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The Metaphorical Dimensions of VERB-TROUBLE Constructions in a Contrastive Perspective*

This paper investigates VERB-TROUBLE constructions in German, English, Hungarian and Chinese in a contrastive way. The aim of this study is to present various metaphorical patterns that underlie constructions involving a troublesome situation, and to show cross-linguistic similarities and differences in the conceptualization of actions or states regarding trouble. In order to observe general tendencies with regard to the preferences for certain metaphorical patterns, I use large generic corpora that contain a vast amount of data from both spoken and written language. In the qualitative part of my investigations, I conduct a thorough analysis on idiomatic and non-idiomatic metaphorical expressions collected from authentic language data. With these methods we could gain new insights into the inter- and intralingual variation of VERB-TROUBLE constructions by comparing conceptual metaphors of various complexity.

Keywords:

conceptual metaphor, contrastive linguistics, corpus analysis, idiomaticity

In der vorliegenden Arbeit werden VERB-TROUBLE-Konstruktionen im Deutschen, Englischen, Ungarischen und Chinesischen kontrastiv untersucht. Diese Studie setzt sich zum Ziel, verschiedene metaphorische Muster darzustellen, die eine schwierige Situation zum Ausdruck bringen. Gleichzeitig liegt der Schwerpunkt auf dem zwischensprachlichen Vergleich der Konzeptualisierung von Handlungen oder Zuständen, die sich auf Schwierigkeiten beziehen. Um allgemeine Tendenzen im Hinblick auf die Präferenzen für bestimmte Metaphern nachweisen zu können, werden große einsprachige Korpora verwendet, die eine hohe Anzahl an Belegen aus der geschriebenen und der gesprochenen Sprache enthalten. Im qualitativen Teil meiner Untersuchung wird eine umfassende Analyse der idiomatischen und nicht-idiomatischen metaphorischen Ausdrücke durchgeführt, die auf authentischen Sprachdaten basiert. Mithilfe dieser Methoden habe ich neue Erkenntnisse bezüglich der inter- und intralingualen Vielfalt von VERB-TROUBLE-Konstruktionen gewonnen, wobei konzeptuelle Metaphern unterschiedlicher Komplexität verglichen wurden.

Schlüsselwörter:

konzeptuelle Metapher, kontrastive Linguistik, Korpusanalyse, Idiomatizität

1. Introduction

In this study, I will investigate VERB-TROUBLE constructions that have a metaphorical basis. I do my research from a contrastive linguistic point of view, in which I analyze German, English, Hungarian and Chinese language data and compare them according to their conceptual basis and their particular linguistic characteristics. For this analysis, I have chosen the above-mentioned four languages because from a typological point of view they show a great variation

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in morphology and syntax. Nevertheless, I also find it useful to look at two languages from the same language family (German and English) to see if it may have any impact on the conceptualization of inter-social states like TROUBLE. On the other hand, it is also my aim to include languages that have different cultural backgrounds to various degrees (German, English and Hungarian being closer to each other than to Chinese). In order to examine the most frequent metaphorical patterns in these four languages, I use many large general-purpose corpora that can provide some useful statistical data about the constructions under investigation. As for the theoretical background of my research, I will follow the most common terminology in this area, namely that of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Furthermore, my investigations on the constructions analyzed in this study are based on the most basic notions of Construction Grammar introduced by Goldberg (2006). With respect to the particular features and differences between idiomatic and non-idiomatic expressions involving metaphoric language, the research of Sullivan (2007, 2013) offers a solid theoretical background to my investigations. Finally, the work of Deignan (2005) on the corpus-based approach to conceptual metaphors and on the degrees of metaphoricity of linguistic expressions contributes to a great extent to my research.

The structure of this study is as follows. The most relevant theories and tools for my analysis that I partly mentioned above will be introduced in Chapter 2. Then, turning to the empirical part of this paper in Chapter 3, I will examine real-world language data collected from large monolingual corpora. This chapter will comprise a quantitative as well as a qualitative analysis of the constructions relevant in this study. The major conceptual and linguistic similarities and differences between the four languages will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

At the end of this study, Chapter 4 summarizes the most relevant experiences collected during the analysis, and some aspects for future contrastive research on conceptual metaphors are taken into consideration as well.

2. Theoretical Framework

In the following chapter, I will outline some relevant notions of the cognitive linguistic framework that can be employed in the analysis of corpus data in Chapter 3. The majority of these theories are mainly related to the notion of conceptual metaphor while other tools are much more fundamental in the cognitive linguistic description of mental processes, not only in the expression of figurative meaning.

Section 2.1 gives a short overview of the most basic ideas regarding conceptual metaphors on the basis of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) of Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Following

these notions, we will look at the motivation of the emergence of conceptual metaphors, since it plays an important role in this contrastive study.

Section 2.2 presents the fundamental metaphor complex called Event-Structure metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999) that seems to be employed frequently in the linguistic expression of events and causes that are associated with the abstract concept of TROUBLE. Furthermore, I will focus on the submappings of the metaphor complex that participate in the conceptualization of a difficult state.

Section 2.3 offers an overview of the levels of metaphor suggested by Kövecses (2017) in order to use the abstract notions of images schemas, domains or frames in a consequent and comprehensible way in my investigations in Chapter 3.

Section 2.4 addresses various degrees of prominence in language structure by introducing the dimension of Trajectory/Landmark alignment (Langacker 2008). This tool will be necessary to be able to analyze the conceptual background of expressions involving some kind of difficulties. In Section 2.5, I will deal with the question of idiomaticity (Sullivan 2007) within the framework of CMT because both idiomatic and non-idiomatic constructions can be used metaphorically to express difficulties, but they do so by using different patterns to involve source and target domains.

Finally, Section 2.6 discusses the problems of differentiating the dead metaphors from the living ones, which seems to have a close connection to the question of the degree of conventionalization of a conceptual metaphor. The dead or living status can then serve as a central criterion regarding the psychological reality of the conceptual metaphors under investigation.

2.1 Conceptual Metaphors

According to the frequently used framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), a conceptual metaphor can be defined as “understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain” (Kövecses 2010: 4). A conceptual domain can be any kind of experience that is organized in a coherent way.¹ The two kinds of domains that participate in conceptual metaphor are the source domain and the target domain. The conceptual domain that contributes to the understanding of another conceptual domain is called source domain, whereas the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain. This relationship can be defined as a set of systematic

¹ The place of domains in the hierarchy of conceptual levels on the basis of schematicity will be discussed in Section 2.3.

correspondences between the conceptual elements of source and target domains called mappings (ibid.).

At this point, it is important to emphasize the difference as well as the connection between conceptual and linguistic metaphors. Instead of the classical view of metaphor that regards metaphors as purely linguistic, the CMT considers metaphor as a fundamentally conceptual phenomenon that may give rise to metaphorical linguistic expressions (cf. Sullivan 2017). According to this hierarchical relation, conceptual metaphors serve as a base for a system of linguistic metaphors (Yu 1998). Furthermore, linguistic metaphors are also seen as “the main type of evidence given for the existence of conceptual metaphors” (Deignan 2005: 15). However, this does not mean that each conceptual metaphor has its linguistic manifestations in everyday language use. From a cross-linguistic point of view, the differences between metaphors on the conceptual and the linguistic level can be particularly relevant because variation can be observed on both levels. For example, some figurative meanings are expressed by using many different conceptual metaphors in the languages under examination, but it may also be the case that the same conceptual metaphor shows subtle differences in its linguistic expressions (Kövecses 2005).

When it comes to conceptual metaphors, one of the most relevant features of domain mappings is the tendency of mapping from more concrete experiences (source domain) to more abstract concepts (target domain). This way, conceptual metaphors largely contribute to the interpretations of the central abstract themes in our lives (Deignan 2005). The concrete experiences that we use to conceptualize more abstract concepts are strongly related to the notion of embodiment. Gibbs defines embodiment as

the ways persons’ bodies and bodily interactions with the world shape their minds, actions, and personal, cultural identities. Embodied accounts of mind and language embrace the idea that human symbols are grounded in recurring patterns of bodily experience. [...] thought and language arise from the continuous dynamic interactions between brains, bodies, and the world. (Gibbs 2017: 450)

Accordingly, the emergence of metaphors is to a great extent influenced and motivated by embodied experience. At this point, it is necessary to mention the distinction between primary and complex metaphors. Primary metaphors are grounded on concrete bodily experience, that is, they are based on real-world co-occurrences like MORE and UP, or UNDERSTANDING and SEEING. Such primary metaphors can then be combined with other primary metaphors and give rise to complex metaphors such as ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER that contains primary metaphors like ANGER IS HEAT, CAUSES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES and IDEAS ARE OBJECTS (Sullivan 2017).

Another example for a complex metaphor is the metaphor A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY that contains the primary metaphors GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS, ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS as well as culturally encoded propositions like people should have purposes in life or people are supposed to act so as to achieve those purposes (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Here, we can clearly see how cultural beliefs combined with primary metaphors can give rise to culture-specific complex metaphors. With respect to the interaction of embodied experience and cultural understanding, Yu (2008: 257) assumes that “the choice of one aspect from a range of possible bodily experiences for a target concept is a matter of cultural preference”. Furthermore, he regards cultural models as a “filter that lets certain elements from the source domain to be mapped into the target domain while keeping others from getting through” (ibid.).

As for universality and variation in conceptual metaphors from a cross-cultural perspective, Kövecses (2005) suggests further factors that he calls differential cognitive preferences and styles. Many of them may play an important role in the present study because there are various cognitive processes, which offer an explanation for the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences in metaphoric thinking on the one hand, and for the variation in the use of the linguistic expressions on the other hand. After having taken a closer look at the variation in the conceptualization of difficult situations in the languages under investigation, it seems definitely useful to address some factors that can frequently cause cross-linguistic differences.

In accordance with the degree of linguistic elaboration, expressions can be elaborated to a different extent in different languages. In this case, we can find the same conceptual metaphor in two or more languages, but it gives rise to a different number of linguistic expressions. That is, due to different entailments or mappings related to a conceptual metaphor, there can be a larger or smaller number of expressions on the linguistic level that are considered to be conventionalized in a certain language or variety, hence the linguistic elaboration of a metaphor is different, too. For example, the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER can be found in both English and Hungarian, but in Hungarian, the elaborations of this metaphor tend to employ the more concrete container of the head, whereas in English, the general body container is used (Kövecses 2010).

The various degrees of conventionalization² can also account for differences on the level of linguistic expressions. The degree of conventionalization refers to the extent of stylistic marking or non-marking of a linguistic expression. In case of an expression, it is assumed that there is a correlation between (un)markedness and its degree of conventionalization. That is,

² We will return to the question of conventionalization with regard to dead or alive metaphors in Section 2.6.

the higher the unmarkedness of an expression is, the higher its degree of conventionalization will be (Kövecses 2005). For example, Barcelona (2001) notes that the linguistic expressions of the metaphor ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE show a higher degree of conventionalization in English than in Spanish. Thus, the Spanish expressions of this metaphor are considered to be more creative compared to the more conventionalized English ones. When it comes to the degree of conventionalization of a conceptual metaphor, the frequency of its linguistic realizations in a quantitative corpus analysis may indicate the status of a metaphor along the continuum between novel and conventionalized uses.

The last aspect mentioned in this chapter is the degree of specificity. The notion of specificity implies a hierarchy between things and events (Kövecses 2010). For example, the verb *crawl* has a more specific meaning than *move*, whereas *move* is more specific than *act* (Kövecses 2005). In case of the current study, the degree of specificity is a criterion that will mainly concern the verbs that indicate the source domain of a conceptual metaphor expressing a difficult situation.

To sum up, metaphors are not just decorative tools of language, but they also and primarily operate on the level of thought. That is, conceptual metaphors are cognitive processes that can be observed indirectly through their manifestations in language and in various kinds of visual communication as well (cf. Sullivan 2017). Given the fact that the linguistic realizations of conceptual metaphors occur frequently in language, conceptual metaphors play an important role in structuring our thinking and our knowledge about science and everyday events. Moreover, there are many abstract subjects that cannot be talked about without underlying conceptual metaphors (Deignan 2005). As we will see in the following chapters, this could be the case regarding the expressions of difficult situations, too. As for the motivation of conceptual metaphors, the majority of conceptual metaphors seems to be grounded in our physical experiences, while cultural and cognitive preferences can filter aspects of bodily experience in the choice of metaphor. In the next section, I will present a complex metaphor called the Event-Structure metaphor in order to show how primary and complex metaphors function together and make events cognitively accessible.

2.2 The Event-Structure Metaphor (ESM)

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999), in allowing us to conceptualize events and causes, Event-Structure metaphors make a fundamental contribution. The complex metaphors called Location and Object ESM share the primary metaphors CAUSES ARE FORCES and CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS. In case of the Location ESM, events are conceptualized in terms of locations,

whereas using the Object ESM, events are understood in terms of physical objects. In order to see the basic difference between them, compare the following two sentences (ibid. 195):

Harry's in trouble.
Harry has trouble.

