domain of transport, travel, and movement. [122]

Conclusions

In order to adapt MIPVU to the specific needs of subproject B02, several significant modifications are necessary. Given the predominantly monomorphemic nature of Literary Sinitic and the unavailability of a POS-tagging tool that fits the linguistic variables of our data, the process of delineating lexical units relies on the judgment of the annotator, aided by various dictionaries and text databases for concordance analysis. Lexemes may need to be analyzed at the morpheme level in order to identify a metaphor, which is justified given the opaque morphology and word etymology in sinographic writing. [123]

To determine the contextual and more basic senses of lexemes/morphemes, the same tools used for the segmentation of lexical units are applied, with the addition of character dictionaries. The graphic composition of sinographs can be taken as an indicator of the [124]

historically older meaning, which, after critical evaluation, can be considered more basic due to the accretive nature of semantic change in Literary Sinitic.

Since the entry structure of the dictionaries used is unreliable and does not meet MIPVU's criteria, the annotator must consider for themselves whether two meanings belong to different domains and then decide whether they are distinct enough to constitute a metaphor. [125]

It has also been shown that the graphic level of sinographs can play a role in text metaphorics. However, since strategies for dealing theoretically as well as methodologically with this level of metaphoricity are yet to be devised, it remains unclear how to integrate this aspect into adapted guidelines. [126]

In adapting MIPVU for subproject B02, it became clear that the maxim of externalizing decisions in the identification procedure was challenged. This is partly due to the unavailability of tools for our data that meet the requirements of the original MIPVU, and partly due to the need for flexibility in annotation that is required by the language and type of data that are the focus of the project and the CRC. This focus also means that the ability to reproduce annotation results is less crucial for the project than it is for quantitative studies. Nevertheless, the use of a formalized procedure such as MIPVU is of value to the project: Although determining exact meanings proves challenging, being forced to do so helps the annotator navigate the semantic complexity of sinographs and the multi-level metaphoricity of Literary Sinitic. By making the reasoning behind the annotator's decisions transparent, MIPVU provides a way to trace analyses. [127]

Personification as a Special Case of Metaphor in Medieval German Texts

Alexandra Wiemann[54]

Subproject B01 investigates medical metaphors in Christian German texts of the Middle Ages, including the language stages Old High German (OHG) and Middle High German (MHG). The focus is on medical metaphors, since the concept of "salvation" is fundamental to the Christian faith. A first approach is to run corpus queries for the OHG lemma *wunta* or the MHG lemma *wunte* 'wound' using the reference corpus of Old German (ReA)[55] and the reference corpus of Middle High German (ReM)[56] and ANNIS (Krause and Zeldes 2016), a search tool for multi-layered annotated corpora. The reference corpora provide a useful starting point for annotation according to MIPVU (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010). For example, cliticized word forms are already divided into lexical units. They are also lemmatized and annotated by part of speech and inflection. The texts with occurrences of the lemma MHG *wunte* [128]

54 Subproject B01: "Jesus and Mary as Divine Healers in Service for the Salvation of the Faithful: A Mixed-Method Analysis of Medical Metaphorizations in Medieval German Texts," https://sfb1475.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/en/subprojects/crc1475b01/.

55 https://www.deutschdiachrondigital.de/rea/.

56 https://www.deutschdiachrondigital.de/rea/.

will be syntactically annotated according to the guidelines of the "Universal Dependencies"[57] (adapted for German[58]) in order to build on them further annotations relevant for metaphor analysis.[59] The subproject considers MIPVU to be a starting point for its own annotation guidelines, since it is the intentional metaphors rather than the highly conventionalized ones that it is interested in. Therefore, a more intuitive annotation scheme is proposed, in which the texts are specifically scanned for semantically conspicuous metaphorical expressions. This article presents annotation according to MIPVU on the one hand and annotation according to project-specific, modified guidelines on the other, using two examples. In particular, the examples will be discussed with a focus on personification, a stylistic figure that is considered a subtype of metaphor in both rhetorical and cognitive theories of metaphor. Personification is interesting because it sometimes comes close to metonymy. This highlights the fundamental difficulty of distinguishing between the two elementary linguistic and cognitive figures, metaphor and metonymy. The article is structured as follows: After an overview of the available dictionaries for Old and Middle High German and their difficulties with respect to the MIPVU approach, a brief overview of personification according to Lakoff and Johnson ([1980] 2003) follows. Subsequently, two examples from the data of the subproject and their annotation according to MIPVU and the project's own guidelines are presented.

OHG and MHG Dictionaries

For modern English, MIPVU relies on corpus-based dictionaries which, when there are multiple meanings per lemma, lists the meanings against which the contextual meaning can be matched. If there is a more concrete meaning than the contextual one and both are "sufficiently distinct," the lexical unit is considered a metaphor-related word (MRW). For OHG and MHG, there are philological dictionaries compiled for the interpretation of medieval texts. Multiple meanings are recorded, but an understanding of which is the more concrete, "more basic" meaning of a lemma does not always appear as a result. The dictionaries are presented on the basis of the respective entry for the verb OHG *lebên* / MHG *leben* 'to live,' which is identified as a metaphorical expression in the second example below. [129]

1. Gerhard Köbler (2014), Old High German Dictionary (see fig. 3): In addition to the various meanings, the number of witnesses of a large part of the entire OHG tradition is listed, as well as the English and Latin equivalents. In addition, etymological information is given with both Germanic and Indo-European roots and the nature of the derivation from them. However, it remains unclear to what extent the meanings are different enough to be listed as separate entries in the sense of MIPVU. [130]

2. Jochen Splett ([1993] 2013), Old High German Dictionary (see fig. 4): This dictionary [131]

57 https://universaldependencies.org/.
58 The guidelines of our project for modern and historical German have not yet been published.
59 All annotations were performed using the annotation tool INCEpTION (Klie et al. 2018).

