**Title of paper:**

The identification of metaphor – can a re-classification of metaphoric language, based upon the theory of Lexical Priming help our understanding of metaphor usage and comprehension?

**Author:**

Katie Patterson

k.j.patterson@liverpool.ac.uk

katiepatterson@hotmail.co.uk

**Affiliation:**

English Department,

School of the Arts,

19 Abercromby Square

University of Liverpool,

Liverpool

L69 7ZG

 U.K

**Home Address:**

72 Village Road,

Higher Bebington,

Wirral,

Merseyside,

CH63 8QB

**The identification of metaphor – can a re-classification of metaphoric language, based upon the theory of Lexical Priming help our understanding of metaphor usage and comprehension?**

**Abstract**

This paper addresses the issues with current systems of categorisation and measurement of linguistic metaphoricity, which have coloured most research into the area to-date. The paper discusses the role of metaphor as a form of creative language and a deviation from more linguistic norms and conventionalities. Two current theories are discussed as providing alternatives to metaphor identification approaches. These are Hanks’ (2004) Theory of Norms and Exploitations (TNE) and Hoey’s (2003 *et al*.) Theory of Lexical Priming. It is proposed that the theory of lexical priming can be adopted to provide an explanation of linguistic norms and exploitations involved in metaphoric language. Finally, the paper provides a brief corpus analysis of the verb *to kindle* found in a corpus of Nineteenth Century writings. The analysis will focus upon evidence of linguistic and secondary meaning primings within concordance lines.

**Keywords:** *metaphor; lexical priming; collocation; semantics; lexicology; linguistic exploitations.*

**1. Introduction**

This article is an attempt to provide evidence of the problems encountered with current systems of categorisation and measurement of linguistic metaphoricity in the light of corpus research. The article will firstly address certain issues arising in relation to metaphor identification and classification, which have coloured most current research into the area to-date. A brief analysis of the role of metaphor as a form of creative language will be followed by a discussion of the ways in which metaphoricity can be measured (sections 2 and 3). The indeterminate and often hazy decisions between *metaphorical* and *literal* stands to highlight the issues we face as researchers in documenting the characteristics of such a broad and ambiguous linguistic phenomenon. Two current theories discussed here as alternatives to metaphor identification are Hanks’ (2004) Theory of Norms and Exploitations (TNE) and Hoey’s (2003 *et al*.) Theory of Lexical Priming (section 4). Both theories will be commented upon in relation to language conventionality. Hanks (2013) discusses expected norms and conventions linguistically, whilst Hoey’s (2003 *et al*.) theory stems from the psychological implications of conventionality, in terms of reader/listener expectations. The theories’ point of departure emphasises the fact that both notions of *conventionality* and *metaphoricity* are multi-layered. Finally, this paper will then provide a brief corpus analysis of the verb *to kindle* found in a corpus of Nineteenth Century writings (section 5). The choice for the verb will be explained in relation to its grammatical and semantic flexibility, within the confines of a period specific corpus. The analysis is an attempt to illustrate the problems with assigning such a vast amount of ‘creative’ language to the heading ‘metaphor’, and further, attempting to find ways of identifying such ambiguous language.

**2. Metaphor categorisation**

*2.1 Metaphor as ‘creative language’*

Metaphor is commonly labelled as a member of the “literary lexicon” (Carter, 2004). Part of a metaphor’s inherent quality is that it overrides some major semantic and sometimes grammatical relationship. This is a main feature of ‘creative’ language, which “inheres in the degrees to which language use departs or deviates from expected patterns of language and thus defamiliarises the reader” (Carter, 2004:pp. 58). This notion of deviance remains central to literary scholars working with metaphor, within the formalist tradition (Nowottny, 1965; Leech, 1969; Short, 1996). Steen (2009) states that metaphors are considered ‘a form of linguistic deviation at the semantic level which are used to create foregrounding effects’ (*Ibid*, p. 87). Leech (2008) stresses that these deviations from the accepted code in literature are unique and meaningful rather than “unmotivated aberrations”; describing them as a “semantic absurdity” (Leech, 2008: p. 16). Thus in literature, metaphors are analysed as creative and purposeful deviations from the normal conventions of language, with the aim of creating effects upon the reader. These effects will vary in intention and purpose. However, as much as we remain unaware of the specific characteristics of conventional, non-deviating language, we are unclear of the ‘norms’ of metaphor. This article is a starting point for my research into metaphor and Lexical Priming (*cf*. Hoey, 2005). Assuming an approach from a lexical stance, it aims to explore these ‘norms’ of metaphor (both linguistic and literary) and ultimately address the question of how these help us to recognise metaphorical language, and subsequently prime us to use it in a range of contexts. In order to undertake such a study, the first issue to address is the notion that conventional, non-deviating, literal language is neither definitive nor objective.

The distinction between *literal* and *metaphorical* language is in no way clear-cut. Gibbs (1994) has written various chapters that bring to light the problems with the term *literal*, often touching upon the realms of cognition and representation of thought. However, remaining in the realms of linguistic analysis only, two fundamental issues are brought to light: firstly the labels are seen in dichotomy to one another; and secondly and more importantly, *literal* and *metaphorical* are seen as inherent qualities of the language they represent. Instead, meaning needs to be dealt with along a cline or gradation, dependent on a range of factors including personal experience and association with the language, secondary meaning and context. These factors will be discussed within the remainder of this paper.

*2.2 Creativity as a linguistic phenomenon*

A well-documented theory of language use with particular relevance to the analysis of metaphorical chunks of language is the idiom principle (Sinclair, 1991). This is based on the presumption that users of a language select, use, and understand much of language from a set of pre-fabricated chunks. These chunks vary in terms of their degrees of fixedness both in relation to lexis (collocation/semantic association) and grammar (colligation). Idioms are at the more fixed end of the cline; they are often institutionalised (Philip, 2011), non-compositional figurative phrases, whilst metaphors, like most non-metaphorical language, range along all areas of the cline –operating at various levels and degrees of fixedness. The idiom principle stands in contrast to the open-choice principle, which is based on much more complex choices at the level of the individual word.

Language, whether figurative or literal, is a social tool, and repetitive patterns of use are either adopted to conform, or avoided, to create novel and new expressions (Gibbs, 1994). This idea challenges one of the definitions of creative language, or rather, brings to light the necessary distinction between truly novel creative language, and the many other forms of creative, but conventional language. Creativity is often thought of as a largely free act of expression, but while this may be true to some extent, the expressive effect of that choice of language is diminished if it does not retain meaning to the user. Thus a metaphor, as a form of creative language, must exploit some form of language norm, but still retain enough linguistic conventionality (grammatically and lexically) to be understood by the receiver. This may be by retaining existent primings (*cf*. Hoey, 2005), within the language at a linguistic level (collocation/colligation) or a secondary meaning level (this will be discussed in more detail in following subsection).

Conventional patterns need to be exploited in order to identify a phrase or word as metaphorical, yet the phrase must operate conventionally to some extent at the level of understanding. Ortony (1979) in his seminal book *Metaphor and Thought* addresses this dichotomy between creativity and convention from a philosophical perspective. He claims that a ‘successful’ metaphor must strike a balance between the two:

[…] the writer or speaker is employing conventional means to produce a non-standard effect, while using only the standard syntactic and semantic resources of his speech community. Yet the meaning of an interesting metaphor is typically new or ‘creative’, not inferable from the standard lexicon

 (Ortony, 1979: p. 23).