Lakoff and Johnson explain the difference with the figure-ground shift. In the first sentence, Harry is the figure, while the state of trouble is the ground. Thus, Harry is located with respect to the ground. In the second sentence, Harry is seen as the ground with respect to which the figure (*trouble*) is located. In the case of these two complex metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson speak of the Event-Structure duality. The main differences between Location and Object ESM can be clearly seen by contrasting some of their most relevant submappings (ibid. 196):

The Location Event-Structure Metaphor

STATES ARE LOCATIONS
CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS (TO OR FROM LOCATIONS)
CAUSATION IS FORCED MOVEMENT (TO OR FROM LOCATIONS)
PURPOSES ARE DESIRED LOCATIONS (DESTINATIONS)

The Object Event-Structure Metaphor

ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS
CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS (ACQUISITIONS OR LOSSES)
CAUSATION IS TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS (GIVING OR TAKING)
PURPOSES ARE DESIRED OBJECTS

In the Location ESM, the source domain is the domain of motion-in-space and it includes the image schemas of Force and Directed Motion along a Path, whereas the target domain can be a static situation, any kind of causation or a purposeful activity (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014, Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Thanks to its schematic nature, this metaphor complex can be employed to a broad range of situations. Apart from the mappings listed above in contrast to the Object ESM, Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) mention some other particularly relevant submappings of the Location ESM:

ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION
PROGRESS IN A PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS FORWARD MOTION
INABILITY TO ACT IS INABILITY TO MOVE
DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS
CHOICES ABOUT ACTION ARE CROSSROADS

Most of these mappings play a crucial role in the conceptualization of situations involving difficulties. Compared to the Object ESM, the linguistic realizations of the Location ESM seem to be generally more frequent and hence, more significant (cf. Yu 1998 based on Chinese and English). Furthermore, the submappings mentioned above represent the starting points to

understand less schematic construals that involve more mappings and entailments. At this point, it may be important to note that added mappings will not necessarily lead to new metaphors, but it is the degree of elaboration that changes. This can be explained by the hierarchical relation that can be observed between mappings of higher or lower specificity. Furthermore, due to the contribution of certain lexical items or phrases, experiential viewpoint can also be part of the construal, which leads to enrichment and variation of metaphoric language (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014).

In order to understand conceptual structures involved in instances of the Location ESM, Section 2.3 offers a short overview of the levels of schematicity in metaphor research.

2.3 Levels of Metaphor

Among conceptual metaphor researchers, there are many different views on the structure and the hierarchy between conceptual structures that take part in the formation of conceptual metaphors. This is the reason why Kövecses (2017) proposes a “multi-level view of conceptual metaphor” claiming that conceptual metaphors are “simultaneously involving conceptual structures, or units, on a variety of different levels of schematicity” (ibid: 322). Kövecses distinguishes four levels of schematicity, which are represented in Figure 1 below (ibid: 323):



Figure 1: Degrees of schematicity in the conceptual structure of metaphors

Starting with the most schematic units of conceptual structures, image schemas are “dynamic analog representations of spatial relations and bodily movements in space” (Gibbs 2017: 452). Thanks to their highly schematic nature, they contribute to the meaning of various concepts and experiences. As for the conceptualization of difficulties, one of the most relevant image schemas is the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL MOTION schema that underlies, among others, the JOURNEY source domain (cf. Kövecses 2017, Gibbs 2017). Another image schema is the CONTAINER schema, which often plays an important role in the conceptualization of emotions, too (cf. e.g. Kövecses 2010). As we will see in Chapter 3, these two image schemas frequently interact in conceptual metaphors that involve some difficulty because they complete each other by

representing the dynamic (SOURCE-PATH-GOAL MOTION schema) and the static (CONTAINER schema) element of the highly schematic structure.

In terms of schematicity, the next level in describing a conceptual metaphor is the level of domains. As outlined in Section 2.1, conceptual metaphors are principally defined and described by the connection of mental domains. Thus, the level of domains usually serves as a starting point in the conceptual metaphor research. In CMT, the correspondences between the source and the target domain are frequently represented by a diagram (Sullivan 2017: 394).

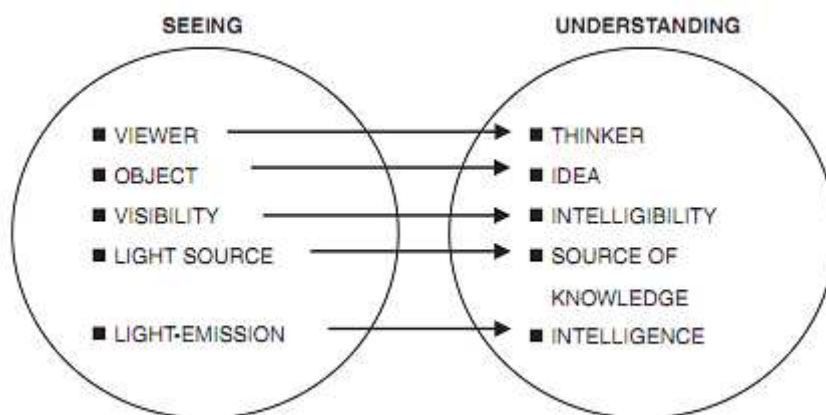


Figure 2: CMT diagram of UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING

In contrast to image schemas, domains are not analogue, imagistic patterns of experience but propositional in nature, having a high degree of schematicity. Image schemas are related to various aspects of conceptual domains that result in domain matrix. Consequently, domains are richer in conceptual content than image schemas. As for the structures domain, frame and mental space, the only way to differentiate them is to build up a hierarchy according to the level of schematicity (Kövecses 2017).

Kövecses (2017: 325) defines frames as follows: “Frames elaborate particular aspects of a domain matrix; that is, particular higher level concepts within a domain.” Sullivan (2013) treats this relationship in terms of inclusion, in that domains consist of frames. As being higher in the hierarchy of schematicity, frames convey more specific information than domains. For example, within the BODY domain, frames such as PERCEPTION, INGESTION or EXERCISING account for metaphorical linguistic expressions like *I see what you mean* (PERCEPTION), *digest an idea* (INGESTION), or *a mental exercise* (EXERCISING).

Mental spaces represent the fourth and the lowest level of conceptual structures according to schematicity. Compared to the three other levels of metaphor, mental spaces clearly differ in the fact that they also convey contextual information in elaborating structures that are borrowed from frames. This way, mental spaces operate with instances of roles and relations instead of generalizations. Thus, mental spaces are online representations of our understanding of

experience (Kövecses 2017). In the next section, I will address the Trajector/Landmark alignment that seems particularly relevant in analyzing the role of the participants in a profiled relationship.

2.4 Trajector/Landmark Alignment

In a profiled relationship, the participants have different degrees of prominence with respect to each other. The participant that shows the most prominence is called the trajector. This is the entity that is construed as being located, evaluated, or described. Usually, there is another participant that is made prominent. This participant is called the landmark. Hence, in the profiled relationship, the trajector has the primary focus, while the landmark has the secondary focus. This is how the meaning of two expressions can differ with respect to the Trajector/Landmark alignment of their participants (Langacker 2008).

In case of the metaphoric expressions describing certain events involving difficulties conceptualized via the Location Event-Structure metaphor, determining the primary and secondary focal participant is of great importance within the analysis of the relationship that is profiled by the verb. Thus, the expressions under investigation basically comprise a mover being the trajector and a location, a bounded region in space, that serves as the landmark.

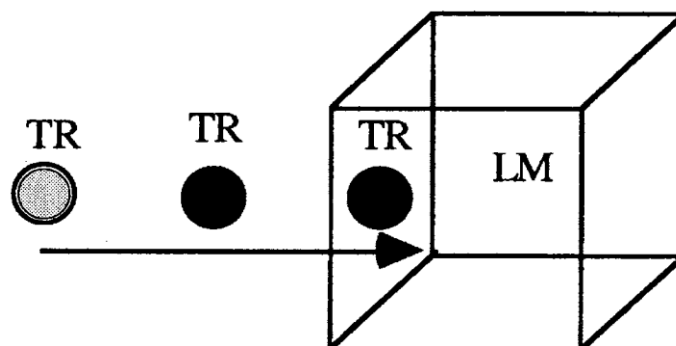


Figure 3: A trajector moved or moving into the container (Peña 1998: 265)

2.5 The idiomaticity of metaphorical expressions

In the contrastive analysis of language data in Chapter 3, the metaphorical expressions show significant differences in terms of the degree of idiomaticity. Following the usage-based Construction Grammar perspective, all constructions are considered as idiomatic (Wulff 2013). At this point, it is important to emphasize that this study follows the basic notions of the Construction Grammar approach, in that every construction is meaningful being a unit of form and meaning, and “any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other

constructions recognized to exist” (Goldberg 2006: 5). This is why metaphors cannot be conveyed by the mere juxtaposition of lexical items. Thus, words have to follow a certain grammatical relation in order to communicate a metaphor (Sullivan 2013).

In the case of metaphorical expressions analyzed in this study, the degree of lexical filledness is one of the most basic properties of constructions, along which we can differentiate the expressions that involve concepts of difficult situations. In terms of lexical filledness, it is necessary to speak of a continuum because in quite many cases, we will find constructions that are only partially filled (cf. Goldberg 2006). Lexical filledness can also be named as schematization or lexical specification, since this parameter tells us, to what extent it is possible to insert lexical elements into the construction.

On the one end of this continuum, we have fully specified constructions like morphemes and words, and on the other end, there are grammatical constructions like the passive construction. Here, it is important to note that the degree of idiomaticity is in inverse proportion to lexical filledness or the probability of delexicalization, in that “on a continuum of idiomatic phrases ranging from collocations to idioms, the more idiomatic the phrase, the less delexicalization potential it has” (Wulff 2013: 287). For a better overview of the connection between these two parameters, see Figure 4 below.

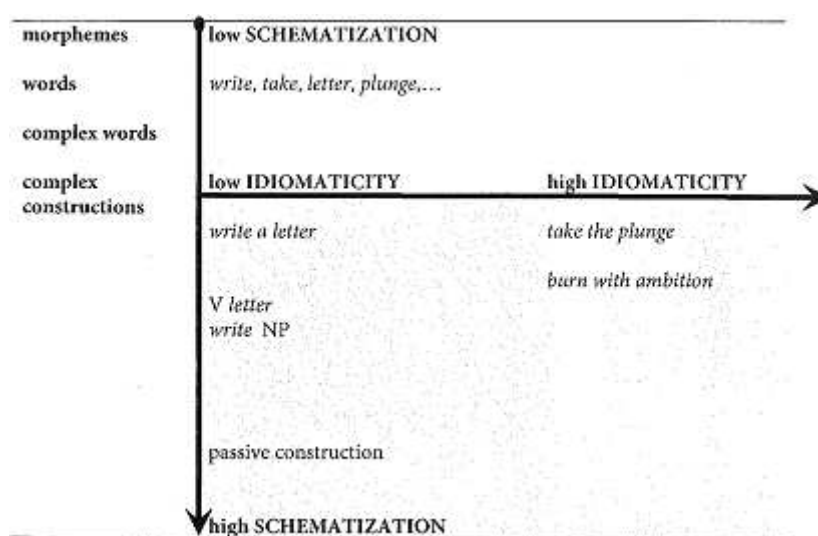


Figure 4: Extended schematic representation of the construction (Wulff 2013: 287)

As a consequence of the differences in the degree of idiomaticity of the metaphorical expressions analyzed in this study, the investigations in Chapter 3 will be done by using different kinds of methodology, respectively. In the following section, I will shortly introduce another parameter for the classification of linguistic metaphors that is closely related to the notions of conventionality and metaphoricity.

2.6 Degrees of metaphoricity

The matter of conventionality plays a crucial role in the framework of CMT, since unlike in literature research, cognitive linguists are first of all interested in metaphors that make a considerable contribution to conceptual organization, that is, metaphors that can be regarded as systematic. This is the reason why novel or one-shot metaphors are rather of little interest in this study, too.

Based on her research on empirical data, Deignan (2005: 37) considers metaphors systematic “if there is corpus evidence that one or more collocates from the same source domain are also used metaphorically, in the same target domain”. By following this quantitative principle, I will also focus on the systematic correspondences between conceptual domains and compare them in the languages under investigation.

According to the traditional view on metaphors, except for the novel and poetic metaphors, no other metaphors are regarded as alive (cf. Müller 2008). In addition to this, Lakoff (1987: 143) notes that “a ‘dead’ metaphor was defined [...] as a linguistic expression that had once been novel and poetic, but had since become part of mundane conventional language, the cemetery of creative thought”. With other words, all conventionalized metaphors are considered as dead, i.e., no conceptual mapping can be found anymore.

In sharp contrast to traditional folk theory, Lakoff (1987) states that some of the linguistic metaphors used in everyday language are undoubtedly alive. In order to prove this, he uses two main distinctions: Firstly, it is necessary that the literal sense of a lexeme being used metaphorically still exists. With this parameter, historical metaphors can be excluded from the group of synchronically metaphoric expressions. The second criterion concerns the already mentioned systematic nature of metaphors, whereby one-shot metaphors, even if both their literal and figurative senses are in use, are not regarded as alive. At the end, we can find lexemes that are indeed alive, that is, they are still in both metaphorical and non-metaphorical senses in use and have systematic mappings between the source and the target domain. Lakoff refers to them as conventionalized metaphors.