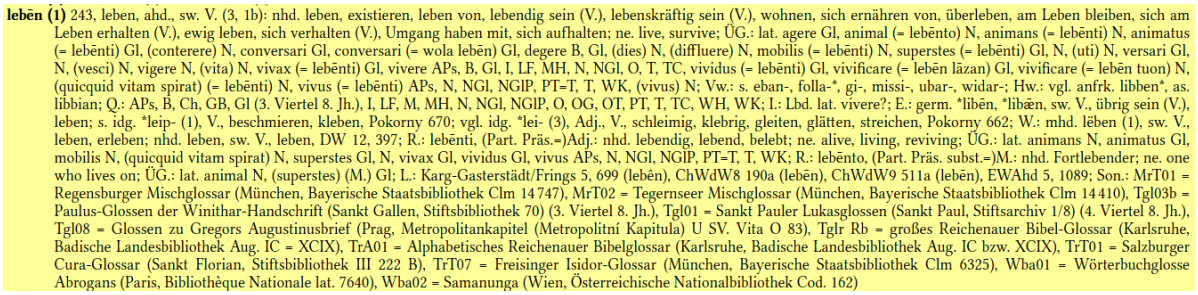

lebēn (1) 243, leben, ahd., sw. V. (3, 1b): nhd. leben, existieren, leben von, lebendig sein (V.), lebenskräftig sein (V.), wohnen, sich ernähren von, überleben, am Leben bleiben, sich am Leben erhalten (V.), ewig leben, sich verhalten (V.), Umgang haben mit, sich aufhalten; ne. live, survive; ÜG.: lat. agere Gl, animal (= lebēnto) N, animans (= lebēnti) N, animatus (= lebēnti) Gl, (conterere) N, conversari Gl, conversari (= wola lebēn) Gl, degere B, Gl, (dies) N, (diffluere) N, mobilis (= lebēnti) N, superstes (= lebēnti) Gl, N, (uti) N, versari Gl, N, (vesci) N, vigere N, (vita) N, vivax (= lebēnti) Gl, vivere APs, B, Gl, I, LF, MH, N, NGl, O, T, TC, vividus (= lebēnti) Gl, vivificare (= lebēn lāzan) Gl, vivificare (= lebēn tuon) N, (quicquid vitam spirat) (= lebēnti) N, vivus (= lebēnti) APs, N, NGl, NGlP, PT=T, T, WK, (vivus) N; Vw.: s. eban-, folla-*, gi-, missi-, ubar-, widar-; Hw.: vgl. anfrk. libben*, as. libbian; Q.: APs, B, Ch, GB, Gl (3. Viertel 8. Jh.), I, LF, M, MH, N, NGl, NGlP, O, OG, OT, PT, T, TC, WH, WK; I.: Lbd. lat. vivere?; E.: germ. *libēn, *libæn, sw. V., übrig sein (V.), leben; s. idg. *leip- (1), V., beschmieren, kleben, Pokorny 670; vgl. idg. *lei- (3), Adj., V., schleimig, klebrig, gleiten, glätten, streichen, Pokorny 662; W.: mhd. lëben (1), sw. V., leben, erleben; nhd. leben, sw. V., leben, DW 12, 397; R.: lebēnti, (Part. Präs.=)Adj.: nhd. lebendig, lebend, belebt; ne. alive, living, reviving; ÜG.: lat. animans N, animatus Gl, mobilis N, (quicquid vitam spirat) N, superstes Gl, N, vivax Gl, vividus Gl, vivus APs, N, NGl, NGlP, PT=T, T, WK; R.: lebēnto, (Part. Präs. subst.=)M.: nhd. Fortlebender; ne. one who lives on; ÜG.: lat. animal N, (superstes) (M.) Gl; L.: Karg-Gasterstädt/Frings 5, 699 (lebên), ChWdW8 190a (lebēn), ChWdW9 511a (lebēn), EWAhd 5, 1089; Son.: MrT01 = Regensburger Mischglossar (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14747), MrT02 = Tegernseer Mischglossar (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14410), Tgl03b = Paulus-Glossen der Winithar-Handschrift (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 70) (3. Viertel 8. Jh.), Tgl01 = Sankt Pauler Lukasglossen (Sankt Paul, Stiftsarchiv 1/8) (4. Viertel 8. Jh.), Tgl08 = Glossen zu Gregors Augustinusbrief (Prag, Metropolitankapitel (Metropolitní Kapitula) U SV. Vita O 83), Tglr Rb = großes Reichenauer Bibel-Glossar (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. IC = XCIX), TrA01 = Alphabetisches Reichenauer Bibelglossar (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. IC bzw. XCIX), TrT01 = Salzburger Cura-Glossar (Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek III 222 B), TrT07 = Freisinger Isidor-Glossar (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6325), Wba01 = Wörterbuchglosse Abrogans (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7640), Wba02 = Samanunga (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 162)

Figure 3 Koebler: Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch, http://www.koeblergerhard.de/ahd/ahd/_l.html, retrieved August 20, 2023.

is organized according to word families, so that the verb OHG lebên does not have its own entry, but forms a subheading to the root -lîban. This makes the etymological connections clear, and also lists the prefigurations and their meanings.

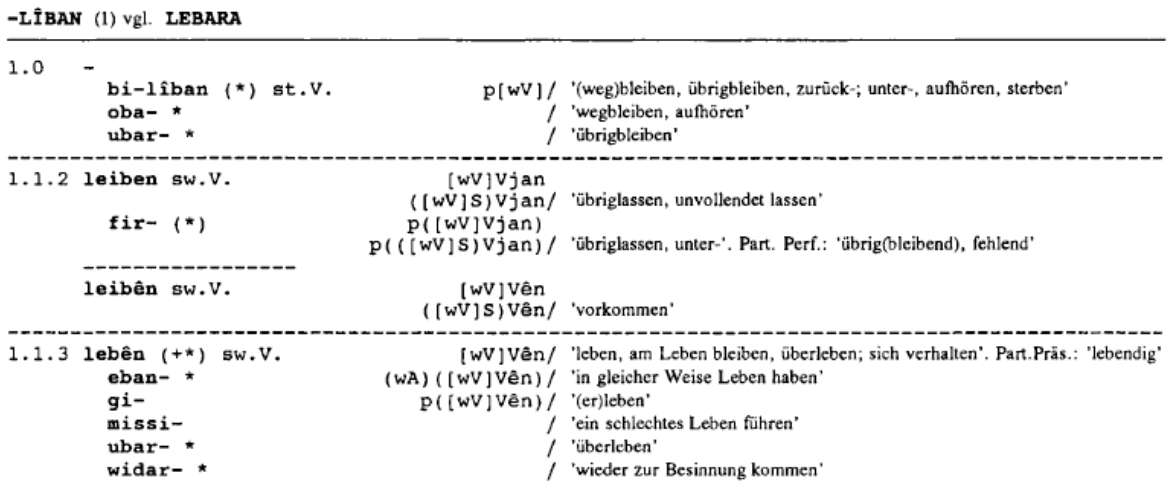
3. Dictionary by Matthias Lexer (1872–78): In terms of lexeme usage, the dictionaries for the MHG are much more comprehensive. This can be explained by the far more extensive tradition of textual evidence for this historical phase of the German language, which is characterized above all by the fact that the courtly literature of the Middle Ages was disseminated, while the OHG tradition consisted primarily of religious texts or translations of Latin religious texts. The indexing of this secular literature gave rise to philologically dense dictionaries intended to facilitate the understanding of the literary “classics”. One example is the dictionary by Matthias Lexer (see fig. 5). Very helpful in terms of understanding verbal syntax are the references to case reduction and typical prepositional conjunctions. Etymology is no longer given. Exemplary usages from the major texts are cited, but with a strong overhang of evidence from the fine literature. This may capture examples with metaphorical meaning, but they are not marked as such. The typographical design is a difficulty: italics and block capitals are not used consistently, so that quick orientation is often hampered. [132]

Personification

From the point of view of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which since Lakoff and Johnson ([1980] 2003) has been the basis of linguistic and cognitive studies of metaphor, personification is an ontological metaphor. These are used to understand experience in terms of objects and substances, whereby parts of experience can be singled out and treated as separate entities. In this way, non-human entities are given human motivations, characteristics, and activities, and are thus made understandable (c.f. Lakoff and Johnson [1980] 2003, 25–33). This is based on anthropomorphic concepts that are considered universal, even if their manifestations vary culturally. [133]

The following example, among others, is cited as personification ([1980] 2003, 33): [134]