Developing from this, Ortony (1979) postulates the danger of presenting a standard response to a given metaphorical statement: ‘such a view is untenable because a metaphorical statement involves a rule violation. There can be no rules for ‘creativity’ violating rules. And that is why there can be no dictionary of metaphors’ (*ibid*, pp. 25). He also claims that dead metaphors, as a term and a category are both redundant, and takes the example *falling in love* (sometimes referred to as dead, sometimes highly fossilised) as an historical case of catachresis and ‘nothing more’ (ibid, pp. 25). However, Ortony fails to illustrate further his argument and inadvertently highlights the problems with categorisation through his use of the term catachresis. The definition of the term given in the OED[[1]](#footnote-1)can only be qualified if the term metaphor is fully understood. Conflictingly, in Ortony’s (1979) view we now have to consider at a deeper level, evidence of a violation of metaphor ‘norms’, which are themselves violations of conventional norms. The example Ortony uses (*falling in love*) still has elements of metaphorical meaning – it is the judgement of the degree of metaphoricity, which causes the problem with labelling it.

**3. Meaning**

*3.1 The problem with the concept literal*

Of the term *literal* as a definition, there are a range of factors used in varying degrees depending upon the criteria and the researcher (cognitive linguist, philosopher, lexicographer). Such concepts include the conventional meaning of a word or phrase, the subject-matter meaning, the non-metaphorical meaning, and the context-free meaning, to name a few (*cf*. Gibbs, 1994: p. 387). With relation to each of these concepts, arise problems and exceptions to the degree in which they can effectively distinguish metaphoricity. From a literary perspective, literal language follows the usual language conventions and rules, to create meaning and understanding in the text. With ambiguity in meaning, it becomes problematic to describe and identify a phenomenon like metaphor, which remains dependent on a contrast in meaning from the term *literal*. Metaphoricity is a gradient, rather than a definitive characteristic of language and it is argued here that the lines between metaphorical and non-metaphorical are not always visible, and are always subjective.

Gibbs explains of the many researchers who have attempted to formulate a precise set of rules for the identification of metaphor based on its various deviant features (Bickerton, 1969; Levin, 1977; Steen *et al*, 2001), that “they would suggest that if a metaphor were interpreted literally it would be grammatically deviant, semantically anomalous, conceptually absurd, or simply false” (2004: p. 222). The issue of cognition remains largely in the realms of Conceptual Metaphor theory (*cf.* Lakoff & Johnson, 1979) and cognitive linguistics. According to some researchers, one way of defining literal language is by its assertion to the truth (Gibbs, 1994). Many philosophers will contest the concept of truth heavily, and as all language is symbolic and representative, this idea can be challenged. A phrase like many, found in the BNC written fiction corpus: *‘My heart bleeds for them, literally bleeds![[2]](#footnote-2)’,* exploits the aforementioned notions of truth and literality. Without the word *literally*, the dependent clause standing alone would probably unquestioningly be labelled as metaphorical. However the word *literally* challenges that notion, as it is confirming a truth within the phrase. Knowing this, we still understand the original clause to be metaphorical, so we know to disregard the truth in the statement. What is it that makes us know to do this- perhaps the fact that if the person’s heart was bleeding, they would be unable to speak. Or perhaps, there is no reason for a heart to bleed *for* someone or something else. It cannot be causative. Thus the example shows that, despite a linguistic marker of truth, we recognise the statement is metaphoric, through *other*, more important linguistic markers. Instead, a form of metaphorical ‘tension’ (Gibbs, 2004) arises from literal incompatibility. The notion of tension is a suitable one, which stands to highlight the unstable and transferable element of meaning, almost like a rope being tugged in both directions alternatively *and* simultaneously.

*3.2 Metaphorical meaning*

Referring back to the *cline* of creativity within language, there are a range of characteristics operating along it and in combination with one another. Institutionalisation and non-compositionality have been mentioned in relation to idiomatic figurative phrases (Philip, 2011). They are also characteristics of some heavily fossilised metaphors, in which we cannot easily break down the phrase without losing the meaning. Svensson (2008) gives an insightful account into the issues of complexity and ambiguity with phraseological terminology. She contends that one of the problems with the term non-compositionality is that it covers several aspects that do not necessarily function in the same way. Non-compositionality can be broken down into motivation/non-motivation, opacity/transparency, analysability/non-analysability and literal/figurative meaning and that there can be a ‘combination’ of these dichotomies in relation to a phrase being non-compositional. (Svensson, 2008: p. 81). Alternatively, there can be phrases that are still considered non-compositional even if they are motivatable, transparent, literal and analysable. She gives the examples of *greenhouse* and *expecting a baby*, in which the whole meaning cannot be reached from the words individually. These she terms quasi-idioms, and goes on to explain the inefficiency with dichotomies.

Returning to metaphor, other issues include salience, semantic transparency and analysability. As Svensson (2008) makes clear of the term ‘non-compositionality’, certain notions are similarly and commonly associated with metaphoric language, but are in no way a requirement of such language. It could also be argued that these ‘dichotomies’ are not the only characteristics and thus do not explain every aspect of idiom or metaphor. In addition, metaphors also exploit the traits of vagueness and context dependency of language (Leezenberg, 2001), and most importantly, as has been discussed, elements of secondary meaning. Semantic relationships such as prosody and semantic association cannot be identified through the composition of a phrase alone, and thus should provide a basis for a new area of metaphor research.

*3.3 Secondary meaning*

As has come to light in recent corpus studies, categorisation of metaphorical language is not a case of highlighting a set of metaphoric criteria through certain and definitive linguistic characteristics (Deignan, 2005; Partington, 2006; Philip, 2011). At times there are tendencies of patterning. Partington (2006) provides an insightful account into metaphors relating to business journalism, based mainly on semantic relationships. Deignan’s (2005) brief account of the difference in behaviour of idiom and metaphor claims provides interesting evidence that idioms are used in much more rigid colligational structures than metaphors. Indeed there are many cases where this is true, but it is not a requirement. One of the issues is that there are many ambiguous examples of figurative language arguably lying between idiom and heavily fossilised metaphor.

The concept metaphor is also heavily dependent on both our judgement of meaning (personal exposure through priming, audience, context etc.) and the ways in which a word or phrase is itself capable of expressing meaning. The acknowledgment that “some meaning is unobservable and exists in the minds of language users” is something that Philip (2011: p. 10) claims as fundamental to the understanding of figurative phraseology. In operating this way, figurative language “generates multiple layers of meaning” (Philip, 2011: p. 4). It is these ‘multiple layers of meaning’ and expected linguistic patterns, both those exploited and maintained, which facilitate the ambiguity of the linguistic parameters operating within single metaphorical phrases that linguists have trouble labelling under the single concept of ‘metaphor’. The trouble begins in trying to establish methods for identification of metaphorical language based on a set of fixed criteria. Philip (2011) goes on to claim that this acceptance for individual experience is necessary for our understanding of meaning, because a major part, and even a wholly dependent part of our understanding of some figurative phrases, comes from the notion of ‘secondary meaning’. This term relates to the abstract levels of semantic relationships, such as prosody (Sinclair, 1991), connotation (Philip, 2011), resonance (Black, 1962: 93) and pragmatic association (Hoey, 2005).

An interesting approach to the discussion of meaning is Hanks’ (2004) use of the term *meaning potential* (cf. Halliday, 1971). The term is applied to the potential of words to contribute appropriately to the meaningfulness of an utterance, but Hanks (2004) goes on to extend this to mean that “although the likely interpretation of most conventional patterns of words will be indistinguishable from a certainty, it is not an absolute. There are no literal meanings, only varying degrees of probability” (Hanks, 2004: p. 247). Although Hanks focuses on metaphorical words and their meanings, whilst Philip (2011) focuses on idiomatic phrases and their variations in form and meaning, both agree that it is a mergence with semantic to pragmatic that allows metaphor/idiom its flexibility in behaviour and definition. Novel word combinations, particularly metaphors, illustrate how “each word when used in a new context is a new word” (Firth, 1951: p. 190). ‘New word’ means adopting a new meaning, and in this sense it is the secondary meanings (semantic and pragmatic associations) that are altered through collocation and colligation at the level of the words. Thus we begin to delve into the ambiguous and unfixed range of deeper meanings Philip (2011) denotes of metaphor and figurative language.

