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What do we do with (to) laws and what do laws do to us: A contrastive corpus-based approach to the analysis of metaphorical collocations of the terms *law*, *Gesetz* and *zakon*

This paper analyses metaphorical collocations of the terms *law* in enTenTen20, *Gesetz* in deTenTen20 and *zakon* in hrwac 2.2. from a contrastive corpus-based perspective. The hypothesis states that metaphorical collocations operate on the basis of conceptual metaphors that are culturally universal, at least as far as the (legal) languages analysed for the purpose of this paper are concerned. By combining a corpus-based and a cognitive linguistic perspective, the paper attempts to confirm this hypothesis, suggesting that legal systems, albeit resorting to different sources of law, tend to follow the same reasoning in unrelated legal cultures and the contrastively investigated collocates therefore represent near equivalents. Finally, a corpus-based approach reveals semantically related collocates, which in turn assist in the detection of a collocational range and, ultimately, of the conceptual level of these metaphorical word combinations.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, contrastive analysis, Croatian, English, German, metaphorical collocations, web corpora

1. Introduction

Although collocations have long been in the focus of both phraseologists and corpus linguists, their metaphorical dimension has not been systematically investi-

gated thus far (Patekar 2022; Stojić and Košuta 2022) either in general or specialized phraseology. This paper tries to bridge this gap by focusing on the collocates of the terms *law*, *Gesetz* and *zakon* and suggesting that the context in which they are embedded is largely metaphorical. What is more, metaphors that operate in the background of these contrastively investigated collocations tend to cut across cultures, yet again highlighting the importance of studying the image schemas one projects upon a certain linguistic expression. It is therefore hypothesized that metaphorical collocations operate based on conceptual metaphors. As a matter of fact, collocates, when coupled with the meaning of the base, produce a new meaning that assists in the allocation of conceptual metaphors. Furthermore, by resorting to the contrastive corpus-based approach one can analyse the meaning of metaphorical collocations in one corpus and their near equivalents in the other two corpora, which in turn helps dissect the perceptions operating in the different legal cultures. The data from the three corpora direct the findings of this study towards the universality or near-universality (Kövecses 2006: 155) of metaphors in legal discourse, despite the disparities between the analysed legal languages and cultures, proposing that this affects the semantic productivity of metaphorical collocations (Dobrić Basanež 2024: 180).

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 focuses on the theoretical background from the perspective of phraseology, legal language, corpus linguistics and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The third section depicts the methodology and the corpora, whereas the fourth one presents the results. The discussion section explains the reasoning of the proposed categories, supporting it with data from the consulted dictionaries. Finally, the concluding remarks highlight the pros and cons of the approach and suggest directions for future research.

2. Theoretical background

The metaphorical potential of collocations has already been recognized by some authors (Deignan 2005; Philipp 2011; McCarthy and O' Dell 2017; Gouteraux 2017; Dai, Wu and Xu 2019) and researchers have referred to such word combinations as metaphorical collocations, although not providing a transparent definition of this linguistic phenomenon (Patekar 2022). Several studies offer a detailed elaboration on metaphorical collocations (Reder 2006; Volungevičienė 2008; Konecny 2010; Stojić and Košuta 2022), suggesting that there is a certain degree of stability present in the semantic cohesion between the components of such combinations owed either to the presence of metaphors or metonymies (Stojić 2024: 11). Whilst some studies propose that the metaphorical dimension is usually expressed by the collocate (Stojić and Murica 2010; Stojić and Štiglić 2011; Stojić and Barić 2013; Stojić 2015), recent findings have shown that in polysemous nouns the process of

metaphorisation occurs within both constituents of collocational bonds (Stojić and Matešić 2024, Dobrić Basaneže 2024). The meaning of the collocate, however, is completely generated only when occurring with the base and is thus dependent on it (Konecny 2010).

In specialized discourses the base is usually a term, with collocation representing its embeddedness (Biel 2014). The typologies of phraseological units in legal phraseology acknowledge the prevalence of specialized (Kjær 2007), term-embedding and lexical collocations (Biel 2024), and some studies focus on the investigations of such combinations in certain domains of legal discourse (Biel and Jopek Bosiacka 2018), but none include the metaphorical perspective. As a matter of fact, metaphors in legal discourse have usually been investigated from the perspective of metaphor alone (Winter 2001; Imamović 2013; Richards 2014; Wojtczak and Witczak-Plisiecka 2019, Kordić 2023). This paper attempts to make “the interface of cognitive metaphor studies and legal studies” (Wojtczak and Witczak-Plisiecka 2019: 275) less uncharted, by advocating the investigation of a specific lexical phenomenon through the dual lenses of corpus and cognitive linguistics. By adopting such combined approach one can access a representative number of figurative expressions and gain insight into their grammatical or semantic behaviour (Ostroški Anić 2019: 100), which in turn contributes to the detection of metaphors. Even scholars who do not investigate metaphors from a corpus-based perspective suggest one has to collect a significant number of semantically related collocates centring around one term in order to determine the conceptual metaphor in the background of a linguistic unit (Winter 2001: 14). This also contributes to the identification of the collocational range of the base, that is, “the set of contexts” (Lyons 1995: 62) in which an expression can occur. In addition, corpus data can also disclose metaphors not associated thus far with a particular concept and can extend the existing inventories of metaphors. This study consults two inventories, Master Metaphor List (Lakoff et al. 1991) and *MetaNet*,¹ both of which draw insights from the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). In these two lists the term *law* is connoted only neutrally or negatively as a physical restraint or a burden causing harm, but the analysed collocates reveal that harm can also move in the opposite direction.