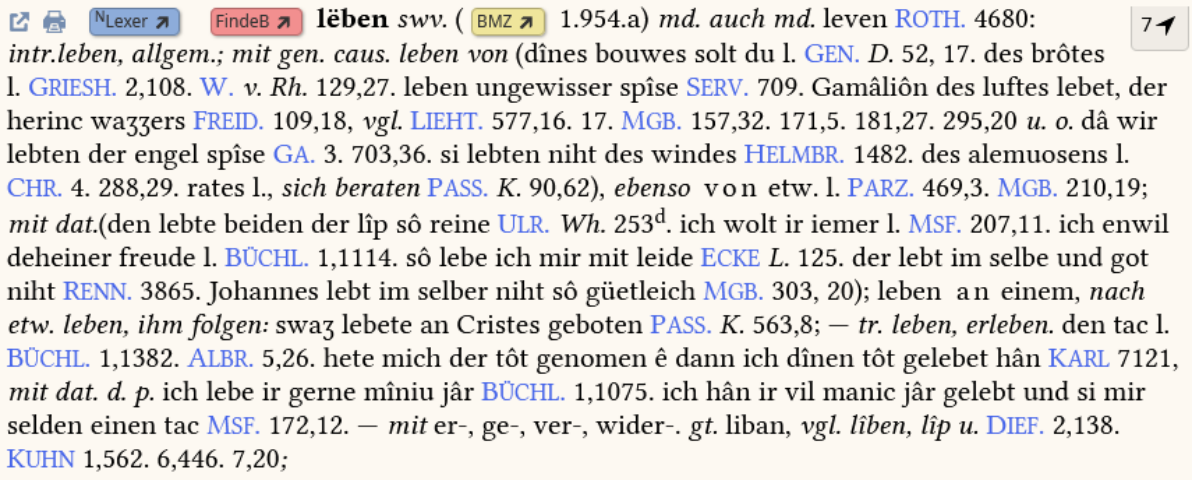
> “His theory explained to me the behavior of factory-farmed chickens.” [135]



-LÎBAN (1) vgl. **LEBARA**

1.0	-		
	bi-lîban (*) st.V.	p[wV]/	'(weg)bleiben, übrigbleiben, zurück-; unter-, aufhören, sterben'
	oba- *	/	'wegbleiben, aufhören'
	ubar- *	/	'übrigbleiben'
1.1.2	**leiben** sw.V.	[wV]Vjan	
		([wV]S)Vjan/	'übriglassen, unvollendet lassen'
	fir- (*)	p([wV]Vjan)	
		p(([wV]S)Vjan)/	'übriglassen, unter-'. Part. Perf.: 'übrig(bleibend), fehlend'
	leibên sw.V.	[wV]Vên	
		([wV]S)Vên/	'vorkommen'
1.1.3	**lebên** (+*) sw.V.	[wV]Vên/	'leben, am Leben bleiben, überleben; sich verhalten'. Part.Präs.: 'lebendig'
	eban- *	(wA)([wV]Vên)/	'in gleicher Weise Leben haben'
	gi-	p([wV]Vên)/	'(er)leben'
	missi-	/	'ein schlechtes Leben führen'
	ubar- *	/	'überleben'
	widar- *	/	'wieder zur Besinnung kommen'

Figure 4 Splett: Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch, Vol I,1, 531.



NLexer FindeB **lëben** *swv.* (BMZ 1.954.a) *md. auch md.* leven ROTH. 4680: *intr.leben, allgem.; mit gen. caus. leben von* (dînes bouwes solt du l. GEN. *D.* 52, 17. des brôtes l. GRIESH. 2,108. W. *v. Rh.* 129,27. leben ungewisser spîse SERV. 709. Gamâliôn des luftes lebet, der herinc waʒʒers FREID. 109,18, *vgl.* LIEHT. 577,16. 17. MGB. 157,32. 171,5. 181,27. 295,20 *u. o.* dâ wir lebten der engel spîse GA. 3. 703,36. si lebten niht des windes HELMBR. 1482. des alemuosens l. CHR. 4. 288,29. rates l., *sich beraten* PASS. *K.* 90,62), *ebenso* von etw. l. PARZ. 469,3. MGB. 210,19; *mit dat.*(den lebte beiden der lîp sô reine ULR. *Wh.* 253[d]. ich wolt ir iemer l. MSF. 207,11. ich enwil deheiner freude l. BÜCHL. 1,1114. sô lebe ich mir mit leide ECKE *L.* 125. der lebt im selbe und got niht RENN. 3865. Johannes lebt im selber niht sô güetleich MGB. 303, 20); leben an einem, *nach etw. leben, ihm folgen:* swaʒ lebete an Cristes geboten PASS. *K.* 563,8; — *tr. leben, erleben.* den tac l. BÜCHL. 1,1382. ALBR. 5,26. hete mich der tôt genomen ê dann ich dînen tôt gelebet hân KARL 7121, *mit dat. d. p.* ich lebe ir gerne mîniu jâr BÜCHL. 1,1075. ich hân ir vil manic jâr gelebt und si mir selden einen tac MSF. 172,12. — *mit* er-, ge-, ver-, wider-. *gt.* liban, *vgl. lîben, lîp u.* DIEF. 2,138. KUHN 1,562. 6,446. 7,20;

Figure 5 Lexer: Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch, digitized version in the Dictionary Network of the Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/23, https://Www.Woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer), retrieved August 20, 2023.

The *theory* is not human, but it is used with a verb that clearly names a human action. The difference between metonymy and personification is that in personification, human characteristics are transferred to a non-human entity that does not stand metonymically for a person. As an example of metonymy, Lakoff and Johnson ([1980] 2003, 35) give the following example: [136]

> "The ham sandwich is waiting for its check." [137]

The ham sandwich refers metonymically to a person who has eaten a ham sandwich in a pub. The line between metonymy and personification is not always clear-cut: there are reasons to read the first example as part of a person and thus metonymic (i.e. to interpret *his theory* as a reference to the author of the theory), especially because of the possessive pronoun *his.* [138]

Radden (2003) and Barcelona (2003) have argued that metaphors can arise from metonyms, and the Pragglejaz group (@ 2007) has also emphasized that there is no contradiction between metaphor and metonymy, but rather an interaction (c.f. G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 102). [139]

Examples

Two examples from ReM will be discussed. In both cases, the lemma MHG *wunte* can be seen as a possible personification. Example 1 is from the *Bamberger Blutsegen* (second half of the twelfth century), a magical blessing that reproduces the story of Christ's side wound in order to stop the bleeding of a concrete wound. It therefore belongs to the realm of religious texts. [140]

1. *heil sis tuo wnte.* [141]
   'may you heal, wound'[60]

The wound is addressed not only in the subjunctive (semantically an optative) *sis*, which implies the feature of animacy, but also explicitly both with the personal pronoun *tuo* and nominally with the vocative. The adjective *heil* is the predicate linked to the subject *wnte* by the copula. There is no semantic clash between the two expressions as a wound can (or should) be healed. Thus, the possible personification does not arise from an inappropriate association of an inanimate entity with a human verbal action, but from the mode of the copula and the personal pronoun *tuo*. According to MIPVU, these lexical units would be annotated as MRW as shown in fig. 6. In contrast, fig. 7 shows the annotation according to the project's own annotation scheme, which takes from MIPVU the important note that the metaphoricity of the expression depends on the personal pronoun. [142]

After an expression has been identified as semantically salient in the sense of metaphoricity, it is decided whether it is a deliberate metaphor (label: intentional), a conventionalized metaphor but revitalized by the context (label: revitalized), or a [143]

60 All translations were made by me (A.W.).

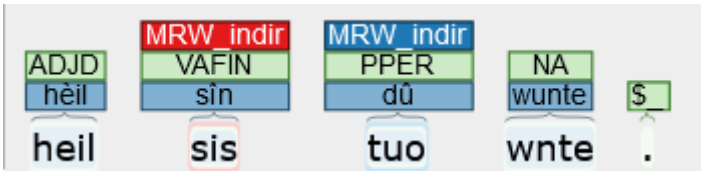


Figure 6 Annotation of example 1 according to MIPVU.