*3.4 Salience and Dependency in Meaning*

Although salience remains distinct from literality, it is often referred to as a characteristic of a word or phrase’s literal meaning, and thus often acts as a marker of contrast and comparison to the word/phrase’s metaphorical meaning. Salience means words or phrases have to be encoded in the mental lexicon and retain prominence through frequency and familiarity. This is a dependent factor for idioms but not for all metaphors. Salience is also deemed as subjective and unfixed “because the salient meaning of a word, collocation or idiom is the most dominant (prominent one) for an individual” (Giora, 2003: p. 40). Again, this is based upon the importance of an individual’s exposure to and experience of the language.

The most commonly adopted criteria for salience are composed of both a word’s historical priority and its frequency. There are problems with both of these concepts. Firstly, the notion of ‘historical’ can only be deemed as reliable as the etymologist or dictionary consulted. Furthermore, it also has no psychological reality. A distinction should be made between the oldest meaning of a word for society, and the oldest meaning of a word for the individual language user. It also creates a problem in deciding exactly how far back to go, and reduces the importance of the contemporary meaning, often the most frequent. Secondly, a word’s frequency does not necessarily determine whether it is literal. Hanks (2008) highlights this with the term *backfire*. It is more often used in its metaphorical sense, denoting plans and tactics backfiring, than in its literal sense e.g. a car backfiring. The majority of idioms and some metaphors (word or phrase) are more salient than their literal counterparts. Thus salience must remain distinct from literality.

Although Steen *et al* (2007; 2011) avoid the terms literal and salient, they explain within their metaphor identification processes (MIP, and MIPVU, respectively), that the decision of whether a word is used metaphorically is always made in comparison and contrast with a word’s most ‘basic’ meaning. Here there are problems with both the term ‘basic’ and the idea of comparing and contrasting all subsequent meanings. It appears that dependency is a prerequisite for comparing and contrasting two uses of a word, and the problem lies with dependency varying from person to person. It is also the case that some heavily fossilised metaphors are not at all dependent upon their literal counterparts. The conventionalised metaphor *to break one’s heart* is an example, whereby our understanding and use of the metaphor is not (for many of us) dependent on us bringing to mind the image or notion of physically tearing a heart in two. The question arises of whether we can really decide a phrase’s level of metaphoricity based on a use of the words or phrase’s literal meaning, which could be devoid of meaning in the new context.

Particularly with relation to features of a metaphorical phrase that are semantic in nature, salient or basic meanings are most difficult to pin down because of the subjectivity that lies at the heart of making judgements. Hanks (2004) gives the interesting example of *funk* and lexicographers difficulties in its most important current definition:

For someone born in the 1940s with a traditional British education, this is hard to answer by consulting intuitions. It turns out that the dance-music sense is eleven times more common in the British National Corpus (BNC) than the terror sense. This is a statistic that is potentially relevant for computational natural language processing of contemporary texts. The terror sense, according to OED, is first found in the 18th-century Oxford slang. Readers living in 2005 may associate it with archaic British public-school literature

 (Hanks, 2004*:* p. 248).

Similarly, Steen *et al* (2010) come across problems with identifying the most basic meaning of *fit*. Although the *fit=suitability* definition is nearly 400 years older than that of *fit=healthy,* they intuitively chose the latter because of its relatively higher frequency. Also in relation to diachronic studies, stipulation of both MIP and MIPVU is that historical metaphors are not taken into consideration on the premise that the audience addressed is contemporary. Thus their choices and decisions on metaphoricity remain static and fixed. In summary this notion of *basic* or *salient* word meaning will vary between occasions, time periods, contexts, and language users, as does our judgement affecting dependency of one meaning over another.

**4. Alternatives to metaphor identification and analysis**

*4.1 Hanks’ (2004) Theory of Norms and Exploitations (TNE)*

Hanks’ Theory of Norms and Exploitations (2004) poses the idea of a two-type system, which governs our use of language. The primary system governs normal and conventionalised usage, whilst the secondary system governs the exploitation of normal use. Moreover, normal usage can be identified by evidence of repeated use, while exploitations can be identified because they show some “abnormality, aberration, eccentricity or other departure from the norm” (2013: p. 147). In relation to metaphor, Hanks’ theory is highly relevant in offering an explanation for metaphor’s deviant nature. Exploitations are central, according to Hanks, to the creative, dynamic nature of language involved in aspects such as irony, humour, and metaphor.

Within his book *Lexical Analysis* (2013), he refers to the image of a double-helix theory of language:

The set of rules that govern normal, conventional use of words is intertwined with a second-order set of rules that govern the ways in which those norms gauge change.

 (*Ibid,* pp. 411)

Hanks goes on to claim that much of both the power and the flexibility of natural language is derived from the interaction between the two systems of rules involved in this double helix. Most importantly, Hanks argues that both components are not sharply distinguished, but should be seen as poles along a cline. He explains that “some norms are more normal than others; some exploitations are more outrageous than others. And in the middle, there are alternations; lexical alternations, where one word can be substituted for another without change of meaning” (*Ibid*, p. 411).

It is important to make clear here, a point about metaphoric language concerning the notion of ‘exploitation’. As has been briefly discussed earlier, metaphoric language is hugely flexible in its ability to exploit conventions. This is an issue entirely dependent of the notion of ‘conventional’ or well-known metaphoric language, and the two need to be seen as distinct. Metaphoric language, as part of its inherent nature, exploits some form of language norm, be it semantic, grammatical, or even at a more secondary meaning level. This exploitation is what draws the reader/listener’s attention to the phrase, allowing for an alternative route of understanding (i.e. not literal).

Independently of this, at a more diachronic level, there is another element to the norm/exploitation sense. When a metaphor becomes to a certain extent conventional, from multiple uses in a range of contexts, the metaphoric phrase/word begins to develop its own set of expectations. These may involve, amongst others, a specific type of situation the metaphor is used in, the desire to express a certain evaluative function, or the presence of expected collocations alongside the metaphor. In this sense, the metaphor has developed a sense of conventionality, however it is still, in all subsequent uses of the phrase/word, an exploitation from the direct linguistic environment in which it is used.

It is worth noting here that, similarly to Gibbs arguments in relation to literality, conventional use is what governs a norm, and allows us to recognise when something isn’t a normal convention. However as Hanks makes clear, conventional use is a notion that must be “stipulatitvely defined for each word, or use of a word, by explicit criteria derived from corpus analysis” (2013: p. 141). The introduction of an alternative theory involving our psychological associations with words could possibly offer an explanation for how we recognise norms and exploitations in the first place. The following subsection will present these ideas in detail.

*4.2 Hoey’s (2005) Theory of Lexical Priming*

Hoey’s Theory of Lexical Priming (2003, *et al*) explores the relationships between lexical items and grammatical patterns and argues for a psychological association of such patterns that prime the reader/listener into understanding them. Patterns and tendencies, in the form of collocations, colligations, and aspects of secondary meaning (prosody, pragmatic association), form the basis of the priming hypothesis. Presence of these patterns or tendencies, forms our knowledge of a particular word or phrase and subsequently determines how we go on to use that word or phrase in other contexts. Taking into consideration the hypotheses based upon semantic, pragmatic and grammatical associations, one may be able to determine if it is the case that no word is ever used identically in a metaphorical and a literal sense. This would provide an explanation for our abilities to identify metaphorical meanings, whilst at the same time, provide evidence for the Lexical Priming theory in relation to metaphorical as well as literal language (something not researched in detail to date).

The theory would suggest, when applied to metaphorical language, that a phrase with more associations and primings, will be more widely understood through its higher frequency and conventionality. It is to be noted here that primings are primarily a psychological phenomenon within the individual language user. However, the term can also refer to the linguistic evidence found within a text. It is in this second case, with the first acknowledged, that primings will be referred to hereafter.