Considering that the investigated languages belong to different legal cultures, with the Croatian and the German one based on civil law, and the English one adhering to the common law legal system, one would expect that legal codes are not conceptualized in the same way since language does not exist in a vacuum and is socially and culturally conditioned (Brdar and Brdar-Szabó 2004, 2011, 2012). By way of illustration, common law is mostly uncodified and relies largely on judicial decisions (Zweigert and Kötz 1992), whereas civil law focuses on legal principles

¹ <https://metaphor.icsi.berkeley.edu/pub/en/index.php/Category:Metaphor>. Accessed 26 April 2024

embodied in systemized legal codes and considers case law as a secondary source of law (Cao 2007: 26). It seems, however, that in general language the same extra-linguistic reality expressed through collocational bonds differs across languages and cultures (Stojić 2019, Stojić and Matešić 2024), but in specialized discourses one only occasionally encounters different lexical representations.

3. Corpus and methodology

To provide answers to the research hypothesis, this study resorts to three web corpora, enTenTen20 for English, deTenTen20 for German, and hrwac 2.2. (Ljubešić and Klubička 2014), as the most representative web corpus for Croatian. The English corpus was the starting point for the investigation of conceptual metaphors, given that both inventories consulted as sources for their classification refer to the English language and culture. The word sketches of the nouns *law*, *zakon* and *gesetz* were investigated in Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), but the results focus only on two grammatical relations, namely *verbs with x as subject* and *verbs with x as object*.² This decision was based on the assumption that the two relations would provide the most reliable results with respect to the interest into the actions based on laws. The German data also include the relation *verbs with x as (dative) object* since some verbs in German require a direct dative object.

Sketch Engine listed 99 potential candidates for each grammatical relation, but some collocates were eliminated after the examination of their concordances. By way of illustration, the English list included the word *exist* as a potential verbal collocate of the noun *law*. Since *exist* is an intransitive verb, the assumption was made that concordances would reveal contexts where *exist* takes the gerund form and functions as a modifier of the noun in question (e.g., *existing law*). Corpus data confirmed these suppositions for some candidates from other corpora as well. The verb *spomenuti* was thus immediately removed from the list of potential verbal collocates of the noun *zakon*, given that all concordances revealed its pre-modification function (e.g., *spomenuti zakon – the mentioned / said law*). This also applies to the verb *existieren* as a potential collocate of the noun *Gesetz* in the German corpus.

The next step was to list collocation candidates in an excel sheet and indicate whether the collocation is metaphorical or not. The identification was based on the MIP method (Pragglejaz Group 2007), which enables to differentiate between the basic and the contextual meaning of lexical units. The method instructs researchers to analyse collocations constituent by constituent, which is why at this stage the analysis first focuses on the base and then on the collocates. The decisions on the

² In the Croatian corpus the subject relation is rendered as *subjekt_od* and the object relation as *Koga-što?*.