Since the above-mentioned classification of metaphors is originally not meant to be used for categorizing linguistic data, Deignan (2005) has developed a corpus-based classification. In this system, there are four metaphor categories that can be differentiated, first of all, by analyzing corpus data:

1. Innovative metaphors
2. Conventionalized metaphors

3. Dead metaphors

4. Historical metaphors

Innovative metaphors cannot be strictly separated from conventionalized ones, since the change of a metaphor from innovative to conventional happens gradually over time. That is, every conventional metaphor must have been innovative at a certain point in history. Secondly, it is always a matter of opinion of the individual speaker, whether a certain metaphor counts as innovative or conventionalized. In case of uncertainty, the frequency of a word in a corpus can usually indicate the status of a metaphor (Deignan 2005). According to Deignan, “any sense of a word that is found less than once in every thousand citations of the word can be considered either innovative or rare” (ibid. 40).

Historical metaphors are also relatively unproblematic to differentiate because it is easy to check in a corpus if there are still some literal senses of a lexeme in use. If not, the lexeme that is currently used in a figurative sense only, is regarded as historical.

In Deignan’s classification, although a dead metaphor cannot be considered as innovative or historical because of the above-mentioned corpus criteria, there are no completely objective measures for distinguishing dead and conventionalized metaphors. However, Deignan also suggests an intuitive way of separating the two types of metaphor. Namely, the dependency on a literal sense can serve as a clue in many cases (ibid. 42):

where a literal sense of a word is perceived as more core than an established metaphorical sense, the second sense is regarded as a conventionalized metaphor. Where there does not seem to be such a relationship of coreness and dependency between a metaphor and its literal counterpart, the metaphor is regarded as dead.

Since the empirical analysis of the present study is based on authentic corpus data, I will follow the basic distinctions on the degrees of metaphoricity developed by Deignan. Like most conceptual metaphor researchers, I will also concentrate on those metaphoric expressions that can be regarded as conventionalized in the current language community. That is, all the linguistic metaphors will be taken into account that are grounded in active conceptual metaphors and occur frequently based on concordance citations of relatively up-to-date corpora. Because of the size of the corpora I will use in Chapter 3, it seems unproblematic to gather the quantity of citations that is necessary to differentiate conventional metaphors from the rest.

3 Corpus-based Analysis of VERB-TROUBLE Constructions

In this chapter, I will present the empirical part of this study, in which I will investigate various linguistic expressions that include or presuppose the concept of TROUBLE in a metaphorical way.

During the analysis, the emphasis is on those metaphorical expressions that are considered as conventionalized according to the degrees of metaphoricity suggested by Deignan (2005). As for the idiomaticity of the constructions under analysis, there are generally three types that are of relevance in this paper: non-idiomatic, semi-idiomatic, and idiomatic constructions. This distinction is of great relevance from a cognitive linguistic perspective as well, since the level of idiomaticity seems to correlate with the metaphorical complexity behind an expression.

In Section 3.1, I address the methodology of the empirical analysis by presenting the tools and the corpora that are used in this study. Section 3.2 presents the semantics and the etymology of the nouns that denote TROUBLE in the languages under investigation because these nouns will play an important role in the analysis of non-idiomatic expressions in Section 3.3. Then, in Section 3.4, I make an investigation of some selected instances of idiomatic and semi-idiomatic constructions in German, English and Hungarian.³ Finally, Section 3.5 summarizes the main similarities and differences of the metaphorical VERB-TROUBLE constructions in the four languages under investigation.

3.1 Methodology

In the first part of the analysis (Section 3.3), which is the most extensive one in this study, I will make use of quantitative as well as qualitative methods. In the quantitative part, I will present the verbal collocates of two nouns in each language denoting TROUBLE in the form of a collocation list. It is quantitative because the list shows the frequency of the word combinations in the entire corpus. This way, it is also possible to observe general tendencies with regard to the frequency of certain metaphorical patterns. In the qualitative part of Section 3.3, which is the main part of this study, I examine each collocation on the basis of a citation found in the current corpus.

The four corpora I use are considered to be large-scale corpora in accordance with the amount of words they contain. In the case of German, I use the German Reference Corpus (2019) that includes approximately 43 billion words. It contains texts of written language mainly from the past three decades. As for English, it is the Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies 2008–) that I use for the quantitative and qualitative part of this analysis. It contains more than 560 million words from the years 1990–2017, and is equally divided among spoken, fiction,

³ In this part of the analysis, I do not examine Chinese idiomatic sentences because it is highly questionable whether the idioms called *chengyu* can be understood metaphorically. About 90% of all Chinese idioms belong to this category (Jiao 2016). Many of the *chengyu* come from famous Chinese philosophers and ancient historical records (Herzberg 2016).

popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts. The Hungarian language data is extracted from the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus (2014), which contains around 1,5 billion tokens from various sources like press, literature, science, private conversations and other official texts. Finally, the corpus used to investigate the Chinese language is the BCC Corpus (Beijing Language and Culture University Corpus Center), which is also a large corpus containing 15 billion characters of present-day written language. Its text samples include microblogging, science and technology, literature, and press (Li and Guo 2016).

In order to present a more precise analysis of the conceptual structure behind the constructions in use, it is also necessary to find an exact semantic description for the verbs that collocate with a noun denoting a difficult situation. For this reason, I make use of many monolingual dictionaries in all four languages. In the case of German, I use the *Digital Dictionary of the German Language* (DWDS) and the online dictionary of the publisher Duden. The English lexemes are defined by using the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary*, the *Cambridge Dictionary* and the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. In the case of Hungarian examples, I use the *Dictionary of the Hungarian Language (A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára)* published by the Hungarian Academy of Science. As for the Chinese definitions, the monolingual dictionary I use is the *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary (Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn)*, whereas the bilingual dictionary is the online *Collins Chinese-English Dictionary*.

3.2 About the Semantics of the Nouns Denoting TROUBLE

In German, the two nouns that are part of the non-idiomatic collocations in this study are *Schwierigkeit* and *Problem*. The noun *Schwierigkeit*, which occurs in its plural form *Schwierigkeiten* in most of its collocations, seems to be the most frequent lexeme that expresses difficult circumstances, resistance or complications. The noun *Schwierigkeit* is derived from the adjective *schwierig*, which had the meaning ‘festering’ in Early New High German. It is again derived from the Middle High German noun *swer(e)*, which means ‘physical pain, illness, especially abscess’. The noun *Schwierigkeiten* is thus not, or at least not directly related etymologically to the adjective *schwer* ‘heavy’.

The other German noun *Problem* is a loan word from Latin or Greek, which means a question that is hard to answer or a task that has not been solved yet. This definition indicates that compared to *Schwierigkeiten*, this noun has a connection to difficult circumstances only in an indirect way, since it refers to the cause and not the effect (trouble). However, it is still closely related to the state of having difficulties, and in the case of the noun *Problem*, cause and effect are not clearly separable.

In English, the two most frequent nouns for an unfavorable situation are both loan words. The noun *trouble* comes from Old French *truble*, *torble*, which mean trouble or disturbance. Again, thanks to a metathesis, these nouns come from the verbs *turbler*, *torbler* ‘to trouble, disturb; make cloudy, stir up, mix’. At an even earlier point in language history, these Old French verbs come from Late Latin *turbulare* ‘to trouble, make turbid’. Interestingly, in many European languages, difficult situations are conceptualized in terms of turbid liquids. It indicates that the conceptual basis of these idiomatic or semi-idiomatic expressions dates back to Roman times. The other English noun *difficulty* comes from Anglo-French *difficulté* and directly from Latin *difficultatem* (nominative *difficultas*) “difficulty, distress, poverty,” from *difficilis* “hard,” from *dis-* “not, away from” (see *dis-*) + *facilis* “easy to do,” from *facere* “to do”. Thus, unlike in the case of *trouble*, the historical development of the semantics of *difficulty* shows no real metaphorical change from ‘not easy to do’ until its meaning now.

Turning to Hungarian, the noun *baj* is also a loan word from the Middle Ages, and has Serbo-Croatian origin, where the word *boj* means ‘a fight between two knights’, while in Slovakian, *boj* means ‘fight, struggle’. In Modern Hungarian, the original meaning from Serbo-Croatian can only be found in some compounds like *bajvívás* ‘duel’.

Unfortunately, the origin of the noun *nehézség* cannot be determined because the adjective *nehéz* ‘heavy, difficult’, which it was derived from in the 14th century has an unknown origin. Nevertheless, there is a clear metaphorical mapping to observe between the concrete meaning ‘heavy’ and the abstract meaning ‘difficult’. This is exactly the mapping that cannot be proven in the case of German *Schwierigkeiten*.

Finally, the origin of the Chinese nouns for difficulties can only be traced back according to the meaning of the characters they comprise. In the case of *kùnnan* 困难, the character *kùn* 困 includes 囗 which stands for a circular enclosure, while 木 has the meaning ‘tree’ or ‘wood’, and together, their former meaning was a bale of wood tightly encircled in being bound by a cord. According to another interpretation, 囗 represents the four walls of a room, while 木 indicates that there are trees that grow inside. Thus, the original meaning would be ‘abandoned house’. In the character *nán* 难, there is the radical 又, which stands for ‘right hand’ and the radical 隹, which denotes a ‘small, winged bird’. Its meaning ‘difficult’ may have arisen from the difficulty of catching a winged bird.

In the case of *máfan* 麻烦, the character 麻 is a general name for ‘hemp’, it can also refer to the fiber of hemp for textiles. As an adjective, it can denote ‘rough’ or ‘coarse’ in its literal sense. 麻 includes 广 ‘house’ and 林 ‘the hemp skin that has been removed’. Thus, it originally

means 'to strip hemp at home'. The character 烦 includes 火, which means 'fever' and the meaning of 页 is related to the head. Its original meaning is 'to have headache and fever'. In accordance with this, it seems plausible that some bodily effects like fever and headache have been identified with their cause in the abstract sense, namely, with a difficult situation.

3.3 Non-idiomatic Collocations

In this section, I do a thorough investigation on the non-idiomatic VERB-TROUBLE constructions. First, I will focus on each language separately, comparing the various conceptualizations of the TROUBLE concept within the same language, while sometimes commenting on them from a contrastive perspective as well. At the end of Chapter 3, Section 3.5 will address the question of similarities and differences between the four languages under analysis.

3.3.1 German

First, we will look at the quantitative part of the analysis, in which the results of the collocation analysis will be presented. Here, we can find the most frequent non-idiomatic constructions that express a difficult situation and how people deal with them. After that, I will investigate the metaphorical background of the word combinations that occur frequently in the collocation lists. In the biggest archive of the German Reference Corpus (2019), which contains around 9.5 billion words, the word *Schwierigkeiten* occurs 385,000 times, while the word *Problem* has about 3,2 million tokens. In order to compare the same amount of tokens, I conduct the analysis with 350,000 tokens each. I use the plural form of the word *Schwierigkeit* because it has around ten times more citations in the corpus than its singular form. However, the citations include all possible forms of these lexemes. The following figure shows all the verbs that collocate frequently with the nouns *Schwierigkeiten* and/or *Problem* and can be associated with metaphorical meaning within this construction.

	<i>Schwierigkeiten</i>	<i>Problem</i>
haben 'have'	70222	49955
bringen 'bring'	7970	-
machen 'make'	5788	-
kommen 'come'	4962	-
geraten 'get'	4284	-
stecken 'get stuck'	3069	-

stoßen ‘push’	1922	-
kämpfen ‘fight’	1418	162
bewältigen ‘cope with’	1115	177
überwinden ‘overcome’	825	47
konfrontieren ‘confront’	490	679
beseitigen ‘eliminate’	348	491
begegnen ‘face’	256	136
drohen ‘threaten’	244	-
beheben ‘resolve’	232	545
lösen ‘solve’	190	23723
angehen ‘tackle’	-	856

Figure 5: Overview of VERB-TROUBLE collocation patterns in German

Now, we can sort the collocations found in the corpus according to the semantic contribution of the verb to the conceptualization of TROUBLE, while taking their frequency into consideration, too. Before looking at the verbs in Figure 5 one by one, it is relevant to mention that three verbs on the list (*beheben*, *beseitigen*, *bewältigen*) do not have their counterpart in a literal sense in the current language use, and although their metaphorical motivation is detectable, being dead metaphors, they are not subject of this analysis.

At the top of the collocation list, we can find the verb *haben* ‘to have’, which has by far the highest frequency with both nouns that denote a difficult situation.

- (1) Er wuss-te schon länger, dass sein Kollege finanzielle Schwierigkeit-en hat-te.
3SG know-PST.3SG already long-COMP that his colleague financial difficulty-PL have-PST.3SG
‘He has already known for a long time that his colleague has financial problems.’
- (2) Deutschland hat aber ein strukturelles Problem.
Germany have.3SG but ART structural problem
‘Germany has, however, a structural problem.’

In sentence (1) and (2), difficulties are conceptualized as possessions, that is, the ATTRIBUTES ARE POSSESSIONS conceptual metaphor is at work here. As already mentioned in Section 2.2, this submapping belongs to the Object Event-Structure Metaphor, in which attributes of an entity can appear as possessible objects. In the sentences above, *haben* expresses a static

situation. However, even in the case of the Object ESM, this does not necessarily have to be like this. Consider the following sentence:

- (3) Große Schwierigkeit-en brach-ten die Bauarbeiten für die Straßenbahn.
big difficulty-PL bring-PST.3PL the construction.work for ART tram
'The construction work brought difficulties for the tram.'