If the tendency to minimise ambiguity and reuse conventional strings overrides the speakers’ urge to be creative, as was argued earlier in the paper (sections 2 and 3), language users will become primed for certain metaphorical constructions, both semantically and syntactically, in order to ease recognition of a metaphor. Similarly, Deignan claims:

It is possible that when a metaphorical mapping first takes place, a linguistic expression becomes ambiguous between literal and metaphorical. Eventually the regular association of the expression, with its metaphorical meaning means that speakers start to avoid using it with a literal meaning.

 (Deignan, 2005:p. 212).

In addition to this, Hoey’s (2005: p. 82) Drinking Problem Hypothesis centres on the assumption that polysemous words will avoid patterns associated with the other meaning(s) of the word, in the form of collocations, colligations or semantic associations. An investigation into the collocations, colligations and semantic associations of metaphorical and literal instances of a word, may claim the Drinking Problem Hypothesis (Hoey, 2005: p. 82) to be true of metaphors also. This would lead to the idea that metaphorical instances of words have (to an extent) a fixed set of choices in terms of grammar and lexis. This would be the case with metaphors at either end of the afore-mentioned *cline*, despite the frequency or fossilisation of a particular expression. In summary, the Drinking Problem Hypothesis (2005) would not shed any light on metaphor types, but on the set of choices and ‘fixedness’ of metaphorical phrases in relation to their literal counterparts.

One issue that Hanks (2013) brings up with the theory of lexical priming is one relevant specifically to metaphor. Referring back to the idea of conventionality and exploitation, Hanks argues that a distinction needs to be drawn between what is salient cognitively, and what is salient socially. Hanks (2013) claims that exploitations are often cognitively salient. This means that they are often easier and quicker to recall because they stand out as odd or unexpected. In contrast, social (or statistical) salience may be defined or recognised as frequent usage. This is where the distinction becomes apparent: it is very often the case (particularly with metaphor) that some phrases are less frequent but more memorable. Even more difficult, according to Hanks, “are cases of vanishingly rare, but nevertheless cognitively salient expressions” (2013: p. 402). Hanks argues that taking this distinction into consideration should be a prerequisite for understanding not only the ‘reinforcement’ component of priming but also the ‘cognitive salience’ or rare but memorable primings, such as idioms. The issue of salience is one that remains problematic with metaphoric language, however, in order to extend Hoey’s theory to metaphoric language, the social and individual preferences for salience must be made distinct in the analysis of conventional metaphors.

**5. Corpus results of *kindle***

As has been discussed, the heavily contested distinctions between literal/figurative language and conventional/novel language are distinctions, which fail to work as an identification process in a range of linguistically motivated areas. It is hoped that a brief analysis of concordance lines of a single metaphoric word will help to highlight some of the issues discussed above, in relation to both grammar and lexis, and the psychological associations of primings.

*5.1 The corpus*

The roles played by ‘context of encounter’ and genre in establishing and activating primings are crucial (Hoey, 2005). Primings are tied to contexts and it can never be assumed that the priming that operates in one textual domain (e.g. medicine, newspapers) will operate in another textual domain (e.g. casual conversation). Subsequently, they are best studied through specialist corpora. The corpus used for this study comprises 500 works of British Nineteenth Century writings, totalling 47,705,500 tokens. The corpus comprises six subfolders of both fiction and non-fiction writings. These subfolders are entitled: 1). diary extracts/travel-journals; 2). handbooks/manuals; 3). fiction novels; 4). historical novels; 5). essays/lectures; and 6). magazines/periodicals. All entries have been published in Britain or Ireland between 1800 and 1900.

The study chosen for this article, is a detailed analysis of all instances of the verb *to kindle* found within this corpus. There were several reasons for choosing this verb. In the OED, there are five listings of the verb *to kindle* with a figurative use. Three of the instances are used transitively (a*. to inflame, excite, rouse, inspire a passion or feeling;* b. *to inflame, fire, excite, stir up a person, the mind, etc.; to make ardent* *or eager;* and c. *to arouse or give rise to †care, trouble, etc. (obs.), war, strife*). Two variations are used intransitively: (a. *of passion or feeling (†care or trouble): to rise, to be aroused, to be excited;* b. *to become inflamed, ardent, or warm; to glow with passion or excitement; to become eager or animated*). Each of these five instances is stated as figurative. Added to these, there are also two instances of the verb *kindle* used in a more concrete but still metaphorical sense. One of these is transitive (a*. to light up as with fire; to make bright or glowing. Also with ‘up’)*; and one is intransitive (b. *to become glowing or bright like fir*e). Both of these senses can be used with reference to something being compared like a fire (the quotations given in the OED are with reference to the sun and rays of light, and in the form of similes). This raises subsequent issues as to the central/literalness of fire, rather than the idea of fire as a superordinate. This will be discussed in detail in section 5.4. Depending on the structure of the use (i.e. not used with *like* or *as*), these two concrete uses can still be classed as metaphorical. There is one final use that will not be considered, as it is irrelevant to this study, being classed as rare and only appearing in a quotation from the fourteenth century. Three of the OED references found within 19th Century writings. In summary, the fact that the verb is flexible both in terms of its grammatical form and semantic uses (figurative/literal) should show that the word is conventional enough during the time period chosen, to express some element of primings.

*5.2 Kindle non-metaphoric*

Concordance results using *Wordsmith 5* (Scott, 2005) show 160 instances of the verb. Of these instances, fifty-seven (35.63%) refer directly, concretely or physically to fire. On reading each line, these can confidently be classed as non-metaphorical instances, with no deeper level meaning other than the description of fire and its behaviour:

Fig 1. Non metaphoric instances of *kindle* (first 20 lines)[[3]](#footnote-3)

Fifty-one (89.47%) of these are transitive: forty-seven (92.16%) have either *fire/flame/torch/match/coal* as a direct object of the verb; the other four instances also have a concrete direct object, but more rare, being specific to one line only (*blazing beacon, fuze, fireplace, firework* and *lucifer*). 47 (82.46%) have a human subject carrying out the action of kindling. Furthermore, out of all fifty-seven non metaphoric instances, forty (70.18%) have *fire* as a collocate within the concordance line, and all instances (100%) have either *fire/light/flame/torch*/lucifer/*fireplace/blazing/match/fuze* as a collocate. The ninety-nine instances of *kindle* (62.5%) which haven’t been discussed here, can all be considered metaphorical in varying degrees and contexts. The differences in metaphoricity will be analysed below.

Of the ninety-nine instances identified as ‘metaphorical’, a division has been made between those that are transitive (68) and those that are intransitive (31). Within these two groups have been added any similes (*seemed/as if*). These will be discussed individually, in the final section.

*5.3 Transitive instances of kindle (metaphor)*

Of the transitive verbs, (68.69% or all metaphors), the majority of objects are abstract concepts (75%) rather than concrete objects. This is perhaps unsurprising, considering the literature on abstract source domains and concrete or material target domains within the Conceptual Metaphor theory and discussed in SFL and metaphor (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Goatly, 1992). The majority of abstract notions relate to vision or human emotion, including love, desire, thoughts, excitement, sympathies, triumph, and liking.

Fig 2. Transitive instances of *kindle* metaphoric (first 20 lines)

The majority of the instances refer to positive emotions being kindled within a human subject. Here the use of *kindle* as metaphor depicts a visual and physical image of positive feelings such as desire and excitement, being activated, by an increase in heat. There is a repetition of the colligational structure (*into)* *flames/fire of + abstract noun* directly preceding *kindle* as shown in the examples below:

Fig 3. Colligational structure *flame(s)/fire of + abstract noun*

The majority of such colligational patterns suggests a tendency for negative emotion (revolt, discord), suggesting a particular level of priming in the use of a certain grammatical structure for a particular effect, evaluatively. The data is perhaps not large enough to detect the presence of semantic prosody, but there is a suggestion, which would be beneficial to seek out further. Moreover, there appears to be a tendency to be unable to or to show difficulty or unwillingness to *kindle*, or *kindle up*, rather than to kindle something. Again, this is small but apparent evidence of a tendency for negative prosody with a particular grammatical structure. Examples are found directly below:

Fig 4. Inability/negative prosody

Within these examples, there appears to be an unwillingness or inability to kindle. Examples include *difficult to, unable to, threatened to, scarcely able to, and failed to*. This is something worth developing further with larger amounts of concordance lines. Similar work has been undertaken into the colligational structure of metaphors using the noun *head* in works by Dickens (Patterson, forthcoming). This evidence would support the idea that metaphoric language conveys primings both grammatically and collocationally.