classification of metaphorical collocations were based on the definitions provided by the *Merriam Webster Dictionary*³ and the *Online Etymological Dictionary*⁴ for the English collocations, *Hrvatski jezični portal* (HJP)⁵ for the Croatian candidates, and *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*⁶ for the German collocates. Finally, metaphorical collocations were classified according to the conceptual metaphors proposed in the *Master Metaphor List* (Lakoff et al. 1991) and *MetaNet*.⁷ If the concepts were not available in either source, the metaphors were rendered based on author's formulations. The findings of this paper thus suggest that the concept HARMONY IS EQUALITY underlies collocations *das Gesetz anpassen* and *uskladiti / prilagoditi zakon*. Similarly, collocations *das Gesetz gilt* and *zakon vrijedi / važi* imply that one tends to perceive the force of law as a value, an image that is absent from both sources. Furthermore, it needs to be pointed out that the list proposed by Lakoff et al. offers no metaphors on the concept of law, but collocations extracted for the purpose of this paper are sometimes part of other images whose rendering does not necessarily include the word *law* (e.g., EXISTENCE IS GIVING AN OBJECT, PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION, HARM IS DESTRUCTION, COMMUNICATION IS SPEECH, etc.). Their list also suggests that obligations or agreements are perceived as containers, and considering that law does represent an obligation, it can be perceived as a container as well. Since LAW IS A CONTAINER metaphor does not occur in the referred inventories, it is rendered as author's own formulation. *MetaNet* is more revealing in the portrayal of how one perceives laws and it offers 11 metaphors on law alone (e.g., LAWS ARE OBJECTS / PHYSICAL STRUCTURES / PLANTS, etc.) and further 7 on its enactment (e.g., ALTERNATIVE LEGISLATION IS ALTERNATIVE PATH, ENACTING LEGISLATION IS ALTERNATIVE PATH, ENACTING LEGISLATION IS CAUSING MOTION ALONG THE A PATH, etc.). It should be noted, however, that not all metaphors listed in *MetaNet* were found in the investigated grammatical relations from the three web corpora (e.g., ENACTING LEGISLATION IS ALTERNATIVE PATH).

4. Results

Despite the fact that the investigated corpora are not parallel, they do reveal similarities in terms of the semantically related collocates (see Pictures 1, 2 and 3 for the most frequent collocates). Collocations from the English corpus thus have their counterparts in the other two languages due to the roughly similar frequency of occurrence of their equivalent linguistic representations.

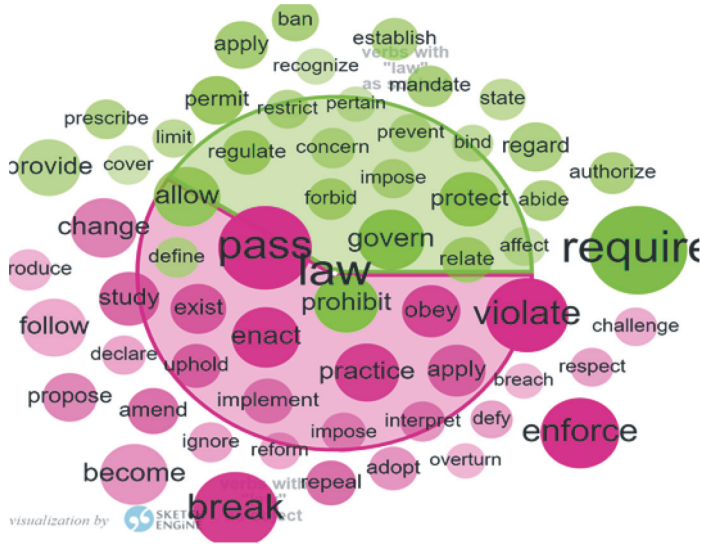
³ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>. Accessed 10 April 2024

⁴ <https://www.etymonline.com/>. Accessed 10 April 2024

⁵ <https://hjp.znanje.hr/>. Accessed 10 April 2024

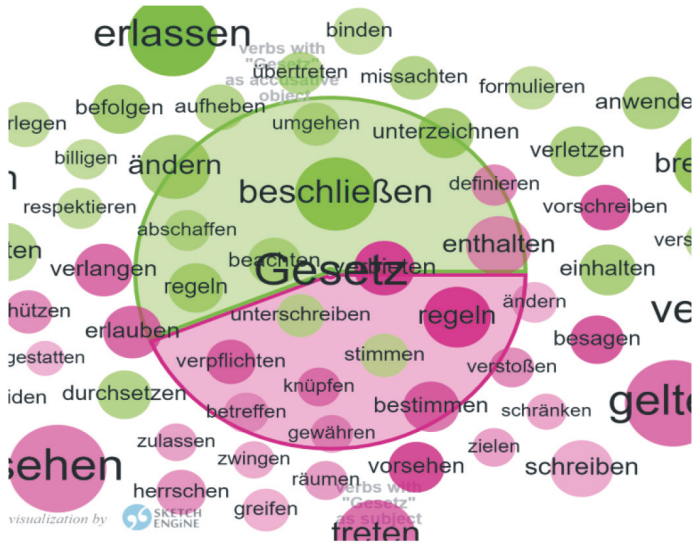
⁶ <https://www.dwds.de/>. Accessed 26 April 2024

⁷ <https://metaphor.icsi.berkeley.edu/pub/en/index.php/Category:Metaphor>. Accessed 26 April 2024



Picture 1. Most frequent collocates of the noun law in enTenTen20

The English corpus includes the highest degree of variation in terms of the different lexemes in two investigated grammatical relations (e.g., *circumvent / transgress / evade law; laws prohibit / forbid / ban*) and there is only one verb that occurs in both grammatical relations (e.g., *apply*).