In (3), difficulties can be observed in a dynamic situation, in that they are possessions that are transferred to an entity (tram) expressed by a prepositional phrase. Here, the phrase that denotes difficulties is still in the object position, while the cause (construction work) takes the subject position. Similarly, the submapping CAUSATION IS TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS of the Object ESM underlies the next sentence, but in sentence (4), the entity that represents a cause is only accompanied by some difficulties, thus there seems to be a weaker link between cause and effect. On the linguistic level, this modification can be marked by the prepositional phrase *mit sich*.

- (4) Allerdings bring-en die Arbeitsbedingungen einige Schwierigkeit-en mit sich.
though bring-3PL the working.conditions some difficulty-PL with it.REFL
'Though working conditions bring some difficulties.'

Furthermore, in the metaphorical conceptualization of difficulties, the verb *bringen* can also be combined with the Location ESM, whereby a difficult situation is understood in terms of a location.

- (5) Ein Komiker bring-t euch Politiker jetzt in Schwierigkeit-en.
ART comedian bring-3SG you.PL.ACC politician.PL now in difficulty-PL
'A comedian brings you politicians into trouble.'

As opposed to (3) and (4), *Schwierigkeiten* in (5) cannot be possessed, since in this case, it is conceptualized as a bounded region in space. Here, we can see the application of the force that comes from the agentive subject (*Komiker*). Then, it exerts force on some entities making them move into a container. Like the English *in*, the German preposition *in* often plays an important role in the linguistic expression of the CONTAINER image schema, too. In the above-mentioned three constructions that involve the verb *bringen*, the constructions that make use of the Location ESM are by far the most frequent ones in the corpus data.

At this point, it is worth mentioning the verb *machen* as well, since it shows many conceptual similarities with *bringen* when collocating with the noun *Schwierigkeiten*.

- (6) Manche Idiom-e mach-en uns aber auch Schwierigkeit-en.

some idiom-PL make-3PL we.DAT but also difficulty-PL
'Some idioms give us trouble, too.'

In (6), *machen* has a similar schematic meaning like *bringen* in (3) to (5), that is, 'to cause something', but their source domain seems to be clearly different. While *bringen* expresses causation in terms of forced movement of an entity (Location ESM) or transfer of a possessible object (Object ESM), the verb *machen* has the more concrete meaning of 'to produce' or 'to manufacture', which is mapped onto the abstract concept of causation.

The next group of verbs that frequently collocates with the nouns *Schwierigkeiten* and *Problem* are connected to the notion of fighting against an enemy or some other opponent. The following verbs capture different facets of this source domain:

(7) Mit Schwierigkeiten kämpf-t die Branche bereits jetzt.
with difficulty-PL struggle-3SG ART sector already now
'The sector is already struggling with difficulties now.'

(8) Eine Partei, die Problem-e angeh-t wie Bildung, Migration, Korruption, ist weder rechts noch links - sondern in der Mitte.
ART party that problem-PL fight-3SG like education migration corruption be.3SG neither right-wing nor left-wing but in ART middle
'A party that fights against problems like education, migration, corruption is neither right-wing nor left-wing - but in the middle.'

In sentence (7), the verb *kämpfen* denotes the struggle itself, that is, this is a phase where an entity is currently having a fight with another entity. This situation maps onto the more abstract state of being in trouble. Just like in case of a fight, the outcome or the consequence of the state of being in trouble is still open. The use of the verb *angehen* in (8) seems to be related to the same or at least a very similar metaphorical pattern because one of its more concrete meanings also implies some fight against an opponent.

In contrast to (7) and (8), the difficult situation in sentence (9) is already over thanks to the efforts made by the one that experienced it. This change of state is expressed by using the verb *überwinden* 'to overcome', which evokes the source domain of a struggle including the defeat of the opponent as well.

(9) Jede Schwierigkeit, die sie überwinde-t, mach-t sie frei-er und selbstbewußt-er.
each difficulty that she overcome-3SG make-3SG she.ACC free-COMP and self-confident-COMP
'Each difficulty that she overcomes makes her freer and more self-confident.'

Similar to sentences (7) to (9), the semantics of the verb *drohen* 'to threaten' in (10) also implies some hostility, although not necessarily in a physical way. Thus, in the context of the target

domain, the use of *drohen* indicates that there are signs that something dangerous or unpleasant may happen to someone.

- (10) In Frankreich droh-en Schwierigkeit-en bei der Einführung des Euro-Bargeldes.
in France threaten-3PL difficulty-PL at ART introduction ART euro cash
'Problems are threatening at the introduction of the euro cash in France.'

Consequently, the difficulties mentioned in (10) are only hypothesized, that is, it has not come to an encounter with problems yet.

The verb *lösen* in (11) collocates particularly frequently with the noun *Problem*, and although on a highly schematic level, it seems to have some metaphorical motivation as well. Its original meaning is 'to untie' or 'to free' something. In combination with *Problem*, *lösen* has the meaning of solving something difficult, so that the problem itself ceases to exist.

- (11) Dieses Problem versuch-en wir zu lösen.
this problem try-1PL we PRT solve
'We try to solve this problem.'

Although *lösen* has some literal meanings like the one mentioned above, thanks to the somewhat weak metaphorical link to the abstract meaning, native speakers of German are most likely unaware of it. That is, this metaphor may not have any psychological reality in today's language.

The next two verbs have a relatively high amount of citations with both lexemes denoting a difficult situation. What they have in common semantically is that in their literal sense they indicate an encounter between two entities that have the goal of solving something or coping with it. As for the differences, the verb *begegnen* is used when meeting someone unexpectedly, while in the case of *konfrontieren*, this implication does not seem to be present.

- (12) Allen Schwierigkeit-en begegne-t sie mit einem Lächeln.
all.DAT difficulty-PL.DAT encounter-3SG she with ART smile
'She encounters all the difficulties with a smile.'

- (13) Das ist kein einfaches Jahr für Hamilton, der immer häufig-er mit Schwierigkeit-en konfrontiert ist.
that be.3SG NEG easy year for Hamilton, PRON.REL more.and.more frequent-COMP with difficulty-PL confront.PP AUX
'It is not an easy year for Hamilton who faces difficulties more and more frequently.'

In (12), the metaphorical sense of *begegnen* still indicates that the encounter is not expected, but in the collocation with *Schwierigkeiten*, it also implies a certain reaction that is directed towards an unfavorable situation, in that a person counteracts this state or tendency. The way

of the reaction can be expressed by a prepositional phrase (*mit einem Lächeln*). In (13), the verb *konfrontieren* has a comparable meaning, that is, it implies the necessity to cope with the difficult situation, but the ways of solving it remain implicit.

The unexpected nature of getting into a troublesome situation can be observed in the construction of *auf Schwierigkeiten stoßen* ‘to encounter difficulties’, too. In the case of *stoßen* (14), there seems to be a metaphorical link between some fast movements of pushing or bumping into something or someone and meeting someone unexpectedly. On the next level of metaphoricity, meeting someone unexpectedly can give rise to the more abstract event of encountering some state or situation in an unexpected way.

- (14) Ansonsten könnte das Projekt auf politische Schwierigkeiten stoßen.
Otherwise can.CONJ.3SG ART project on political difficulty-PL bump.INF
‘Otherwise, the project could meet with political difficulties.’

Regarding the linguistic level of the construction in (14), the prepositional phrase with the preposition *auf* seems to be obligatory when the verb *stoßen* is used in the context of an unexpected encounter with someone or something metaphorically.

At the end of the evaluation of the most frequent citations in the collocation list, I will now turn to the VERB-TROUBLE constructions that make use of the Location ESM to express some difficult situations from a particular perspective. The first and most frequent one among them is the verb *kommen* ‘to come’. On the one hand, in combination with the lexeme *Schwierigkeiten*, it can express the event of getting into trouble in terms of moving towards a location. Combined with the prepositional phrase and the preposition *in* as the head of the phrase, trouble is conceptualized as a container that is difficult to leave for the entity that gets into it.

- (15) In der 10. Minute kam Italien-s Abwehr erstmals in Schwierigkeiten
in ART 10. Minute come.PST.3SG Italy-POSS defense for.first.time in difficulty-PL
‘In the 10th minute, Italy’s defense got into trouble for the first time.’

On the other hand, *kommen* can be linked with the preposition (*her-*)*aus* ‘out of’, and the collocation of the prepositional verb and the noun *Schwierigkeiten* can give rise to a metaphor that stands for the event of getting out of trouble.

- (16) Wie Europa aus den selbstgeschaffenen Schwierigkeit-en heraus-komm-t, wird die
Zeit zeigen.
how Europe out ART self-made difficulty-PL out-come-3SG AUX ART time show.INF
‘Time will show how Europe will come out of its self-made trouble.’

Similar to *in*, the preposition *aus* evokes the CONTAINER image schema as well. Together with the PATH schema, they contribute to the conceptualization of change of state in terms of spatial movement. In addition to this, it is important to note that although the verb *kommen* implies self-propelled motion in its literal sense, in the metaphorical sense introduced here, it seems that the change of state does not happen according to the intentions of the entity that has the role of the trajector.

The verb *geraten* ‘to get to somewhere’, which also frequently collocates with the noun *Schwierigkeiten*, differs from *kommen*, in that it can only be used for the change of getting into trouble, and not for getting out of it.

- (17) Viele Banken gerieten in Schwierigkeit-en und muss-ten staatlich gestützt werden.
many bank-PL get.to.PST.3PL in difficulty-PL and must-PST.3PL state sponsor.PP AUX
‘Many banks got into trouble and had to be sponsored by the state.’

Apart from that, this verb has a less abstract meaning, as for its literal sense. It means ‘to get to some location unintentionally or accidentally’. Moreover, it also implies that in this way, the entity may have certain disadvantages or damage. Corresponding to the semantic contribution of the verb, it seems understandable why it cannot be used as a source domain for getting out of an unfavorable situation.

The last collocate that I discuss in this section is the verb *stecken* ‘to be (stuck) in a certain state’. Similar to the metaphorical sense in (18), its primary meaning also presupposes the presence of a container-like entity: ‘to put something to a certain location through some opening’. However, the direct metaphorical link can be found between two intransitive uses of the verb. The concrete meaning of the intransitive *stecken* ‘to be stuck in a location’ is thus much closer to the metaphorical meaning under discussion.

- (18) Alle wussten, dass Borussia in Schwierigkeit-en steck-t.
everyone know.PST.3PL that Borussia in difficulty-PL be.stuck-3SG
‘Everyone knew that Borussia was in trouble.’

In contrast to *kommen* and *geraten*, the intransitive verb *stecken* does not express any motion, and consequently, no action, no change of state can be observed. Instead, it underlines the static nature of being in a certain state like trouble. Even without any motion in this event, the submapping STATES ARE LOCATIONS of the Location ESM is still at work here. The preposition *in* evokes the CONTAINER image schema, while the semantics of the verb *stecken* – although probably not as directly as in the case of the English verb *to stick* – emphasizes the difficult nature of getting out of a given situation.

3.3.2 English

In Figure 6, we can look at the verbs that collocate with the nouns *difficulty* (17,478 citations) and/or *trouble* (49,140 citations). As in the case of German, only those verbs are taken into consideration that have a metaphorical dimension in combination with the above-mentioned nouns.

	<i>trouble</i>	<i>difficulty</i>
to have	17358	6446
to get	7091	547
to go	2159	306
to keep	892	-
to take	708	-
to stay	551	-
to give	665	162
to face	129	212
to meet	123	59
to run (into)	642	67
to overcome	-	71
to put	230	58
to bring	212	-
to save	136	-
to stir up	91	-
to land	81	-
to pull	64	-

Figure 6: Overview of VERB-TROUBLE collocation patterns in English

Looking at the collocation list in English, there is again a high frequency of word combinations that make use of either the Location or the Object Event Structure Metaphor. However, the lexemes used in these collocations enable ways of conceptualizing difficult situations that are somewhat different from the ones seen in German, this is why it is worth presenting them here in more detail.

Just like in German, frequently used nouns denoting difficult situations in English have a highly schematic verb meaning possession as their most frequent collocate verb. Here, it is the verb *to have*, which is a cognate word of German *haben*. Consider the examples below:

(19) This Congress has shown that it has trouble doing its even basic functions of funding the government.

(20) Other research has shown that people have difficulty accurately perceiving social norms.

In the sentences (19) and (20), both English lexemes denoting difficulties can be combined with the verb *to have*, whereby a difficult matter is conceptualized in terms of a possession. That is, like in the case of German *haben* in (1) and (2), the Object ESM is in use. The only difference might be the fact that the plural form of the nouns *trouble* and *difficulty* seems to be used far less frequently than the plural form of *Schwierigkeit* in German. Nevertheless, it does not seem to play a relevant role on the conceptual level here.

The following two verbs also involve the Object ESM, but they do so in clearly different ways. The literal sense of the verbs *to take* (21) and *to bring* (22) have much in common semantically, in that they indicate the carrying of something to another location, but their inherent deictic meaning component is the opposite.

(21) They don't take the trouble to make a garden.

(22) The first storms of autumn also brought new trouble today to New Jersey and other states.

Take usually denotes a movement away from the speaker, while *to bring* suggests movement towards the speaker. In their metaphorical sense in combination with *trouble* below, this deictic opposition still has some effect, since *to take* is used when the action causing difficulties is carried out by the entity that experiences it. As for *to bring*, it is usually some external source that gives rise to a difficult situation. Furthermore, the construction *to take the trouble* in (21) does not have the meaning of 'having difficulties' but it indicates that the subject feels reluctant to do something even if the action is not necessarily a difficult one. Interestingly, this meaning of *trouble* does not occur with its synonyms in the other languages under analysis. In the case of *to bring* in (22), the verb could easily be replaced by the non-metaphorical verb *to cause* because just like its cognate word *bringen* in German, *to bring* simply denotes causation thanks to the submapping CAUSATION IS TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS of the Object ESM. Moreover, there is another frequently used way of conceptualizing trouble by using the verb *to bring*, which is again identical with the use of German *bringen* introduced in (5).