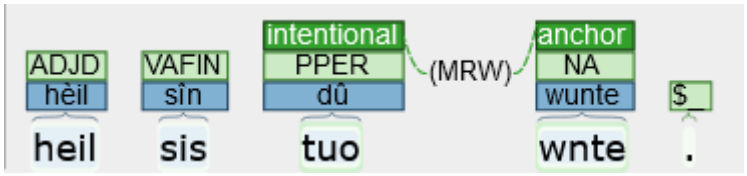


Figure 7 Annotation of example 1 according to B01 guidelines

conventionalized metaphor (label: conventionalized). The metaphor's most central expression is labeled. Annotating conventionalized metaphors is optional. For cases where it is not possible to clearly distinguish between intentional and conventionalized metaphors, there is the label grey area. In addition, formulaic phrases can be labeled as idiom and metonymic expressions as metonymy. Since it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between metaphor and metonymy, everything that is semantically unusual is recorded in this way for the time being, so that it can be examined more closely in the later, more detailed metaphor analysis. There is no separate label for personifications yet. In contrast to MIPVU, the expression of the target domain to which the metaphor refers is annotated as an anchor. All words that contribute to the content of the metaphor are annotated (as MRW) and linked together as a chain, which has the benefit that multiple metaphors can be assigned and distinguished within a sentence (see example 2). In example 1, the wound is addressed in the vocative and annotated as the anchor of the intended metaphorical expression *tuo*; in the metaphorical connection of the two words, the semantic clash becomes evident.

Example 2 is from the *Rheinisches Marienlob*, written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. This text is also religious in nature, recounting the Passion of Christ and the wounds that Mary suffered as a result. Mary is specifically addressed in many passages of the text, including the following: [144]

2. *Die trene ſint der minnen ceichen.* [145]
   die ſulen wir deme mineſameme reichen.
   ſine wnden ſulen in uns leuen.
   den ſulen wir unſe trene geuen.
   wir ſulen sie weſſchen. wir ſulen wiſſchen.
   wir ſulen weinen. wir ſulen giſſchen.
   biſe die liue ſtunde kume.
   dat wir uunden den brudegume.

   'Tears are a sign of love. We should give them to the Lovely One. His wounds [146]
   shall live in us, to them we shall give our tears. We shall wash them, we shall

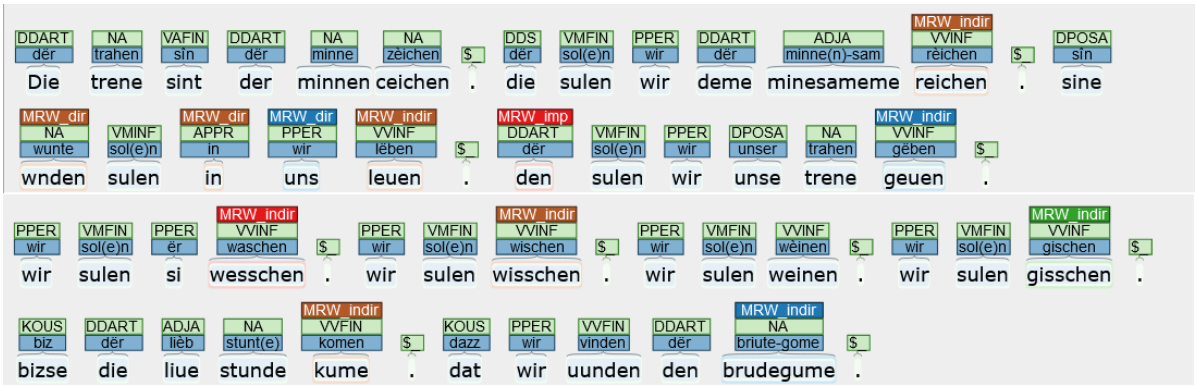


Figure 8 Annotation of example 2 according to MIPVU.

> clean them, we shall weep, we shall sob, until the dear hour may come, that we may find the bridegroom'. (Rheinisches Marienlob 1296–1303)

Classifying the occurrences of the lemma *wunte* poses a difficulty: When it is used in a context that does not suggest a concrete, tangible meaning, the word is considered metaphorical in our project, even if this is sometimes a simplification. In this case, the wounds are concrete, but they are imagined and internalized by the faithful. The wounds of Christ are supposed to live on in the believers; a healing of them is not sought. According to Dorst (2011, 120), in the case of personification, usually not the nouns but the verbs or adjectives are metaphorical. This is also the reason why personification is sometimes recognized only after analyzing the predicate's semantic arguments. [147]

According to MIPVU, this could be a direct metaphor, since the *wnden* are meant both concretely as Jesus' wounds and figuratively as an internalized wound that is personified. One could also opt for metonymy, but the metaphorical character stands out, since the wounds do not stand for Jesus as a whole, but rather for his torture. Thus, the risen Jesus is not referred to metonymically. Since the image is carried out through the expressions of how to deal with the wounds (washing, cleaning, weeping, sobbing), a metonymic reading is not convincing. The expression *bizſe die liue ſtunde kume* 'until the dear hour may come' is more likely to be understood metonymically, since *liue ſtunde* describes the time of death. However, the decision is not really clear, so I would argue for an annotation as MRW, which can still be changed in a later, more in-depth metaphor analysis. This leads to the following annotation according to MIPVU in fig. 8. In contrast, the annotation according to the project's own guidelines is shown in fig. 9. [148]

All metaphorically used content words are annotated and linked in a chain. The anchor is part of the chain and indicates what the metaphorical expression refers to. In addition, the separate label metonymy is also linked to an anchor. By e.g. identifying the central metaphorical expression as intentional and anchoring it in the target domain—if present—to which the metaphorical expressions are transferred, significantly more information is captured. Moreover, coreferential metaphor-related words are connected to each other. [149]

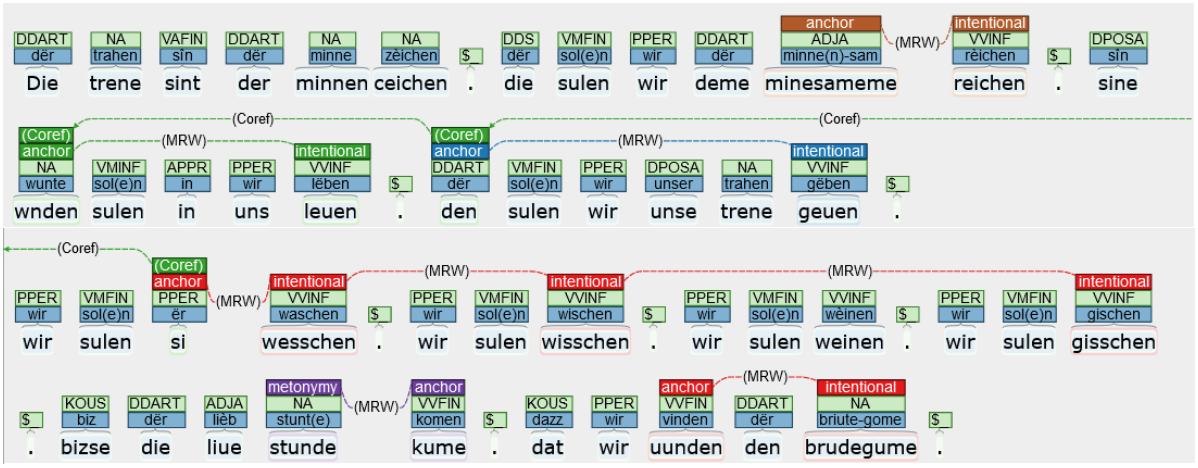


Figure 9 Annotation of example 2 according to the B01 guidelines.