Picture 2. Most frequent collocates of the noun Gesetz in deTenTen20

In German there are two verbs that occur in both relations (e.g., *schützen*, *verletzen*) and the degree of variation diminishes (e.g., *achten / beachten Gesetze*; *gehorschen / horchen Gesetzen*; *folgen / befolgen Gesetzen*; *Gesetze beschränken / schränken*).



Picture 3. Most frequent collocates of the noun *zakon* in hrwac 2.2.

The Croatian list shows by far the least variation regarding the lexically different collocates (e.g., *poštovati / spoštovati / poštivati zakon*; *zakon zaštititi / štiti*). As a matter of fact, some collocates again occur in both grammatical relations (e.g., *uvesti, štiti, ukinuti*) and a lot of them reveal both the perfective and imperfective aspect (e.g., *obvezati / obvezivati; propisati / propisivati*).

In both the German and Croatian corpora, the verb *treten* (hr. *stupiti*) occurs in the first ten most frequent collocates, but concordances reveal that it is actually an idiom (e.g., *Das Gesetz tritt in Kraft / Zakon stupa na snagu*). The idiom is also present in the English corpus, although it does not occur as frequently as in the other two corpora. The verbs *regulate* and *allow* and their respective equivalents (de. *regeln, erlauben*; hr. *regulirati, omogućiti*), on the other hand, are listed in the first 10 collocates in all three corpora. In both German and Croatian, laws mostly prohibit (de. *verbieten*) or require (de. *verlangen*) something, as well as mostly prescribe (de. *vorschreiben*; hr. *propisati*) or anticipate (de. *vorsehen*; hr. *predvidjeti*). As far as the relation *verbs with x as object* is concerned, it seems that one mostly violates or breaks the law (de. *verletzen, verstoßen (gegen), brechen*; hr. *kršiti, prekršiti*), but also obeys (de. *befolgen, einhalten*; hr. *poštovati, poštivati*) and applies it (de. *anwenden, hr. primjenjivati*). Most of the collocates invoke the same mental picture as their equivalents in the other two corpora. Exceptions can be detected in collocations

depicting the process of law enactment. By way of illustration, when a law is enacted in English, it is *passed*, while in Germany one says goodbye to it (de. *das Gesetz verabschieden*) and in Croatian one *brings* it (hr. *donijeti zakon*), thus reducing the concept of law to that of an object. The contrastive analysis reveals that most collocates that represent near equivalents from the three corpora do share the same conceptual metaphor, as evidenced by Table 1.

Conceptual metaphor	Collocates from enTenTen20	Collocates from deTenTen20	Collocates from hrwac 2.2.
LAWS ARE PHYSICAL RESTRAINTS (MetaNet)	<p><i>Verbs with x as object:</i> break, defy, breach, flout, observe, circumvent, transgress, evade</p> <p><i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> require, prohibit, permit, allow, regulate, forbid, ban, mandate, authorize, restrict, prescribe, define, impose, limit, prevent, bind, stipulate, determine, specify, oblige</p>	<p><i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> brechen, verstoßen, umgehen, billigen, hinwegsetzen</p> <p><i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> regeln, verbieten, vorschreiben, erlauben, verlangen, bestimmen, verpflichten, zulassen, schränken, gewähren, vorschreiben, gestatten, untersagen, ermöglichen, fordern, beschränken, verhindern, gebieten, normieren, festlegen, begrenzen, erfordern</p>	<p><i>Koga-što?:</i> zaobići, zaobilaziti, nametati, nametnuti, odobriti</p> <p><i>Subjekt_od:</i> propisati, propisivati, regulirati, omogućiti, omogućavati, zabraniti, definirati, dopuštati, odrediti, urediti, obvezivati, dozvoljavati, određivati, braniti, dozvoliti, ograničavati, spriječiti, obvezati</p>
HIGH STATUS IS UP (MML, MetaNet)	<p><i>Verbs with x as object:</i> govern (governing), supersede, follow</p> <p><i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> govern, dictate, criminalize, pre-empt, rule, control, direct</p>	<p><i>Verbs with x as dative object:</i> gehorchen, horchen, folgen, befolgen, unterwerfen, unterliegen, unterordnen, unterstehen, unterstellen</p> <p><i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> herrschen, ermächtigen, befehlen, regieren, anordnen</p>	<p><i>Subjekt_od:</i> vladati, nalagati</p>