The notion of collocation primings within metaphoric language is something which does not appear to have been discussed in research. Louw (2000) claims of metaphor that “the absence of normal collocates tends to appeal to human intuition’s desire for attesting word meaning as quasi-symbolic, or metaphorical” (*ibid*, p. 15). This would suggest that metaphors avoid the collocates of literal or non-metaphorical uses of a word, but this has neither been confirmed/contested.

Within this study, the most common collocates for the non-metaphorical group of concordance lines have been identified within the semantic grouping of fire *(fire/light/flame/torch* or *fireplace* etc.). This is not surprising as the non-figurative definitions of kindle in the OED relate to fire (1. *trans. To set fire to, set on fire, ignite, light (a flame, fire, or combustible substance).* 2. *intr.* *Of a fire, flame, or combustible matter: To begin to burn, catch fire, burst into flame*). In terms of the concrete objects/subjects within the group of transitive metaphors, there a much fewer instances than there are abstract objects/subjects. However, what is highly interesting is that the concrete nouns are, in the majority of cases, distinct and separate from those used in the non-metaphors. Although related to the semantic grouping of fire, collocates include slightly more abstract notions, such as *spark/fiery/blister/burning.* These are words that do not appear to be used within the non-metaphorical instances of *kindle,* although they depict aspects of heat and light. This would indeed suggest an avoidance of collocates; something that will need to be explored further.

Line 2 in the list of concordances is worth discussing in more detail. The use of *kindle* here, appears to be a semantic extension of another, conventional metaphor/collocation: *fire* and *tongue*. *Fiery tongue* is used here, as in other contexts as to mean slander, or lying. A quick concordance search of *tongue* shows four other instances where tongue is collocating with *fire/blister/burning.* Within the instance above, the verb *kindle* appears to function as a mark of emphasis or extension of a separate metaphor. This is interesting, and again, the collocates are not the same as the collocates of the literal references of kindling a fire.

*5.3 Intransitive instances of kindle (metaphor)*

In terms of the intransitive verbs (31.31% of all metaphors), the majority of subjects are either human or concrete. The first twenty instances are listed below:

Fig 5. Intransitive instances of *kindle* metaphoric (first 20 lines)

The use of concrete or human subjects suggests a proximity to the literal uses of the word. Concrete subjects include *golden star, single spark*, and *deep red glow*. Within these instances, the choice of *kindle* is used to reflect the heat and light elements of the sun:

 *A deep red glow was even now beginning to kindle where he was soon to rise*

Interestingly, the example above makes use of personification also. This, combined with the metaphor, suggests a transferral of the semantic property of fire and a proximity semantically to the literal uses of the word. This raises the issues as to the centrality or literality of fire rather than a superordinate of fire. As a form of fire, it could be argued that *kindle* could be used in a more literal sense. However, the meaning of *kindle* itself refers to a process of creating heat from no heat. As a constant in our solar system, it could be agreed upon that the sun cannot be kindled, certainly not by any human subject. This form of analysis highlights the notion of and indeed the need for, a *cline* of metaphoricity, whereby the degree of literality or metaphoricity can be measured in a range of grammatical and semantic analyses.

*5.4 Similes*

Finally, there are five instances of *kindle* used within a structure specific to a simile (*seem/as if*). Although operating as comparisons between something in reality and something non-concrete or literally occurring in the narration or text, the comparison is made explicit for the reader through the fixed and recognised structures. Researchers argue over the classification of simile because of the rigidity of its structure and its explicit textual explanation or signalling of itself. Few studies have been carried out on similes with the exception of Moon’s (2011) *as \* as* comparison study of 19th Century explorers. The majority of researchers appear to disregard similes in their analysis of metaphoric language, on the basis of the explicit structure. Analysis of similes with the verb *kindle* may still show tendencies or similar occurrences to the more implicit metaphorical examples. Thus they will still be briefly discussed.

Fig 6. Similes of *kindle*

The lines above make use of the word *seem* in order to invite the reader to acknowledge such a comparison. The author is acknowledging the aspect of truth, by declaring the comparison as an untruth. Researchers argue as to what the purpose is for doing this. One explanation of the use of similes is that they instead form part of an exaggeration rather than a comparison. Hanks (2013) claims of simile:

curiously, the overall semantic effect even of a dynamic simile is conventional enough. Partly this is because the meaning is qualitative or evaluative, rather than classifying.

 (Hanks, 2013: p. 224)

Evidently, in the examples above, we see examples of evaluation (*a golden star seemed to kindle*). Two of the instances are intransitive in their use of the verb; three are transitive. In terms of collocation, there appears not enough data to discuss this aspect of priming. Semantically, the use of *kindle* appears to express the beginning of an action or feeling (*kindle into activity; kindle either of them to fervour of sensation*). As discussed earlier, the literal notion of kindle appears to involve a process of going from no heat/light towards some form of heat/light. Usually the process involves a human agent, but not always.

Although there appear to be no tendencies regarding collocation, colligation or secondary meaning, within the few concordances present, the instances do display similar colligational pattern to the larger groups of metaphors. The two intransitive uses of the verb display more concrete semantic relations: one referring to the heat and light of the sun; the other to excited emotion (often expressed through heat). In comparison, the transitive instances display more abstractness via the choice of nouns.

**6. Conclusion**

The brief analysis of the verb *to kindle* has outlined the notion that linguistic primings are evident in metaphoric as well as literal language. Such primings, including collocation, colligation and semantic prosody or pragmatic association, allow users of language to determine meaning through a range of linguistic features. It is these primings, which subsequently determine how we as language users, go on to use a metaphor in other contexts. Future research will focus upon primings within types of text, both diachronically, and genre-specific. Further work into collocation will provide an insight into typical metaphoric/literal behaviour or a particular word or phrase.

As has been outlined in the first half of this paper, the theoretical implications of metaphor affect and influence the decisions researchers make about what a metaphor is and how to identify and classify it as such. As has been brought to light through corpus research, metaphorical language does not operate in predicted and patterns of lexis or grammar. Linguistic tendencies can be found in some groups of metaphoric language and not in others. Similarly, the degrees of such tendencies and patterning help to form a degree of metaphoricity or metaphorical *tension* (Gibbs, 1994). Metaphoric language with an element of conventionality should present itself through its more predictable tendencies and patterning, whilst purely novel and highly creative metaphors will exploit more conventionalities and thus display much less formal behaviour. Such instances as have been presented above, and those by the researchers discussed (Hanks, 2004, 2013; Philip, 2011), are representative of the fuzzy, blurred boundary that exists between figurative language. Thus, the idea of a cline is controversial but necessary.

As Hanks makes clear throughout his book Lexical Analysis (2013), the creative potential of language is undeniable, but the concordances within a corpus search “remind us forcibly, that in most of our utterances, we are creatures of habit, immensely predictable” (*ibid*, p. 411). If we were not so, ordinary language would become unworkable. Similarly, Hoey’s (2003 *et al*.) notion of primings offer a clear explanation for how we are able not only to make sense of deviations and exploitations, but how we learn to expect such exploitations. Moreover, the study of lexical priming will allow for an exploration into metaphoric characteristics and tendencies, which, it is hoped, will present us with a much wider view of such language and how it can be classified and dealt with, within a range of academic disciplines. Real world data and corpus software enable us to identify the exploitations from the norms much more easily than any purpose-specific created data, which has been the case in past research on metaphor. These results however, do not give us access to whether and how; apparently metaphorical uses are received or recognised. A deeper exploration into the reasons language uses choose metaphoric language over more normal conventions, may shed light on why exploitations are used, and used more effectively at times.