In (23), the first clause illustrates the Object ESM, while the second clause is the one in which trouble is understood in terms of a location thanks to the use of the preposition *in*.

(23) Although walking brings him relief, it has also brought him into trouble with the law.

The last example for the Object ESM is connected to the collocate *to give*. Having a metaphorical extension, its literal meaning ‘to offer something to someone’ or ‘to provide someone with something’ has undoubtedly something to do with the metaphorical meaning in (24). However, the abstract meaning of *give* does not imply anymore that before the change of state, the subject was not experiencing this state. Thus, just like in the case of *to bring* in (22), the target domain can simply be described with the notion of causation.

(24) I know that there was one person that gave him a lot of trouble all the time, constantly, made him miserable.

Now, we turn to the linguistic examples of the metaphor that shows the biggest lexical variation among the most frequent collocates on the list. Their primary sense is closely related to the spatial domain, that is, the following examples will illustrate the Location ESM. The collocate verb that has the most schematic meaning and the highest frequency as well is the verb *to get*.

(25) I'm going to get in a lot of trouble.

(26) I try not to get myself into too much trouble.

Regarding the primary literal sense of the verb *to get*, which is ‘to obtain something’, it seems too far semantically to be able to establish a metaphorical link with the meanings in (25) and (26). In contrast to its antonym *to give*, the verb *to get* most likely has a more complex history of metaphorization. Nevertheless, there must be a metaphorical path between the meaning of getting somewhere as ‘reaching or arriving at a particular place’ and the abstract meaning of ‘reaching a particular state or condition’ as in (25) and (26). In grammatical terms, *to get* in (25) is intransitive, while in (26), it is transitive. Consequently, the intransitive construction (25) marks uncontrolled motion, whereas the transitive one suggests forced movement. The semantic difference between the two constructions may be found in the degree of influence on the events that the entity experiencing trouble is able to exert, in that the affected entity in (26) seems to have influence on whether it will experience trouble or not. To sum up, the submapping CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS underlies both (25) and (26), while in (26), the presence of influence is motivated by the metaphor CAUSATION IS FORCED MOVEMENT.

Thanks to its schematic meaning, *to get* can also be used when someone stops having trouble. Similar to the event in (25) and (26), *to get* can be transitive or intransitive. Look at the following example:

(27) Your father gets you out of trouble again.

(28) I wanted to get out of trouble.

When the prepositions *in*, *into* or *out* are the ones in use in expressing difficulties, the difficult situation is conceptualized in terms of a container, thus the CONTAINER image schema is at work. This is the most frequent use of the Location ESM when it comes to trouble, but it can also appear as a part or the end of a path that has to be covered. In this way, the PATH image schema can also function without combining it with the CONTAINER schema. This is illustrated by the following two examples.

(29) He didn't have to go to any extra trouble for her.

(30) It seems odd to go through so much trouble.

In (29), the combination of the verb *go* and the preposition *to* indicates that the affected entity moves towards some goal that represents the effect. This way, the event of experiencing trouble is expressed in terms of reaching a certain location in space. In (30), on the other hand, the use of *go* and the preposition *through* suggests movement along a path on which the entity is affected by a difficult situation. Thus, the entity is affected by difficulties either at the end of the path (29) or along the path (30).

The verb *run* has similar semantics like *go* in their primary sense, but an entity that is running must have a relatively high speed. This particular detail may play a crucial role in the metaphorical use of *run* in the phrasal verb *run into* because the affected entity begins to experience problems or difficulties unexpectedly. The emphasis on the unexpected nature of a certain difficulty can also be observed in the meaning 'to meet someone unexpectedly'. I assume that the use of *run into* in (31) can be the direct metaphorical extension of the latter, which has a somewhat less abstract meaning.

(31) If any of us run into economic trouble, what are we going to do?

(32) You can't run away from trouble.

In the case of *run away* in (32), the abstract meaning of avoiding something unpleasant is understood in terms of moving away from an effect, here, from a troublesome situation.

After some examples implying self-propelled motion, we now turn to some instances for forced movement.

(33) That will put him in trouble with a lot of the Tea Party Republicans.

(34) They will pull you out of trouble when that trouble comes.

With its highly schematic literal meaning 'to move something into a place', the use of the verb *put* in combination with *trouble* shows much similarity with the construction involving *bring*

in (23). As for (34), the verb *pull* has the literal meaning of ‘holding something firmly and using force in order to move it towards the one who carries it out’. That is, it has a more complex meaning, and this seems to be the reason why it cannot be used to express some action at the starting point of experiencing trouble, but rather in relation to the ways how to stop having a difficult situation.

Among all the verbs in the collocation list, the following two verbs are somewhat particular because in contrast to the other verbs described in this section, *keep* (35) and *stay* (36) have a rather static meaning, the first one being transitive and the second one being intransitive. Compare the sentences below.

(35) We need things to do to keep us out of trouble.

(36) The kids who stay out of trouble, graduate and find success at a job or in college.

Another common feature is that in the VERB-TROUBLE construction both verbs make use of the Location ESM. Here, the preposition *out* is used to indicate that the entity that is usually affected by trouble conceptualized as a container remains outside of and therefore unaffected by the difficult situation.

The transitive verb *land* also collocates with the noun *trouble* frequently. As a phrasal verb together with the preposition *in*, it inherently means ‘to cause someone to be in a difficult situation’. That is, unlike *get* or *bring*, this verb has a more restricted use semantically. Take the following sentence for example:

(37) Swearing in one town could land you in trouble with the police.

Looking at the literal meanings of the verb *land*, they imply some kind of arriving on the ground, by ship or by airplane. This spatial meaning must have played a role in the conventionalization of the phrasal verb used in (37). Because of the negative connotation of the state that is connected to its meaning, I assume that this may have something to do with the rather positive connotation of being in motion (before landing) and the rather negative connotation of being static (after landing).

The last collocation that I discuss in this section contains the phrasal verb *stir up*. This looks like a less schematic way of conceptualizing some events involving difficulties. Its literal meaning is ‘to cause a substance such as soil or dust to move and rise up’. This kind of causation is used metaphorically for situations in which someone causes an unpleasant emotion or problem to begin or grow. The next sentence presents this abstract use in combination with the noun *trouble*.

(38) Unfortunately, some guys there just want to stir up trouble.

The fact that the verb *stir up* usually occurs together with a negative mood or situation indicates that the metaphorization originates from those concrete events that are accompanied by some negative consequences for the affected entity. Probable candidates can be the action of stirring up dust in the air or mud in the water. By stirring up these substances, the air or the water gets significantly affected by these substances in a negative way, at least regarding the needs of living creatures.

3.3.3 Hungarian

In the following overview, there are the most frequent collocates of the Hungarian nouns *baj* (242,275 citations) and *nehézség* (58,665 citations). These two nouns refer to some kind of difficult situation, while the verb collocates listed on the left express some action related to this state by making use of a conceptual metaphor. The verbs are listed in order of frequency below.

	<i>baj</i>	<i>nehézség</i>
kerül ‘to get (into)’	6332	-
jut ‘to get (into)’	5603	-
ér ‘to reach’	3789	-
megküzd ‘to fight’	-	3635
meggyúlik ‘to get a lot’	2061	-
ütközik ‘to crash’	-	1822
támad ‘to spring up’	-	443
kever ‘to mix’	373	187
sodor ‘to twist’	363	-
kihúz ‘to pull out’	357	191
orvosol ‘to cure’	334	-
áthidal ‘to span’	-	214
megold ‘to solve’	-	802
átsegít ‘to help through’	195	-
sújt ‘to strike’	-	101
kilábal ‘to walk out’	76	-

Figure 7: Overview of VERB-TROUBLE collocation patterns in Hungarian

Similar to the collocation lists of German and English, Hungarian also has a few verbs on the top of the list with a highly schematic meaning. First, the verb *kerül* is comparable with *get* in (25) or *geraten* in (17) due to its simple meaning of ‘starting to experience a certain state’. However, the literal meaning of this verb ‘to arrive at a particular place’ also includes that it can only happen in an intentional way. Look at the following example.

- (39) A végé-n még mindketten bajba kerül-ünk.
 ART end-SUPE even both trouble-ILL get-1PL
 ‘At the end, we may both get in trouble.’

As for *kerül* in (39), it does not suggest any intentionality in its metaphorical sense, that is, only the submappings CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS and STATES ARE LOCATIONS of the Location ESM play an important role here. Instead of prepositions, Hungarian makes use of the illative case

here, which prototypically marks movement into a container-like entity.⁴ The CONTAINER and the PATH image schemas are thus also at work here. In contrast to *get*, this verb can only be intransitive, at least in its abstract meaning.

The verb *jut* in (40) has almost the same meaning as *kerül* in (39), but it has an additional semantic feature because it always indicates some change of state into something negative.

(40) Nem tud-hat-játok, mikor jut-tok baj-ba.
NEG know-CAP-2PL when get-2PL trouble-ILL
'You cannot know, when you will get into trouble.'

Although the next verb *ér* in (41) still has a highly schematic meaning, it makes use of a metaphor different from the one in the first two sentences. Firstly, it is a transitive verb meaning 'to bump into, hit or touch something during some motion'. Secondly, in its metaphorical sense, it is always the effect itself that moves towards the affected entity.

(41) Sok nagy baj ér-t engem is.
many big trouble reach-PST.3SG me too
'I also had a lot of big trouble.'

Probably thanks to these semantic details, the event of 'starting to experience some difficult situation' is also accompanied by unexpectedness. Regarding its syntax, the verb *ér* can only be transitive, while the other schematic verbs are always intransitive.

In combination with the noun *nehézség*, there is another verb on the list that makes use of a source domain that is very similar to the one used in the case of *ér* in (41). In its literal meaning, the verb *sújt* denotes an action of 'hitting or throwing with some heavy object and with strong drive'.

(42) Má-ra a rendszer-váltó társadalmá-k minden nehézség-e sújt-ja őket.
today-SUBL ART system-changing society-PL every difficulty-POSS strike-3SG them
'By today, they are hit by all the difficulties of a system-changing society.'

As a consequence of the intense movement of a heavy object in its literal meaning, the abstract meaning of *sújt* also implies the severe nature of the difficulty that affects the entity.

In the sentences (41) and (42), we can note that the affected entity remains completely passive against an unfavorable state. In sentence (43), however, the difficult situation is conceptualized in terms of an opponent that has to be defeated.

⁴ While Hungarian has a grammatical case called illative, the English preposition *in* can also be considered as illative semantically.

- (43) Számos bürokratikus nehézség-gel kell megküzden-ünk.
many bureaucratic difficulty-INSTR have.to fight-1PL
'We have to struggle with many bureaucratic difficulties.'

This seems to be the identical metaphor with the German construction *mit Schwierigkeiten kämpfen* in (7). In (43), the verb *megküzd* already includes the prefix *meg-* that indicates the perfectivity of an action. This way, not the process of the action itself but its result of getting rid of the difficulties in question is emphasized. The verb *megküzd* is the most frequent abstract collocate verb of the noun *nehézség*, thus this conceptual metaphor seems to play an important role in the conceptualization of handling difficult situations in Hungarian.

Similar to *kerül* in (39) and *jut* in (40), the verb *meggyűlik* is also an intransitive verb, but the trajector, that is, the moving entity is not the experiencer but the possession itself. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor that underlies this construction is the Object ESM. The following sentence is an example for its metaphorical use.

- (44) Olykor azonban a hatóság-ok-kal is meggyűl-ik a baj-a.
sometimes but ART authority-PL-INSTR also gather-3SG ART trouble-POSS.3SG
'But sometimes, he has some trouble with the authorities, too.'

In the source domain, *meggyűlik* means 'to build up' in the sense that some substance gradually becomes more and bigger. This can also be understood according to the Object ESM, in that we can observe the movement of possessions, since more and more is added to it. In the target domain in (44), *meggyűlik* does not necessarily imply that the entity is affected by many different difficulties, but it emphasizes some trouble that is accompanied by the interaction with the authorities.

In (46), the construction is somewhat similar to (44), since it is an intransitive construction and the effect is in subject position. The literal meaning of *támad* is 'to come into being unexpectedly, within short time'.

- (45) Hirtelen, zivatar támad.
suddenly thunderstorm come.into.being.3SG
'Suddenly, a thunderstorm is coming.'

- (46) Fél a házmester, hogy baj-unk támad a zsarú-k-kal.
be.afraid.3SG ART caretaker that trouble-POSS.1PL come.into.being.3SG ART cop-PL-INSTR
'The caretaker is afraid that we will get in trouble with the cops.'

Looking at its literal sense in (45), we can see that the verb *támad* can be used in connection with natural phenomena such as wind or thunderstorm, which can usually come unexpectedly

for the affected entity. In (46), it is again the feature of unexpectedness and short duration, which maps onto the event of starting to have trouble.

The following constructions represent various examples for the use of the Location ESM. The first one is the intransitive verb *ütközik*, which has the meaning of crashing into something during some fast movement. The PATH image schema thus maps onto the change of state, and the difficult situation is conceptualized in terms of an impediment to movement.