LAWS ARE LIVING ENTITIES (MetaNet)	<p><i>Verbs with x as object:</i> respect, ignore, disobey, obey, contradict, disregard, adopt, support</p> <p><i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> provide, grant, ensure, support, encourage, state, say, address, declare, treat, fail, enable, imply, guarantee, apply</p>	<p><i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> verabschieden, respektieren, achten, beachten, missachten, ignorieren, klagen (gegen), annehmen, begrüßen, aufnehmen</p> <p><i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> bedürfen, vorsehen, definieren, kennen, dienen, helfen, verstehen</p>	<p><i>Koga-što?:</i> poštovati, poštvati, ispoštovati, usvojiti, usvajati, slijediti, ignorirati, izigrati, izigravati, citirati</p> <p><i>Subjekt_od:</i> kazati, upozoriti, tvrditi, reći, povrijediti</p>
LEGAL SYSTEM IS AN ARMY (author)	<p><i>Verbs with x as object:</i> violate, enforce, challenge, oppose, contravene, defend, invalidate</p> <p><i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> force, punish, compel, target, enforce, protect</p>	<p><i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> verletzen, wahren, verteidigen, schützen</p> <p><i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> zwingen, greifen, verletzen, bestrafen, bedrohen, schützen</p>	<p><i>Koga-što?:</i> kršiti, prekršiti, povrijediti, poništiti, srušiti, rušiti, postrožiti (od straža), braniti, štititi, zaštititi, kažnjavati</p>
LAWS ARE OBJECTS (MetaNet) / EXISTENCE IS GIVING AN OBJECT (MML)	<p><i>Verbs with x as object:</i> draft, design, make, create</p>	<p><i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> abschaffen, durchbringen, einbringen, entwerfen, aufstellen, schaffen</p>	<p><i>Koga-što?:</i> donijeti, donositi, kreirati, izraditi, stvarati</p>
LAWS ARE POSSESSIONS (author)	<p><i>Verbs with x as object:</i> keep, maintain</p>	<p><i>Verbs with x as object:</i> erlassen</p>	<p><i>Koga-što?:</i> imati</p>
PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION (MML) / ENACTING LEGISLATION IS CAUSING MOTION ALONG THE PATH (MetaNet)	<p><i>Verbs with x as object:</i> enact, pass, introduce, execute</p>	<p><i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> beschließen, einführen, umsetzen, vollziehen, festlegen, einhalten</p>	<p><i>Koga-što?:</i> provoditi, provesti, sprovoditi, uvesti, uvoditi, povući, progurati, uputiti</p> <p><i>Subjekt_od:</i> uvesti, proći</p>

HARM IS A BURDEN WHICH SLOWS DOWN MOTION / RETURNS YOU TO YOUR PRIOR LOCATION (MML)	<i>Verbs with x as object:</i> reject, repeal, impose	<i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> lehnen, ablehnen, stoppen, blockieren, verhindern <i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> durchkommen	<i>Koga-što?:</i> odbaciti
LAWS ARE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES (MetaNet)	<i>Verbs with x as object:</i> uphold, establish, base, institute, settle <i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> hold, stand	<i>Verbs with x as (dative) object:</i> basieren, beruhen, begründen	<i>Koga-što?:</i> podržati, podržavati
LAWS ARE SUBSTANCES (author)	<i>Verbs with x as object:</i> apply, implement	<i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> anwenden	<i>Koga-što?:</i> primjenjivati, primijeniti
UNDERSTANDING / KNOWING / ACCEPTING IS SEEING (MML and MetaNet)	<i>Verbs with x as object:</i> review, revise, clarify, observe <i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> recognize	<i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> kennen, erklären, anerkennen	<i>Koga-što?:</i> poznavati, poznati, znati Subjekt_od: pojasniti
LAWS ARE CONTAINERS (author)	<i>Verbs with x as object:</i> fulfil, promulgate, formulate, define <i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> extend, contain	<i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> erfüllen, gießen, formulieren, definieren <i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> enthalten, beinhalten, erfassen	<i>Koga-što?:</i> ispuniti
HARM IS DESTRUCTION / CAUSING FUNCTIONAL OBJECTS TO BE NONFUNCTIONAL (MML)	<i>Verbs with x as object:</i> overturn, override	<i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> kippen, aushebeln, übertreten	<i>Koga-što?:</i> ukinuti <i>Subjekt_od:</i> ukinuti
COMMUNICATION IS SPEECH (MML)	<i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> declare, interpret	<i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> verkünden, abstimmen, auslegen <i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> lauten, schweigen, sprechen, besagen, widersprechen	<i>Koga-što?:</i> izglasati, izglasavati, proglasiti, tumačiti