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**Biography**

I am currently studying for an AHRC funded PhD at the University for Liverpool, U.K, under the supervision of Professor Michael Hoey. My research focuses upon linguistic metaphor and lexical priming. I completed an MA in Applied Linguistics, also at Liverpool, in 2011. My MA thesis on transitivity and metaphor in the works of Dickens and Hardy has been accepted for publication in the 2013 edition of Ecloga (University of Strathclyde). I have experience teaching both at undergraduate level and on English Language programmes at the University of Eastern Finland. I have presented papers and workshops both in Finland and the U.K. The article presented here is an extension of the paper I presented at the International Corpus Linguistics Conference 2013 at Lancaster University.

Appendix

List of *kindle* concordances in corpus of 19thC writings:

N Concordance Set

1 n before the parties were brought together, she might grow more obstinate, and kindle a like spirit in him. Oh that boys and girls \_would\_ be giving old peopl

2 ure one of those ducks; so, directing Peterkin to go straight to the shore and kindle a fire, we separated, promising to rejoin him speedily. But we did not

3 as appeared too likely already, we could shelter our horses for the night, and kindle fire for ourselves. Patigorsk was the place I wanted, and I took what se

4 e without provisions of any kind. Their first care was to search for wood and kindle fires, which they at last succeeded in doing, and then they dried their

5 e at this fire.' 'No, I don't wish to go up-stairs,' he said. 'Come in, and kindle ME a fire, and do anything there is to do about the room.' 'I must bl

6 in a thousand years. Therefore, miserable, increase not more thy miseries, and kindle not for thyself the everlasting fire." Hereupon Ægeas exasperated ord

7 ; if unchain'd, we'll mount; We'll, innocently, steal celestial fire, And kindle our devotion at the stars; A theft, that shall not chain, but set thee

8 Did I not tell thee, "We would mount, Lorenzo! 1942 And kindle our devotion at the stars"? And have I fail'd? and did I flatter the

9 ng; Though human, yet divine; for should not this Raise man o'er man, and kindle seraphs here? Redemption! 'twas creation more sublime; Redemption!

10 stand. Here is that will bring the blood once more into her pallid cheeks, and kindle the fire within her eyes. Give her of this." The effect of the potion

11 ain did M'Manus entreat him for permission to fire his pistol into the hay and kindle the ready flames, O'Brien was inexorable; and the first and last battle

12 day you get this, warmed into such faint inspiration as my turnip radiance can kindle. You have seen a turnip lantern perhaps. Well, here I continue to exis

13 ey resent the mere refusal of praise as a robbery, and at the justest censures kindle at once into violent and undisciplined abuse; till the acute disease cha

14 thoughts, and calm desires, Hearts with equal love combined, Kindle never-dying fires:-- Where these are not, I despise Lov

15 , that the disposition of Washington was apathy itself, and that nothing could kindle a fire in his bosom-neither friendship, fame, or country. This might in

16 of heart with heart; over whose expression I had such influence; where I could kindle bliss, infuse awe, stir deep delight, rouse sparkling spirit, and somet

17 w of the previous night had succeeded heaviness; it seemed as if nothing could kindle either of them to fervour of sensation any more. He spoke gently to h

18 t on helpin' aboot the hoose, an' though she was but fower year auld she could kindle the fire an' red up (clean up) the room. Leeby's been my savin' ever si

19 ar." "Ay, Mangis. And what is the upshot of that famous fire thy tongue did kindle?" "Why, their ashes were cast to the wind." "Ay. But the true end o

20 he torch, Zernebock is yelling! Whet the steel, sons of the Dragon! Kindle the torch, daughter of Hengist! 2. The black cloud is low o

21 - 1. Whet the bright steel, Sons of the White Dragon! Kindle the torch, Daughter of Hengist! The steel glimmers not for th

22 l thing that a British government could do, should be done and all Europe kindle into flames of war.--I am, etc. T. CARLYLE. 5 Cheyne Row, Chelsea

23 nes flew from his hoofs and rolled down the hill behind them, made Tom's eyes kindle and his pulse beat quicker as he reached the top and pulled up under the

24 rool of that royal forest-voice; sorrowful, low; fast swelling to a roar! Eyes kindle at the glance of his eye:--National Deputies were missioned by a Nation;

25 mous answer to the ambassador of his rebel brother. Oft have I heard my father kindle as he told the tale. The envoy of Tosti was admitted, when this ample ro

26 s notice of the same idolatry. [907]\_The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the Queen of

27 loud to One's Self, 138 Spell to make a Fire Kindle, 135 Spider, A Legend concerning,

28 he engagement was over between him and Miss Newcome, Clive found his own flame kindle again with new ardour. He was wild to see her. He dashed off from Naples

29 , and unnecessary wretchedness of their room, bidding the elder boys and girls kindle up the fire, sweep the floor, and expel the poultry. For a long time my

30 tskirts of \_AEsthetic Tea\_," flit higher; and, by electric Promethean glance, kindle no despicable firework. Happy, if it indeed proved a Firework, and flame

31 sly. "Think you to rob me of my prey? What, cowards! do you hesitate? Ha!" "Kindle the torches," cried several voices. "We fight not in the dark." A pist

32 he grave, They stand, collecting every beam of thought, Till their hearts kindle with divine delight: For all their thoughts, like angels, seen of old

33 enough it might happen that any apprehension of an unkind word should with her kindle a dispute. It might have happened; and yet, to the great honour of both

34 e, they had taken care to bring Father Time, to try every means of making him kindle and laugh like other boys, though he was to some extent a hindrance to t

35 e of Europe, and afflict the scorch all men:--till it provoke all men; till it kindle another kind of fire, the Teutonic kind, namely; and be swallowed up, so

36 eir troubled beauty women learn the use of, and what wonder? They have seen it kindle Ilium to flames so often! But ere they grow matronly in the house of Me

37 ph to fetch you a coal of fire from heaven, if you will," said I, "and with it kindle life in the tallest, fattest, most boneless, fullest-blooded of Ruben's

38 istant hill on the right. "The signal! the signal!" cried Paslew, joyfully. "Kindle a torch!--quick, quick!" And as he spoke, he seized a brand and plung

39 n a land so agitated and unreconciled, so wild, stormy, and ignorant as Judea, kindle in stirring minds the most worldly contagions as to principle and purpo

40 ibly intend to marry her; and it is madness in all women to let a secret love kindle within them, which, if unreturned and unknown, must devour the life that

41 turn is indeed come--it is come to prove to you, that as generous feelings may kindle in the eyes that are barely shaded by the blue bonnet o' a Covenanter as

42 pointing to the easel, canvas, and stretcher; ‘and tell the housemaid she may kindle the fire with them: your mistress won’t want them any more.’ Benson p

43 rt them; I was both unwilling to have them burned, and fearful that they might kindle, if well roused up with fire upon the windward side. By the bye, thes

44 f it. But if he has actually set foot upon the mine which a single spark might kindle to his destruction, he will duly appreciate the service rendered him. F

45 es in a large pot, copper, or boiler, with cold water to reach to their necks; kindle a fire under, let the water boil, and as the bladders begin to rise and

46 e love of Jesus Christ and Him crucified, understood, believed, felt, does not kindle all the love in a man's heart, and fire it with all the enthusiasm, and

47 the torch, I say, or it will be too late. Is the powder damp that it will not kindle? And see! the torch is expiring--it is gone out! Distraction!--to be baf

48 ice of it, and it hurries away again for want of a welcome. "Why will they not kindle up and be glad sometimes?" thinks young elasticity. "It would be so easy