- (47) A szándék nemes, a megvalósítás azonban bizonyára nehézség-ek-be ütközik majd.
ART intention noble ART realization but probably difficulty-PL-ILL crash.3SG then
'The intention is noble, the realization will probably cause some difficulties.'

The fast movement and the usual consequences of crashing into something, that is, some damage of the entities hitting each other maps onto the circumstances of experiencing trouble in the target domain. As a consequence, the change of state is accompanied by some negative effects on the affected entity. Thus, like in the case of *jut* in (40), the meaning of the verb itself links its usage to some unfavorable situation.

In combination with the noun *baj*, the verb *kever* can appear in different constructions. The verb *kever* has at least two literal senses in present day language use that can be relevant being source domains for the metaphorical meaning of getting into trouble. The first literal sense is comparable to the meaning of the English verb *stir*, that is, 'to move a substance around in some container'. The other meaning is 'to combine at least two substances'. Although these two meanings are relatively close to each other, it seems plausible to differentiate them because the verb has more than one metaphorical meaning as well. Look at two possible ways of conceptualizing trouble in the following sentences:

- (48) Maga állandóan csak kever-i a baj-t.
you.FORM constantly only stir-3SG ART trouble-ACC
'You are constantly stirring up trouble.'

- (49) Most lát-om, milyen baj-ba kever-t-em magam.
now see-1SG what.kind.of trouble-ILL mix-PST-1SG me
'Now I see, how big the trouble was that I got into.'

In (48), it seems that the first literal meaning of *kever* serves as the source domain to express causation. Here, the forced movement of some substance (in a container) maps onto the abstract notion of causing a difficult situation. In this case, there is only one substance, thus the meaning of mixing is not possible. This metaphor looks particularly similar to the one that involves the verb *stir up* in (38) in English. In (49) on the other hand, the literal meaning of mixing seems

to be a plausible candidate for being a source domain, since the affected entity gets himself “mixed” into the effect, that is, a difficult situation. Regarding the metaphorization of trouble in (48) and (49), we can also observe considerable differences. In (48), trouble is conceptualized as an object that is controlled by the affected entity in a certain way, whereas in (49), trouble is understood as a substance that gets inseparable from the entity by combining them. Unlike in (48), the construction in (49) suggests that after the difficulties start, the entity does not have control over the situation anymore. This feature is also connected to the CONTAINER image schema, which is expressed by the use of the illative case.

In the next sentence, we can still see an example for *kever*, though in a different form. The verb *keveredik* is a derivative form of *kever* that is formed by using the suffix *-edik*. This derivational suffix is often used to express an action that does not have an explicit agent. It can be the case if the agent is unknown, or if we want to omit the agent in order to focus on the event itself.

- (50) Akárhol megjelen-nek, mindjárt baj-ba kevered-nek.
anywhere appear-3PL straightway trouble-ILL get.mixed-3PL
‘No matter where they appear, they get into trouble right away.’

In (50), it is most likely the subject that causes the event, in contrast to (49), however, the subject’s responsibility is somewhat weakened or not emphasized due to this construction.

The verb *sodor* shows many similarities to *kever* because its literal meaning also implies a circular movement. What makes the semantics of *sodor* special is that it indicates some particularly strong force often exerted by wind or flowing water like a river that carries away the entities that cannot resist.

- (51) Az ország-ot a hatalm-on lévő politikus-ok sodor-ták baj-ba.
ART country-ACC ART power-SUPE being politician-PL drift-PST.3PL trouble-ILL
‘It was the politicians in power who got the country into trouble.’

The start of a difficult situation in (51) is thus conceptualized in terms of a very strong, usually natural phenomenon, and as a consequence, the affected entity has little or no control over the situation here. Again, the CONTAINER image schema contributes significantly to the meaning of the construction.

The following two collocate verbs also have an adverbial phrase that evokes a spatial source domain, but these verbs express the change of state in terms of getting out of trouble. In (52), the transitive verb *kihúz* ‘to pull out’ always presupposes an entity that is not affected by the unfavorable state in question. This agentive entity causes that the affected entity does not experience trouble anymore. The use of the elative case with the effect indicates that the state

of trouble is understood in terms of a CONTAINER that needs to be left in order to change the current state.

- (52) A német gazdaság ki-húz bennünket a baj-ból.
ART German economy out-pull.3SG us ART trouble-ELA
'The German economy will pull us out of trouble.'

The next sentence also makes use of the Location ESM and expresses the event of getting rid of some trouble as well, but the way of changing the state is clearly different. Instead of forced movement of pulling the affected entity out of a container, the change happens through self-propelled motion. Look at the following example.

- (53) Kérdéses, hogyan fog az eurózóna ki-lábal-ni a baj-ok-ból.
questionable how AUX ART eurozone out-walk-INF ART trouble-PL-ELA
'It is questionable how the eurozone will get out of trouble.'

In its literal sense, the verb *kilábal* means 'to get out of something, mostly some shallow stretch of water or some wetland'. As a consequence, its metaphorical sense implies that the affected entity has to make considerable efforts to stop experiencing difficulties. As for the morphology of the word *kilábal*, it is a derivation from the noun *láb* 'foot'.

Like *kihúz* and *kilábal*, the next two collocates also involve some ways out of a difficult situation. Other than the last two verbs that are combined with the prefix *ki-* 'out', in the case of *áthidal* and *átsegít*, we can see the prefix *át-* in use, which means movement through something. Because of this change, the CONTAINER image schema does not seem to be at work here. Instead, we have a certain impediment that is located along a PATH. First, consider the following example:

- (54) A két vállalat úgy határoz-ott, hogy a nehézség-ek-et közösen fog-ják át-hidal-ni.
ART two company so decide-PST.3SG that ART difficulty-PL-ACC together AUX-3PL
through-bridge-INF
'The two companies decided to solve the difficulties together.'

The verb *áthidal* is derived from the noun *híd* 'bridge' and has the abstract meaning of finding a solution for some difficulties by having some smart and creative idea. This is thus the metaphorical extension of the literal meaning of 'building a bridge above a river, a valley or a rift'. Looking at the semantics of the verb, it seems evident that by depicting the need to build a bridge in order to continue the journey, the existence of some difficulty as a premise is part of its meaning.

In its literal sense, the verb *átsegít* means ‘to help someone to get through something to a different location’. This other place can be the other side of the road, or from one means of transport to another. Here is an example for its metaphorical use:

- (55) A szakértelem és a bátorság átsegít-ette őket a baj-on.
ART expertise and ART bravery through-help-PST.3SG them ART trouble-SUPE
‘Their expertise and bravery helped them in trouble.’

In (55), the abstract sense of *átsegít* implies some kind of support from someone in order to go through some difficulties. Here, the trouble is conceptualized in terms of an impediment or blockage to motion along a path.

The last verb presented in this section is *orvosol*, a verb derived from the noun *orvos* ‘doctor’. Its literal sense is ‘to cure some disease’, which maps onto the event of solving some difficulties. For the metaphorical meaning, consider the following example:

- (56) Ki vagyok én, hogy egyénileg orvosol-jam a világ baj-ai-t?
who be.1SG I that individually cure-ADH.1SG ART world trouble-POSS-ACC
‘Who am I to solve the world’s problems individually?’

In the case of *orvosol*, it is important to note that its literal meaning is not really in use anymore, it can almost only be read in literary language. Nevertheless, I assume that it cannot be considered as a dead metaphor (yet).

3.3.4 Chinese

In the BCC Corpus, the nouns *kùnnan* (6527 citations) and *máfan* (7179 citations) have a similar frequency, which facilitates their comparison with each other in a quantitative way. As for their common collocate verbs listed in Figure 8, almost all of them have a comparable frequency of co-occurrence with the two nouns under investigation. At the same time, both nouns have collocates that are frequently used with one of the nouns, while they are not at all compatible with the other one. In what follows, I will present some relevant features of the conceptual metaphors that the collocations in Figure 8 involve, based on some examples extracted from the corpus.

	困难 kunnan	麻烦 mafan
遇到 yudao 'encounter'	173	225
碰到 pengdao 'run into'	29	38
遭遇 zaoyu 'encounter'	19	-
面临 mianlin 'confront, face'	56	-
面对 miandui 'face, confront'	15	-
克服 kefu 'surmount, conquer'	152	-
战胜 zhansheng 'defeat, overcome'	17	-
渡过 duguo 'pass, get through'	9	-
陷入 xianru 'fall into'	9	
增加 zengjia 'increase, raise, add'	27	18
添 tian 'add, increase'	-	169
减少 jianshao 'reduce, lessen'	-	4
带来 dailai 'bring'	34	152
造成 zaocheng 'create, cause'	25	48
产生 chansheng 'bring about'	12	8
摆脱 baituo 'get rid of'	12	17
省 sheng 'economize, save'	-	126

Figure 8: Overview of VERB-TROUBLE collocation patterns in Chinese

The collocations can be sorted according to the semantic contribution of the verb that evokes the source domain of the conceptual metaphor. The first five verbs on the list all involve a spatial source domain, but they do so in different ways. In case of the first three collocate verbs, the start of experiencing trouble or difficulties is conceptualized in terms of an encounter, in that there is a person who meets someone unexpectedly. As we can see in the following examples, the verbs evoking this source domain highlight the experiential viewpoint of unexpectedness in somewhat different ways.

(57) 要是没有他的帮忙，我一定会遇到很多困难。

Yàoshi méi yǒu tā de bāngmáng, wǒ yīdìng huì yùdào hěn duō kùnnan
 if NEG have he MOD help I surely AUX encounter very much trouble
 'If I don't have his help, I will surely have a lot of trouble.'

(58) 你在这里也会碰到 这种麻烦。

Nǐ zài zhèlǐ yě huì pèngdào zhè zhǒng máfan
you PREP here also AUX encounter this kind trouble
'You will also have this kind of trouble here.'

The construction *yùdào kùnnan* in (57) represents the most schematic mapping, since it only implies the meaning of 'meeting someone unexpectedly'. In a somewhat similar but certainly less schematic way, *pèngdào* in (58) maps a more detailed motion of 'bumping against an object' on the target domain evoking a difficult situation. Because of these semantic features, this seems to be a parallel way of conceptualization with the German verb *stoßen* in (14) and the Hungarian verb *ütközik* in (47).

(59) 他遭遇了同样的巨大困难。

Tā zāoyù le tóngyàng de jùdà kùnnan
he encounter PRT same MOD great difficulty
'He had the same great difficulty.'

As for the semantics of the verb *zāoyù* in (59), it implies more features of the highly schematic domain of ENCOUNTER by limiting it to encounters involving suffering, disaster or misfortune for the trajector, i.e. for the affected entity that experiences trouble. All three constructions make use of the Location ESM because getting into contact with an entity through an encounter presupposes a change of state in terms of change of location. In the sentences (57)–(59), it is made clear in an implicit way that the trajectors move along a path, and while reaching their destinations, they encounter some impediments that stand for difficult situations.

As already mentioned, the following two verbs also indicate some kind of spatiality when talking about difficulties, but it happens in a more static way. Consider the following two sentences:

(60) 她现在面临着这样无法解决的困难。

Tā xiànzài miànlín zhe zhè-yàng wúfǎ jiějué de kùnnan
she now face PRT this-kind unable solve MOD trouble
'She is now facing such unsolvable difficulties.'

(61) 我们都愿意拉着手面对 所遇到的一切困难。

wǒmen dōu yuànyì lā zhe shǒu miànduì suǒ yùdào de yīqiè kùnnan
we all be.willing pull PRT hand face all encounter MOD CL trouble
'We are all willing to hold hands to face all the difficulties we have encountered.'

When using the verbs *miànlín* (60) and *miànduì* (61), a body part is associated with perception being a relevant part of the body in this matter. This can be seen as the first level of the

metaphorical mapping. On the next level, it is clearly a spatial mapping, in that the side or the part of our body responsible for perception has to be opposite to the entity being perceived, and thus function as a landmark. Just like in the case of the semantic link between the noun *face* and the verb *to face* in English, the noun *miàn* means ‘face’ as the part of our head in its literal sense. This way, the instantiations of the constructions *miànlín kùnnán* and *miànduì kùnnán* are motivated by a submapping of the metaphor MIND IS BODY.

In the constructions of the next group, the verbs *kèfú* and *zhànshèng* evoke the source domain of FIGHT, whereby difficulties evoked by *kùnnán* are understood in terms of an enemy that has to be defeated.

(62) 我们有决心也有力量来战胜目前的困难。

Wǒmen yǒu juéxīn yě yǒu lìliàng lái zhànshèng mùqián de kùnnán
we have determination also have strength PRT overcome current MOD difficulties
'We have the determination and the strength to overcome the current difficulties.'

(63) 她克服了不是人力所能克服的困难。

Tā kèfú liǎo bùshì rénlì suǒ néng kèfú de kùnnán
she overcome able NEG manpower all can overcome MOD difficulties
'She overcomes the difficulties that manpower cannot overcome.'

At this point, it is important to note that the expressions including *kèfú* cannot be treated synchronically as a metaphor to the same extent like *zhànshèng* because in today's Chinese, *kèfú* itself is not used in a literal way like **kèfú dírén* 'to overcome an enemy' but *zhànshèng* in *zhànshèng dírén* is completely grammatical. However, due to the compounding of the two verbs *kè* and *fú*, semantic traits of both verbs are present in the compounded verb *kèfú*.