Conclusion

The guidelines developed by Steen et al. (2010) are a good starting point for identifying medieval metaphors, but need to be adapted to the circumstances and goals of the project. For the study of mainly deliberate metaphors, a word-by-word analysis according to MIPVU is too time-consuming for larger OHG and MHG texts and given the difficulties with dictionaries mentioned above. At this stage, project B01 can do without the distinction between indirect and direct metaphor, and implicit metaphor is also replaced by simple coreference annotation. It is open to question whether a separate label "possible personification" (as MIPVU proposes) is even necessary, if it can be treated like any other metaphor. For our project, this cannot be conclusively decided at this stage. [150]

"Depending on beliefs"—Dealing with Metaphoricity in Religious Online Communication

Lina Rodenhausen and Sebastian Reimann[61]

Most CRC subprojects have to adapt MIPVU because they work with pre-modern non-English texts, as the previous examples have shown. In subproject C04 we do not face the same problems. We have created corpora of five religious online forums on three different platforms. These include the large German-speaking Christian forums Jesus.de and Mykath, as well as three English-speaking Christian subreddits. [151]

Compared to the previous examples, MIPVU is easier to adapt to modern German, which has already been covered by scholars in previous research (Herrmann, Woll, and Dorst 2019). Besides modern German, most of our data is in modern English, so adaptations are not absolutely necessary. However, two different problems arose when trying to implement the procedure to our data. [152]

61 Subproject C04: "Metaphor and Social Positioning in Religious Online Forums," https://sfb1475.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/en/subprojects/crc1475c04/.

First of all, online forum posts differ considerably from the genres represented in BNC-Baby. We still find that MIPVU already presents a range of solutions that suit the particularities of online communication. For example, our data contains a wide range of misspellings. For the transcripts of conversations of spoken language in BNC-Baby, a similar issue arose as they might contain different spellings of one and the same word. For such cases, it is suggested to stick to the spelling as represented in the dictionary (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 76). We consequently handle spelling errors in a similar fashion by always assuming a correct spelling. [153]

Moreover, we found that, due to the informal nature of internet language, it is sometimes difficult to actually identify the contextual meaning of some lexical units. Additionally, some posts on Reddit are generally hard to decipher because they are presumably not written by native speakers of English. [154]

> "The rest = The Word Study the textbook with your textbook , or , Study The Word with one's textbook / Bible ." [155]

This example presents both issues as, on the one hand, it is not clear to what the different instances of "textbook" are referring to and its use of punctuation presents an additional challenge for understanding the post. We thus decided to treat such cases in a way similar to how MIPVU handles incomplete utterances in transcripts of spoken language, namely with the label *Discarded for Metaphor Analysis* (DFMA) (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 73). We also decided to discard quoted texts originating from previous posts and other text fragments that were copied from previous posts, to avoid having the same texts annotated twice, as well as segments that were obviously copied from other sources like the Bible since we are interested in the metaphorical language produced by the users themselves. [156]

The second challenge that differentiates our data from the one used in the development of MIPVU is one that all of our subprojects have in common. Not only does the CRC cover different languages than the researchers who developed MIP and MIPVU, but we also analyze different types of text, namely religious communication. Identifying metaphors in communication about religious beliefs and metaphors about transcendent entities pose particular challenges. The problems lie in the uncertainties and impossibilities of identifying the contextual meaning in these cases. The following example from a Reddit post raises these issues: [157]

> "He rejoices over us with gladness and exults over us with loud singing according to Zephania 3." [158]

These are two statements about God, his feelings, and his actions. Let us take "singing" as an example and try to apply MIPVU. According to *Macmillan*, the basic meaning of "to sing" is "to make music using your voice." If you just take the sentence above without any further context, the lexical unit "singing" has exactly this meaning as its contextual meaning. This would mean that there is no metaphor. Since this statement is about God and part of a religious prophecy, many scholars interested in metaphors of religion might [159]

disagree and instinctively analyze this word as metaphor-related. Knowing the context of the statement can change the identification of a contextual meaning. If one does not assume that this sentence means that God literally sings, the interpretation that God does not actually sing and something else is meant by this statement has already been made. However, applying MIPVU should precede the interpretation of the metaphor. If one decides that the contextual meaning is not literally singing, then a decision to categorize it as MRW has already been made, and the intention of MIPVU of systematic identification of metaphors that does not rely on presuppositions has been ignored.

Another take on the contextual meaning could be that since the subject of the sentence is God, and therefore a transcendent entity, activities related to humans, or at least to physical beings, such as singing, cannot be applied in their basic meaning. This approach fits well with the CRC's general assumption that in religious communication transcendence is made tangible through metaphors. From this perspective, whenever a human concept is applied to transcendence, the contextual meaning must necessarily differ from the basic meaning of the word. Therefore, "singing" should be marked as MRW. However, the continuation of this post suggests a problem with this approach: [160]

> "Isn't that amazing—that the Lord of all creation sings over us?" [161]

The user presented a statement from the Bible and added their own commentary, giving the impression that although singing is being applied to God here, it is being used in its basic meaning. It is possible that this person believes in a God who is a physical being with a voice that can be used to sing. Given the beliefs of the author of this sentence, no metaphors could be identified. The problem with making judgments about contextual meaning in the context of religious beliefs is that the researcher must either assess the beliefs of the author or assume that statements about transcendence are never literal, which would mean adopting a specific religious belief and losing the agnostic perspective, which is preferable for research in the study of religion. The latter option may be the necessary pragmatic choice for research on this topic, but we wanted to avoid it as much as possible. However, making judgments about the beliefs of authors is also undesirable and, in the case of online forum posts, rarely possible. We often only have short texts from people and no further background on their beliefs. If they use deliberate metaphors or make it very clear that a religious statement is to be taken literally, the categorization could be done without further difficulty. In most cases, however, the analyst would have to guess. These considerations lead to the introduction of a new label called "metaphor-related word depending on beliefs" (MRW_dob). [162]

In a first draft of this additional label, we tried to distinguish between terms that (depending on beliefs) could clearly have a different contextual meaning when applied to a transcendent entity, and others that we thought could be applied in their basic meaning to, for instance, God. For example, "to love" was a verb that we originally did not mark as metaphor-related when applied to God, since we thought that as a fairly abstract concept it would not take on a different meaning even if the subject were different from worldly actors. [163]