LAWS ARE PLANS (author)	<i>Verbs with x as object:</i> propose	<i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> ausarbeiten, vorlegen, vorschlagen	<i>Koga-što?:</i> predložiti, predlagati, krojiti, pripremati, pripremiti
HARMONY IS EQUALITY (author)	/	<i>Verbs with x as (accusative) object:</i> anpassen	<i>Koga-što?:</i> uskladiti, usklađivati
LEGAL FORCE IS A VALUE (author)	/	<i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> gelten	<i>Subjekt_od:</i> vrijediti, važiti
LAWS ARE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS (author)	/	<i>Verbs with x as subject:</i> lösen	<i>Subjekt_od:</i> riješiti

Table 1. Conceptual metaphors and their linguistic representations in three corpora

Most collocates belong to the image LAWS ARE PHYSICAL RESTRAINTS, which suggests that laws indeed present obstacles to one's actions. Additionally, laws tend to govern one's behaviour and are thus given a higher status. They are also perceived as living entities and possessions. Like some sort of obligations, they are sometimes viewed as containers one can modify and formulate and as physical structures one supports. Their enactment is structured as a motion along the path and their violation reduces this motion, impedes their functionality or even wounds, personifying laws as military opponents. One also communicates about their coming into force, which arises exclusively via speech. Their enactment is, however, never rushed; it occurs with careful planning, and it must be concordant with other laws. Finally, once laws are enacted, their applicability is viewed as something valuable than can solve citizens' problems.

5. Discussion

The contrastive analysis of collocations and their conceptual metaphors reveals that there are some concepts that seem to be absent in one of the studied languages. By way of illustration, LEGAL FORCE IS A VALUE is not represented by any collocations in the English corpus, but this may be attributed to the fact that in English the concept is expressed by means of an adjective (e.g., *law is valid*), and can thus not be found in the analysed grammatical relations. Another illustrative example is the metaphor LAWS ARE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS, present in both Croatian and German corpora, but not detected among the English collocates. The combination *law solves* does occur in enTenTen20, but not significantly enough to become a collocation candidate. This also holds true for the combination *to harmonize the law*, whose equivalents in the German and Croatian corpus (de. *anpassen*; hr. *uskladiti, usklađivati*) invoke the image HARMONY IS EQUALITY.

It is evident that the proposed metaphors are not watertight categories and that some collocates could belong to more than one conceptual metaphor. A case in point is the collocation *to break the law*, where law can be perceived as a breakable object. The fact remains, however, that by breaking the law, one does not actually destroy it but trespasses its boundaries (Winter 2001: 14). Other collocates which imply the same meaning confirm this claim (e.g., *breach, break, transgress*) and call for the image LAWS ARE PHYSICAL RESTRAINTS. Furthermore, this suggests that in order to avoid errors in the assignment of linguistic expressions to conceptual metaphors, one has to resort to corpus data, which reveal significant frequencies of semantically related collocates, and help determine the collocational range. Apart from breaking the law, one can also opt for a less radical course of action and circumvent or evade it (de. *umgehen*, hr. *zaobići*), yet again delineating law as a hindrance that restricts and modifies citizens' behavior. What is more, laws prohibit, restrict, permit (de. *verbieten, beschränken, zulassen*; hr. *zabraniti, ograničivati, dozvoljavati*) or oblige, regulate and prescribe (de. *verpflichten, regulieren, vorschreiben*; hr. *ograničavati, regulirati, propisivati*) and people perceive them as obstacles that impede their intentions or act as a corrective agent. With this in mind it seems that laws, in order to be able to prohibit or oblige need to be situated above ordinary citizens in the social hierarchy and are thus granted higher status. They govern and dictate (de. *herrschen, anordnen*; hr. *vladati, nalađati*) and citizens tend to follow them (de. *befolgen*) as obedient servants their emperor. By this point it is clear that laws are perceived as living entities one tends to respect or disregard (de. *respektieren, missachten*; hr. *poštovati, ignorirati*), but apart from restricting they also offer support and encouragement (e.g., *provide, support, encourage*, etc.), almost reacting as a parental figure. In the German culture they also seem to help and be full of understanding (de. *helfen, verstehen*), while in the Croatian one the collocates are exclusively negatively connoted (e.g., *upozoriti, povrijediti*). Negative semantic prosody is also present in collocates which invoke the image of war, where laws force or punish citizens (de. *zwingen, bestrafen*; hr. *kažnjavati*).