From a quantitative point of view, the next verb does not play an important role as a collocate with the noun *kùnnán*, but I will present an example of it here because it represents a typical metaphorization pattern that is in accordance with the Location ESM. Compared to the verbs used in (57), (58) and (59) that only evoke a consequence of movement, namely an encounter, *dùguò* stands for the movement itself meaning 'to get through, to pass'.

(64) 在对马赛의长期围攻中度过 了极大的困难。

Zài duì mǎsài de cháng-qī wéigōng zhōng dùguò le jí dà de kùnnán
PREP PREP Marseille MOD long-period siege POST pass PRT great MOD trouble
'I have had great difficulties in the long-lasting siege of Marseille.'

In the next sentence, the verb *xiànrù* also indicates that the difficult situation is conceptualized in terms of a location. Moreover, the use of this verb evokes the CONTAINER image schema, too. In the case of *xiànrù*, we have a resultative compound verb (cf. Li and Thompson 1981), in

which the CONTAINER schema is evoked by the constituent *rù* meaning 'to enter'. Now look at the following example.

- (65) 你若是同他结了婚，肯定会陷入 重重困难，感到百般失望。
Nǐ ruòshì tóng tā jié le hūn, kěndìng huì xiàn-rù chóngchóng kùnnán, gǎndào bǎibān shīwàng
you if PREP he tie PRT marriage surely AUX fall-enter severe trouble feel
in.every.possible.way disappointed
'If you get married to him, you will definitely fall into difficulties and feel disappointed.'

Surprisingly, compared to the frequency and the types of collocations in the other three languages, this image schema seems to play a less important role in combination with the most frequent nouns denoting trouble in Chinese. Nevertheless, it does occur in Chinese as well, but the concept of TROUBLE may not be closely related to it cognitively.

In the following metaphorical expressions, the verbs that collocate with the nouns denoting TROUBLE highlight the gradual nature of the intensity regarding the target domain by mapping the degree of an entity that can be experienced physically (e.g. length or weight) on the degree of a difficulty. Both *tiān* in (66) and *zēngjiā* in (67) denote the process of adding or increasing.

- (66) 我受您家照顾，还给你们添了那么大的麻烦。
Wǒ shòu nín jiā zhàogù, hái gěi nǐmen tiān le nàme dà de máfan
I AUX you family care and PREP you.PL add PRT so big MOD trouble
'You and your family take care of me and I have caused so much trouble to you.'

- (67) 我不想给你再增加 额外的麻烦
Wǒ bù xiǎng gěi nǐ zài zēngjiā éwài de máfan
I NEG want PREP you again add additional MOD trouble
'I don't want to add extra trouble to you.'

In the examples (68) and (69), the use of the verb *dàilái* gives rise to the Object Event Structure metaphor because causation is not understood in terms of forced movement like in the Location ESM but as a transfer of possessions (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Dancygier and Sweetser 2014). Here, a situation like TROUBLE has the role of the trajector that can be acquired and does not function as a landmark, that is, a fixed location like in examples from (57) to (61). According to the collocation analysis, the verb *dàilái* seems to occur relatively frequently with the two nouns denoting TROUBLE, probably also due to the particularly schematic conceptual mapping.

- (68) 这篇对话给读者带来 极大的困难。
Zhè piān duìhuà gěi dúzhě dàilái jí dà de kùnnán
this CL dialogue PREP reader bring great MOD difficulty

'This dialogue brings great difficulties to the readers.'

- (69) 您的辞职给我带来不少麻烦。
Nín de cízhí gěi wǒ dàilái bù shǎo máfan
you MOD resignation PREP I bring NEG little trouble
'Your resignation caused me a lot of trouble.'

Furthermore, in most of the cases, the sentences including *dàilái* have the cause in the subject position, which gives rise to the metaphor CAUSES ARE FORCES. In (68) and (69), causes like a dialogue or a resignation are forceful agents that are capable of transferring possessions, here, the state of trouble to an entity that is explicitly mentioned (like *the readers* in (68)) or the speaker in (69), who remains implicit in the current sentence.

Instead of transferring some possessions, the verb *zàochéng* in (70) evokes the source domain, in that it indicates the creation of a certain entity. At the same time, the target domain is identical to the one in (68) and (69), which means that the basic-level conceptual metaphor CAUSES ARE FORCES is at work in this expression as well.

- (70) 拜伦勋爵的不检点给朋友造成了麻烦。
Bàilún xūnjué de bù jiǎndiǎn gěi péngyǒu zàochéng le máfan
Byron lord MOD NEG cautious PREP friend cause PRT trouble
'Lord Byron's misconduct has caused trouble to his friends.'

Apart from *zàochéng*, the noun *máfan* is also compatible with the verb *chǎnshēng*, which has the same conceptual pattern using creation as a subtype of exerting force. Since *zàochéng* and *chǎnshēng* have an almost identical metaphorical pattern in combination with the nouns *kùnnan* and *máfan*, I do not discuss an example for the use of *chǎnshēng* here.

The following collocation is a special example for the Object ESM, in that the verb *bǎituō* evokes the source domain of 'freeing oneself from some bondage or obstacle'.

- (71) 我想劳驾你帮我摆脱一个麻烦。
Wǒ xiǎng láojià nǐ bāng wǒ bǎituō yīgè máfan
I want ask you help me get.rid.of CL trouble
'I want to ask you to help me get rid of some trouble.'

In (71), the abstract notion of trouble is conceptualized in terms of an object that is able to constrain someone. Thus, it works as an impediment to motion. As soon as the affected entity gets rid of this object, it has free motion again. This compound verb includes the verbs *bǎi* 'put, arrange' and *tuō* 'come off, take off'. Hence, this is an action that is done by the affected entity itself.

The last collocation analyzed in this section that involves metaphorical mapping is *shěng máfan*. By using the verb *shěng* ‘economize, save’ with the direct object *máfan*, the source domain of ECONOMIZING or SAVING OF POSSESSIONS maps onto the target domain AVOIDING A DIFFICULT SITUATION. This verb only collocates with the noun *máfan*. Consider the following example:

- (72) 海米说这样可以省去许多法律上的麻烦。
Hǎimǐ shuō zhè-yàng kěyǐ shěng qù xǔduō fǎlǜ shàng de máfan
Hemi say this-way can save RES much law POST MOD trouble
'Hemi said that this can save a lot of legal troubles.'

3.4 Idioms and Semi-idiomatic Collocations

This section presents some idiomatic and semi-idiomatic expressions collected from various dictionaries and online sources. The expressions discussed here are often not fully specified lexically, i.e. it is possible to insert or change lexical elements of the construction. Looking at the source and target domains of the conceptual metaphors, the VERB-TROUBLE constructions of this section are clearly different from the non-idiomatic ones in the previous sections because the verb and the noun denoting a difficult situation are both source domain items. That is, it is important to take other contextual cues into consideration in order to understand the utterance metaphorically.

3.4.1 German

First, we look at some German constructions, in which a difficult situation is conceptualized in terms of some thick substance that is obviously unpleasant to get in touch with. The first noun is *Scheiße*, which is a casual word for excrement. In its abstract meaning, it always has something to do with some unfavorable state from the perspective of the affected entity. First, consider the following two examples:

- (73) Jetzt steck-en wir mitten in der Scheiße, was mach-en wir denn jetzt?
now be.stuck-1PL we in.the.middle in ART shit, what do-1PL we PRT now
'Now we are deep in trouble, what do we do now?'
- (74) Wir steck-en bis zum Hals in der Scheiße.
we be.stuck-1PL until to.ART neck in ART shit
'We are up to our necks in trouble.'

The constructions above express the static situation of experiencing difficulties. In both sentences, the same verb is in use, namely *stecken*. As discussed in combination with the noun *Schwierigkeiten*, it has the meaning of being stuck in something. In (73) and (74), the other

source domain item *Scheiße* with its usual texture also contributes to the image of a location that is highly difficult to leave. In (73), we can observe an image that is elaborated somewhat differently from the one in (74). In (73), due to *mitten*, the affected entity is located in the middle of a location, that is, it is at the farthest point possible from leaving it. In (74), the metaphorical image is elaborated by the depth of the substance in question, since it reaches the neck of the affected entity. In both cases, we can see the intensifying function of *mitten* and *bis zum Hals*, but it is done by using different strategies.

Compared to the two previous sentences, sentence (75) is different because there is another verb in use here. Although the verb *sitzen* ‘to sit’ also conveys the static nature of the affected entity, it does so because of the posture of the body in contrast to the posture of standing for example. In a default scenario, someone who sits will probably not change its position soon.

(75) Bald sitz-en wir alle in der Scheiße.
soon sit-1PL we all in ART shit
‘Soon we will all be in trouble.’

Unlike the previous ones, the next verb in (76) conveys a dynamic action, in which the entity rides into excrement, that is, it starts to experience difficulties because of its own action. The self-propelled nature of this motion is further emphasized by the use of the reflexive pronoun *sich*.

(76) Da hat sich einer in die Scheiße geritten.
there AUX PRON.REFL someone in ART shit ride.PP
‘Someone has just got himself into trouble.’

The following construction expresses a dynamic motion as well, but in this case, its direction is away from the unpleasant substance. Furthermore, the meaning of the verb *rauskommen* in (77) is more schematic than *reiten* in (76), since it simply indicates a motion away from something.

- (77) Wie komm-en wir aus der Scheiße wieder raus?
how come-1PL we out.of ART shit again out
'How do we get out of trouble again?'

In the sentences (73) to (77), each conceptual metaphor makes use of the CONTAINER image schema, in that the substance that stands for a difficult situation keeps the affected entity inside itself while surrounding it.

In the following two sentences, we can find a similar metaphorical pattern to the one like in the case of *Scheiße* because the noun *Grütze* 'groats' also has the semantic feature of a fluid that has a thick texture. Consider the following examples:

- (78) Das System ist in die Grütze gefahren, es ist nicht zu retten!
ART system AUX in ART groats go.PP it be.3SG NEG PRT save.INF
'The system got into trouble, it cannot be saved!'

- (79) Was uns in die Grütze geritten hat, ist Ideologie.
what us in ART groats ride.PP AUX be.3SG ideology
'It was the ideology that got us into trouble.'

The verb *fahren* in (78) conveys a schematic meaning similar to the verb *rauskommen* in (77), but it indicates the opposite direction, i.e. it signals the start of experiencing difficulties. In (79), we can find the same verb *reiten*, like in (76) in combination with *Scheiße*, but here, the event of getting into trouble is caused by something other than the affected entity itself. This way, the construction is based on the submapping CAUSATION IS FORCED MOVEMENT instead of ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS.

In what follows, I will present two more examples for the conceptualization of trouble as a thick fluid. Look at the next two sentences:

- (80) Und schon steckt die politische Landschaft tief in der Tinte.
and already be.stuck.3SG ART political landscape deep in ART ink
'And the political landscape is already in deep trouble.'

- (81) Wulff reitet sich selbst in die Tinte.
Wulff ride.3SG PRON.REFL himself in ART ink
'Wulff gets himself into trouble.'

In (80) and (81), the noun *Tinte* 'ink' metaphorically stands for some difficulties, and according to the corpus data, it seems to be possible to combine it with the same collocate verbs like the previous two nouns. As for the next noun, its use is almost identical to the previous ones, however, its semantic backgrounds are rather special. Consider the next sentences:

(82) Biblis rutscht tief-er in den Schlamassel.
Biblis slip.3SG deep-COMP in ART trouble
'Biblis gets in deeper trouble.'

(83) Jetzt stecken wir arg im Schlamassel drin.
now be.stuck.1PL we badly in.ART trouble inside
'Now we are in big trouble.'

The noun *Schlamassel* 'trouble' can be used about the same way as *Scheiße*, *Grütze* or *Tinte* when it comes to some difficult situations, but it is no longer its former literal meaning (from Yiddish *schlimm-massel* 'bad luck') that serves as a source domain but a very similar German word *Schlamm* 'mud' due to folk etymology.

Another substance that is often associated with unfavorable situations in the metaphorical language of German is dirt. Consequently, the noun *Dreck* 'dirt' can also collocate with verbs in the same way like *Scheiße* or *Grütze*. Apart from that, difficult situations that have *Dreck* in the source domain of the metaphorical mapping include the CONTAINER schema as well. This is exemplified in the following sentences:

(84) Ihnen öffnen sich die Augen erst, wenn sie im Dreck stecken.
they.DAT open.3PL PRON.REFL ART eye-PL only when they in.ART dirt be.stuck.3PL
'Their eyes will only open when they are in trouble.'

(85) Fraktionschef Rainer Brüderle soll den Karren aus dem Dreck ziehen.
leader.of.parliamentary.party Rainer Brüderle should.3SG ART cart out.of ART dirt
pull.INF
'Rainer Brüderle, leader of the parliamentary party, should get out of a mess.'

In the case of sentence (85), it is important to note that unlike the examples discussed so far in this section that include semi-idiomatic collocations, it seems to present a lexically filled construction, that is, an idiom. In the case of *den Karren aus dem Dreck ziehen*, not even the direct object *Karren* can be replaced without having another construction as a result.