We conducted a first annotation round which included this early definition of MRW_dob via the annotation platform INCEpTION (Klie et al. 2018) with four annotators, the authors of this essay and two student assistants, one with a background in English Studies and one with a background in Religious Studies. This group annotated a discussion thread consisting of 29 posts, 189 sentences and 3,033 tokens, from the German online forum jesus.de. In this first annotation round, we tried to apply the additional MRW_dob label in its early definition. We measure inter-annotator agreement via Fleiss's κ, a measure that relates the actual agreement beyond chance to the highest possible agreement beyond chance (Artstein and Poesio 2008, 559) and which is suitable for more than two annotators (2008, 562). [164]

We report an agreement of $\kappa = 0.55$ without differentiating between MRW and MRW_dob, which expresses moderate agreement between the annotators (2008, 576) but which falls short of the values reported in G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma (2010) (0.7-0.89; depending on the genre). However, when including MRW_dob in this distinction, agreement drops even further to $\kappa = 0.52$, suggesting that the label in its early form rather led to more disagreement. [165]

The differentiation of abstract and concrete concepts, which supposedly can or cannot be applied literally to transcendent entities was hard to apply consistently and also, it was no longer a convincing argument the more examples of our data we were confronted with. The one post presented here as an example already shows the impossibility of making such a distinction. "To rejoice" and "gladness" are two concepts that led to uncertainties and long discussions in the annotation process. They are less body-related than singing, not as "specifically human," so one could argue that they can be applied to a transcendent God in their basic meaning. The opposing position would be that these concepts, as emotions, are still very specific to humans or animals in their basic meanings. Transcendence, in a strict and consistent understanding, is completely unknown and indescribable, and therefore no human concept can be applied to it in its literal sense. [166]

Therefore, in further rounds of annotation, we marked all lexical units referring to transcendence as metaphor-related in order to be consistent in our analytical perspective. However, all cases in which a literal belief by the author is possible were specifically marked as MRW_dob. In the end, the previous example was annotated as follows: [167]

> "He$^{\text{MRW_dob}}$ rejoices$^{\text{MRW_dob}}$ over us with gladness$^{\text{MRW_dob}}$ and exults$^{\text{MRW_dob}}$ over us with loud singing$^{\text{MRW_dob}}$ according to Zephania 3." [168]

Mostly verbs and adjectives—activity and emotion related words or descriptive words like in this example—get this label. Many nouns that refer to transcendent entities can be tagged with the simple MRW label. For example, the common metaphor "father" for God is certainly a metaphor-related word, since the basic meaning of a biological or legal parent cannot apply to God. [169]

In one case, however, this is not so clear, which leads to another problem with metaphors in religious language. The father-son relationship between God and Jesus Christ cannot be easily categorized as metaphorical or literal. It is not generally understood to be metaphorical in the same way that people referring to God as father [170]

and to themselves as children of God is. However, it is not identical with a human father-son relationship. This shows how religious concepts cannot always be clearly categorized as either metaphorical or literal. We have also marked these cases with the label "depending on beliefs".

To summarize: We decided to include the additional label "MRW_dob"[62] in the MIPVU annotation of our data. This allows us to include all potentially relevant metaphors, while avoiding the need to assess users' religious beliefs or assume a particular belief that they do not share, and accounting for the possible ambiguity of religious metaphors. [171]

MIPVU across the Ages and Textual Genres: Summary and Critical Assessment

MIPVU was developed as a metaphor identification procedure for analyzing contemporary English texts. The linguistic material on the basis of which it was developed belongs to four text genres represented within the British National Corpus (BNS): oral communication, newspaper reports, academic texts, and fiction (Kaal and Dorst 2012, 56).[63] Its main area of application has been quantitative research on metaphoricity in modern texts, and its guidelines are clearly designed to produce reliable *quantitative* results (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, and Krennmayr 2010).[64] [172]

This fact has a number of implications concerning the applicability of the procedure to other languages and corpora, especially to the kind of corpora studied within the CRC "Metaphors of Religion," i.e., religious or religion-related texts written in modern or ancient languages (most of which are non-European). In the latter case, we are dealing with limited text corpora including a limited number of specific literary genres whose language is typically markedly different from the varieties of everyday language spoken at the time (which are poorly, if at all, documented). Besides, the focus of our research is religious meaning-making and thus we are mainly interested in conceptual (i.e., *qualitative* rather than quantitative) analysis. [173]

This poses a multi-faceted problem that cannot be treated in its entirety here. Several aspects, e.g. the relevance of archaisms and historical knowledge of the language for [174]

62 We also included the label "MRW_impl_dob" for implicit metaphors that fit this category. There cannot be a "MRW_dir_dob" label since direct metaphors are always deliberate metaphors and cannot be literal depending on beliefs.

63 One common feature of these genres is that they are communicatively oriented at contemporary language use alone, e.g. in contrast to poetry where dated and archaic expressions are more likely to occur and the reader is often expected to possess at least some awareness of word history (cf. Pragglejaz Group 2007, 24).

64 This explains not only the fact that MIPVU does not address the conceptual mapping and does not differentiate between deliberate and conventionalized metaphors, relegating both questions (which are central to CRC research) to the later stages of analysis, but also the emphasis on formal aspects of the procedure. Thus, it is telling that the section on lexical units in the "MIPVU manual" is as long as the section on contextual and basic meaning (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 26–32, 32–38). The introductory chapter in *A Method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification: From MIP to MIPVU* spells out the focus on quantitative approach in a very straightforward way: "Since metaphor identification is a form of categorization of phenomena that are 'out there' in reality, it belongs to the realm of scientific measurement; methodologically it can be placed on a par with the measurement of IQ, stress, social and economic class, wealth, education, and so on" (2010, 2).

the understanding of poetry and religious discourses, have already been mentioned by the MIP developers (Pragglejaz Group 2007, 24). Further discussions have shown that some of the MIPVU guidelines (for example, those concerning the identification of lexical units) are not fully applicable to other, especially non-European languages (Nacey et al. 2019).

In the following summary, we will first address issues related to the specific character of the text corpora investigated by the CRC and addressed in the foregoing essays and then touch upon some more general problems regarding the use of MIPVU for purposes of conceptual analysis. [175]

Applicability of the Procedure to Premodern Languages and Religious Text Corpora: Challenges and Possible Solutions

As indicated above, the main reason(s) why MIPVU has only limited applicability in the research context of the CRC is that the procedure was designed both for another type of texts and with different goals in mind. Accordingly, the factors that make us adapt and modify the MIPVU guidelines for our research purposes are manifold and concern both conceptual and linguistic, content-related and formal aspects, in particular, the problems of evaluation of religious ideas "behind" linguistic expression, the source and lexicographic situation of ancient languages, and the specifics of their semantic and lexical systems. Notwithstanding the necessity of adjustments and deviations from a number of MIPVU rules, the principles on which MIPVU is based retain their validity. [176]

Religious Metaphors or Literal Belief?