For the obedient citizens laws offer protection (de. *schützen*, hr. *štititi, zaštititi*) from the dangers of everyday life:

Generell schützen uns beispielsweise Gesetze und Normen vor Gefahren im Alltag. (dmsolutions.de)

Citizens also tend to act as military opponents if they consider laws unjust:

Just as Patriots were justifies in resisting British rule, some Americans believed that they had the right to oppose laws that they deemed unjust. (hnn.us)

In the German and Croatian culture, however, citizens go one step further and even *wound* (de. *verletzen*) or *demolish* (hr. *rušiti*) laws, thus invoking the image of a war battle:

Ovdje se postavlja pitanje da li osoba može promijenit stare tradicije a da ne ruši zakone?(net.hr)

While in the German culture the collocation *das Gesetz verletzen* invokes the image of a wounded person, in the Croatian one (e.g., *rušiti zakone*) the emphasis is placed upon the destruction of a building, which is why it might also seem justified to couple this linguistic expression with the image of a physical structure. Since, however, all collocates in the LAWS ARE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES metaphor imply the support of the structure (e.g., *uphold, podržati*) or its centrality (e.g., *establish, bäsieren*), the decision to assign this collocate to the army group seemed right. Whilst in the physical structure image the content-defining surface is its foundation and the outer shell (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 100), in the container image the emphasis is on the content and the surface, as evidenced by the collocates assigned to this group (en. *fulfil, contain*; de. *erfüllen, enthalten*; hr. *ispuniti*). Furthermore, when citizens obey the law, they support a physical structure, by holding it up, or filling the inside of a container. By the same token, the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING metaphor also partially overlaps with the container image, given that what one reviews, revises or clarifies is the content of a container seen through its surface (ibid.: 104). Along these lines, it seems superfluous to introduce the image CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF SHAPE or FORMING WORDS IS SHAPING for the collocation *to formulate the law* (de. *das Gesetz formulieren*), since shapes are also types of containers (ibid.: 10). A more distinct image of a law being granted its existence is the one where law is perceived as an object, or more specifically, a piece of artwork one tends to design or draft (de. *entwerfen, aufstellen*; hr. *kreirati, izraditi, stvarati*). Once created, laws become one's possession (hr. *imati zakon*); while abiding by them invokes the image of holding them (en. *keep / maintain laws*), the moment when the Parliament passes a law seems to occur simultaneously with the letting go of a held object (de. *das Gesetz erlassen*⁸). Apart from via losing a possession, laws come into force by moving along a path (en. *pass, introduce*; de. *beschließen, einführen*; hr. *uputiti, uvoditi*). One might also argue that the collocate *define* should be put into this category, since the Old French word *definer* implies the meaning of coming to an end⁹, but given that the verb is nowadays more related to the Medieval Latin meaning (*diffinire* means *limit*)¹⁰, it seemed more fitting to place it in the container schema.

The adoption of law does not always run smoothly, as witnessed by the collocates from the *harm* group (e.g., *durchkommen* suggests that there are some obstacles impeding progress¹¹). By rejecting or repealing the law (de. *lehnen, ablehnen*; hr.

⁸ See etymology in <https://www.dwds.de/wb/erlassen>. Accessed 10 May 2024.

⁹ <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=define>. Accessed 10 May 2024.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ <https://www.dwds.de/wb/durchkommen>. Accessed 15 May 2024.

odbaciti), one returns it to its prior location, namely its draft stage, or blocks its further motion (de. *stoppen*, *blockieren*). The hazards of the law losing its validity are also present in the collocates whose meaning suggests the destruction of law by sitting on top of it¹² (e.g., *supersede*), throwing it violently¹³ (e.g., *overturn*), affecting its balance or stability¹⁴ (e.g., *kippen*), or hitting it¹⁵ (e.g., *aushebeln*). The destruction sometimes also includes the image of trampling on an object (e.g., *override*) and might overlap with the metaphor LAW IS A PLANT (de. *übertreten*; hr. *ukinuti*). It is thus indispensable that laws be planned carefully (de. *ausarbeiten*; hr. *pripremati*), with the effort resembling that of a tailor fitting outfits to appropriate lengths (e.g., *krojiti*¹⁶). After careful preparation by the government, such plans are proposed (de. *vorschlagen*; hr. *predložiti*) to the parliament by placing them in front of its members (de. *vorlegen*). At this stage the plans acquire human characteristics, resembling a presidential candidate on whose election it is voted for (de. *abstimmen*; hr. *izglasati*). The communication continues to take the form of a spoken medium even after the law is passed (en. *declare*; de. *verkünden*), granting the law the ability to speak (de. *sprechen*, *besagen*), contradict (de. *widersprechen*) or say nothing at all (de. *schweigen*). By this point the law has gained in capacity and is able to solve problems (de. *lösen*; hr. *riješiti*). Although their very existence seems to be highly appreciated (de. *gelten*; hr. *važiti*), laws must adapt to the changes in society or to the pleas of supranational legislation (de. *anpassen*, hr. *uskladiti*):

„Wir sehen es als zwingend notwendig an, dieses Gesetz nach den aktuellen Erfordernissen der medizinischen Versorgung der Bevölkerung anzupassen; bzw. gänzlich neu zu regeln“; betont Pinkowski. (laekh.de)

Sabor je donio i s direktivama EU uskladio novi Zakon o tržištu plina, koji uvodi kategoriju javne usluge, tzv. zajamčenu opskrbu plinom koju će obavljati zajamčeni opskrbljivač. (business.hr)

Corpus data suggest that one mainly thinks of laws as physical restraints or obstacles that govern one's behaviour and sometimes punish citizens for not complying, but it also appears that laws too are constrained in scope by the needs of society or are even in danger of being harmed. The images are almost entirely culturally

¹² <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=supersede>. Accessed 15 May 2024.