49 quenched, waiting to be re-lit -- and alas! it was not himself that could now kindle the lustre of animated expression: he was dependent on another for that

50 to work for him. Is it any wonder that his heart throbs, and his eyes swim or kindle, and that he had rather think than speak? And may he not be left undistu

51 rn his Paternoster. But the elder twin might hunt, might fence, might smile or kindle at his brother’s lay, but ever with a restless gloom on him, a doubt of

52 breathing flute And sounding lyre Could swell the soul to rage, or kindle soft desire. At last divine Cecilia came, Inventress of the v

53 h we in consequence call right or wrong; and which, experienced in ourselves, kindle in us that specific sense of pleasure or pain, which goes by the name of

54 e worth of contested points; names have no associations for them, and persons kindle no recollections. They hear of men, and things, and projects, and strugg

55 w near unto Thee with all their heart, and worthily obtain their petitions. Kindle with the fire of Thy Holy Spirit our reins and our hearts, O Lord, that

56 avenly wisdom. Frankincense we bring him, if we, by diligence of holy prayers, kindle our thoughts on the altar of our heart, so that we may, through heavenly

57 e, and, in the lower classes, so absolutely under the dominion of the priests, kindle an excitement on other subjects also, still more difficult to deal with.

58 ntain's brow That sleeps in solitude before us now; While memory's lamp shall kindle at its rays, And light the happy scenes of other days-- Such scenes as

59 w relating. It is not all surprising that such unjustifiable cruelty should kindle disgust in the minds of those who were not totally divested of the feel

60 Marie Antoinette--for whom Carlyle has a strong affection--and Buonaparte, so kindle and colour the scene that we cannot pause to feel weary of the phrases w

61 ance of kind eyes, saying thereby, 'Thou too mayest love and be loved;' and so kindle him,--good Heaven, what a volcanic, earthquake-bringing, all-consuming

62 e house within another to protect themselves against this scourge, while some kindle a large fire of wet straw, and sit in the smoke; but this remedy seems w

63 ce from carnal torment; both sink together into sleep; together both sometimes kindle into dreams. When the mortal mists were gathering fast upon you two, bis

64 from carnal torment; both sink together into sleep; together both, sometimes, kindle into dreams. When the mortal mists were gathering fast upon you two, Bis

65 ing! Did not the glance of his royal countenance, like concentrated sunbeams, kindle all hearts in an august Assembly; nay thereby in an inflammable enthusia

66 leful tale, The rich and balmy eve; And hopes, and fears that kindle hope, An undistinguishable throng, And gentle wishes long sub

67 exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, the Americans have imaginations that kindle with alarming facility. I could give many anecdotes to prove this, but

68 'd it to man. Nature informs, but ne'er insults, her sons. Could she then kindle the most ardent wish To disappoint it?--That is blasphemy. Thus, of

69 e (of) delight in God they awaken holy devotion: they teach how to ask: they kindle a holy flame.... 'Singing is the natural effect of JOY in the heart,

70 ut a table on the green sod, of a round shape, to hold the whole company. They kindle a fire, and dress a repast of eggs and milk in the consistence of a cust

71 owards noon, \_and not till then\_, they eat, cooking it over a fire, which they kindle as best they can, where they are working. Their second meal in the day i

72 re, or his right invade; Their interest, like a lion, lives on prey. They kindle at the shadow of a wrong: Wrong he sustains with temper, looks on heav

73 h-throes? Yea, Light-rays, piercing, clear, that salute the Heavens,--lo, they kindle it; their starry clearness becomes as red Hellfire! 'IMPOSTURE is bur

74 one idea, of immense energy, of adamantine will, of revolutionary power. They kindle sympathies between man and man, and knit together the innumerable units

75 rd--these sounds warned Midwinter it was getting late. He rose mechanically to kindle a light. But his head was giddy, his hand trembled; he laid aside the m

76 ent; so, on the other hand, each inclination to the velvet declivity seemed to kindle a gleam of triumph on the brow of the man-hating, God-defying demon. Sha

77 s fingers dropping shreds of tobacco upon the hearth rug, and scarcely able to kindle a lucifer for their unsteadiness. Then walking once or twice up and down

78 through the little garden into a brick-paved kitchen, where she set herself to kindle a match at an expiring fire, and with the match to light a candle. She h

79 y was bitterly cold, and with much difficulty the unfortunate men contrived to kindle a fire, by means of a knife and flint that were happily in the pocket of

80 arometer, while some of the party employed themselves in fruitless attempts to kindle a fire. The height, by the barometer, proved to be 1,845 feet above the

81 er spoke of it to his son or his son's son--he was yet prompted by instinct to kindle and tend a torch which one after him should carry, and perhaps should ca

82 rown sufficiently marked to give expression to the forehead, seemed capable to kindle as well as melt, to command as well as to beseech. If mildness were the

83 It troubled her much to see what a great flame a little wildfire was likely to kindle. Bathsheba was no schemer for marriage, nor was she deliberately a trif

84 hich we liken to the burning of coal, or even of anthracite coal; difficult to kindle, but then which nothing will put out. The ready Gaelic fire, we can rema

85 and that admires the concrete. Imps have their freakish wickedness in them to kindle detective vision: malignly do they love to uncover ridiculousness in imp

86 e house set apart for the young chieftain's occupation. He made no attempt to kindle either light or fire, but sat down in the principal apartment, occasiona

87 of Isis had now cowered around the altars, on which they had vainly sought to kindle fires and pour incense, one of the fiercest of those deadly torrents, mi

88 of the mountains; the chiah, which grew in abundance around us, enabled us to kindle fires, and a salutary reaction took place in the spirits of the troops.

89 Until very lately in different parts of Ireland, it was the common practice to kindle fires in milking yards on the first day of May, and then men, women, and

90 and \_craws-apples\_, tolerably well, and took great delight in assisting me to kindle fires in the caverns of the old-coast line, at which we used to broil sh

91 The next, and the last we shall examine ere Betty claims the whole mass to kindle her fires, is a somewhat bulky envelope, addressed in a neat hand: \_To t

92 however trite, it will have a dignity such as to possess him, and a virtue to kindle him, and an influence to subdue and convert those to whom it goes forth

93 me fundamental error in early life. A person to catch fire-flies, and try to kindle his household fire with them. It would be symbolical of something. T

94 roken: he found that the heat and animation of a public room was necessary to kindle his modest cousin's vanity; he found, at least, that it was not to be do

95 like a billet under his apron, going away in the gray of the morning, as if to kindle his fireplace. 'Why, John,' I said, 'what a heavy log! Let me have one e

96 is interlocutor's tone of eagerness and look of ardour had sufficed at once to kindle in his soul and elicit from his eyes: he was himself; as Frances was her

97 on a melancholy place for me. Mr. Coleridge was in high spirits, and seemed to kindle in his mind at the contemplation of the splendid pictures before him. He

98 to note the patience, courtesy, and adroit compliment, he brings into play, to kindle, in those over whom he has no direct control, the ardor for the general

99 ered that ardour to extinguish, which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers. Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheelin

100 -rooms, on streets, on highways, at inns, every where men's minds are ready to kindle into a flame. That a Patriot, if he appear in the drawing-room, or amid

101 recruiting the inward man, the whole population of the baths seem suddenly to kindle into activity; and soon after five every one is astir. Some ride, some d

102 gists call a \_nisus\_, a struggle in a very ambitious spark, or \_scintilla\_, to kindle into a fire. This \_nisus\_ went on for some centuries; but finally issued

103 ning; its moisture, its repose, its obscurity, waiting the miracle of light to kindle it into smiles; the whole is, like the principal figure in it, 'a foreru

104 l we carried some fuel and a tinder-box, with a sheet of copper, upon which to kindle it; for without a fire we should have been quite numbed. Standing in one