In the source domain of the next examples, there are some natural obstacles that are in the way of an entity on the way to its destination. The first noun used in many semi-idiomatic constructions is *Klippe* 'cliff', which can usually be found in the sea, and for travelers of a ship, it is risky to approach them. Consider the following two sentences:

(86) Auf dem Weg zum eigenen Haus gibt es viele Klippe-n zu umschiffen
on ART way to.ART own house give.3SG it many cliff-PL PRT sail.around.INF
'On the way to an own house, there are many difficulties to overcome.'

- (87) Es seien “noch viele Details zu klären und juristische Klippen zu überwinden.”
it be.3PL.CONJ still many detail-PL PRT clarify.INF and juridical cliff-PL PRT overcome
‘There are still many details to clarify and juridical difficulties to overcome.’

In (86), *Klippe* collocates with the verb *umschiffen* ‘to sail around’, that is, the action of overcoming some difficulties is conceptualized in terms of successfully sailing around some cliffs. In (87), the conceptual metaphor seems to be more complex because the source domain of the verb *überwinden* ‘to overcome’ is different from the one of *Klippe*. In this case, I assume that it may be a conceptual integration of two source domains, namely SEA TRAVEL (evoked by *Klippen*) and FIGHTING or WAR (evoked by *überwinden*), which results in the metaphorical expression for overcoming difficulties.

In the last sentence of this section, we can see another metaphorical expression that is lexically filled, that is, it can be considered as an idiom. By using the idiom *über den Berg sein* ‘to be out of the woods’, the state of not experiencing some difficulties anymore is expressed by being on the other side of a mountain, a natural obstacle. Of course, it also presupposes that the affected entity had to move from the one side of the mountain to the other, which implies considerable difficulties. In (88), this idiom is used to express the current (financial) state of Greece:

- (88) Frankreichs Präsident Nicolas Sarkozy sagte, Griechenland sei nun über den Berg.
France-POSS president Nicolas Sarkozy say.PST.3SG Greece be.CONJ.3SG now over ART
mountain.
‘President of France Nicolas Sarkozy said Greece is now out of the woods.’

3.4.2 English

As for the English examples for semi-idiomatic and idiomatic expressions, I start with a construction that has about the same metaphorical basis as the one in (88), namely some natural obstacle like a hill or a mountain. However, unlike the successful surmounting of the difficulties in (88), in the case of the expression *to face an uphill climb*, it is the extremely difficult nature of dealing with a situation that is in focus. In addition to this, its positive or negative outcome is yet unknown.

- (89) Aside from the many international issues before President Trump this week, his first major push on domestic policy is facing an uphill climb in the Senate.

In order to express the change of getting out of a difficult situation in American English, there is an expression that is closely related to orientation in nature. Look at the following sentence:

(90) Cyprus crisis earlier this year showed, the global economy is hardly out of the woods yet.

The semi-idiomatic construction *to be out of the woods* means that the affected entity does not experience trouble anymore and is safe, but it may also imply that only the biggest trouble is over, since being out of the woods does not usually mean ‘being home’ that could stand for the highest level of safety.

The following idiom conveys the meaning of ‘experiencing big trouble’, but it also emphasizes that one can avoid to get in even bigger one. The expression *to keep someone’s head above water* is usually related to financial difficulties of the affected entity. (91) is an example for its use:

(91) At this point, it’s just hope, honestly, because there’s no jobs out there for electricians. So, I’m just looking to keep my head above water.

In the literal sense, it is again some fluid that maps onto a difficult financial state. Since the entity’s head is still above water, it can breathe and thus stay alive. The situation is somewhat desperate but it is not meant to be a permanent one.

In the next metaphorical expression, experiencing difficulties is also related to water, yet in quite another way. Compare the following example:

(92) It has been weird this week, though, hasn't it, watching Harvey Weinstein in hot water.

In the metaphor in (92), it is not the water level that plays an important role but its temperature. Depending on its exact temperature, being in hot water can have very harmful consequences for the affected entity. Therefore, the expression *to be in hot water* indicates some serious trouble in its abstract sense.

Even if only indirectly, but the following idiom is also related to water. By using the expression *it comes out in the wash*, solving a problem or a difficult situation without any lasting negative effect is understood in terms of removing dirt or stains from some clothes by washing them. Consider the next example:

(93) I think in the long term, it all comes out in the wash.

The metaphorical pattern behind the expression *to head south* in (94) can hardly be described by using only geographical knowledge, since heading south cannot be easily interpreted as a troublesome situation. Instead, it has something to do with cartography because, thanks to Western maps, the cardinal direction *south* is associated with *down*, and one of the basic

conceptual metaphor is BAD IS DOWN. The following sentence is an example for the idiomatic use of this construction:

- (94) The markets would probably be headed south if there was even the hint that this vote could go toward an independent Scotland.

To describe it more precisely, *to head south* means decrease in price, value or quality of something, usually used in financial language, regarding the stock market. Hence, unlike most of the examples discussed in this work, the one in (94) is only indirectly related to experiencing trouble, since it only expresses the cause of it.

3.4.3 Hungarian

The Hungarian language makes use of thick and opaque fluids when it comes to expressing some difficult situations metaphorically. In this section, the Location ESM underlies all the semi-idiomatic collocations, which make use of the CONTAINER image schema as well.

First, like in German, it is also usual to refer to a troublesome state in terms of being in excrement.

- (95) Meg ne próbál-d ebbe a szar-ba bele-kever-ni Nórá-t!
PRT NEG try-2SG into.this ART shit-ILL into-stir-INF Nóra-ACC
'Don't you try to get Nóra into this trouble!'

- (96) Nyak-ig vagyunk a szar-ban, a szar meg csak hullámzik.
neck-TERM be.1PL ART shit-INE ART shit PRT only wave.3SG
'We are up to our necks in trouble, and it is hard to cope with it.'

Similar to non-idiomatic metaphorical expressions of the TROUBLE concept in Hungarian, the semi-idiomatic ones also frequently include the verb *kever*, which can be considered as a usual action in the case of fluids. In (96), the state of experiencing big trouble is conceptualized in terms of the depth of the level of a substance that surrounds the affected entity. Like in German in (74), it is expressed by the level of the neck as well, which is the highest level of a substance a person can be in without drowning in it. This maps onto some particularly bad situation. Furthermore, this metaphor is extended by a novel part, in which the excrement is moving in waves.

The following three sentences present the state of having difficulties again in terms of being located in some kind of liquid substance. In (97), it is jam, which is something edible and sweet, i.e. some food that is usually connoted positively, yet its consistency may contribute to this kind of metaphorization. In (98), on the other hand, *pác* denotes a liquid or marinade, such as spiced

vinegar, for preserving vegetables, meat, fish. Interestingly, in similar constructions as (98), the state of being in trouble can also be conceptualized with help of such liquid, such as *to be in a pickle*.

(97) Benne vagyunk a lekvár-ban.
inside be.1PL ART jam-INE
'We are in trouble.'

(98) Azt mond-ták segít-enek, aztán otthagytak a pác-ban.
that say-PST.3PL help-3PL then leave-PST.3PL ART pickle-INE
'They said they would help, then they left me in trouble.'

In sentence (99), we have a last example for a liquid substance in the source domain that maps onto some difficulties in the target domain. In its literal sense, the noun *csáva* refers to some acidic liquid used by tanners in the process of making leather. Even its smell is rather unpleasant for most people, not to mention being located inside it.

(99) Nem tud-om, hogyan mász-tunk volna ki akkor a csáva-ból.
NEG know-1SG how climb-PST.1PL AUX out then ART vat-ELA
'I don't know how we could have got out of trouble then.'

The use of the verb *mászik* 'to climb' is not connected to this particular liquid, but it is frequently used in other metaphorical expressions regarding the state of trouble. By using this verb, there is further emphasis on the difficult nature of getting out of some troublesome situation, since adult people usually climb out of somewhere if it is impossible to do it by walking out of it for instance.

(100) A gazdaság gödör-ben van, pénz nincs, megfelelő számú szakember nincs.
ART economy pit-INE be.3SG money be.NEG sufficient number specialist be.NEG
'The economy is in great trouble, there is no money, there is no sufficient number of specialists.'

In (100), experiencing considerable difficulties is conceptualized in terms of being in a pit, that is, a bounded region in space that is difficult to leave for the affected entity. In certain cases, the degree of trouble is intensified by using the attribute *mély* 'deep' together with the noun *gödör* 'pit'.

In the following construction, there is also some hole in the ground that metaphorically refers to some difficulties. In this case, however, it is not a hole that was dug, where you can fall into and then try to climb out of it, but it is a pothole, i.e. a hole in the road that results from gradual damage caused by traffic and/or weather. Consequently, it is also some phenomenon that is an

impediment to motion towards one's destination. In the example below, the attempt to get rid of the difficult situation of some medical institutions is expressed by the metaphor of some means of transportation that tries to get out of a pothole.

- (101) Szeret-nénk végre kijut-ni ebből az egészségügyi kátyú-ból.
love-COND.1PL finally get.out-INF out.of.this ART health pothole-ELA
'We would like to finally get out of the trouble concerning the healthcare system.'

3.5 Summary

In this section, I will summarize the main findings of the empirical analysis presented previously in the chapter. Here, I will focus on similarities and differences between the languages under investigation by highlighting the most frequent semantic features that give rise to metaphorical expressions denoting some difficult situation.

First, the non-idiomatic expressions analyzed in this study have a usually highly schematic but nevertheless clearly metaphorical background. The most frequent one among these schematic mappings is the Object Event Structure Metaphor (Object ESM). Thanks to the collocations that make use of the Object ESM, a difficult situation is conceptualized in terms of an object that can be possessed and transferred. This kind of mapping is on the top of every collocation list except for the one of Hungarian. It does not mean that the Object ESM is not at all at work in the case of emotional or social states. At this point, it is important to note that there is no verb similar to English *to have*. Since it is expressed by the combination of the verb *van* 'to be' and the possessive suffix on the entity that is possessed, this construction cannot be found in the collocation list.

The second relevant metaphorical mapping is the Location ESM. Due to this metaphor complex, a troublesome state is understood in terms of a bounded location in space. This mapping seems to have most of the linguistic expressions related to the TROUBLE concept. Furthermore, almost all the idiomatic expressions in Section 3.4 are examples for this metaphorical mapping, too.

The sudden and unexpected nature of experiencing trouble is also a frequent semantic feature of the linguistic expressions of the Location ESM in all four languages. It is often conceptualized in terms of fast motion together with getting into touch with the entity (e.g. *stoßen* in German or *run into* in English). Another frequent source domain for experiencing something unexpectedly is to meet someone unexpectedly.

In all four languages, the source domain FIGHT plays a very important role in the conceptualization of experiencing and dealing with TROUBLE. The verb as a source domain item in non-idiomatic constructions has the literal meaning of either the fight between two opponents

(the state of experiencing trouble in general) or the act of defeating the opponent (the act of getting rid of some difficulties). In Hungarian, *baj*, one of the nouns denoting TROUBLE, even has the original meaning of a duel.

Turning now to some basic differences regarding the conceptual metaphors used in the four languages under investigation, Chinese makes only little use of the Location ESM, at least in the case of the two frequent nouns that are part of this analysis. Consequently, the CONTAINER and the PATH image schemas do not seem to play an important role in the conceptualization of difficult situations either. Nevertheless, it does occur in Chinese as well, but the concept of TROUBLE may not be closely related to it cognitively.

As for the analysis of selected idiomatic and semi-idiomatic expressions, difficult situations are frequently conceptualized in terms of being located in some kind of liquid substance. In all three languages, there are many kinds of liquids having various functions that stand for the state of trouble. They usually surround the affected entity and thus constitute an impediment to motion in the form of a CONTAINER.

Apart from this, there are also other natural obstacles that can map onto difficult situations. In German and English, these can be some cliffs or mountains, whereas in Hungarian, it is usual to talk of being in a pit when having some big trouble. Furthermore, a pothole in the road can also metaphorically stand for a difficult situation in Hungarian.

4. Conclusions

The primary objective of the present study is to shed light on various metaphorical mappings in VERB-TROUBLE constructions from a contrastive perspective. In order to cover a high amount of these mappings, I have conducted a thorough empirical investigation based on authentic language data collected from large corpora.

In the first and most extensive part of my analysis, I looked at non-idiomatic constructions that denote a difficult situation. In the form of a collocation list, I have offered an overview of the most frequent collocations in each language under investigation. This approach enables us to see which constructions are considered to be fully conventionalized in the current language community. That is, it is of great importance in this study to select only those VERB-TROUBLE constructions that can be regarded as linguistic metaphors in a synchronic way. Furthermore, these examples have given us some useful insights into the preferences for certain metaphorical mappings according to the frequency of their linguistic realizations in contemporary corpora.

In order to include more complex conceptual mappings in this study, I have analyzed some selected constructions that can be called idiomatic or in most cases, semi-idiomatic. These

citations offer metaphorical mappings that contain more conceptual details provided by the source domain than the mappings of non-idiomatic constructions, since the noun also evokes the source domain in these expressions. From a contrastive point of view, the constructions show many common patterns that occur in all the languages analyzed in this study, but they show clear differences in their elaboration.

Regarding future research, it seems to be a promising direction to do a more fine-grained analysis on the semi-idiomatic and idiomatic expressions of the TROUBLE concept as well because it would also be suitable for investigating and comparing cultural characteristics on the basis of the preference for certain conceptual mappings. However, in order to do a statistic evaluation similar to the one on the non-idiomatic constructions in this study, it will be necessary to make some fundamental changes in the methodology of the research, too.

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