¹³ <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=overturn>. Accessed 15 May 2024.

¹⁴ <https://www.dwds.de/wb/kippen>. Accessed 15 May 2024.

¹⁵ <https://www.dwds.de/wb/aushebeln>. Accessed 15 May 2024.

¹⁶ In Croatian the literal meaning of the verb *krojiti* is to cut clothes, but metaphorically it is often used to refer to the preparation of plans or deciding on someone's destiny (<https://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=search>). The image PLANS ARE CLOTHES and LAW IS A PLAN here overlap and one might argue that they also give rise to the image LAWS ARE CLOTHES.

universal as supported by the semantically related collocates from the three corpora. Differences can be detected in the connotations, where collocates from one corpus reveal a different semantic prosody, possibly also pointing to the overlaps with some other conceptual metaphors.

6. Concluding remarks

This paper attempts to elucidate the role of metaphor in the emergence of metaphorical collocations centring around the term *law* and its equivalents in German and Croatian. It confirms the initial hypothesis that metaphorical collocations come into existence by reason of conceptual metaphors and that the detected metaphors are shared between cultures, at least as far as the languages analysed in this paper are concerned. Therefore, despite the differences between the legal traditions of the English, German, and Croatian (legal) languages, the universal role of laws is primarily to structure citizens' behaviour and to act as some sort of physical restraint. This also supports the metaphorical images elaborated in the consulted metaphor inventories. Alternatively, metaphorical collocations suggest that laws are personified, and they assume the role of a ruler, a supportive parent, or an orphan in need of a home (en. *adopt a law*, hr. *usvojiti zakon*). Although, as outlined in the metaphor inventories, the process of enacting legislation resembles motion along the path, the collocations discussed in this paper indicate that this motion is often obstructed, suggesting that checks and balances are at work and that control is distributed.

By combining a corpus-based and a cognitive linguistic approach one thus gains insight into the complete conceptualization of a legal term and its collocates, which complements the proposed conceptual metaphors from the existing metaphor inventories. Despite the fact that collocations are often perceived as arbitrary word combinations and assume different lexicalizations in different languages, the contrastive analysis conducted for the purpose of this paper proposes that in specialized (legal) phraseology conceptual metaphors overlap. Furthermore, whilst the analysis included only comparable corpora, the inspected collocates still represent near equivalents. Limitations of the approach include the focus on the data from web corpora, directing future research towards consulting specialized (legal) corpora, possibly parallel ones, in order to contribute both to the list of collocates and the supporting argumentation in favour of the proposed image schemas.

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ŠTO ČINIMO ZAKONIMA I ŠTO ONI ČINE NAMA: KONTRASTIVNI KORPUSNO UTEMELJENI PRISTUP ANALIZI METAFORIČKIH KOLOKACIJA NAZIVA *LAW*, *GESETZ* I *ZAKON*

Ovaj rad analizira metaforičke kolokacije naziva *law* u korpusu enTenTen20, *Ge-
setz* u korpusu deTenTen20 i *zakon* u korpusu hrwac 2.2. iz kontrastivne korpusno
utemeljene perspektive. Polazi se od hipoteze da metaforičkim kolokacijama uprav-
ljaju konceptualne metafore koje su kulturološki univerzalne u odnosu na (pravne)
jezike podvrgnute analizi. Kombiniranjem korpusno utemeljene i kognitivnolingvi-
stičke perspektive nastoji se potvrditi hipoteza o utjecaju konceptualnih metafo-
ra na nastanak metaforičkih kolokacija. Nadalje, čini se da različiti pravni sustavi
unatoč različitim primarnim izvorima prava ipak slijede jednaki tok razmišljanja
glede konceptualizacija kolokacija naziva *law*, *Ge-
setz* i *zakon*, te da su kolokacije iz
analiziranih usporedivih korpusa često i bliski ekvivalenti. Zaključno se predlaže
da korpusni pristup, pružajući uvid u semantički srodne kolokate, olakšava određi-
vanje kolokacijskog raspona, a naposljetku i konceptualne razine tih metaforičkih
jezičnih kombinacija.

Ključne riječi: engleski, hrvatski, konceptualna metafora, kontrastivna analiza, me-
taforičke kolokacije, mrežni korpusi

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