105 question of liking at present. My liking always wants some little kindness to kindle it. I am not magnanimous enough to like people who speak to me without

106 nd when you have once extinguished my love, you will find it no easy matter to kindle it again.’ ‘Well, Helen, I won’t repeat the offence. But I meant not

107 aw, and therefore as being good Himself, for it is the property of goodness to kindle love, or rather the very object of love is goodness; and all those disti

108 here; or that they loved some in the past, and so would see the spot again to kindle memory withal. Thus when thou speakest of Moonfleet, I may guess that th

109 critical, dervish, self-styled the \_Mahdi\_, or Mohammedan Messiah, was able to kindle new flames of revolt, which burned with the quenchless fury of Oriental

110 ost singular relics of paganism. It is the custom at sunset on that evening to kindle numerous immense fires throughout the country, built like our bonfires t

111 ow the day smiles upon us!" And he pointed to where a golden star seemed to kindle on the edge of the sea. It was the sun again, rising after its few minu

112 ng to all great writers, and the general practice of mankind. But it failed to kindle one fibre of my system, and I dropped my eyes that the heartless slayer

113 th and heaven, in glade and bower Shall feel an overseeing power To kindle or restrain. "She shall be sportive as the fawn That wild w

114 he front bar of the grate, and this, it was believed, would cause the fire to kindle quickly. This practice is still followed by many, but being compelled no

115 ve trod, Step following steps, its flowery thorny road? Enough of good to kindle strong desire; Enough of ill to damp the rising fire; Enough of lov

116 ighty Potentate, to whom belong These rich regalia pompously display'd To kindle that high hope? Like him of Uz,[71] I gaze around; I search on every s

117 or themselves, and sufficient not only to float their book into credit, but to kindle the confused enthusiasm of subsequent English antiquarians, whose blind

118 er, individuals who will wickedly take advantage of the late proceedings to kindle the flames of discord, and throw the empire into anarchy and confusio

119 nsequently unfit for use on board a ship where it is extremely dangerous to kindle the fuze otherwise than by the explosion; even the powder with wh

120 ad begun to grow dark, so that when they reached the ridge it was necessary to kindle the torches before anything could be ascertained. "Here are the foots

121 ead trunk may yet support a part of the declining temple, or at least serve to kindle the fire on the altar." ESSAY III. Si partem tacuisse velim

122 pirit, the religious passion which, radiating from him, began after a while to kindle the whole body of men about him. It was from his Sunday lectures and hi

123 An orator of the first order, clear, copious, fervid, Alike powerful to kindle the imagination, touch the affections, And sway the reason and will.

124 am you have not!' exclaimed Uriah. 'To think that you should be the first to kindle the sparks of ambition in my umble breast, and that you've not forgot it

125 an instant. The solitary fugitive was a young girl. Signing to Hermanric to kindle the extinguished torch at a neighbouring watch-fire, Goisvintha carried

126 of religion, on the other hand, is weak and impotent; it contains no spell to kindle the feelings of man, to make the heart beat with anxiety, and to produc

127 by a disaster such as had never before befallen a British army, threatened to kindle the flames of war in Europe also, from the share which the intrigues of

128 in all cases whatsoever! Such menace and assertion as this could not fail to kindle the ire of the Americans, and "Common Sense" came forward to touch their

129 system of education being one dreary monotony. No part of it is calculated to kindle the fire of genius, or to cherish the aspiring spirit of youth. It is fr

130 his intentions in his favour. The Turk, amazed and delighted, endeavoured to kindle the zeal of his deliverer by promises of reward and wealth. Felix rejec

131 on it for some hours past. A dull vacancy possessed him; he made no attempt to kindle the light and write once more. He never started; he never moved to the o

132 about indifferent matters in order to gain time. Meanwhile Rachel came in to kindle the fire, which was soon effected by thrusting a red-hot poker between t

133 wever, individuals who will wickedly take advantage of the late proceedings to kindle the flames of discord, and throw the empire into anarchy and confusion,

134 l pile, to set us free from the loathsome world! I approached triumphantly to kindle the annihilating flames, when she stood before me--she, whom I had sough

135 nour; and repelled it in a tone of loftiness or arrogance that never failed to kindle the pride of the baffled flatterer. Nothing in the way of applause could

136 imbs covered with sackcloth? No! Her brow is glowing with unquenchable fire to kindle the fuel that the devil has hidden in your hearts. Her raiment is cloth

137 ointing to a lingering ray of sun worship. If a fire were slow or \_dour\_ to kindle, the poker was taken and placed in front of the grate, one end resting o

138 to wear thae breeks the day, you or me?' Ay, syne I would hae ordered her to kindle the fire, or if I had been the king, of coorse I would hae telt her inst

139 ey were hungry; they had no place on which to spread their blankets, or to kindle their fires. They were feeble; they could do nothing for themselves.

140 iculty was to find competent persons to take charge of the fireships, so as to kindle them at the proper moment--the want of which had rendered most of the fi

141 and dislike, when we have the informations actually put before us which are to kindle those several emotions. We love our parents, as our parents, when we kno

142 o purpose, unless you undertake to melt her." He suffered a lurking smile to kindle to some strength of meaning. "You are not over-considerate in committi

143 purpose, as it appeared, of taking with her a handful of sticks, with which to kindle up the fire next morning. On seeing this manoeuvre, he jumped over the d

144 nd next morning she rose earlier than was her usual, and was just beginning to kindle up the fire, when she heard Jock engaged in a low but earnest conversati

145 When we reached it, we found wood laid out, the fire lighted and beginning to kindle up, with other signs of preparation for our encampment, but Peterkin was

146 d where the sun had disappeared, and a deep red glow was even now beginning to kindle where he was soon to rise. But man must have rest, be the sun high or s

147 esire I mean, not without the consciousness of having earnestly endeavoured to kindle young minds, and to guard them against the temptations of scorners, by s

148 ent on other eyes to watch for us, and other hands to minister to us, while we kindle in their hearts the most powerful emotions, and unconsciously react upon

149 usand voices had sung the words: God is our guide. No swords we draw. We kindle not war's battle fires. By union, justice, reason, law, We claim the

150 the Free Companions rises high over the conflict! And by mine honour, when we kindle the blazing beacon, for joy of our defence, it shall consume thee, body

151 Can we think of a man or woman who grips us firmly, at the thought of whom we kindle when we are alone in our honest daw's plumes, with none to admire or shr

152 ured, but still patient and loving father, by the miserable prodigal--may well kindle sudden joy and peace. Much, no doubt, may have been done before any hope

153 e, but inclusively what is beautiful, useful, admirable, heroic; objects which kindle devotion, rouse the passions, and attach the affections; and thus it lea

154 generally." "Let my gentleman only have a fund of enthusiasm. The lady will kindle. She always does at a spark." "If he has not any?" "Then I'm afrai

155 ds upon the words, till at length, spontaneously as it seemed, "the fire would kindle," and the association, which had escaped my utmost efforts of comprehens

156 ion in the midst of the persuasives which the voice and eyes of Callista would kindle in his heart. There was nothing glorious or heroic in being confined in

157 in her the office o' whisperer, and the fascinations o' the singer, wha would kindle love by her smiles, and unholy discord by her wiles. Her vanity, like th

158 myself from public worship. A slighting expression applied to the Bible would kindle me into glowing resentment, expressed with no less sincerity than earnes

159 solicitude when she thought of possible injury to Troy. The least spark would kindle the farmer's swift feelings of rage and jealousy; he would lose his sel

160 bserve precisely when it should disappear, and how soon its golden spark would kindle up again from the waves. When its lower rim was just touching the water

1. ‘*Application of a term to a thing which it does not properly denote; abuse or perversion of a trope or metaphor’ (*<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/28665?redirectedFrom=catachresis#eid>) - Accessed 29/04/2013 [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. For all concordance lines, see appendix. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. See Appendix for full concordance lists, and hereafter. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)