One of the basic assumptions guiding research within the CRC is that religious communication is essentially metaphorical, since transcendence cannot by definition be captured by means of non-figurative language. Even though we assume to find a lot of metaphorical language in religious communication, religious believers do not always intend their communication to be metaphorical. Researchers might need to identify metaphors irrespective of the authors' beliefs or make guesses about them if further context is missing. Lina Rodenhausen from the subproject C04 proposes to use the tag "depending on belief" (MRW_dob) to mark lexical units that can be considered either metaphorical or non-metaphorical depending on the extralinguistic factor of religious beliefs that the speaker associates with them. [177]

Metaphor, Metonymy, Personification

The final step in the identification of indirect metaphors serves to distinguish metaphor from other tropes, first of all, from metonymy. Deciding on whether the figurative usage is metaphorical or metonymical (the latter, of course, is not to be tagged as MRW!) is not always easy, however. Studies conducted in the last three decades have revealed that the boundaries between metaphor and metonymy are more fluid than previously supposed. [178]

Instances when actions, states, or qualities typical of human subjects are attributed to non-human subjects (e.g. to body parts or nature) are especially difficult to analyze, oscillating between personification and metonymy (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 101–6).[65] To capture this phenomenon, MIPVU introduced the new tag "possible personification." On the one hand, it is useful since it permits not to discard many borderline cases. On the other hand, however, it is a makeshift solution, since the relations between the terms "possible personification," "metaphor," and "metonymy" remain, to a significant degree, unclarified.

Philological issues: Translation, Dictionaries, Synchrony

1. Translation: Even though we provide English translations for the annotated text passages in order to make our annotations accessible to readers interested in cross-cultural comparative research on metaphors, the real object of metaphor analysis within the individual projects remain original texts. No translation, however, is able to convey the meaning of the original fully due to the incommensurability between languages, especially if the texts in question are literary or poetic texts. This concerns both the sense of individual lexemes with all the connotations and cultural associations attached to them and the meaning of the whole text with all its semantic layers. Due to the fact that individual lexemes never (or hardly ever) possess an identical range of meaning in two different languages, it is often impossible to render both the contextual meaning and the basic meaning of each metaphorically used word in the target language. As a rule, modern translations focus on conveying the *contextual* meaning. The original cross-domain mapping (and thus the original metaphor itself) is often lost and replaced by a different metaphor as a result; sometimes, metaphor-related words of the original are rendered with non-metaphoric words and expressions.[66] [179]

2. Dictionaries: Metaphorically speaking, the two pillars MIPVU is founded on are the method itself and the dictionaries of contemporary English used for identifying the contextual and basic meaning: the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* as the main tool, and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* as a second option to be consulted in cases of doubt (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, and Krennmayr 2010, 776). The high reliability MIPVU is praised for (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 20, 149–65) is not only due to the procedure itself but also to the consistency and reliability of these two corpus-based dictionaries as tools for lexical analysis. In fact, the reliability of MIPVU would suffer considerably if *Macmillan* and *Longman* did not distinguish between literal (or 'basic') and derived, metaphorical meanings in an implicit but still systematic way. [180]

65 For Old High German and Middle High German examples (which are even more ambiguous than the modern examples discussed by G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 101–5), see the above essay by Alexandra Wiemann.

66 Cf. the discussion of Psalm 139:16 in the above essay on Biblical Hebrew.

As far as ancient languages and literary corpora are concerned, the lexicographical situation is completely different. The meaning of many rare and poorly attested words can only be guessed from context or reconstructed with the help of etymology (and, in the case of the Hebrew Bible, with the help of ancient translations whose versions may diverge from each other), which often creates multiple possibilities for meaning identification. At least in Biblical Hebrew, a large number of lexemes are only attested in metaphoric contexts, although they must have had a more basic meaning (either in contemporary language or in an earlier period).[67] Besides, the dictionaries of Biblical Hebrew generally do not distinguish between non-metaphorical and metaphorical usage if the corresponding lexeme in the target language covers both senses, which is quite a common feature in lexicography. [181]

In sum, scholars investigating metaphor use in ancient texts cannot rely on dictionaries in the same way MIPVU relies on sense descriptions in *Macmillan* and *Longman* for the identification of a "basic meaning." [182]

3. Historical meanings: Rare lexemes and *hapax legomena* (i.e. lexemes that are attested only once) are, however, not the only linguistic feature precluding adherence to the methodological standards of MIPVU when analyzing historical texts. As most corpora of premodern literature cover long chronological periods and consist of texts that are difficult to date with any precision, it is often impossible to know which meanings were still in use and which ones were obsolete at a given time in history. The language referred to as "Biblical Hebrew" pertains to linguistic material dating between the late eighth and second century BC, thus covering a much wider period of time than, e.g. contemporary English. In such a situation, a purely 'synchronic' semantic analysis is, in fact, impossible (or fictitious).[68] [183]

   Languages with logographic writing systems present another challenge.[69] For example, in Literary Chinese, the sinographs "accumulate" senses over time, preserving older meanings. One and the same graph can represent lexemes with varying semantic relations and different syntactic function, yet unarguably links them conceptually. Furthermore, it should not be ignored that sinographic writing potentially conveys additional metaphorical meaning that is contained on the level of graphic composition of each sign. Because of these features, the guidelines for determining basic meaning (that prescribe to only compare meanings synchronically and within the same word class) are inadequate. [184]

Additionally, the following aspect is to be considered. As the choice of the *Macmillan* dictionary as the main lexicographic tool shows, the MIPVU guidelines presuppose an idealized native speaker whose language experience is limited to contemporary usage [185]

67 Cf. Gesenius and Meyer (2013, 172), s. v. בֹּר$_2$ 'Reinheit', 'Unschuld' (a random example). In all textual instances, the noun signifies 'cleanness (of hands)' in the sense of 'innocence.' In this particular case, the basic meaning can be safely assumed to refer to 'cleanness' in physical sense; in many other cases, the basic sense cannot be reconstructed as easily.

68 By implication, a 'diachronic' analysis of semantics in the Hebrew Bible is doomed to be speculative, at least to a considerable degree.

69 For details, see the above essay by Elsa Kueppers on Literary Sinitic.

(cf. G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, and Krennmayr 2010, 770–71, 776). By contrast, the scribes responsible for the creation of premodern literature not only possessed good knowledge of literary tradition but also tended to use authoritative texts handed down for centuries as their literary models. Their language use was, to a significant degree, historically oriented, which had a strong impact on the use of metaphors as well.[70]

Searching for Solutions

The above mentioned problems do not imply, of course, that MIPVU is of no use for metaphor analysis in premodern literary and religious (or religion-related) texts. In terms of the procedure, metaphor identification should still follow both the four steps outlined by MIP and MIPVU and the basic principles underlying the guidelines. [186]

As far as the details of the procedure are concerned, it is crucial to note that the meaning of a word should not be confused with its definition provided by a dictionary, no matter how reliable it is. Basing decisions concerning contextual and basic meaning on sense descriptions in dictionaries may be a reasonable procedure for modern English (given its lexicographic situation)[71] but can hardly be justified with regard to ancient languages. Rather, the famous formula by Ludwig Wittgenstein *meaning is use* should guide the analysis. Dealing with an ancient text corpus like the Hebrew Bible, one always has to look at the individual passages in which the word is attested, carefully considering the meaning of the lexeme in question in every instance. [187]

The sense descriptions provided by dictionary entries may help to determine the basic meaning; however, the contexts of use are more important. If the lexeme under investigation is found in contexts that fulfill the criteria for more basic meaning (human-oriented and/or body-related; more concrete, specific, and precise), these contextual meanings can be considered to be more basic and used as such in subsequent analysis. If no such attestations can be found, one should analyze the usage of related lexemes derived from the same root or consult the word's etymology. [188]

In cases where specific MIPVU guidelines seem inapplicable (or unsuitable), they can be "translated" into guiding principles understood as hierarchies of priorities and methodical "orientation points" rather than fixed rules.[72] [189]

MIPVU and Conceptual Metaphor Analysis: Some General Remarks

As Steen rightly stresses, there is a gap both between linguistic and conceptual metaphor [190]

70 "Thus, in literary and religious discourse, a broader awareness of older meanings of lexical units may be crucial for identifying metaphors in a particular text" (Pragglejaz Group 2007, 24).

71 It should be noted that the MIPVU developers depart from the principle in certain cases, e.g. when identifying the instances of "possible personification" in fiction (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 105).

72 For example, the MIPVU rule that restricts comparing transitive and intransitive usage of the same verb can be adapted to Biblical Hebrew in the following way. If a polysemous verb has several meanings which can all be considered to be more basic and related to the contextual meaning, the senses expressed by the same verb stem (or a related stem equally used for transitive/intransitive meanings) and occurring within the same or similar grammatical constructions, e.g. in combination with the same prepositions, are to be given preference.

as phenomena and between the approach to metaphor analysis within cognitive linguistics on the one hand and within linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics on the other hand. Inspired by both cognitive linguistics and "aspects of discourse analysis" (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, and Krennmayr 2010, 767), MIPVU was created with the intention "to bridge the gap between the two traditions" (2010, 3). It is questionable, however, how far the procedure really serves this ambitious task.

In the following, we will briefly touch upon two features central to the procedure which, at least potentially, cause limitations for conceptual analysis. [191]

Dichotomy 'Metaphorical' Versus 'Non-Metaphorical'

The methodological presupposition underlying MIPVU is that a given lexical unit is either metaphorical or not. Accordingly, the result of the MIPVU analysis is always a binary *yes* or *no* answer. Moreover, it dismisses the question of whether a given metaphor is conventionalized or deliberate. [192]

As a result, MIPVU obscures the fact that there exist different *degrees* of metaphoricity[73] which are inversely proportional to the degree of conventionality of the metaphoric expression and to the semantic breadth of the lexemes involved (as well as proportional to the degree of contrast between the contextual and basic meaning and their mutual distinctiveness). This varying degree of metaphoricity affects our perception of metaphors accounting for the fact that some metaphors are perceived not just as novel but as more "vivid," "intense," or "powerful" than others. Even the distinction between novel and conventional, deliberate and unconscious (or unintended) metaphors is, to a certain extent, a simplification.[74] In particular, this applies to religious metaphors most of which are deliberate and traditional at the same time. [193]

Admittedly, the scholars who developed MIP and MIPVU are aware of this fact,[75] but employing MIPVU means ignoring it. If no separate, perhaps subsequent stage of analysis addresses the question of the degree of metaphoricity, it is likely to be overlooked. [194]

73 Cf. the idea of the "literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum" elaborated in Radden (2003).

74 The Biblical creation terminology may serve as an illustrative example. The only non-metaphorical term for (divine) creation is the Hebrew verb *bārāʾ* (ברא) 'created' used in the Priestly account (Genesis 1:1–2:3). By contrast, the Hebrew phrases that God 'made' (*ʿāśâ* [עשׂה] Isaiah 17:7), 'formed (*as a potter*)' (*yāṣar* [יצר] Genesis 2:7) or 'weaved together' (*sāḵaḵ* [סכך] Psalm 139:13) humans or a particular human being are all metaphorical, but the degree of metaphoricity varies significantly, increasing from the first verb ('to make') to the last one ('to weave/knit together'). Only the last one of the three expressions ("you knitted me together in my mother's womb," Ps 139:13) is a deliberate metaphor in the sense of Steen (2011; G. Steen 2017). Nevertheless, the first two verbs exhibit important differences with regard to their metaphoricity. As the formulation in Psalm 139:16a (*golmî*, literally 'my lump of clay,' meaning "my embryo") suggests, the conceptual metaphor CREATION IS POTTERY MAKING, clearly associated with the verb *yāṣar* ('he formed'), whose basic meaning was "to form clay mass into a ceramic vessel," could still influence language use at the time Biblical texts were written (for details, see the above essay on Biblical Hebrew).

75 "We require that a clear decision be made about whether a word conveys, or does not convey, a metaphorical meaning, although we recognize that words, and language more generally, differ in the degree to which they express metaphoricity" (Pragglejaz Group 2007, 2; cf. G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr, and Pasma 2010, 18).

Language History and the "Metaphorical-to-Whom" Question

One of the declared principles of MIPVU is strictly synchronic approach to language. [195]
Thus, one of the main reasons why the *Macmillan* dictionary was chosen as the main tool of analysis is the recent character of the linguistic corpus it is based upon (Pragglejaz Group 2007, 16; G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, and Krennmayr 2010, 776). In cases where the basic meaning from which the contextual meaning is derived has become obsolete, the lexeme is to be tagged as non-metaphorical (G. J. Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, and Krennmayr 2010, 770).

Whether a more basic meaning is attested in contemporary use is, of course, a valid [196]
criterion for identification of *linguistic* metaphors. As far as conceptual metaphors are concerned, the issue is more entangled, however. That a historical sense of a lexeme may be accessible to some language users and "activate," in certain contexts, the corresponding source domain and conceptual mapping, is a plausible assumption. Thus, the English noun *basis* meaning "important ideas, facts, or actions from which something can develop" (*Macmillan*, sense 2) and the verb *base on* "to use particular ideas or facts to make a decision, do a calculation, or develop a theory" (*Macmillan*, sense 1) are to be considered non-metaphorical according to MIPVU, since neither *basis* nor (*to*) *base on* have a more basic meaning in contemporary English. And yet, it is a fair assumption (which could be proven or disproven experimentally) that those English speakers who possess knowledge of Latin are likely to connect both lexemes with the etymologically related Latin noun *basis* ('pedestal,' 'base, point of attachment,' 'foundation, support') and with the basic meaning of the English noun *base* "the bottom part or section of something that supports the rest of it" (*Macmillan*, sense 1a). Accordingly, they are probably more likely to interpret utterances in which the lexemes *basis* and *base on* are combined with words like *foundation*, *to be constructed* and the like in terms of the conceptual metaphor THEORIES / COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS.[76]

Apart from that, in many cases, the word history alone helps clarify the relationship [197]
between various contemporary senses of a lexeme which would otherwise remain obscure. Thus, it is telling that even MIPVU (pursuing synchronic approach to metaphor analysis in a far more uncompromising way than MIP) advises the analysts to consult the historical *Oxford English Dictionary* in cases of doubt.

Conclusion

To sum up, MIPVU is certainly a helpful tool which can produce reliable quantitative [198]
results when used for metaphor identification in contemporary English texts, but which cannot be applied without considerable adjustments to the analysis of premodern religious and poetic texts written in non-European languages. Its main value to this field of research consists not so much in the set of rules themselves, but rather in the fact that

76 Cf. the section of the MIP paper on "dead metaphors" and, especially, the following statement: "Of course, depending on one's specific research interests, an analyst could adopt a more liberal scheme and identify as metaphorical any word that currently has, or once possessed, a metaphorical comparison and contrast between its basic and contextual meanings" (Pragglejaz Group 2007, 30).

it helps strengthen the awareness of methodological problems involved in metaphor identification, urges the analyst to reflect on their methodical approach and, ideally, to develop a consistent procedure for metaphor identification in the textual corpus they are working with.

As in so many other cases, it is the spirit and not the letter (cf. 2 Cor 3:6) that is to be followed. [199]

Author Contributions

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